

**SOURCES OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES**

**7**

Edited  
by Şinasi Tekin • Gönül Alpay Tekin

**TURKISH SOURCES**

VII

**MAḤMŪD al-KĀŞĠARĪ**

**COMPENDIUM  
OF  
THE TURKIC DIALECTS**  
(Dīwān Luyāt at-Turk)

Edited and Translated with Introduction and Indices

by  
**ROBERT DANKOFF**  
in collaboration with  
**JAMES KELLY**

Part I

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**DOĞU DİLLERİ VE EDEBİYATLARININ KAYNAKLARI**

**7**

Yayınlayan  
Şinasi Tekin • Gönül Alpay Tekin

**TÜRKÇE KAYNAKLAR**

VII

**MAḤMŪD el-KĀŞĠARĪ**

**TÜRK ŞİVELERİ LÜGATI**  
(Dīwānū Luġāt-it-Türk)

İnceleme • Tenkidli Metin  
İngilizce Tercüme • Dizinler

**ROBERT DANKOFF  
JAMES KELLY**

I. Kısım

Basıldığı yer  
Harvard Üniversitesi Basımevi  
1982

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CONTENTS OF PART I

Foreword	v
Abbreviations and Selected Bibliography	vi
Transliteration and Transcription System	viii
Editor's Introduction	1
1. Description of the Manuscript; Previous Editions and Lexica	1
2. Features of the Present Edition; Principles of the Translation	2
3. General Remarks: Author, Title, Contents	4
4. Date of the Work	6
5. Title Page	7
6. Ink Color and the Later Hand	10
7. Glosses and Marginal Notes	15
8. Badraddīn al-'Aynī	19
9. History of the Text	23
10. Scribal Errors, Ghost Words, and Textual Emendations	25
11. Structure of the Diwan	31
12. Turkic and Arabic	41
13. Phonology	53
Translation	70
Author's Introduction (MS. 2-28)	70
Book of Vowel-Initial Words ( <i>Kitāb al-hamz</i> )	86
Nouns (MS. 29-91)	86
Verbs (MS. 91-159)	173
Book of Sound Words ( <i>Kitāb as-sālim</i> )	255
Nouns (MS. 160-264)	255
Verbs, first part (MS. 264-304)	387

TENTATIVE CONTENTS OF FUTURE PARTS

PART II — Translation of remainder of text (MS. 305-638)

PART III — Indices — Appendices — Facsimile in microfiche

## REMARKS OF THE SERIES EDITORS

As the seventh volume of our series we present Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī's *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects* (*Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk*). *CTD* will appear in three parts, of which the first contains a philological analysis and a translation of the first half of the text; subsequent parts will contain the remainder of the translation and extensive indices.

The *CTD* project originated with two Harvard PhD theses under the direction of Omeljan Pritsak: that of James Kelly (now at the University of Utah) in 1970, and that of Robert Dankoff (now at the University of Chicago) in 1971. Recognizing the inadequacy of previous editions and taking account of advances in Turkish studies over the past several decades, Dankoff and Kelly set out to produce an edition of the Turkish material and a translation of the Arabic text which would be both accurate and complete and which could serve as a reliable basis of further research. Through close study of the unique MS. in Istanbul they have succeeded in identifying, by an analysis of ink color and ductus, one or more later hands, and thus in restoring the author's system of spelling and vocalization. And through close attention to the author's own principles of arranging his material, as well as to contemporary principles of historical phonology and comparative linguistics, they have succeeded in recognizing the eliminating numerous scribal errors and ghost words.

A unique and valuable feature of the translation is the Running Marginal Index, which allows the reader to pinpoint immediately any item referred to elsewhere; to see at a glance the contents of each page; and to follow the rather complex pattern arrangement of the author in grouping lexical items.

The introductory study brings to the scholarly community new interpretations in connection with dating, the history of the text, Middle Turkish phonology, and the interpretation of Kāšyarī's technical terminology. Further useful and innovative features are found in the indices, to appear in part III.

*CTD* is mainly the work of Robert Dankoff, who profited at every stage from James Kelly's collaboration and partnership. Mr. Dankoff also assisted in the final preparation of the printed text. The formidable job of preparing the text for the press was undertaken by our beloved Carolyn Cross, of boundless energy, to whom we owe our sincerest thanks.

Harvard University  
1982

## FOREWORD

### YAYINLAYANLARIN ÖNSÖZÜ

Serimizin yedinci cildi olarak Maḥmūd el-Kāşğari'nin *Türk Şiveleri Lügati* (Dīwān Lügāt-it-Türk) adlı eserinin İngilizcesini sunuyoruz. DLT üç ayrı kısım halinde yayınlanacaktır. Bunlardan ilkinde geniş ilmi açıklamalar ile Arapça metnin ilk yarısının tercümesi yer almaktadır. İkinci ve üçüncü kısımlarda ise metnin öbür yarısı ve ayrıntılı dizinler bulunacak.

DLT'ün bu İngilizce yayını, Harvard Üniversitesinde, Omeljan Pritsak'ın idare ettiği iki doktora tezine dayanmaktadır: Prof. Dr. James Kelly (1970, Utah Üniversitesi) ve Prof. Dr. Robert Dankoff (1971, Chicago Üniversitesi).

Eserin şimdiye kadar yapılmış olan yayınlarındaki yetersizlikler ve Türk Dili ve Edebiyatındaki son gelişmeler göz önünde bulundurularak eserdeki Türkçe ile ilgili malzeme yenibaştan ele alınmış, Arapça metin tam olarak İngilizceye tercüme edilmiştir. Bu suretle ileride yapılacak araştırmalar için tam ve güvenilir bir temel eser meydana getirilmiştir.

DLT'ün İstanbul'daki tek nüshasını baştan başa inceleyen J. Kelly ve R. Dankoff, değişik renkteki mürekkeplere ve değişik harf şekillerine bakarak sonradan esere birden fazla okuyucunun müdahale ettiğini görmüşler ve bu suretle asıl yazarın kullandığı imlâ ve hareke sistemini ilk defa bütün ayrıntılarıyla tesbit etmişlerdir. Bir yandan yazarın, malzemesini tasnifte tatbik ettiği usulleri, öte yandan günümüzdeki tarihî fonoloji ve mukayeseli dil kaidelerini göz önünde bulundurmak suretiyle araştırmacılar, birçok müstensih hatalarını ve bunlardan doğan hayalî kelimeleri bulup ortaya çıkarmışlardır.

İngilizce tercümenin son derece önemli bir husûsiyeti de her sayfanın kenarında devam eden dizindir. Bu suretle okuyucu, bir başka yere atıf yapılan bir maddeyi kolaylıkla yakalayabilecek, yazarın tasnifte kullandığı son derece karışık usûlü takip etmek yerine bir bakışta ilgili sayfanın muhteviyatını derhal kavrayabilecektir.

Girişteki inceleme, eserin tarihi, metnin tarihçesi ve Orta Türkçenin fonolojisi ile Maḥmūd el-Kāşğari'nin kullandığı teknik terimler hakkında yeni açıklamalar ve yeni yorumlar getirmektedir. Ayrıca üçüncü kısımda yayınlanacak olan dizinlerde de faydalı başka husûsiyetler bulunacaktır.

DTL'ün bu İngilizcesi aslında Robert Dankoff'un eseridir. Fakat R. Dankoff, J. Kelly'den birçok hususlarda yardım görmüştür. R. Dankoff'a, eserin dizgisinde yaptığı değerli yardımlardan dolayı teşekkür ederiz. Serimizin her cildinde olduğu gibi, bu cildin dizgisinde de her türlü isteğimize sabırla koşan, modası geçmiş dizgi makinamızda harikalar yaratan sevgili Carolyn Cross'umuza candan teşekkürü bir borç biliriz.

Harvard Üniversitesi  
1982

Since its discovery just before W.W.I, the *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects (Dīwān Luḡāt at-Türk)* has proven to be the cornerstone of modern Turcology. Kāşğari's eleventh-century encyclopedic dictionary is the single most important source in Turkic historical linguistics, also a vital source for Central Asian history and ethnography, and a unique example of Islamic linguistic culture.

The present edition, including the first translation into a non-Turkic language, establishes the Turkic text according to rigorous philological principles, and provides detailed indices along lexicographic, topical and dialectal lines, plus a verse index and an outline of the grammar. The Editor's Introduction lays out the methodology embodied in the edition, and studies the work from the textual and linguistic viewpoints.

Of the contributors to this edition, Robert Dankoff was responsible for the final form of the translation; the Editor's Introduction; and the indices. James Kelly wrote the grammar outline; contributed substantially to the translation, especially in its early draft; and had a critical role in formulating the sections of the Editor's Introduction on ink color and the later hand, the structure of the Diwan, and phonology. All matters relating to methodology were decided jointly.

We both stand in debt to Omeljan Pritsak, our mutual mentor, who inspired us to conceive the project, and helped us see it through to completion. **Anin qut buldimiz.**

The American Research Institute in Turkey and the University Research Committee of the University of Utah provided us with grants, at different stages, to pursue research on the text. The staff of the Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, and of other libraries in Istanbul, were helpful and kind to both of us. To these institutions, and to other encouragers and well-wishers in the United States and in Turkey, we are grateful.

The typescript of this edition was completed in 1976, and it was possible to make only minor emendations after that date.

R. D.  
Chicago /Cambridge, 1981-2

ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Atalay: see Dizin, Tercüme, Tıpkıbasım

Brockelmann: see GAL, MTW, Volkspoesie

Dilçin = D. Dilçin, *Arap alfabetesine göre Divanü Lûgat-it-türk Dizini* (Ankara, 1957).

Diwan = *Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk*

Dizin = B. Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-türk Dizini* (Ankara, 1943).

Doerfer: see TMEN

Dozy = R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1881).

DTS = V. M. Nadelaev, et al., *Drevnet'urkskij Slovar'* (Leningrad, 1969).

ED = G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972).

EI<sup>2</sup> = *Encyclopedia of Islam New Edition*

EP = K. Rifat, ed., *Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī, Kitāb Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1333-35 mali/1917-19). [Editio Princeps]

GAL = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, I, II (second ed., Leiden, 1943-49); S I, II, III (Supplementband, Leiden, 1937-42).

İdrāk = A. Caferoğlu, ed., *Abū Hayyān, Kitāb al-İdrāk li-lisān al-Atrāk* (Istanbul, 1931).

Kelly I, II, III = J. Kelly, "Remarks on Kāšyarī's Phonology," pt. I in *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 44 (1972); pt. II in *UAJ* 45 (1973); pt. III in *UAJ* 48 (1976).

Lane = E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon . . .*, 8 vols. (London, 1863-93).

Lisān = Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (several editions).

Menges, Glossar = K. H. Menges, *Glossar zu den volkskundlichen Texten aus Ost-Türkistan II* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Abh. d. Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl., 1954, no. 14).

MS. = The unique manuscript of Diwan: Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, Arabi, no. 4189. [Published herewith in facsimile; cf. Tıpkıbasım]

MTW = C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarīs Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk* (Budapest-Leipzig, 1928).

Muḥīṭ = Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1867-70).

Mutallibov: S. Mutallibov, *Turkij sozlar devoni*, 3 vols. (Tashkent, 1960-63).

QB = R. R. Arat, ed., *Kutadgu Bilig I: Metin* (Istanbul, 1947).

Rifat: see EP

Schinkewitsch I, II = J. Schinkewitsch, "Rabyūzīs Syntax," pt. I in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen . . .* WS 29 (1926); pt. II in *MSOS/WS* 30 (1927).

Steingass = F.J. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London, 1892).

Taymas I, II = A. Taymas, "Divanü Lûgat-it-türk Tercemesi," pt. I in *Türkiyat Mecmuası* 7-8 (1940-42); pt. II in *TM* 11 (1954).

Tercüme I, II, III = B. Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-türk Tercümesi*, 3 vols. (Ankara, 1939-41).

Tıpkıbasım = B. Atalay, ed., *Divanü Lûgat-it-türk Tıpkıbasımı* (Ankara, 1941).

TMEN = B. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1963-75).

Volkspoesie I, II = C. Brockelmann, "Alturkestanische Volkspoesie," pt. I in *Asia Major*, Probeband (Hirth Anniversary Volume, 1923); pt. II in *Asia Major* 1 (1924).

WB I, II, III, IV = W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, 4 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1893-1911).

Wright I, II = W. Wright, *A grammar of the Arabic Language*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1859-62).

Note special issues devoted to the Diwan of the following journals:

*Sovetskaja Turkologija*, No. 1 (Baku, 1972)

*Türk Dili*, Vol. 27, no. 253 (Ankara, 1 Ekim 1972)

*Bilimsel Bildiriler* 1972 (I. Türk Dili Bilimsel Kurultayına Sunulan Bildiriler. Ankara, 1975), pp. 379-496.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM

	Arabic ( <i>italics</i> )	Transliteration of Turkic (CAPS)	Transcription of Turkic ( <b>bold</b> )
Consonants:			
أ	' (see note 1)	' (see note 3)	---
ب	b	B	<b>b, p</b>
پ	---	P (see note 4)	<b>p</b>
ت	t	T	<b>t</b>
ط	ṭ	---	---
ج	j	J	<b>č, j</b>
ح	---	Č (see note 4)	<b>č</b>
خ	ħ	---	---
د	x	X	<b>x</b>
ذ	d	D	<b>d</b>
ذ	ḏ	Ḑ	<b>ḏ</b>
ر	r	R	<b>r</b>
ز	z	Z	<b>z</b>
ژ	---	Ž	<b>ž</b>
س	s	S	<b>s</b>
ش	š	Š	<b>š</b>
ص	ṣ	---	---
ض	ḏ	---	---
ظ	ṭ	---	---
ع	ẓ	---	---
ع	'	---	---

Arabic	Transliteration of Turkic	Transcription of Turkic
غ	γ	Γ
ف	f	F
ث	---	W
ق	q	Q
ك	k	K
ثك	---	G (see note 4)
ل	l	L
م	m	M
ن	n	N
ه	h (see note 2)	H
و	w	V
ي	y	Y

Ligatures:

نك	---	NK	<b>ŋ</b>
كق	---	-K-Q (see note 9)	<b>-k, -q</b>

Matres lectionis; Vowels; Diacritics

آ (madda)	ā-	'Ā- (see note 10)	<b>ā-, ā-</b>
ا	ā	' (see note 11)	<b>ā, ā</b>
أ (fatḥa)	a	A	<b>a, ä, e</b>
و	ū	V (see note 12)	<b>ō, ȳ, ū, ü</b>
ـُ (ḍamma)	u	U	<b>o, ö, u, ü</b>
ى	ī, ā (alif maqṣūra)	Y (see note 13)	<b>ī, ē</b>
ـِ (kasra)	i	I	<b>i, e</b>
		ix	

Arabic	Transliteration of Turkic	Transcription of Turkic
$\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$ un, an, in $\text{---} \text{---} \text{---}$	--- (see note 14)	
° (sukūn) (not indicated)	---	(not indicated)
˘ (tašdīd) (doubling)	~ (see note 15)	(doubling)
(see notes 16-18)		

#### Notes

1. Initial *hamza* is not indicated.
2. *Tā' marbūṭa* is indicated simply by *-a*, including words that are in construct; but in the latter case, the following word beginning with the article is indicated by *al-*, etc., showing lack of elision.
3. Initial *alif* normally lacks the *hamza* (where it occurs in the text it is usually by a later hand). See "Structure of the Diwan," discussion of *Kitāb al-hamz*.
4. P, Č and G are rare, and the diacritics are probably added by a later hand in most cases.
5. Ṭ is interpreted t (?) at its sole occurrence (499 **tūf**).
6. Ḥ is interpreted x at its sole occurrence (407 **xoč**).
7. Š occurs once: 219 **sabrān** N — **ṣabrān** is the "colloquial" pronunciation.
8. Ṭ occurs twice: 611 **soṅqur** — **toṅril** spelled **ṭoṅril**. (Also, **xitāy** is spelled **xitāy** at 228 **tawṅāč** N.)
9. In most if not all cases, this is not a true ligature; the copyist has written an infinitive as **-māq**, and he or a later hand wishes to alter it to **-māk** (or vice versa). See "Phonology," discussion of **-K-Q**.
10. *Kāšyarī* sometimes indicates initial 'Ā by two *alifs* and either *madda* or *fathā* (thus: "A-, 'A'). See "Structure of the Diwan," discussion of *Kitāb al-miṭāl*.
11. Transcribed **a, ā** at the end of a word; **ē** in the word **bēg**. See "Phonology," discussion of **/ē/** and of vowel length.
12. Transcribed **u, ü** at the end of a word.
13. Transcribed **i** at the end of a word.
14. Two *fathas* indicating nunation (e.g. **-dan** instead of **-da**) occasionally occur and are transliterated thus: **Ā**. The invariable interpretation is that one of them is by a later hand.
15. E.g.: **ṭ** -*tt-* (Ar.), **ṭ** (Tk. transl.), **-tt-** (Tk. transcr.).
16. Letters occurring singly as headings are given in caps (B, etc.); the names of letters are given as they appear (**bā'**, etc.).
17. In the transliteration of the Turkic, the following further conventions are followed:
  - a) A stroke lacking dots and indicating either B, T, N or Y is given as a raised question mark; e.g. 223 **tamāta** (?): **ʔM'T'**.
  - b) Letters dotted variously are given with one of the variants in parentheses; e.g. **ṭ** : T(B) or B(T).

c) Letters (particularly vowel signs) crossed out in MS. are given with a line through them; thus: **Ā, Ū, X**

d) Letters (particularly vowel signs) judged to be by the later hand are given underlined; thus: **Ā, Ū, Ī, ˘** (*sukūn*). This pertains especially to the following MS. pages: 26-120, 124-200, 442-445, 481-516. See "Ink color and the later hand."

18. Wherever exact transcription is not required, proper names beginning with *xā'* are spelled **Kh-**, and **Uyyur** is spelled **Uighur**.

## EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

### 1. *Description of the Manuscript; Previous Editions and Lexica*

MS. is a unicum, preserved in Istanbul in the Millet Genel Kütüphanesi (Ali Emiri, Arabi, no. 4189). The old-fashioned black leather binding belongs to the twentieth century. The thick Oriental paper was originally sized and is a beige color, taking on a light brown cast in places due to moisture or oxidation. The folios have been cut, repaired with tape, and folded at the outside edges to fit the binding. The average size of each folio is 239 x 165 mm. The average size of writing on each page is 175 x 115 mm. There are seventeen lines to the page. The text, in a remarkably clear *nasx* script, is completely vocalized, though there is good evidence that much of the vocalization, as well as emendations, are by a later hand than the original copyist. There are also numerous marginal notes and glosses by several later hands. The title page at the beginning includes a long note, not part of the main text, but written by the same hand as the main text. According to the colophon, the author completed his autograph in 466/1074 (probably an error for 469/1077), and the present text was copied from the autograph in 664/1266. There are 319 folios; their numbering as 638 pages belongs to the twentieth century. As presently bound, the folio containing pp. 463-464 and the one containing pp. 477-478 are in each other's place.

The Editio Princeps, published by Kilisli Rifat in three volumes (EP, 1917-19), contains no critical apparatus.

Carl Brockelmann's glossary (MTW, 1928) was based entirely on EP, since Brockelmann did not have access to MS. Accordingly, the glossary suffers from all the shortcomings of EP, in addition to numerous misprints, faulty references, and other inaccuracies.

Diwan studies advanced a giant step with the publication of Besim Atalay's Turkish translation in three volumes (Tercüme, 1939-41), followed by a facsimile of MS. (Tıpkıbasım, 1942) and an index volume (Dizin, 1943). Atalay's edition is methodical and complete. It lacks control, however, in that Atalay only occasionally and inconsistently cites the original form of the text, and in most cases he simply follows EP. The facsimile is unclear in parts, difficult to read, and cuts off material in the margins.

Atalay's work was supplemented by an index according to the Arabic script (Dilçin, 1957). It depends solely on the form of the Turkic words as they appear in Tercüme, not as they appear in MS. Also, as in Dizin, the references are only to Tercüme; this entails a cumbersome cross-reference in order to check the original.

The Uzbek translation by Mutallibov in three volumes (1960-63) appears to be based primarily on Tercüme.

The lexicon of Old Turkic published by the Soviet Academy of Sciences (DTS, 1969) includes all the vocabulary in the Diwan. Citations are for the most part to Tercüme, though occasionally to MS. For the most part, DTS is content to be a compilation, with material from the Diwan based squarely on Tercüme.

The same cannot be said of Sir Gerard Clauson's "Dictionary" (ED, 1972), which represents the first important advance in Diwan studies since Atalay's work. Clauson cites the text of the Diwan according to Tıpkıbasım (although he refers the citations to the volume and page of Tercüme). He generally



gives the complete text of the main entry of a word (including the Arabic); and sometimes cites other instances, or else informs how many other occurrences of the word there are in the Diwan. Most importantly, he attempts to establish the correct vocalization according to historical principles, and thus corrects numerous erroneous forms that are found in MTW, Tercüme, and DTS. He is not thoroughgoing in this regard, however; also he frequently mis-cites the Arabic, and very often mistranslates. The significance of ED is that it is the first attempt to think through all the problems relating to the lexicological material in the Diwan.

## 2. Features of the Present Edition; Principles of the Translation

The following features have as their common aim to produce a text and translation of the Diwan that is accurate and complete, and that can serve as a reliable basis for further research.

(1) *Closeness to the original.* A critical apparatus, combined with a clear facsimile of MS., effectively establishes the correct text of the Diwan, and eliminates the need for an edition of the Arabic text. This critical apparatus is contained in the footnotes to the translation. All references to the Diwan are to the page number of MS. Within the English text all of the Turkic material is given, both in exact transliteration (in caps) and in transcription (in bold type); this facilitates comparison between the original and our interpretation. In the definitions of Turkic entry words we incorporate the Arabic key-word or key-phrase;<sup>1</sup> this key-word, in turn, provides one of the touchstones for grouping words in the Base Index.

(2) *Methodology in establishing the Turkic material.* The present edition is based on methodological principles determined inductively through intense study of the text. (See "Ink color and the later hand," and "Scribal errors, ghost words, and textual emendations.") Applying these principles systematically, we have been able to pinpoint numerous copyist's errors and erroneous forms belonging to a later hand, and to correct them.

(3) *Running marginal index.* This includes: entry words (i.e. the nouns or verbal stems that appear in order according to the patterning system of the Diwan); presence of dialect information (indicated by "D"); presence of grammatical information ("G"); presence of verses ("V") and proverbs ("P"); and presence of names, both personal and geographical ("N"). The purpose of the running marginal index is to direct the reader to a specific entry or to specific pertinent material. Many of these materials are resumed in appropriate indices (Dialect Index, Topical Index, etc.).

(4) *Indices.* The Base Index lists all occurrences of all the Turkic words in the Diwan, and is arranged in such a way as to show the relationship between any word and the other words from the same root, not only phonologically, but also morphologically and semantically. The Topical Index groups the entire lexicon on a thesaurus principle, to facilitate finding words according to concepts; it also includes

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1. The vocalization of Arabic words, which often does not agree with the classical standard, is generally left un-"corrected," since it is prime data for Arabic (as opposed to Turkic) historical lexicography. Thus, for example, "plum" is consistently vocalized *ajāṣ* in the Diwan, classical Arabic *ijjāṣ*; "melon" *baṭīx* instead of *biṭṭīx*; "dried fruit" *faliq* instead of *fullayq*; "smith's hammer" *futs* instead of *fiṭṭis*; etc. It should be kept in mind that much of Arabic vocalization is due to the later hand, not to the original copyist or to Kāšyarī. See "Ink color and the later hand."

indices of all proper and geographical names, and of Arabic quotations. The Dialect Index arranges together all the data in the Diwan relating to dialectal and other variants in the lexicon, and to dialectology in general. The Grammatical Index of Proverbs and Verses and the Appendix on the grammar of the Diwan present all of Kāšyarī's grammatical material in a coherent form.

The Turkic material (which in MS. is overlined throughout) is given, first in transliteration (in CAPS), then in transcription (in bold). The transliteration is a one-to-one rendering in Latin characters of the Arabic graphemes. The transcription represents what we believe is the phonemic system of the language Kāšyarī is describing, with some allowance also for phonetic peculiarities as indicated by the orthography (see section on Phonology, discussion of /d,ḍ/ and /ē/). To a large extent, especially in the vocalism, it is a reconstruction based on historical principles.<sup>2</sup> Vowel "length" is indicated in the transcription exactly as in MS. (i.e., vowel plus mater lectionis transcribed by vowel plus macron except in final position; see section on Phonology), although in many cases this is probably to be interpreted as indicating stress and not length. Parentheses in the transcription enclose words in the text that probably ought to be omitted, and words not in the text that probably ought to be added.

The presence of a dotted circle is indicated throughout (both at the end of entries, where it usually occurs, and elsewhere) by a circle (0). For the Arabic term *yuqālu* introducing an illustrative sentence we substitute two colons (::). And for the term *qāla* introducing a verse we substitute the word "Verse."

The English throughout is a translation of the Arabic, not the Turkic. Where Kāšyarī is translating from the Turkic, this is indicated by quotation marks in the English. Within the quotation marks, any additional comments of the author, not directly translating the Turkic, are put in parentheses. Where Kāšyarī's translation is elliptical or inadequate, our own rendering of the Turkic is given in brackets.<sup>3</sup> Everything in brackets is our own; and nothing that Kāšyarī says is omitted. Stray question marks (in parentheses) indicate a doubt on our part, either as to the vocalization or meaning of a Turkic word, or the sense of the Arabic.

Internal references to other parts of the Diwan are given in brackets, and refer in the first instance to the running marginal index.

Footnote numbers begin anew for each MS. page. The footnotes contain a critical apparatus for the Arabic text, as well as occasional explanatory notes.

At the beginning of each MS. page there is also a reference to the corresponding volume and page number of EP and of Tercüme.

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2. Here we must acknowledge our debt to the industry and judiciousness of Sir Gerard Clauson; but we must also note that in numerous instances we have departed from Clauson's interpretation.

3. In some entries Kāšyarī first glosses the Turkic word by an Arabic word, and then proceeds to define the Arabic word, introduced by *wa-huwa*; in most of these cases we take the first gloss as the key word, and indicate the rest by the word "defined" in brackets. E.g.: 33 *irk* "A four-year-old sheep (*qa'n* [defined])." In this case, the complete Arabic definition reads: *aḍ-ḍa'n min al-ḡanam wa-huwa iqā ṭa'ana fī r-rābi'a*.

The word "Turk" is spelled "Türk" where it is used to indicate a dialect group (generally as opposed to Oγuz = Türkṁān).

Translations from the Qur'ān (cited as Q.) are those of A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (New York, 1955).

### 3. General remarks: Author, Title, Contents

The discovery before 1917 in Istanbul of the unique manuscript of the *Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk*, and its subsequent publication, gave the scholarly world its richest source for the language and the ethnography of medieval Turkdom.<sup>4</sup>

The author of the Diwan, Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad, known as al-Kāšyarī,<sup>5</sup> was born in Barsyān near Lake Issik-kul (now in the Kirghiz SSR) some time in the first half of the eleventh century. He was a scion of the Qarakhanid dynasty, then ruling in Central Asia and in Transoxania.<sup>6</sup>

Kāšyarī travelled among the Turkic peoples, "throughout their cities and their steppes," as he tells us, "learning their dialects and their rhymes" (MS. p. 3). Being a Turk of noble stock and a Muslim deeply educated in the Arabic humanities, he was able to understand both the native tribal tradition and the court Islamic tradition; his aim, indeed, was to interpret the former in terms of the latter. By the second half of the eleventh century the Turks had become the dominant group in the political life of the Islamic community; or, as Kāšyarī puts it, "God Most High had caused the Sun of Fortune to rise in the Zodiac of the Turks" (MS. p. 2). Since the Diwan is dedicated to the caliph al-Muqtadī (1075-94), its immediate purpose was perhaps to explain to the Abbasid court at Baghdad the language and customs of their Seljuk overlords.

The meaning of "Diwan" in the title might best be expressed by the phrase "encyclopedic lexicon." There is first an introductory section, explaining the principles of Turkic lexicography and dialectology, and including a world-map illustrating, among other things, the geographical position of the dialect groups.<sup>7</sup> The bulk of the Diwan is a lexicon, structured according to an elaborate patterning system, and modelled on the great Arabic lexicons. The language described is called "Turkiyya" (here translated "Turkic"); it is basically the dialect of the important Čigil tribe, belonging to the Qarakhanid confederation.

4. Kilisli Rifat related the story of the purchase of the MS. by Ali Emiri Efendi, and the publication of the text under his own editorship, in the newspaper *Yeni Sabah* in 1945 (Sept. 30, Oct. 4, 7, 11, 14, 18). The report is given verbatim in M. Şakir Ülkütaşır, *Kâşgarlı Mahmut* (Istanbul, 1946), pp. 39-62.

5. For a list of all occurrences of the name in the text, see Topical Index, Section XII. The *nisba*, al-Kāšyarī, is only found on the title page (MS. 2), and is suspect, since the author was not from Kāšyar but from Barsyān. For the life of the author, see O. Pritsak, "Mahmud Kāšgarī kimdir?" in *Türkiyât Mecmuası* X (1951-53), pp. 243-6.

6. See EI<sup>2</sup>, articles "Ilek-Khānids" (Bosworth); "al-Kāshgharī" (Hazai).

7. Most of the Introduction was translated by C. Brockelmann, "Maḥmud al-Kāshgharī über die Sprachen und die Stämme der Türken im 11. Jahrh." in *Körösi Csoma-Archivum* I.1 (1921), pp. 26-40. The map occurs at MS. 22-3; for a discussion, see A. Herrmann, "Die älteste türkische Weltkarte (1076 n. Chr.)" in *Imago Mundi* I (1935), pp. 21-8.

Several words are labelled "Khāqāniyya" meaning that they were peculiar to the Qarakhanid court,<sup>8</sup> and several other dialect groups are distinguished (see Dialect Index). In particular, Kāšyarī gives equal weight to two main dialect groups: that of the "Turks" (including Čigil, Tuxsi, etc.), and that of the "Turkṁān" or "Oγuz" ("Ghuzziyya," often including the dialect of Qifčāq, etc.). The latter includes the Seljuks, who belonged to the Oγuz tribe of Qiniq (MS. p. 40, s.v. oγuz); and indeed, most of the information on tribal organization which Kāšyarī gives is with reference to the Oγuz tribes.

As part of the entries, Kāšyarī cites a large number of illustrative sentences and also proverbs and verses of poetry. In doing so, he follows the model of the Arabic lexicographers.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the grouping of the lexical material according to patterns means that words containing a given suffix will often be found together; and this gives Kāšyarī an opportunity to intersperse sections on grammar, especially morphology. Noteworthy is the long section in Book II (MS. 279-304) which sets forth the entire verbal system.<sup>10</sup> The dialectal information in the introduction, the lexicon, and grammatical excurses, together with the geographic data, give us a remarkably full picture of the various Turkic groups in the eleventh century and their linguistic relationships.

The Diwan is also important for its non-linguistic information, especially that relating to ethnography and folklore. There is a treatise on the Oγuz subtribes and their brands (MS. 40-1), and another treatise on the twelve-year animal cycle calendar (MS. 173-5, s.v. bars). There are narrative sections devoted to folk-etymologies of important terms, most of them in connection with the Central Asian Alexander saga tradition (see especially the long narrative at MS. 622-5, s.v. türkṁān).<sup>11</sup> There is much data on social organization and kinship structure; there are recipes and folk remedies, and accounts of popular beliefs and customs.<sup>12</sup>

All of this is prime data on medieval Turkdom, collected on the spot by an expert "field investigator" who was convinced of the supremacy of the Turks in God's design and of the need for non-Turkic Muslims to know the language and the traditions of their Turkic brothers. Indeed, Kāšyarī succeeded in doing for the Turks what the Arabic philologists in the first centuries of Islam did for the Arabs: to organize and elucidate their linguistic, genealogical, and cultural traditions.

8. See C. Brockelmann, "Hofsprache in Alturkestan," in *Donum Natalicum Schrijnen* (Utrecht, 1929), pp. 222-7.

9. It was the practice of the Arabic lexicographers to illustrate certain words by quoting Bedouin usage, especially as preserved in proverbs and old verses. See J. Fück, *Arabiya*, tr. Cl. Denizeau (Paris, 1955), p. 46. For the verses in the Diwan, see C. Brockelmann, "Alturkestanische Volkspoesie," pt. I in *Asia Major*, Proband (Hirth Anniversary Volume, 1923), pp. 1-22; pt. II in *Asia Major* I (1924), pp. 24-44; and I. V. Stebleva, *Razvitie tjurkskix poetičeskix form v XI veke* (Moscow, 1971). For the proverbs, see C. Brockelmann, "Alturkestanische Volksweisheit," in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* VIII (1920), pp. 50-73; and F. Birttek, *En Eski Türk Savları* (Ankara, 1944).

10. Translated by C. Brockelmann, "Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī Darstellung des türkischen Verbalbaus," in *Keleti Szemle* XVIII (1918-19), pp. 29-49. Kāšyarī states (MS. 18) that he has written a book on grammar entitled *Kitāb Jawāhir an-Naḥw fī Luḡāt at-Turk*; this is unfortunately not preserved.

11. See R. Dankoff, "The Alexander Romance in the *Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk*," in *Humaniora Islamica* I (1973), pp. 233-44.

12. See R. Dankoff, "Kāšyarī on the Tribal and Kinship Organization of the Turks," in *Archivum Ottomanicum* IV (1972), pp. 23-43; and "Kāšgarī on the Beliefs and Superstitions of the Turks," in *JAOS* 95.1 (1975), pp. 68-80.

4. *Date of the Work*

Kāšyarī mentions or implies dates at four points in the Diwan as follows:

(1) Dedication (MS. 3) to the caliph al-Muqtadī. We know from Islamic sources that al-Muqtadī began his reign on 13 Ša'bān 467 (4 April 1075) and died in Muḥarram 487 (February 1094).

(2) Discussion of Calendar s.v. bars (MS. 174 toward end): "The year in which I wrote this book was in Muḥarram 466 [Sept.-Oct. 1073], during which began the year of the serpent, *yilān yili*. When this year ends, and the year '70 [marginal correction in later hand: the year '67] begins, then will begin the year of the horse, *yond yili*."

(3) At 513 nāg: "The year in which I wrote this book, '69, was such a year" (i.e. *nāg yili* or Year of the Dragon).

(4) Colophon (MS. 638 toward end): "The composition of the book was begun on the first day of Jumādī l-ūlā in the year '64 [i.e. 464; Wednesday 25 January 1072] and was completed, after revising, correcting, and redacting it four times, on Monday the tenth of Jumādī l-āxir in the year 466 [10 February 1074]."

The contradiction in (2) above was resolved by Ahmet-Zeki Validi (Togan).<sup>13</sup> He showed that the year of the serpent actually began in 469, and the year of the horse in 470. Therefore 466 is simply a copyist's error for 469 (Muḥarram 469 = Aug.-Sept. 1076). The marginal "correction" of '70 to '67 was then a mechanical construction based on the first error.

Louis Bazin offered a refinement of Togan's thesis.<sup>14</sup> Bazin suggested that the mention of "Muḥarram 466" represented a vestige of an earlier redaction of the Diwan, that is also preserved in the colophon (4 above). Bazin went on to suggest that 464, 466, and 469 represent the first three of the four redactions of the Diwan which Kāšyarī mentions in the colophon; and that the date 466 given in the colophon as the year of the completion of the Diwan must be an error for 476 (1083). Bazin's arguments were as follows: 466 cannot be the date of the final redaction for two reasons: a) that date must be later than 469 mentioned elsewhere in the Diwan as "the year in which I wrote this book" (2 and 3 above); b) that date must be later than 467, the year in which al-Muqtadī began his reign (1 above). Nor can 466 in the colophon be a copyist's error for 469 since the year of the serpent, which Kāšyarī (in Bazin's interpretation) mentioned had begun *before* the 469 redaction (2 above, emended), did not begin until Rajab of that year,<sup>15</sup> and the Diwan was completed in Jumādī l-āxir, which would still be in the year of the dragon.

13. A. Validi (Togan), "Dîvân-ı Lugât üt-Türk'ün telif senesi hakkında," *Atsız Mecmua* 16 (1932) 77-78.

14. L. Bazin, "Les Dates de Redaction du «Divan» de Kāšgarī," *Acta Orientalia... Hungaricae* 7 (1957), 21-25

15. This is based on the "orthodox" Chinese calendar (see L. Bazin, *Les calendriers Turcs anciens et médiévaux*, Lille, 1974, p. 554). I see no reason to doubt Kāšyarī's statement that the year began at Navrüz (MS. 175: Nayrüz), which in 469 would have been 15 Ša'bān = March 14 (extrapolating from Wüstenfeld-Mahler, p. 39). (Togan, p. 78, wrongly assumed that Navrüz = March 22, which in 469 was 23 Ša'bān.)

Bazin's proposal of 476 as correction of 466 in the colophon cannot be accepted. The phrase giving the day of the month reads as follows (638:15): *yawm al-iṭṭayn al-'āšir min jumādī l-āxir sana sitt wa-sittīn*. Bazin understood this to mean "12 Jumādā-al-aḥīr [sic] 466" — but this would be *yawm al-iṭṭayn 'ašara min* etc. The phrase *yawm al-iṭṭayn* can only be "Monday" and *al-'āšir* "the tenth." Checking chronological tables, we find the 10th of Jumādī l-āxir was indeed a Monday in 466, and again in 469 (also 474, 477, 482); but in 476 it was a Wednesday.

It is here proposed, therefore, that 466 is an error for 469 in the colophon (4 above) as well as in the discussion of the calendar (2 above). The difficult phraseology at 174:14-17 (2 above) should be understood as follows: "The year in which I wrote this book *began* (Ar. *kāna fī*) in Muḥarram 469, during which *will have begun* (*kānat daxalat*) the year of the serpent; when this year ends, the year 470 will begin (*yad-xulu*), during which *will begin* (*wa-hiya*) the year of the horse." In this way all the apparent contradictions of the text are resolved.<sup>16</sup>

If this is correct, then the date given in the colophon of the final redaction of the Diwan should be emended to Monday the tenth of Jumādī l-āxir in the year 469 (9 January 1077).

Day of Week	A. D.	A. H.	Comment
Wednesday	25 January 1072	1 Jumādī l-ūlā 464	Book begun
	14 March 1073	2 Rajab 465	Year of the Ox
	Sept.-Oct. 1073	Muḥarram 466	Error for 469
Monday	10 February 1074	10 Jumādī l-āxir 466	Error (?) for 469
	4 April 1075	13 Ša'bān 467	Reign of al-Muqtadī
	14 March 1076	5 Ša'bān 468	Year of the Dragon
	14 March 1077	15 Ša'bān 469	Year of the Serpent
	14 March 1078	26 Ša'bān 470	Year of the Horse
Monday	Aug.-Sept. 1076	Muḥarram 469	
	9 January 1077	10 Jumādī l-āxir 469	Proposed here as date of final redaction
Wednesday	25 October 1083	10 Jumādī l-āxir 476	
Friday	27 October 1083	12 Jumādī l-āxir 476	Bazin's proposal for date of final redaction

5. *Title Page*

Nothing on the title page (MS. 1) belongs to Kāšyarī, and so our translation of the text does not include it. It does contain much of interest for the history of the text, however, and requires a thorough discussion, especially as it has been misinterpreted up till now.

The first two lines, giving the title and author, are without question in the same hand as the copyist of the main text. The title, in line one, is given thus: *Kitāb Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk*. Line two states: "Composition of Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Kāšyarī, may God have mercy on him."

16. One should note the compound error in EI<sup>2</sup>, art. "al-Kāshgharī" (G. Hazai), Vol. IV, p. 699, giving the date of the final redaction recorded in the colophone as 476/1094 [sic].

Below this, after a double line, is a note consisting of fifteen lines of text, bringing the total number on this page to seventeen, the same as in the other pages of MS. Judging by the ductus alone, it seems certain that it was written down by the copyist of the rest of the MS., though perhaps with a different pen (somewhat thinner). It may be surmised that he, or his patron, composed this note after the copying of the text was complete, and decided to fit it onto the title page. The contents of this note will be discussed below.

There are two marginal additions to this page by later hands. One, in the right margin between lines two and three, is an explanatory note to the first few words of the long note.<sup>17</sup> The other, in the upper margin, states: "Belonging to Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Khaṭīb Dārayyā, may God forgive them both [i.e., father and son]"; then there is a blank space, then a *sin* (standing for *sana* "year"?). This is clearly an Ex Libris, a signature of the owner of the book. The hand is quite different from that of the title, the title-page long note, and the rest of the MS. (note, for example, the shape of the final *hā'* in *allah*). Just next to the Ex Libris, in the same hand, is the word *bi-l-qāhira* ("in Cairo"), and below this the word *sana* ("date") followed by the date 803 (1400-1401). Originally there seems to have been more than this, but if so it cannot be made out.

Kilisli Rifat (Bilge) identified this Dārayyā with Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān al-Anṣārī ad-Dimaṣqī ad-Dārānī, 745-810 (1344-1407).<sup>18</sup> There is no doubt that this is correct.

Rifat went on to assume, however, that this Dārayyā/Dārānī was the author of the long note on the title page; and for this there is no justification.

Ettore Rossi also devoted an article to the long note.<sup>19</sup> He improved on Rifat's interpretation of the contents (see below); but he accepted Rifat's assumption that the author of the note was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Khaṭīb Dārayyā — "though I must admit," Rossi stated, "that I had been unable to read the signature and date at the end [sic!]." The reason for this is, of course, that the signature and date are not at the end but before the beginning, in the upper margin, and in fact with no relation to the note at all. Rossi must have realized this when he examined the MS. in 1924, but have forgotten it when he wrote his article thirty years later, by which time he had learned of Rifat's own article, and was misled by it.

Both Rifat and Rossi gave readings of the Arabic text, with slight variations, and with several lapses on Rossi's part.

The merit of Rossi's interpretation was to show that for the author of the note the terms "Turk" and "Qifčāq" were synonymous, as opposed to "Turkmān"; that the language described in the Diwan

17. The long note begins: *lā yanbaṣī an yu'arraja 'alā man yaqūlu . . .*; the marginal note reads: [*bi-ma'n*] *ā lā yanbaṣī an yu'tamada 'alā man yaqūlu ilā āxirih.*

18. "ديوان لغات الترك ün başındaki makale," *Türkiyat Mecmuası* VI (1936-39), 355-360. Rifat cited MS. Es'ad Efendi no. 2196, folio 213 b, *Ḥadīqat ar-Riyāḥīn* by Abū l-'Abbās Muḥammad Hibatullāh Anṭākī, written before 1200 (1785-86). There is a notice devoted to him in the biographical dictionary of as-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1496-97), *aḍ-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'* (Cairo, 1354/1935, Vol. 6, no. 1031, pp. 310-312). Sakhāwī states that he was known as Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā; he was famous for his wit and ready tongue; toward the end of his life he had to flee from Damascus after he made fun of a kadi; he remained in Cairo for a while, then returned to Baysān in Syria, where he died in Rabī' al-awwal or Şafar, 811 (1408).

19. "A note to the manuscript of the Dīwān Luġāt-at-Turk," *Charisteria . . . J. Rypka* (ed. Taner, etc., Praha, 1956), 280-284.

seemed to the author of the note close to that of the Turks/Qifčāq and far from that of the Turkmān; and that these features correspond to the situation in the Mamluk period, when the dominant Turkic group were drawn from Qifčāq tribes.

As we have seen, however, Rossi, like Rifat, assumed that the note was written in Cairo around 803/1400; whereas our own hypothesis is that it was written in Damascus around 664/1266 — i.e., that it was written down (though not necessarily composed) by the copyist of the main text, who names himself in the colophon (MS. 638) as Muḥammad ibn abī Bakr ibn abī l-Faṭḥ, of Sava, then of Damascus.

Because the first folio of the MS. has been handled so much, the note, particularly the second half, is often difficult to make out. We give here the text in transcription based on an examination of the MS., followed by a fresh translation. Material in brackets [ ] cannot now be read with certainty; most of our readings follow Rifat.

*lā yanbaṣī an yu'arraja 'alā man yaqūlu inna ḥāḍā l-kitāb bi-luṣa at-turkmān fa-inna ḥāḍā l-qā'il ḡayr 'arif bi-luṣa at-turk wa-la bi-luṣa at-turkmān ayḍ<sup>an</sup> wa-llaḡī yadulluka 'alā jahlihi bi-t-turkmāniyya huwa an yuḥḍara man ya'rifu t-turkmāniyya wa-yuqra'a 'alayhi min alfāzihi fa-in ankarahā wa-qāla laysa ḥāḍā bi-kalāminā 'arafta anna l-qā'il innahu bi-luṣa at-turkmāniyya jāhil bi-t-turkmāniyya 'alā anna l-lafza al-qifjāqiyya idā naṭaḡat bihā t-turkmān lā yuxrijuhā ḡālīka 'an kawnihi qifjāqiyya wa-qad waḡa'a ḡālīka fī alfāz kaṭīra ista'malahā t-turkmān wa-l-qifjāq [bi-ṣ] iya wāḡida wa-amma ma yadullu 'ala jahlihi bi-l-qifjāqiyya wa-aṣ'arihā wa-amṭalihā anna ḡalīb man yaḡī'u min tilka l-bilād yaḡī'u ṣayīr<sup>an</sup> wa-ma' lūm anna ṣ-ṣayīr lā yuḡītu bi-luṣa qawmihi lā wa-lā l-kabīr ayḍ<sup>an</sup> li-anna ra'ayna kaṭīr<sup>an</sup> mimman yūladu fī bilād al-'arab wa-yaṣṭayilu bi-l-'ilm tamurru 'alayhi l-alfāz al-kaṭīra min al-'arabiyya lā ya'rifu laḡa ma'n<sup>an</sup> ḡattā yataḡallabahu fī l-kutub lā bal qad yasma'u l-lafza min al-kitāb al-'azīz [lā ya'rifu laḡa ma']<sup>an</sup> ḡattā yataḡallabahu fī l-kutub ayḍ<sup>an</sup> wa-la-'umrī idā sa'alta kaṭīr<sup>an</sup> min al-musta'ribīn bal min al-fuḡahā 'an qawlihi [azza wa-jal] la fa-ḡahikat fa-baṣṣarnāhā bi-ishāq wa-'an qawlihi 'azza wa-jalla wa- [sic] tabnūna bi-kulli rī<sup>in</sup> āyat<sup>an</sup> ta'baṭun lā ya'lamu a[nna] ḡ-ḡaḡi[k al-ḡayḡ] wa-rī' al-makān al-murtafi' wa-l-āya al-'alāma wa-amṭāl ḡāḡa kaṭīr wa-idā kāna t-taḡassur (? ta'assur) qad waḡa'a fī [ma'ānī] alfāz kitāb allāh 'azza wa-jalla ma'a anna llāh ta'āla ḡaḡḡa 'alā tadabburihi wa-ma'rifatihī fa-mā bāluka bi-luṣa qawm āxarin [ . . . (? ma'a annī) ] ta'ammaltu muṣannafāt kaṭīra fī t-turkiyya ma' a 'ilmī bi-l-lisān fa-lam ara ajma' minhu wa-lā akṭar [īqān] min [ . . . ] wa-lā ya'rifu qadrahu illā man kāna muta-mayyiz<sup>an</sup> fī luṣa at-turk . . . fa-raḡima llāh [mu'allifahu] wa-jāwaza 'anhu . . .*

We must disagree with the one who states that this book is in the language of the Turkmān. The person who states this does not know the language of the Turks, nor that of the Turkmān either.

It will prove his ignorance of Turkmāniyya to bring forward someone who knows Turkmāniyya and read to him some words of (the book). If he denies it, saying "this is not our speech," then you will know that the one who states it is in the Turkmān language is ignorant of Turkmāniyya.

Of course, when a Qifčāq word is uttered by a Turkmān, this does not mean that the word is no longer Qifčāqiyya. This has (in fact) happened to many words which the Turkmān and the Qifčāq use in the same form.

The proof that he is ignorant of Qifčāqiyya (as well), and of its verses and proverbs, is that the majority of those who come from those lands come when they are young, and it is well known that a young (boy) does not have a comprehensive grasp of the language of his people. In fact, an adult does not have either! For we often see people who are born in Arab lands, and who occupy

themselves with learning, who (nevertheless) come across many Arabic words which they do not understand at all, and have to look up in books. Not only this, but they might even hear words of the Holy Book itself which they do not understand and have to look up. I am sure that if you ask many native Arabs, even scholars, about the words of God: *fa-dāḥikat fa-baššarnāhā bi-išāq* (Q. 11:71/74 "she laughed, therefore We gave her the glad tidings of Isaac"), or: *a-tabnūna bi-kulli rī'in āyat<sup>an</sup> ta'batūn* (Q. 26:128 "do you build on every prominence a sign, sporting"), they will not know that *aḍ-ḍaḥk* ("laughter") [means *al-ḥayḍ* ("menstruation")], and that *ar-rī'* means "high place" and *al-āya* means "sign." There are many cases of this sort. And if such shortcoming (? difficulty) can occur with regard to [understanding] the words of the Book of God, Majestic and Exalted, even though God Most High has urged us to study and to learn it, then it should not surprise you (to find such shortcoming in regard to) the language of other people.

I have studied many compilations on (? in) Turkiyya, and I know the language well; but I have not seen any (book) more comprehensive [than this one]. Only he will understand its value who is well versed in the language of the Turks. May God have mercy [on its author] and forgive him.

#### 6. Ink Color and the Later Hand

The copyist, Muḥammad ibn abī Bakr ibn abī l-Faḥ, of Sava, then of Damascus, completed the text in 664/1266, presumably in Damascus. There is no reason to doubt his statement in the colophon (683:13) that he worked from the author's autograph. The rather large number of scribal errors are most likely due to his ignorance of the subject-matter (see section, "Scribal errors . . ."). He employed a very clear *nasx* script, with seventeen lines to the page, using black ink and also, for special items, red ink. These special items include: headings and subheadings, including head-letters, throughout the text (beginning at 67:14 black headings are also found); overlining of the Turkic material, beginning with MS. 12:16; the Turkic words in the first twelve pages up to that point; the dedication to the Caliph at MS. 3; the Uighur lettering at MS. 8 (at MS. 6 and at 204 *kālin* G the Uighur letters are black, the Arabic letters red); the brands at 40-1 *oγuz*; a type of period, a single red dot, found sporadically at the end of verses, etc. (this is not indicated in our translation); decorative signs at the end of sections (four dots, a *hā'*, etc.; not indicated). Occasionally there are also additions or corrections to the Turkic text in red, probably since the copyist went through the text (or a given page or section) to overline the Turkic after he had finished it, and noticed some omissions or errors. For the same reason the overlining is sometimes missing or is found where it does not belong.

Although the text as it now appears is almost completely vocalized, both in the Arabic and the Turkic, this was not the original situation. Originally there was much less vocalization, and that must reflect the situation in Kāšyārī's autograph. For example, of the first 100 *ḥarakāt* (vowel and quiescence signs) in Arabic words on MS. 58, 46 are in brown ink; two others are brown-ink emendations of original black. To take an example of the Turkic material, of the 81 *ḥarakāt* in the Turkic words at MS. 62, 22 are in brown ink, and two others are brown-ink emendations to *sukūn* of the original black dot of *qāl*. Another example: in the sample sentence at 103 *igāš* only two vowel-signs are in the original black, namely the two indicating the pronunciation of the entry word ('IKAŠ-); all others are in brown ink, added later.

Ink color is only one criterion for judging different hands. Others are the shape and thickness of the pen point; and the ductus of the script (the shape of the letters and vowel-signs). On the basis of these criteria, more than one later hand is visible in the text. Our main hypothesis, however, is that most, perhaps 99%, of the additions and corrections to the main text belong to a single individual (we call him "later hand" or "the later hand" to distinguish him from others, whom we call "a later hand"). This person, who

probably lived in Damascus or Cairo in the late fourteenth century, filled out the vocalization of the Arabic and Turkic texts, and made emendations to both the Arabic and Turkic. For about a third of the text he mixed pigments in his ink which now appear as brown (perhaps because of oxidation or because of a chemical reaction with the sizing; the brown color is much clearer and lighter in the earlier part of the text); but his activity is apparent throughout. Failure up to now to distinguish this later hand has resulted in a distorted view of Middle Turkic vocalism. For he did not have another text of the Diwan before his eyes, but added to and emended the text out of his head — i.e. on the basis of his own dialect. The first editor of the Diwan, Kilisli Rifat, accepted the text as he found it. If he saw a black vowel-sign crossed out in brown and a brown sign above or next to it, he did not hesitate to take the brown one as genuine, based on the time-honored principle of Oriental scholarship that a person who emends a text has more knowledge about how that text should read than the original scribe. (Rifat also did not hesitate himself to emend the text based on how he thought it should read, though he was more reluctant to do this in the case of the Turkic than the Arabic.) Besim Atalay mainly followed Rifat's lead, though he did draw his readers' attention several times in footnotes to the problem of different ink color and multiple vocalization. Only Sir Gerard Clauson recognized that one or more later hands must have been very active, but his attempts to distinguish these remained conjectural since they were based on the 1941 facsimile (Tıpkıbasım). Our own attempt, in the following pages, is based on a close examination of the MS. And in the transliteration of the Turkic material, incorporated in our English text, all clear instances of the later hand are underlined (thus: ā, ī, ū, ı [for *sukūn*]), or else are noted in the footnotes. It is an attempt to get behind the fourteenth-century additions and back to the original thirteenth-century copy which is as close as we can come to the eleventh-century autograph.

Brown ink occurs first in some of the tribal names at MS. 21:2-3. It is common, in both the Arabic and Turkic, from MS. 26 to 200, with the exception of 121-124 where we find only black. The brownish cast of the later ink suddenly reappears at 441:14 and lasts to the end of 445; then it is black again, but distinguishable for the most part, being much less dark and less clear than the original. Later ink is again visible on 481-516, and again toward the end of the book, around 570-600. As stated above, however, the very dark shade of the later ink on these pages make it difficult to distinguish in all cases from the original black, which also occasionally has a brownish tint.

The later hand did not like a single word to be broken up over two lines. At 135:10-11 *aqramanī* ("He made me desire meat") is originally over two lines, *aqra-* on line 10 and *-manī* on line 11; the later hand added a second *-manī* in the margin of line 10. Similarly at 104:11-12 *unašdīlār*; the later hand wrote in another *-dīlār* to complete the word in line 11.

He corrected several errors in the Arabic text. For example, he made good the omission of *ḍ* in the word *šādḍ* at 30:5; added a dot to *ḥ* correcting it to *x* in the word *yaxtaliju* at 35:5; emended the ungrammatical *nafsihā* to *nafsaḥā* at 38:5 (but erroneously read *jīdahā* instead of the correct *jīduhā* in the translation of the verse at 43:8); made good the omission of *-qā-* in the word *al-iqāma* at 47:6 and the omission of *wa-* in the word *waṭabat* at 72:17; improved the reading of *bī-zahīr* at 76:16; restored the *w* of *aw-zawjiyya* at 126:12; etc. He did not like *arā* ("he pretended") and "corrected" it to *uriya* throughout the text, first at MS. 14 (see n.); cf. *arā* unaltered at 585:14 and the feminine form *arat* at 131:15. He was learned in Arabic philology, as evidenced by his marginal glosses at 62:1 and elsewhere (discussed in the following section).

His emendations of the Turkic text are of several sorts, only a few of them being genuine corrections. He restored omitted dots (R to Z, etc.), but also put in dots where Kāšyārī was apparently content to do without them (K to G; F to W, especially in the word *sūw*). At 107 *ürül*-P he restored the final Q of *yalnuq* (perhaps the original text had been YALNKUVQ and the copyist simply left off the final Q rather

than misreading it as V). He filled out the vocalization, often in a pedantic manner, as in the Arabic. He added unwanted *matres lectionis* and other letters; he added A along with original I for the sound /e/ (see section, "Phonology"); and he crossed out original vowels and wrote in new ones.

These latter emendations reflect his own dialect. Thus, he read 53 *āw* as *öw*, a Qifčāq feature (cf. 560 *bāzā*). He read *-dan* instead of *-dīn* in some ablatives, an Oγuz or Qifčāq feature.<sup>20</sup> He read *-dan* instead of *-da* with some postpositions (see 60 *önin*, 67 *üstün*, 77 *aşnu*, 102 *aγış*-, 501 *tül* P, 515 *yāk* P, 523 *sanduvāč* V). He read *ās*- "stretch" as *āš*- (see 93 *ās*-, 102 *āsiš*-, 113 *āsit*-, 118 *āstür*-), and *iš* "soot" as *is* (see 151 *işlan*-, 305 *qopur*- P). He insisted on progressive vowel harmony, thus rounding or unrounding the second syllable vowel depending on whether the first syllable vowel was rounded or unrounded (thus tending to read the roots *ärü*- "melt" and *qori*- "protect" as *äri*- and *qoru*-; many examples below).

He wanted to read *yēn* "body" as Persian *tan* (e.g. at 159 *ärkākän*-). He tended to break up consonant clusters, thus restoring the lost vowel in aorist forms (e.g. reading *ötnür* as *ötünür*, see below). This tendency resulted in a distortion on the morphological level as well. Thus he occasionally read the ending *-γān* as *-aγān* (see below); and the ending *-sa*- as *-isa*- (e.g. 141 *icsä*- as *icisä*-), meanwhile displaying that he did not understand Kāşyārī's patterning system.





One very distinctive feature of the later hand is his consistent addition of an extra U where Kāşyārī apparently intended to have only one. For example, at 46:16 *ütüg*, the original spelling was 'UTK; the U, placed well to the left of the *alif* ('), was apparently to serve for the T as well. The later hand, thinking that this U went with the T (since it seems to be placed over the T) wrote in a second U in brown ink directly over the *alif*; in other cases it is even to the right of the first letter. In our transliteration this is illustrated as follows: U'UTK. In the case of 75:13 *utru*, originally spelled 'UTRUV, he thought the first U was over the T, which would be incorrect, and so he crossed it out and wrote his own directly over the *alif* (the same at 131 *utrun*-). In this case the original copyist was indeed somewhat misleading for placing his first U so far to the left. Possibly it was Kāşyārī's original convention for both CuCu- and CuCC- to write only one U placed between the first two consonants. It is very clear, at any rate, that in such examples as 97 *öpür*- and ff., 108 *ükül*-, *ögül*-, etc., our later hand thought the U was over the second consonant only, and so he put another one over the first.

Judging by some of these U's we may conclude that the later hand represents a stage of the language when labial harmony had levelled out certain words originally distinct. A good example is 103 *ögiş*-. The original form in the MS. was 'UKIŞ-; the later hand crossed out the I and put U to the right of the *alif*; he presumably pronounced the word the same way as 103 *ögüş*-. Also there was progressive unrounding; thus he read 85 *azuqluy* as *aziqliy*. We may also conclude that he retained the middle vowel in aorist forms that Kāşyārī intended to describe as lost. Thus 108 *ötün*-, originally spelled 'UTNUVR *ötnür* in the aorist, now has another U at the beginning in brown ink (*ötünür*). Similarly in the entry following, 108-9 *ačün*-, the later hand has changed the original *sukün* in the aorist form 'AJ'NUR *ačnur* to I (*ačinur*).

20. E.g. at 88 *opityān*, *azityān*, 94 *il*-, 95 *öt*-, 502 *tīl*-, etc. But at 98 *ađir*-, *-tan* has a black A, and at 496 *büz* P, *-dan* has a black A, both on pages where brown ink is visible. It is possible that here and in many other cases *-dan* is due to the original copyist (i.e. a thirteenth-century dialect); at any rate, we have not read *-dīn* in these cases, though perhaps Kāşyārī did. The reading *-dun* at 355 *turyur*- 357 *čöktür*-, 361 *qoptur*-, 363 *qađyur*- V and 574 *sizla*- is probably due to a later hand.

An important characteristic of these brown U's is that they are clearly different from the black U's not only in color but also in shape.<sup>21</sup> This fact provides us with a criterion for judging additions to the text by our later hand on pages where we do not find brown ink. Apparently he used black ink, very similar to that of the original copyist, before MS. 21, also on 121-124, and after 200 (except for the pages listed above). The first indication of his activity is at MS. 8:17 in the word *oq*. The original text has 'Q' in red ink (it will be recalled that the original copyist used red ink for Turkic words until 12:16 where he changed to black); the later hand added a *hamza* above the *alif* (see section, "Structure of the Diwan") and V between *alif* and Q (thus *oq*). Then beginning at 10:5 (*ürdi*) we find some black U's (again where the original text had red); these U's also have the distinctive shape of the later brown ones, and this shape is also found in many of the *dammas* (= u) of the surrounding Arabic text.<sup>22</sup> Note at 11:8 the correction of *yiyāč*, originally YAΓA'J' to YAΛΓA'J' — i.e., the later hand has crossed out the first A and substituted I.<sup>23</sup> At 13:14 (*qoriy*), originally QURIG', the later hand again thought the U went with the R (despite the context, where Kāşyārī is saying that this word is the shortened form of *qoriy*, spelled with the mater Y); he put a second U to the right of the Q (thus *qoruy*). The middle A at 17:10-11, *baryān*, *kalgān* (BARAΓA'N, KALAKA'N) is obviously by our later hand, even though the distinction in ductus for this vowel-sign is not as clear as with the U; compare 28:10-11, *baryān*, *uryān*, where the anomalous A in the same form is in brown ink.<sup>24</sup> At 19:8 the three dots of the G in *anig* ('ANIG) are surely also by our later hand; compare MS. 27, n. 1, etc. etc.

Beginning again with MS. 201 the brown ink ceases, but the characteristic features of our later hand (peculiar shape of *damma* and *sukün* (U,'); different ductus and shape of pen point; alterations of the text) are still found. For example at 201:7 *boγin*, originally spelled BΓIN, the I is crossed out and two U's and a *sukün* are put in, indicated thus: BUUTUN' (thus *boγun*). At 201:12 V, *apañ*, originally simply 'ABNK, the later hand has added another A over a *hamza* to the right of the *alif*, also three dots above the K, indicated thus: A'ABNG. The ink is black but, for the most part, distinguishable from the original, which is deeper. And, as noted above, the brownish cast is again visible at 441:14-445, 481-516, and after 570. With regard to the all-black pages, however, it must be admitted that not all of the additions to the text can be detected; and that all the ones indicated in our transliteration are not 100% verifiable.<sup>25</sup> For twenty pages (201-220) we have attempted to indicate all those that were clearly distinguishable during an intensive examination of the MS. in June-July, 1976. In the main these are confined to *damma* (U) and *sukün* ('). It should be remembered that very many of the other vowel-signs on these pages are also not

21. The brown ones are rather up-and-down: , whereas the black ones are broad: . The shape of the *sukün* is also distinctive, the black ones being for the most part a regular circle: , the brown ones usually open at the top: .

22. For example, in the red-ink heading at 11:15 *wa-l-kāfu ş-şulbatu*, the final u in each word is in black ink, the other vowel-signs in red.

23. There is no instance in the Diwan of an unambiguous spelling with original I instead of A in the first syllable; this argues that the pronunciation of the copyist (of Kāşyārī?) was *yiyāč*, nevertheless, we have consistently transcribed the word *yiyāč*.

24. But note 414:8-9 G, *tutyān*, *satyān* (TUT'ΓA'N' SAT'ΓA'N), where the *sukün* is apparently by later hand. At 603:17 *münüz* P, *süsgān* (SUSAKA'N), it cannot be determined whether the A is by later hand; we assume it is.

25. Ideally one should have a chemical or spectrographic analysis of all ink in the Diwan so that the date of a given vowel-sign, etc., could be determined unambiguously.

original; but we have dared to underline only those which were distinguishable from original ones on the basis of ductus or shape of pen-point. After MS. 221 we no longer indicate regularly the *sukūns*, most of which are apparently later additions; also we indicate later U's only sporadically and in striking cases, notably in the root or first syllable; and after MS. 226 we no longer note the change of K to G and of F to W (in the word *sūw*). In general we have tried to adhere to the principles that any later-hand addition should be indicated where it might make a difference in the reading, and that all such additions should be indicated within any given word. (Thus little attention was paid to *sukūns* where the pattern requires no vowel, to U before V, I before Y, A before ' , and the like.)

The types of changes to the Turkic text made by the later hand may be summarized in the following eight categories.

1) Alterations made to clarify the text or which make no difference in the reading. E.g. at 122: 17, *ündäsür*, he apparently thought the first U was over the N and so crossed it out and put in another U directly over the *alif*. At 294:9, *kālgūci*, he thought the U was over the V, crossed it out and wrote a new one directly over the K. At 305 *qutur*- and ff., added a second U where the original text sufficed with one. In this category may be put his preference for A to indicate /e/ where the original text has I.

2) Added an extra vowel. E.g. at 348:12, *sawlur*, he wrote a U over the W, ignoring Kāšyārī's point that the aorist of this word has unvowelled middle radical. Other examples above.

3) Rounded vowel of second syllable for vowel harmony. E.g. he read 313 *köpiš*- as *küpüş*-; 317 *qoriš*- and 344 *qorin*- as *qoruš*-, *qorun*-; 320 *toqiš*- as *toquš*-; 342 *süčin*- as *sücün*-; 416 *böđit*- as *böđüt*-; 516 *čüvit* as *čüvüt*, 625 *qorqliq*, *törtgöl* as *qorqluq*, *törtgöl*. At 461 *yaymur* V he read *bulit* as *bulut*;<sup>26</sup> at 591 *qasiyla*- he read *qulin* (*qul* plus third possessive plus accusative) as *qulun*; and at 596:11 G he read *qusiqa* as *qusuq*.

4) Unrounded vowel of second syllable for vowel harmony. E.g. he read 251 *qaşuqluq* as *qaşiqliq*; 321 *bäküş*- as *bäkiš*-, 431 *čiyrut*- as *čiyrit*-; 522 *qayyuq* as *qayyiq*; 592 *čaruqla*-, *qaşuqla*- as *čariqla*-, *qaşiqla*-.

5) Rounded vowel of second syllable due to labial consonant. E.g. he read 328 *täpül*-, *tapil*- as *täpül*-, *tapul*-; 517 *tavil* as *tavul*. (Possible *täwölüg*, *qapuš*-, etc. belong here; see Index.)

6) Altered vowel of the root. This has resulted in the introduction of some ghost words in lexica based on the Diwan (see section, "Scribal errors . . ."). E.g. he read 126 *ätläš*- as *ötläš*- (or *ütläš*-) (614 *sün*- and 617 *sündür*- as *sin*-, *sindür*-; 618 *münäs*- as *minäs*-). To this category belongs his reading *äw* as *öw* (see above). The reading of *ätmāk* as *ötmāk* (see Index) is an ancient one (see ED, 60) and in the Diwan belongs to the original text.

7) Altered vowel of the suffix. E.g. he read 378-9 *käsläš*- as *käšliš*- (i.e. as from the verbal root *käs*-, *käsil*- rather than from the nominal root *käs*-, *käslä*-). At 271 *sāw*- P he read *yügrükün* as *yüürgänni* (?). In the case of 275 *täl*-, aorist *tälär*, in the meaning "join kid to milch-ewe," he read *täli*-, *tälir*; but it

26. Cf. consistent spelling of *boyin*; but note two instances (see Index) of *boyün*, with the mater V — these must reflect the pronunciation of the original copyist (or of Kāšyārī?).

is clear that in the language Kāšyārī was describing, this word had fallen together with *täl*- meaning "bore through," since he included it in the same entry (*täli*- would have appeared at MS. 563, in the Book of Final Weak Words; see section, "Structure of the Diwan").<sup>27</sup> In this category belong his readings of *-dan* for the the ablative; also, perhaps, of *-isa* for *-sa*- and of *-arān* for *-rān* (see above).

8) Altered consonant, or added a consonant. This has resulted in the introduction of some ghost words. E.g. he read 190 *bariq* as *yoriq*; 423 *yanut*- as *yitit*-; 594 *yarinla*- as *yayrinla*-. He apparently would have liked to read 473 *yämür*- as *tomur*-; and he knew 611 *qirñaq* in its metathesized form of *qirñaq*. At 525 *tōy*- V he read *batrāq* as *bayrāq*; and at 502 *qōl* he changed *ōri* to *ōpri*. To this category belong his reading *iš* as *īs*, *äs*- as *äš*-, and *yēn* as *tān* (see above).

#### 7. Glosses and Marginal Notes

As many as fifteen different hands are evidenced in the MS. as it now appears. These are discussed here in the chronological order hypothesized in the following section ("History of the Text").

(1) The main copyist, author of the colophon (MS. 638); also wrote the long note on the title page (see section above, "Title Page"). 1266. After completing the copy he went over the entire text, comparing it with the original, making corrections, and adding in the margins words and lines that he had skipped. These marginal additions are invariably marked *şh* (for *şahha* "correct"). In our translation they are incorporated without comment.

(2) The later hand (see above section, "Ink Color and the Later Hand"). Fourteenth century. In addition to his emendations of the text he also made marginal notes both to the Arabic and Turkic material. The longest one is at MS. 62 in the upper right corner, in brown ink. It refers to the Arabic word *al-arī* in line 3 (in the definition of *utluq*) and reads: "*al-arī* is 'manger' in colloquial speech and in the usage of the *fuqahā*." The following is a list of other glosses and notes which can be attributed to the same hand with reasonable certainty: 16:7, 266:8, 267:8, 270:13, 275:14 (*qāri<sup>an</sup>* — to replace *qāy<sup>an</sup>* in the text?); 292:5, 311:1 (*jahdī* — to replace *jundī* in the text), 314:5 (BILIK'LIKIN' *biliglikin* — to replace *biligin*), 361:5, 367:4,8,15 (latter two cases are emendations of Arabic words), 531:2, 556:7, 559:15, 611:11 (QINGR'Q *qirñaq* — to replace *qirñaq*), 624:7, 625:11.

(3) Owner of the book, signed his name at MS. 1 in upper margin (see section above, "Title Page"). Early fifteenth century.

(4) A later hand, read the tribal name *Basmil* as *Yasmil*. (Evidence of one dot of the Y added later is more or less clear at 20:16, 242:2, and on the Map; appears as Y also at 25:2, 421:10, 600:4; original B lert unaltered at 231:3,5.) Before 1422 (see section below, "Badraddīn al-'Aynī").

(5) A later hand, perhaps the same as (4). Used dark black ink and a thin pen. He read the tribal name *Oyrāq* as *Iyrāq* at 25:4; therefore before 1422 (see section below, "Badraddīn al-'Aynī"). Other evidence of his activity can be found at 111:4,9, 114:3,4; also probably 306:16, and elsewhere.

(6) A refined hand, perhaps the same as (5). Emended the Turkic text at 93:7-8.

27. Therefore we have not accepted the suggestion by Taymas, I,240, that *täl*- in the meaning "join kid to milch-ewe" is a ghost word.

(7) Writer of a Persian note at MS. 58 in the lower right corner. It refers to the Arabic word *iram* in line 15 and reads: "[Arabic] The word *iram* means 'sign'; [Persian] a sign that is in the desert, like the pyramids in the country of Egypt near the Nile River" (*qawluhu iram ay 'alāma nišānī ki dar bayābān buvad mānand-i hirāmān dar šahr-i mišr nazdīk-i nahr-i nīl*).

(8) Writer of a Chagatay or Qifčāq (?) note at 54:15 below the Arabic words *ni'ma š-šay'* (translating *ayiy ādgü*). It reads: YXŠY NSN' yaxšī nāsna.

(9) Writer of an Arabic note at MS. 3 in the lower left margin. It refers to the Caliph al-Muqtadī mentioned in line 11 in Kāšyarī's dedication, giving the date of his proclamation as caliph (*bay'a*) and the length of his reign (13 Ša'bān 467 - Muḥarram 487/4 April 1075 - February 1094). The text is as follows:

būyi'a l-m[uqtadī]  
bi-amr allāh [ibn muḥammad ibn]  
al-qā'im bi-am[r allāh yawm ṭālāta]  
'ašar ša'b[ān sana]  
sab' wa-[sittīn]  
wa-arba' mi[ʿa . . . ]  
xal[ī] f[a ? . . . ]  
bi-amr allāh [ . . . ]  
sana (?) [ . . . ]  
ašhur wa-[ . . . ]  
yawm<sup>an</sup>

(10) Writer of an Arabic note at MS. 3 in the upper left margin; also of an Ottoman note at MS. 56. Possibly the same hand is also responsible for the explanatory gloss to the long note on the title page (see section above, "Title Page").

The Arabic note at MS. 3 is a fuller recounting of the life of the Caliph al-Muqtadī, mentioning his predecessor and successor, important events in his reign, character traits, etc. The text begins as follows:

wa-huwa l-xalīfa as-sābi' wa-l-išrīn būyi'a bihi li-xilāfa ba'd mawt jaddihi al-qā'im bi-amr allāh yawm al-xamīs aṭ-ṭalīṭ 'ašar min ša'bān sana 467 wa-ṭālat ayyāmuḥu [wa-] ḥasunāt dawlatuḥu (?) . . . āṭār ḥasana . . . ḡayr annahu ḥadaṭat zalāzil bi-'idda aqālīm [wa-] dāma fī l-xilāfa ilā an tuwuffiya bi-baydād . . . al-muḥarram sana 487 fa-kānat mudda xilāfatihi tis' 'ašra sana wa-ṭamāniya ašhur wa-taxallafa [ba] 'dahu ibnuḥu al-mustazhir bi-llāh wa-kāna 'umruḥu ṭālāta wa-ṭalāṭin sana wa-kāna . . . xayyir<sup>an</sup> qawiyi an-nafs (?) 'ālī l-himma . . . min (?) [pattern: fu'alā'] banī l-'abbās naqš xatmihi laqabahu (?) wa-min maḥāsinihi annahu etc.

The Ottoman note refers to 56 *ari* "hornet" which Kāšyarī states (line 10) "agrees" with the Arabic word *al-arī* meaning "honey." The text, difficult to read, begins as follows:

işbu arī ile 'arabiyyede olan arī müvâfakatına . . . qarîbe (?) zamân mürûrunda bu fakîr (?) . . . e mürâca'at eylediğimde 'asal ma'nâsına olan arī lafzına gördüğümde mülâhazaya gele- . . . bu . . . muḥammad . . . rahmet . . . fazlihi

(11) A late hand. Made corrections to the text, some of which imply either that he had another MS. of the Diwan before his eyes, or else that he had made a very thorough study of our MS. At 404:15 *bürçäklän-* he filled in a blank in the MS. with the appropriate Turkic words. At 207:17 *bäzäk* he restored

the definition of the entry word, which definition had dropped from the text. At 119:16 *öndür-* he added to Kāšyarī's dialect label for the Uighur usage the information: "the Oḡuz do not know it." At 420:12 *bulat-* he added a phrase to Kāšyarī's description of the phonetics, a phrase which Kāšyarī uses elsewhere in the same context. At 17:15 - 18:3, in a grammatical explanation, he made alterations to the word order of the Arabic text, apparently for the purpose of clarity. In three instances (57:7 *izi*, 61:17 *ayriḡ*, 157:5-6 *öniklän-*) his emendations of the Arabic are unhappy ones. Finally at 48:10 *özäk* he altered the text of a hadith. (For all of these, see footnotes in the text.)

(12) An Ottoman reader, perhaps nineteenth century. He is responsible for the great bulk of marginal material, consisting of Turkish or (occasionally) Arabic or Persian glosses. They add nothing to our understanding of the text, and a complete list of them would be fruitless. The following examples, drawn at random, are representative. (The Ottoman Turkish is given in modern Turkish transcription, modified to show the Arabic spelling.)

9:8 (to *bilgä*) *bilgin*  
9:13 (to *käsmä*, *käsd*) *kesme, kesdi*  
9:15 (to *örmä saç*) *örmek saç ma'nâsına*  
9:16 (to *qaçut*, *qaçdi*) *kaçmak*  
9:17 (to *käqüt*, *käqti*) *giymek*  
10:3 *biliş bi-ma'nâ dâneş*  
10:4 *bildi 'alima ve dânest*  
10:9 (to *qurīdi*) *kurudı*  
10:10 (to *yaylāy*, *yây*) *yaylak, yaz*  
11:16 *daṭr bürünmek ve örtünmek demek*  
12:1 *öldi bi-ma'nâ be-mord*  
12:10 (to *sordi*; *turḡu yēr*) *şormak maşş gibi ya'nı emmek; duracak yer*  
14:9 (to *bardi*, *barturdi*, *käldi*, *kältürdi*) *giderdi (!), geldi, götürdi*  
14:11 (to *sūw içsädi*) *su içe yazdı (!)*  
28:9 (to *tamyaq*, *tamaq*) *boğaz*  
30:7 *jazar laḡm maqṭū' matrük li-s-sibä'*  
36:7 (to *el qūs*) *kartal kuşu*  
38:15 (to *uḡur*) *vaḡıt ve devlet ve imkân ve bereket ve ḡayır*  
47:4 (to *arük*) *şeftalu*  
66:17 *ärkän iken, şöyle iken böyle iken denür*  
67:14 *şrdim idim*  
69:13 *ayruḡ ḡayr ma'nâsına dur*  
69:15 *ayla öyle demek*  
69:16 *öyla vaḡt-ı zuhr*  
69:17 *açlık gürisnegi*  
70:4 (to *adḡü*) *ḡasan ve eyü*  
73:17 (to *osäl kişi*) *uysal kişi (!)*  
80:14 *abäçi umacı demek*  
88:15 (to *quyāş*) *ḡarâret-i şayf*  
92:11 *ärmäk olmak kevn gibi*  
92:12 *ürmāk üfürmek*  
94:5 (to *al-*) *âlim deyn ve borç*  
100:5 *öçäsmäk yarışmak*  
100:16 (to *Ar. tarawwaba*) *at-tarwīb süd yoḡurt[ . . . (cut off)]*  
118:7 *üstärdi inkâr etti*



- 120:8 andyarmâq yemîn vermek  
 120:14 içgârmâk idxâl  
 148:1 utandı hayâ etdi demek  
 178:16 tâğ harf-ı teşbîh gibi gibi  
 180:1 qanat kanad ve bâl dur  
 180:5 kâdüt berdi libâs verdi  
 180:8 (to buqaç) su kabı ve bardak; allâhu a'lem bukraç bundan me'hûd ola  
 180:14 qaqaç ka qa demek  
 184:5 (to Ar. awtâb) waṭb sūd kabı ve tolum  
 192:11 (to Ar. jillawz; liḥā) uzunca fındık ma'nâsına; ağaç kabuğu kaşr-ı şecer demek  
 193:10 (to P) ne [ ? ] bıçaq keskin olsa kendi sabını yonmaz kesmez  
 194:13 (to âdgü, eşiz — below line) eyü, köti  
 195:10 (to Ar. fayşala) deker başı  
 200:1 ya'nî bir adam boyı  
 201:2 bütün şahîḥ bütün ve dürüst ma'nâsına  
 201:10 (to biqin) böğür kasiḳ  
 204:6 (grammatical note) kâ'ide-i naşb ve raf' ve her kelimât-i türkiye  
 205:13 tatiy leḳḳet ve çâşni  
 207:17 tilâk murâd ve dilek demek  
 208:2 (to tükâl — below line) dükeli ma'nâsına  
 209:13 (to Ar. tabî') buzağu dişi  
 210:5 kertindi Allâha ve resûluna inandı  
 211:3 qanda ḥanda ve kücâ demek  
 211:8 kändü kendi ve ḥûd ma'nâsına  
 211:9 aydi dedi ve söyledi  
 211:11 munda bunda burada  
 213:5 (to Ar. talbîna) südlü bulamaç aşı ve 'indelba'd arpa suyu  
 213:16 (to Ar. ma'ârif) âşinâlar  
 tamya ma'ruf dur ṭâbi' al-malik ma'nâsına  
 213:17 (to Ar. furḳa) deñiz kenarında olan [ . . . (blocked by repair tape) ]  
 214:13 (to Ar. ṭayyâş) ziyâde ḥafif kimesne  
 215:8 qatqi uygunsuz adam  
 217:8 (to Ar. rakkakûhu, misunderstood as rakkalûhu!) tarkîl türkçeye döndürmek  
 219:1 qonşi jâr ve hemsâye  
 220:16 yawuz yavuz ve köti demek  
 223:12 qarâçi dilenci ve gedâ  
 224:7 (to P) ev danası öküz olmaz  
 229:15 taş kuyuya düşdi taḳır taḳır etti  
 229:16 bildir geçen yıl 'âm-ı mâḳî ma'nâsına  
 238:4 (to Ar.) şafara yassı bıçaq  
 tarmîd yaḳup kül etmek ve kül içinde kılmaḳ  
 239:4 (note to Qulbâq!) ḥâriḳul'âde  
 242:1 (to Ar. mutalabbad, misunderstood) birbiri üzerine yığılmaḳ  
 242:11 (to toyru) Ertuḡrul bundan me'hûd ola  
 243:5 (to baḳram) bayram bundan me'hûd olmaḳ gerek  
 284:11,13 (grammatical notes to Ar. text)  
 336:11 (to P) yorgandan ziyâde ayak uzansa üşür  
 352:7 (to yuyçi) yuyıcı veyâ yıkayıcı demek ola  
 366: upper margin (grammatical note) bayân ta'diya al-af'ul

- 466: top margin (note to yat!) ḥâşşa-ı ḡarîb  
 453:16 (note to qâş!) ḥâşşa-ı ḡarîb  
 462:10 yortuy ordu (!)  
 612:1 (to P) yalnız kaḳ ötmez

The marginal notes on the final page (638) are of a different character from all the preceding pages, being the exact reproduction of words in the text which were not easily read.

(13) One or more twentieth century hands. Several of the notes are over the repair tape used when the book was bound (after 1917). The following belong here: 7:10, 15:4, 82:2 (gök örtüldi), 83:1 (to Ar. malla), 308:3, right margin (to Ar. waṭṭada . . . : wattada !), 361:2 (on repair tape), 379:top margin (on repair tape), 476:11 (ijtalafat — meant to replace Ar. iḥtaraqat, cf. 505 yût [jâlifa], but see 15:4!), 626:6.

(14) One or more twentieth century hands; wrote in page and folio numbers; occasionally wrote in first word of the next folio in bottom left margin of reverse of the preceding folio. E.g. MS. 110-111. In the bottom left margin of 110 we find the word *wa-yuqâlu*, which is the first word of the text in 111. In the bottom left margin of 111 we find the number 56, and in the top left margin the number 126, both in light ink, the same as that of *wa-yuqâlu* on the previous page; these numbers are the original folio and page numbers, probably assigned before the book was bound. Finally in the lower left margin we find in Arabic (i.e. European) numerals the number 56, and in the top middle margin the numeral 111, both in pencil; these are the final folio and page numbers, assigned after the book was bound.

(15) A twentieth century Turkish reader, made corrections and notes in pencil. The first instance is at 31:13 (to im) parola; and in the lower margin, to the proverb in line 17: parola bilse kişi ḳatlı edilmez. (One might note Atalay's translation in Tercüme I, 38: belgeyi bilen adam ölmez.) Other instances are as follows: 33:upper margin (illegible), 40:bottom left corner (illegible), the numbers over the brands at 40-1 oḡuz, some vowel-pointings at 42:11 (see n. 2) and at 47:14 (see n. 2), some page notations at 92:lower margin (to ez-: ezdi ezâr ezmâk ş. 107, 113, 117), 99:8 (illegible), 127:upper margin (to KŞTY [sic] ir lline 2: LAŞ'TIY), 151:5 (illegible), 174:14 (te'lif târîḥi), 179:4 (to tûbüt, illegible), 212:16 şabaḳ (see n. 2), 264:lower right (reference to EP) ikinci cild, 337:7 (parenthesis and grammatical note, illegible), 347:10 (grammatical note) innahu yattafiquhu faşî al-lâm wa-n-nûn, 349:3 (basdı), 545:17 (note to the narrative) maḥḥare-i nebeviyye, some vowel-pointings at 625:8 (see n. 2). Finally, at 70:7-8 anḏuz, we find the curious definition *râsan* ("elecampane"), apparently altered in pencil from original *turmus* ("lupine"); the alteration must have taken place in 1917, since EP has *râsan*.

#### H. Badraddîn al'Aynî

The Topkapı Sarayı Library in Istanbul contains several volumes of the autograph of Badraddîn al-'Aynî's thirty-volume world history, *Iqd al-Jumân fî Ta'rîx Ahl az-Zamân*. Volume I, dated 825/1422, includes excerpts from the Diwan.<sup>28</sup> Volume II includes a blank section about a page long which al-'Aynî apparently intended to fill with another excerpt from the Diwan.<sup>29</sup>

28. No. 5920 in Karatay's catalogue (F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yuzmalar Kataloḡu*, Vol. III, Istanbul, 1966, p. 392).

29. No. 5921 in Karatay's catalogue (p. 393).

'Aynī was an official in the Mamluk court in Cairo between his first appointment in 801/1398-9 and his death in 855/1451.<sup>30</sup> Judging from the excerpts in Volume I of his work, as will appear below, he depended on the very same MS. of the Diwan which is now the unique MS., and which must, therefore, still have been in Cairo in 1422.

Volume I of the *Iqd al-Jumān* begins with a long cosmological and geographical introduction, finally coming to human history with the creation of Man at folio 149b. The excerpts from the Diwan begin at 152a, second line from the bottom, and run through 153a, in the course of the listing of the descendants of Japheth son of Noah. There follow sections devoted to others of God's creations, the Jinn, Animals, Minerals, Plants, and Angels. Then 'Aynī returns to Adam at 198a and begins the stories of the Prophets, ending the volume just before the appearance of Abraham.

The following is a transcription of the text in question. The corresponding page and line numbers of the Diwan MS. are found in the left margin. Material that is not quoted directly from the Diwan is put in parentheses. Jumps in the text are indicated by three dots.

(wa-yuqālu at-turk huwa bn yāfiṭ li-ṣulbihi wa-hum)






















20:8 fi l-aṣl 'iṣrūna qabīla . . .

20:11 wa-kull qabīla minhā buṭūn lā (yuḥṣūn) . . .

20:15 fa-awwal al-qabā'il qurb ar-rūm BJANAK ṭumma QFJ'Q (wa-yuqālu QFJ'X) ṭumma 'UFAZ [sic] ṭumma YAM'K ṭumma BAŠĠIRT ṭumma YAS'ML [sic] ṭumma QA'Y' ṭumma YABA'QV ṭumma TAT'R (wa-yuqālu TTR wa-yuqālu ṬAṬR) ṭumma QIRQIZ . . . ṭumma

21:1 JIKIL ṭumma TUX'SIY ṭumma YFM' ṭumma 'IP'R'Q[sic] ṭumma JARUQ ṭumma JUML ṭumma 'UY'ΓUR ṭumma TANKUT ṭumma XIT'Y (wa-yuqālu XIT'Y wa-yuqālu XT') wa-hiya (allatī tusammā) ṣīn ṭumma TUVI'J [sic] (wa-tusammā) māšīn . . .

40:4 (wa-min qabīla 'UḠUZ yatafarra'u t-turkmān [sic]) wa-hum iṭnān wa-'iṣrūn baṭn li-kull baṭn minhā 'alāma wa-sima 'alā dawābbihim (wa-awānīhim wa-aṭāṭīhim) ya'rifu bihā ba'ḍuhum ba'q<sup>an</sup> (fa-a'zamuhum) QNIQ (wa-minhum) as-salāṭīn (wa-l-mulūk wa-minhum banū saljūq fa-awwal malikihim ṭurubak [etc. — there follows a precis of Seljuk and of early Ottoman history up to the time of Timur])

wa-'alāma (QNIQ) hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭānī (min at-turkmān) QAYIΓ (wa-yuqālu QAY'N [sic]) wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭāliṭ BA'YUN'DUR wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) ar-rābi' 'IVA' (wa-yuqālu) YIV' wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) al-xāmis SAL'TR (wa-yuqālu SALUR') wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) as-sādis AF'S'R [sic] (wa-yuqālu 'AV'S'R) wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) as-sābi' BAK'TILY (wa-yuqālu BAK'DILY) wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭāmin BUK'DUZ wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) at-tāsi' BY'T wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) al-'āšir YAZ'GIR (wa-yuqālu YAZR') wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) al-hādi 'ašar 'AYMUR wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭānī 'ašar TAR' BULK [sic] wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭāliṭ 'ašar 'ALQ' BULUK wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) ar-rābi' 'ašar 'IK'DR (wa-yuqālu YUK'DAR [sic]) wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) al-xāmis 'ašar 'URAKR . . . wa-yuqālu YURKIR wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) as-sādis 'ašar TUVTAR'Q [sic] wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) as-sābi' 'ašar 'UVL' YUNDULUΓ [sic] wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭāmin 'ašar TVKAR . . . wa-yuqālu (DUKAR) wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) at-tāsi' 'ašar BAJANK wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) al-'iṣrūn JUVAL'DUZ [sic] wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) al-hādi wa-l-'iṣrūn JAB'NIY wa-'alāmatuhum hāḍihi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭānī wa-l-'iṣrūn JARUQLUΓ (wa-yuqālu JARUQLUV wa-hiya) qalīla . . . xafiyya 'alāmatuhā [blank space, end of line] . . .

41:8 (wa-hā'ulā'i iṭnān wa-'iṣrūn rajul<sup>an</sup> fi l-aṣl fa-šāra kull wāḥid minhum ' t [sic?] baṭn wāḥid . . .

622:17 aṣl ḍālika) anna ḍā l-qarnayn lammā . . . qaṣada bilād at-turk (wa-kāna malik at-turk yaw-ma'id<sup>in</sup> šaxṣ<sup>an</sup>) yusammā šū (wa-kāna lahu ḥašr) 'aẓīm (la yūṣafu . . .

623:12 fa-kabasahum ḍū l-qarnayn buytat<sup>an</sup> fa-taḥayyarū wa-kāna ḍālika bi-l-layl fa- axaḍa kull wāḥid ilā jiha . . .

623:16 tata'axxaru minhum fi 'askarihi hā'ulā' l-iṭnān wa-l-'iṣrūn . . . lam yudrikū ḥamūlata hum . . .

624:8 fa-ra'ā(hum ḍu l-qarnayn wa-hum) ḍāt šu'ūr . . . fa-qāla . . . (hā'ulā'i) turk mānan [sic] (bi-l-fārisiyya wa-)ma'nāhu hā'ulā'i (yušābihūna) t-turk fa-baqiya (lahum hāḍā l-ism min ḍālika l-yawm) ilā yawminā hāḍā (wa-lākin xaffafū iḥḍā n-nunayn fa-nḥaḍaḍa li-kaṭra al-isti'māl) . . . [goes on to cite other reports on the origin of the Turks, from al-Hamadānī, al-Mas'ūdī, etc.]

What 'Aynī has done is to conflate three separate passages from the Diwan into a single narrative on the origin of the Turk tribes and the Turkmān subtribes. The peculiar spellings of Basmil as Yasmil and of Oγrāq as Iγrāq prove that 'Aynī used our own unique MS. of the Diwan (see above section, "Glosses and Marginal Notes," nos. 4, 5). In those tribal names which had the obsolete letter wā' (W) he changed it to the familiar vāv (V). Thus he read 21:3 TWΓA'J as TUVI'J; and 40:8-9 'IWA', 'YW' as 'IVA', 'YIV'. And to those names for which he knew a different spelling or a different pronunciation, he added this in each case, introduced by the phrase "and they are also called" (*wa-yuqālu*). In this regard, QAY'N as the alternate of qayiy must be an error for QAYY (qayi); and for Kāšyarī's TUKAR (tögär — 40:17) as the alternate of tögär he has substituted the more familiar dögär.

Several of 'Aynī's departures from the text are revealing. Thus, where Kāšyarī states (40:4) that the Oγuz are the Turkmān (*wa-hum at-turkmāniyya*), 'Aynī says that the Turkmān were branches (*yatafarra'u*) of the Oγuz. To Kāšyarī's statement (40:5) that the brands are found on their animals, 'Aynī adds "and their vessels and their furnishings" (*wa-awānīhim wa-aṭāṭīhim*); no doubt he was familiar with this wider use of the damgas among the Turkmān tribes of his homeland around 'Aynṭāb. Kāšyarī calls the Qlniq "chief" (*surra* — 40:6) of the Oγuz branches, since the sultans "of our time" (*fī zamānina*) come from them; 'Aynī changes "chief" to "greatest" (*a'zam*), and inserts at this point a genealogy of the Seljuk dynasty and a short account of their history, including mention of the Ottomans up to his own time. Concerning the Čaruqluγ (41:3) Kāšyarī states that they are "few in number and their brand is unknown" (*qalīla 'adīduhā xafiyya 'alāmatuhā*); 'Aynī omits the word "in number" (*'adīduhā*) and leaves a blank space for the brand to be filled in later (thus: "few and unknown, and their brand is . . ."). 'Aynī drastically compresses and summarizes the narrative concerning the naming of the Turkmān. Also he gives a slightly different form of the Persian words which Ḍu-l-Qarnayn is supposed to have uttered (*turk mānan* instead of *turk mānand* [624:9]), and offers his own linguistic explanation, namely that one of the two n's was dropped through use. Finally it can be noted that where Kāšyarī states (622:9) that Ḍu-l-Qarnayn saw the eponymous ancestors of the Turkmān "with their distinguishing marks and with the brands of the Turks," 'Aynī omits the second phrase, but retains the erroneous form of the first which he found in the MS., *ku'ūr*, which we have emended to *šu'ūr*.<sup>31</sup>

Comparing the shapes of the bands in the two texts, we again notice certain differences. It is difficult to decide whether these differences are due to haste in copying on 'Aynī's part, or to 'Aynī's being influenced by contemporary shapes of Turkman damgas with which he might have been familiar. The brands are in red ink, as in Diwan MS.

31. On this point, see R. Dankoff, "The Alexander romance in the *Dīwān Lughāt at-Turk*," *Humaniora Islamica* I (1973), p. 236, n. 15.

30. See EI<sup>2</sup>, article "al-'Aynī" (W. Marçais); GAL, II, 52, S.II, 51.

Volume II of the *ʿIqd al-Jumān* begins with the story of Abraham and continues with the other pre-Muhammadan prophets, including Du-l-Qarnayn (137b ff.). Then there are several chapters devoted to the various pre-Islamic or non-Islamic kings, as follows: 164b Mulūk-al-Furs; 178a Mulūk al-Kaldāniyya; 178a Farāʿina Mişr; 193a Mulūk al-Yūnān; 194a Mulūk ar-Rūm; 199a Mulūk al-Ifranĵ. At this point comes the blank section, about a page long (200b - 201a). There follows: 201a Mulūk as-Suryān; Mulūk al-Hind; 209a Mulūk al-ʿArab. The final chapter (216a ff.) is a history of the Arabs up to the Quraysh.

It was mentioned above that ʿAynī apparently intended to fill the blank section with an excerpt from the Diwan. Probably he had in mind the long report on King Shu contained in the entry at 622-5 *türkmān* – the report which he simply summarized in Volume I of his work; and probably the section was to have the heading: Mulūk at-Turk. (Possibly ʿAynī also intended to include information on other Turkic kings, such as Afrāsiyāb, drawn from the Diwan and other sources.) Evidence for this is found in an article by Ahmet-Zeki Validi (Togan) published in 1932, in which Togan states that he found such an excerpt in one of the ʿAynī MSS.<sup>32</sup>

Because of the interesting, and confusing, nature of Togan's report, it will be well to cite it in full (Arabic script Romanized according to our own system):

Among Turks, other than Kātip Çelebi, Ayıntaplı Bedreddin Al-ʿAynī also saw Maḥmūd Kāşġarī's book. This individual, in Volume II of his history "Al-ʿIqd al-Cumān" [sic], between the chapter devoted to the Europeans (*mulūk ar-rūm wa-qışsa al-faranĵ*) and the chapter devoted to the Syrians and the Indians (*qışsa mulūk suryān wa-mulūk al-hind*), also had a separate chapter for the Turks, entitled "Story of the Turkic tribes" (Türk kavimlerinin kıssası, *qışsa umam at-turk*). In some copies of Al-ʿIqd al-Cumān, however, this chapter of the Turks is not found. For example, although it is found in the Topkapı Sarayı MS. Üçüncü Ahmed Kütüphanesi no. <sup>122</sup>2911, it is not found in the duplicate MS. of this same no. (aynı numaranın iki mükerrer nushasında bu kısım bulunmamaktadır). In this chapter of his book Bedreddin ʿAynī, beginning with the statement "I saw in the Divan of Al-Kāşġarī" (*wa-raʿaytu fī dīwān maḥmūd al-kāşġarī*), summarizes in six pages the information from various passages of the Divanuluġattürk [sic] concerning the Oġuz tribe (now covered in Vol. I, pp. 56-57 and Vol. III, pp. 314-317 [sic] of the printed edition); concerning the Turkic dialects (Vol. I, pp. 29-36); and concerning the Uygur script (Vol. I, p. 9). The word written TFIʿJ in the MS. of the Divanulugattürk which is in our hands, Bedreddin ʿAynī writes in the form TVIʿJ, and he mentions a tribe by the name JYʿN which is not seen in our MS. Similarly, the name of the fortress written "ŞVBʿB" (i.e. "Şuyāb" [sic]) in the printed edition (Vol. III, p. 305), Bedreddin ʿAynī writes in the form "ŞV" (*wa-kāna yuqrabu kull yawm li-l-umarāʾ fi jundihi bi-ḥisn šv talātamiʾa wa-sittin nawba*). In view of this, Bedreddin ʿAynī must have used a MS. of the Divanulugattürk different from the one we possess.

One source of confusion here is that the original cataloguer of the Ahmet III Library assigned the same number – 2911 – to all the volumes of ʿAynī's work, whether of the autograph (= Karatay, nos. 5920-5932) or of later copies (Karatay, nos. 5933-5940); and whether of ʿAynī's earlier draft (Karatay, no. 5941-5942), his main text, or the later epitome (*muxtaşar*).<sup>33</sup>

32. "Maḥmūd Kaşġarī'ye ait notlar," *Atsız Mecmua* 17 (1932), p. 135.

33. There is one exception: he assigned the number 2912 to four volumes of one later copy (Karatay, nos. 5945-5948).

Based on research conducted at the Topkapı Sarayı Library during the summer of 1976, we can state categorically that Togan did not see the six-page long mystery section in any of the ʿAynī MSS. which are now at that library. The relevant MSS. are as follows:

Karatay, no. 5941 (= A.2911/D1), ʿAynī's autograph of the first volume of what is apparently his first draft of the *ʿIqd al-Jumān*, covering events from the Creation to year 11. The MS. is dated 799/1396. There is nothing at folio 151b between the chapter on the Ifranĵ and that on the Suryān.

Karatay, no. 5934 (= A.2911/C2), a copy of Volume II of ʿAynī's main text, dated 896/1490. A blank section, as in the Autograph.

Karatay, no. 5945 (= A.2912/1), covering events from the Creation to year 21. Probably 10th/16th century. At the corresponding folio, 289b, there is a blank section with the copyist's note: "Thus did I find it in the original, a blank" (*wa-kaḏā wajadtuhu fī nusxa bayāq<sup>an</sup>*). (The material on the Turk tribes and the Oġuz is at 101a,b.)

Karatay, no. 5944 (= R.1557), a copy of Volume II, dated 1127/1715. Blank section.

Karatay, no. 5943 (= B.273), a copy of Volume II, dated 1143/1722. Blank section.

The mystery section is also not in any of the ʿAynī MSS. now at the Süleymaniye Library. Typical is the following:

Esad efendi, no. 2322, a copy of Volume II, dated 1096/1685. There is nothing (not even a blank) at folio 255a between the chapters on the Ifranĵ and on the Suryān.

The passages from the Diwan which Togan states he saw in the six-page mystery section correspond to Diwan MS. as follows: 40-1 oġuz (EP. I, 56-57), 622-5 *türkmān* (EP. III, 304-307 [!]), 24-28 D (EP. I, 29-36), 7-8 G (EP. I, 9). We saw above that ʿAynī's autograph does contain excerpts from the first two of these passages, and also from MS. 20-1; these excerpts cover about two pages in Volume I; while Volume II contains a blank section about a page long. Of the three points Togan mentions to prove that ʿAynī used a different MS. of the Diwan than the one we possess, only the first (TFIʿJ – actually TVIʿJ – written TVIʿJ) occurs in the autograph; we have explained this above in a different way.

We cannot be certain how to explain the confusing points in Togan's report. We may speculate however that Togan mixed up his notes on the Autograph Volumes I and II, which he saw in the Topkapı Sarayı Library, with his notes on a copy of Volume II which he saw in another library and which is not at present known to us. Until that copy comes to light, it cannot be determined whether the writer of the mystery section based himself on a text of ʿAynī which is also inaccessible to us, or whether he composed it himself based directly on the Diwan, be it from our own MS. or from a different one.

Since it has been shown above that ʿAynī based himself on our own MS. of the Diwan, the material he includes cannot be used to reconstruct Kāşġarī's text. It is of interest, however, in reconstructing the history of the text.

### 9. History of the Text

Drawing together the conclusions of the five previous sections, we may propose the following chronology. Some of the dates suggested are hypothetical or are based on inference.

Kāşġarī began writing his book on Wednesday, 25 January 1072, and completed the fourth and final redaction on Monday, 9 January 1077, dedicating it to the reigning caliph in Baghdad, al-Muqtadī.

After 1258 Kāšyarī's autograph was removed, along with the Abbasid caliphate itself, to the Mamluk realm. Here, especially in the courts of Cairo and Damascus, Arabic speakers once again were confronted with the practical need of learning the Turkic language and background of their rulers, just as they had in Baghdad under the Seljuks. The new owner of the book now had a copy made, employing for that purpose a man of Persian origin, originally from Sava, who had made his way to Damascus, perhaps in the wake of the Mongol invasion of his homeland. The copyist completed his task on Sunday, 1 August 1266, either in his new home of Damascus, or else in the capital city of Cairo. The owner, who was learned in both Arabic and Turkic philology, then had the copyist add a note to the title page, in which he vented his wrath against someone who had claimed that the language Kāšyarī described in the Diwan was that of the Turkman.

At this point the autograph disappears from view.

In the course of the following century or century and a half, at least two or three later hands made alterations to the text (see section above, "Glosses and Marginal Notes," nos. 2, 4, 5). The first of these (see section above, "Ink Color and the Later Hand") filled out the vocalization of the entire text, both the Arabic and the Turkic; in the course of this he altered the Turkic vocalization to accord more with the Qif-čāq dialect that was current among the Mamluks. Judging by these alterations and by the ductus of his hand, he probably lived in Damascus or Cairo in the late fourteenth century. The activity of the other two must have occurred before 1422. It is possible that other later hands (6-9) were also active during this period.

In 1400 the book was owned by a well-known scholar, originally of Damascus, who was residing in Cairo, and who signed his name on the title page (see section above, "Title Page"). The book must still have been in Cairo in 1422, since it was used there by another well-known scholar in the composition of his magnum opus (see above section, "Badraddīn al-'Aynī").

Sometime after the Ottoman conquest of the Mamluk kingdom in 1517, the book was removed to Istanbul. Over the next few hundred years it was studied by several Ottoman readers. One of these (see "Glosses etc.," no. 10) added two marginal notes to the text. A second (no. 11) made corrections to the text, some of which imply that he may have had another copy of the Diwan before his eyes. A third (no. 12), perhaps in the nineteenth century, wrote in numerous marginal glosses which sometimes display his rather weak understanding of the text.

Around 1650 the famous Ottoman writer Kâtib Çelebi (Ḥacci Ḥalīfa) saw a copy of the Diwan, since he noted it in his voluminous Arabic bibliography, *Kašf az-Ẓunūn*.<sup>34</sup> His notice runs as follows:

*Dīwān Luḡa at-Turk* [sic] of Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad [cf. MS. 2:6], bound. It begins: "Praise be to God, most lavish of bounty, etc." [cf. MS. 2:2]. He expounded it in Arabic. He mentioned that the Turkic dialects revolve on eighteen letters, not including ṭ, ṭ̣, ʒ, ʒ̣, ḡ, ḡ̣, ḥ, ḥ̣, ' [cf. MS. 6:7, 7:5-6]. He dedicated it to Abū l-Qāsim 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad al-Muqtadī bi-Amrillāh, the caliph [cf. MS. 3:10-12].

It is generally thought that Kâtib Çelebi must have seen a copy of the Diwan different from the one we

34. Ed. G. Flügel, 7 vols. (Leipzig-London, 1835-1858), Vol. III, p. 305; ed. Ş. Yalçın, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1941), Vol. I, p. 808.

now possess, since he cites the title as "Diwan of the Turkic Language" instead of "Diwan of the Turkic Dialects." It is also possible, however, that he simply misread the title.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the book had been given to a woman by her kinsman, Nazif Pasha of the Vani Oğulları, who told her to sell it for not less than thirty gold liras if she fell on hard times. Before 1917 she offered it for sale in the Istanbul book market. It was purchased by the well-known bibliophile, Ali Emiri; and it now resides with the rest of Ali Emiri's library as part of the Millet Genel Kütüphanesi in the Fatih quarter of Istanbul.

Eventually Ali Emiri offered to Kilisli Rifat (Bilge) the task of editing the book. According to Rifat's own report, the book was in bad repair at the time he undertook the task: the binding was unravelled and the folios were in complete disorder. In the course of two months Rifat was able to arrange the folios in the correct order, and to declare that the book was complete. He also numbered the pages.<sup>35</sup> Rifat proceeded to edit the book for publication, and it was printed in three volumes between 1917 and 1919 (= EP).

The repair and binding of the original book must have taken place at about this time. Several of the marginal notes are over the repair tape, proving that they are modern (see "Glosses, etc.," no. 13). The original page and folio numbers in light ink, along with indication of the first word of the following folio, must be by Kilisli Rifat (no. 14). Most of the pencil notes are probably later, although there is one curious pencil correction of the text which must have taken place in 1917 (no. 15).

#### 10. *Scribal Errors, Ghost Words, and Textual Emendations*

Our unique MS. of the Diwan, copied two hundred years after Kāšyarī wrote, contains numerous scribal errors, both in the Turkic and the Arabic material. This was recognized from the beginning of Diwan studies. Kilisli Rifat, in his editio princeps (ED) of the text, performed a great service by normalizing the Arabic. As for the Turkic, Rifat mainly left it as he saw it.

On the basis of comparative Turcology and a broad sense of realia, Brockelmann suggested quite a few emendations in his glossary (MTW). For example, the tribal name Basmil is consistently spelled with Y- in MS. Rifat left it with Y-. Brockelmann (DTS, 241) corrected the reading to B- on the basis of the appearance of the name in the old Turkic inscriptions.

Atalay went beyond Brockelmann in suggesting new readings, but curiously, for the most part, confined these to the footnotes, leaving the text largely as in ED; also he seems to have become more daring as he went along, since there are many more suggestions to emend the text in Vol. III of his translation than in Vol. I. Neither Brockelmann nor Atalay, however, applied any consistent principles in their approach to establishing the text. (DTS hardly goes beyond Atalay in this regard. Several emendations were suggested by Taymas in his critique of Atalay's translation.)

Atalay apparently was not aware of the radical approach to this problem embodied in Schinkewitsch's work on Rabyūzī's syntax, published in 1926 and 1927. Schinkewitsch offered several corrections to Brockelmann's readings of the verses in the Diwan. He based these corrections on the notion that the Turkic material ought to conform to Kāšyarī's Arabic translation of it, a notion that seemingly never

35. M. Şakir Ülkütaşır, *Kaşgarlı Mahmut* (Istanbul, 1946), p. 44.

occurred to Brockelmann. For example, in the stanza at 229 *böktir*, the second line reads: BARIQ YA'QIB QYA' KURDM, and the translation is: *ra'aytu min ba'ād<sup>in</sup> sawād<sup>an</sup>*, "I saw a black spot from afar." Brockelmann read this: *yariq yaqib qaya kördim*, and translated: "nachdem ich mich der Erdspalte (?) genähert hatte, erblickte ich einen Felsen." Schinkewitsch saw that the copyist must have been nodding at this point, and he restored the line as follows: *yıraq baqib qara kördim*; suddenly the entire text conformed with the translation (Rabyüzis Syntax, II, 36).

This insightful method unfortunately never entered the mainstream of Diwan studies. Brockelmann himself compounded the confusion in his glossary by including ghost-forms along with his own "corrected" forms. Thus, in addition to *yariq* "gespalten" as the reading for the first word in the above verse (MTW, 79), we also find *bariq* "eine undeutlich in der Ferne auftauchende Erscheinung (?)" (MTW, 31). Brockelmann was apparently untroubled by having two readings for the same word without cross-reference, and by having one of those readings being a hapax legomenon (though the presence of the question mark does indicate a certain misgiving on his part).

Atalay's reading of the line (Tercüme I, 456) is: *Barık yakıp kıya kördim*, translated "yakın vararak bir karaltı gördüm" (translation of the Arabic: "Uzaktan bir karaltı gördüm"). In his index, then, we find the same ghost word as in Brockelmann's: *barık* "uzaktan beliren karaltı" (Dizin, 70); and this reappears in the Russian Old Turkic Dictionary (DTS, 84).

It was Sir Gerard Clauson who finally put Diwan studies on the right track by his thoroughgoing attempt to spot and remove ghost words and reconstruct the text on the basis of a penetrating analysis of the entire corpus of early Turkic materials. As late as 1955, in his article on "Turkish ghost words," Clauson could still refer to "the almost impeccable MS. of Kaşğari" (JRAS, 1955, p. 137); but by the time he published his monumental Dictionary (ED) in 1972, he had worked through and thought out a great many of the problems in the Diwan and suggested superior readings. Clauson was especially sensitive to Kaşğari's patterning system of grouping lexical entries, and, for the first time, tried to apply Kaşğari's system in a consistent way to the task of reconstructing the text. In some instances he was perhaps too daring; but the principle was sound. As was the case with Atalay, Clauson's attitude toward the text became freer as he went along.

Thus far, two important methodological principles in establishing the Turkic material have been mentioned: 1) the Arabic is generally more reliable than the Turkic (applied by Schinkewitsch and also, though not consistently, by Clauson); 2) the patterning system of grouping entries is regular and consistent (applied by Clauson). There is a third principle that has not until now been given its due weight: 3) the choice of Arabic equivalents for Turkic words is remarkably consistent (this will be apparent from a glance at the Base Index).

Applying these principles in a thoroughgoing fashion, we have solved many (though of course not all) of the remaining problems in the text of the Diwan. We have also proposed many fresh readings of the text in cases where a problem has not been recognized hitherto.

The various categories of the scribal errors and erroneous readings are illustrated in the following lists. Several examples, especially in the first category, must be blamed on the later hand and not the original copyist (see "Ink color and the later hand"). Where earlier scholars have established readings regarded here as correct, reference is made to the earliest one. (Note that the Base Index refers to the categories listed here in the following manner: Xa, Xb, etc.).

a. Vowel only.

- ? 46 'ALUQ *oluq* (on basis of 37 *olut*; cf. *olgun*, etc.).  
 51 'AĞAIN *ayin* (= Ar. *ağann*, hence the error; ED, 87).  
 60 'INKAS *ānās* (< *ān-*!).  
 60 'URKIJ *ārkāc* (cf. WB, I, 780 <sup>3</sup>*ārkās*).  
 79, 637 'ILINJ *ulinč* (influence of the following entry?; ED, 148).  
 98 'ADIR- *üdür* (influence of the preceding entry; ED, 67). But at 186 *kümüš* V: 'UDRDUM *ađirdim* (on basis of Arabic translation).  
 112 'ATAT- *ötāt-* (< *ötä-*).  
 126 'UTLAŠ- (see n.) *ätläš-* (< *ät-*).  
 150 'UŽUMLAN- *üzmlän-* (confusion with *üzüm*; ED, 27-8).  
 153 'ARIFLA- *uruyla-* (influence of preceding entry; ED, 220).  
 230 TARMAZ (also at 173 *qarč*: TURMUZ) *tarmuz* (< Pers. *tarmus*).  
 232 BAŠLA'Γ *bošlāγ* (MTW).  
 240 TUKLUK *tāglük* (ED, 480).  
 250 QABIRJA'Q (see n.) *quburčāq* (see ED, 586; cf. CC *quburčuq*).  
 ? At 263 *qaşyalaq* V: 'AT'R *ötār* (< *öt-* "sing (bird)").  
 At 276 *çal-* V: 'ALIP *ilip* (AR. *ađda*, cf. definition of *iliš-*).  
 At 349:14: KŪNIKIY *kenikti* (ED, 731).  
 325 QINIŠ- *qaniš-* (cf. *qanır*, *qanit-*).  
 375 TABRAŠ- *tapriš-* (ED, 445).  
 429 TABRAT- *taprit-* (influence of preceding entry; ED, 444).  
 460 YALIYM'N *yulimān* (< *yuli-*!).  
 517 QAYΓ *qiyıγ* (ED, 676).  
 565 QARJA' *qurča-* (ED, 647).  
 At 605 *siñak* V: TIKIB *tügüp* (Ar. *ya'qidu* — the summer pests "tie their tails and attack," i.e. like horses in battle!, cf. 237-8 *qudruq* V; hitherto read *tikip*).  
 At 611 *qañdaş* P: 'IKDIŠ *ögdaş* (DTS, 379; ED, 103).  
 614 SIŪNK-, 617 SIŪNGDUR- *siñ-*, *süñdür-* (though this root is not elsewhere attested, Kaşğari surely wished to distinguish it from *siñ-*, and it must be the basis of *süñü* and *süñük*).

b. Confusion among B, T, N, Y .

- At 10:7: 'ARINDIY *aridi* (Ar. *naşufa*).  
 At 20:16 and elsewhere: YASMIL *basmil* (MTW).  
 At 54 *āy* V: 'ITIN *anun* (< *anu-*).  
 At 56 *ori* P: TABRAŠUVR *tērişür*; and at 66 *imrām*: TIYRIŠTY *täpräşti* (ED, 163).  
 116 'ABIT- *opi-*.  
 172 YART *bart* (EP). Same word at 59 *añut* P: YURT (hence *yurt* in the meaning "vessel for measuring wine" is a ghost word; finally corrected in ED, 176).  
 190 YURIQ (see n.) *bariq* (< *bar-*!; confusion with *yoriq*).  
 At 191 *čaruq* N: BTZAN *bīzan* or *bīzan* (a well-known figure in Iranian legend).  
 ? At 199 *qizil* V: YUR\_KAŞIP (see n.) *tergāşip* (see *tergāş-* in Index; *yörgāşip* as the rhyme word in the next line precludes it here; \**yüzkāş-* or \**yüzlāş-*, suggested in ED, 986, are not attested).  
 At 211 *munda* V: TAMUV *yamu* (ED, 503).  
 227 YARKUJ *bürgüč* (ED, 362-3).  
 At 229 *böktir* V: BARIQ YA'QIB *yıraq baqıp* (Schinkewitsch).  
 231 YURBA'Š *borbāş* (ED, 356).

- 235 BAŞNAQ baştaq (ED, 378).  
 242 SANKIL säpğil (Taymas I, 237; cf. WB, IV, 497, 730).  
 377 YAŞAŞ- (see n.) tasyaş- (Dizin).  
 377 QISTAŞ- qasnaş- (ED, 668).  
 At 387 türün- V: YUKAR'MAN böğärmän (< böğ-!; hitherto read yükärmän and understood as from \*yük-, an otherwise unattested alternant of ük-!).  
 At 404 tıyraqıan- V: YATA'R tetār (< tet-: takes dative, as in example sentence at 412 tet-; hitherto read yetār, but yet- takes accusative, as at 422 yet- and 105 eliq- V).  
 410 YURKAK bürkäk (ED, 363).  
 423 YITIT- (see n.) yanut- (ED, 947).  
 426:16: QUMIN'DY qomıdı.  
 453 BAYN yepün (Tercüme III, 21 n. — but bayın in Dizin!).  
 495 BUVD tōđ (influence of preceding entry; ED, 449).  
 At 509-10 qāz: YANKAND; DIZRUVTIYN baykänd; diz ru'ın (Pers.) (Cf. J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden, 1938, p. 160; R. N. Frye, *The History of Bukhara . . . by Narshakhī*, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, p. 44; C. E. Sachau, tr., *Al-Bīrūnī, The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, London, 1879, p. 221).  
 At 536 sü V: 'AYA' apa (for the rhyme; proper name).  
 566 YAWRA'- tawra- (ED, 443).;  
 At 566 tawra- V: SUWLNVR sawlayūr (ED, 789).  
 576 QAYNA- qatna- (ED, 603).  
 At 601 sın: KUMINJA' kömīčā (ED, 722).  
 At 627 qorq- V: YARA' tür-ä (i.e., imperative of tür- plus vocative particle ä).  
 At 634 qōđ- V: BAQIL yaqqil (< yaq-).  
 ? 635 SURIYLA'; KURYLA'- sorpla-, körplä- (ED, 845; 738).  
 At 636 toldra-: TUVY böy (ED, 495).

c. Confusion among other consonants.

- J,X. ? 245 XUJVNA'K čüčünäk (< süči-? Cf. WB III, 2200 čüčülük "sweetness," čüčümän "sweet" (čay-).)  
 541 JATUQ xutu (See R. Dankoff, "A note on *khutu* and *chatuq*," *JAOS* 93.4 [1973], 542-3).  
 J, K. 195 JKK čecäk "measles" (ED, 400).  
 R,Z,D. 76 'ŽRV aržu (ED, 200).  
 84 'AWZUVRIY awrūzi (ED, 15).  
 140 'AWRA'- äwzä- (EP).  
 220 BARĠA'N, Ar. *faṣ* "myrtleberry": bazγān, Ar. *futs* "smith's hammer" (ED, 390).  
 232 TUIZA'Γ tuyrāy (EP).  
 257 SUBUZĠA'N suburyān (MTW).  
 261 TARILKA'N tizilgān (ED, 575).  
 ? At 364 qaztur-: QADAĠ qaziγ (translated "canal," but probably simply the infinitive in -iy of qaz-, cf. 192 qazuq; ED, 598 reads quduγ "well" which requires too many emendations).  
 At 391 qazyān- V: YUDQY YUDY burqi yüzi (the copyist was nodding at this point; cf. 13:10 where burqi is again translated *wajh 'abūs*; and 233 tumliγ where again we find YUDYIY yüzi).  
 442 YANKZAT- yanrat- (ED, 952).  
 468 YZĠJY yoriγči (ED, 964).  
 At 546 bügü V: 'IRDADIM edärdim (for the rhyme; the copyist substituted the Oγuz form of irtä-!).

- 571 QIZĠA'- qiryā- (ED, 655).  
 At 590 satiγsa- V: YARĠSA'DIY yaziγsādi (ED, 986).  
 608 SAZINJY sarinči (ED, 864).  
 R,T. ? 245 TARIRQUV tatirqu (< tatir?).  
 R,Y. ? At 229 böktir V: QYA' qara (see n.; Schinkewitsch).  
 ? At 555 ota- V: 'RLA' ayla (Ar. *kaḏā*). Brockelmann: ärlä "Heimat" (Volkspoesie, II, 36), "Heimatstätte" (MTW); Tercüme: erle (as through from er, variant of yer!) "yurtluk"; DTS: "usud'ba"; ED, 229 suggests ergü "residence" (not otherwise attested in Diwan).  
 R,V. 84 'ŠKURTY ešgüti (ED, 261).  
 Z,N. At 164 kiz: KIZ YIBA'R kin yipār (ED, 756).  
 At 42 öläs V: MNKYZ mänin "with a mole" (hitherto read mäniz "complexion").  
 Γ, N. 233 SAĠLIĠ sanliγ (< sän; cf. WB IV, 304; W. Bang and A. von Gabain, "Analytischer Index zu den fünf ersten Stücken der Türkischen Turfan-Texte," *SPAW*, 1931, p. 497).  
 Γ,W. At 371 čärmäš: JAĠIĠ čawiγ (ED, 430).  
 388 JAĠLAN- čawlan- (< čawla-).  
 Γ,Q. At 82 armayān: YARMAQA'N yarmayān (G. Clauson, "Turkish Ghost Words," *JRAS*, 1955, p. 137).  
 258 QAQRĠA'N qayuryān (ED, 613).  
 466 YASİĠLIĠ yasiqliγ (ED, 975).  
 At 470 yüz-: TUIĠM toqum (ED, 984).  
 At 488 yetrül-: SUNKUQ soñuγ (accusative of soñ; hitherto read soñuq — ghost word).  
 At 508 qāt: 'FLĠV awilqu.  
 551 QIARQUVY qaryūy, qiryūy (ED, 654).  
 613 QARANKĠUV (see n.) qarañqu.  
 Q,W. 37 'UWUT oqut (< oqi-; influence of preceding entry).  
 Q,V. 541 BUTUQ; JATUQ botu; xutu (ED, 299; 402 — çatu — see J,X above).  
 K,L. ? At 64 ördäk P: 'IK'NVR ellānūr (Ar. *yatamallaku*; < el — but \*ellān- is otherwise unattested!).  
 110 'IKAN- alin- (influence of preceding entry; alin- is used at QB, line 5768 in the context of a woman "receiving" a man's sperm; cf. *Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü*, Vol. I, Ankara, 1963, p. 220: alınmak (I) "Dişi hayvan gebe kalmak, döl tutmak").  
 At 326 soruq-: TIYUVL yitük (Tercüme II, 115 n.).  
 At 446-7 yin V: 'RLK ärkäk (ED, 561).  
 K,T. At 455 yula V: 'YWT ewäk (ED, 6).  
 L, '. AT 59 añar V: BALZAY yāzi (Tercüme I, 94).  
 S,Š. 343 SASAIN- säšin- (< säš-; misreading of Š as SA!).  
 390 SATLAN-, Ar. *ihtazā šatlan-*, Ar. *ijlara'a* (MTW, 174 — correction of the Arabic; Taymas I, 248 — correction of the Turkic).  
 At 456 yamāy P: QARIŠ qars (ED, 663).  
 S,B. ? At 568 siγza- ? IYSIN yipin (yip fits "thong" better than yi).  
 S-B,B-Š. 236 BAŞĠA'Q sapγāq (ED, 786).  
 M,F. 531 KUYFAN- küymän- (ED, 755-6).  
 M,V. 81 'RUM DUVN arūdün (ED, 232).

d. Letters missing or letters added.

- 32 'UĐUV; 'UVA'; 'VQ' (see n.) ü; ü; ö (ED, 1).  
 At 66 ändik V: YATIL- ētil- (see n.).  
 77 'AZMA'N' (see n.) azma (ED, 288).  
 145 'ATLAN- atla-.

- At 272 *čoq*- V: 'USN LAYUV *üslâyü* (Brockelmann, Volkspoesie II, 37).  
 At 380:3: BURUŞDY *borbaşdi*.  
 At 417 *törüt*- V: 'D *ädiz* (Schinkewitsch I, 153-4; Brockelmann read it *äd* – Volkspoesie II, 39; Tercüme and ED: *uđu*).  
 441 MINKDADŦIY, MINKDA'R MIKD'MA'K *māñdāt*- (EP).  
 ? At 466:8: 'UYUFLUG *ūγluγ* (ED, 271).  
 548 JILA'R *čila* (dittograph from first letter of definition: *rawt*; ED, 418).  
 Also, at 192 *qıruq*: *adaq* should probably be read *adaqlıγ* (see n.); and at 552 *çolqūy*: *älig* should be read *äliglig*.

## e. Miscellaneous

- ? At 85 *açıliγ* P: the text is waterstained; a word hitherto read Š'BVK *šābük* "quickly" (Persian) should probably be read as *türk* (or *šap*?).  
 At 156 *orıla*- V: YARIQ *yorip* (Ar. *jā'a*). Brockelmann took this as the same *yariq* "gespalten" as at 229 *böktir* V (! – Volkspoesie I, 7); Tercüme: *yırak* "uzak."  
 At 173 *känd* V: KALNKIZLAYUV *kälginläyü* (ED, 718).  
 At 206 *qāyıl* P: QL *qari* (Ar. *šayx*). Clauson (ED, 614) suggests *qul* in the sense "servant (of God)"; but this would never be translated by Ar. *šayx* "old man."  
 ? 209 JATIYBA' *kāsbā* (? – ED, 402).  
 ? At 520 *quyār*: BUV QUYA'RIY *bu quyār qizi* (only this reading makes the Turkic accord with the Arabic; Tercüme III, 171: *bu quyār är*; ED, 679 emends Ar. *bintuhu* to *bi-fīhi* and translates "This man who dribbles and froths at the mouth").  
 ? 523 QUDUVJAQ *quyurçaq* (ED, 606).  
 ? At 547 *sökä* V: 'UĐUV QAM' TBN ?AIDIY *uđu barma tebän yiγdi* (the copyist was nodding at this point; the reading proposed restores congruity with the Arabic; *uđulama* would also fit; *yiγ* = Ar. *'adānī* "he held me back" is still questionable, particularly since *yiγdi* is the rhyme word in another stanza of this verse cycle – at 201 *bulun*).

## f. Arabic misread as Turkic because overlined.

- At 82 *aramaγān*: 'AMUJ Ar. *aşahh* (Clauson, JRAS, 1955, 137).  
 At 210 *čügde*: 'ULUX'SA' Ar. *al-xuṣṣā* (ED, 414 – Clauson has *al-xuṣā*, incorrectly).  
 At 240 *čäkräk*: QAB' Ar. *qabā* (ED, 416).

## g. Error in the Arabic gloss.

- 73 *aluč*, Ar. *barqūq*, MS. *barūd* (MTW).  
 226 *salindi*, Ar. *'awf ar-rajul*, MS. *'arf ar-rajul* (see n.; and see R. Dankoff, "Middle Turkic Vulgarisms," in *Aspects of Altaic Civilization II*, ed. L. V. Clark and P. A. Draghi, Bloomington, 1978, 62-63).  
 At 263 *qaşyalaq* V: *tañ*, Ar. *γudā*, MS. *γudar* (see n.; Brockelmann, Volkspoesie II, 36).  
 At 352:2 *suyulmiş*, Ar. *γā'ir*, MS. *γābir*.  
 421 SAKIT-, Ar. *aḥtā*: *söküt*-, Ar. *aḥtā* (ED, 820).

## h. Text not incorrect but misinterpreted.

- At 35 *öz* V: *qanıqi* "where?" Brockelmann (Volkspoesie, II, 25): *qonıqi* "ihr Aufenthalt"; (MTW, 159) listed s.v. *qonıq* 3. "Aufenthaltort." Tercüme, I, 47: "dileğine eren"; Dizin, 262: *kanık* = *kanıg* (osm. *kanık* "satisfied")! Correct in ED, 637, but not Hap. leg. as stated there; see DTS, 418-9.

- 48 'SIK *äsik* (< *äs*-; synonym of *kārik*!; hitherto read *isig*).  
 53 'A'YZ (see n.) *ēz* (homonymous with *ez*-; hitherto read *iz*).  
 At 59 *ümä* V: the last word is *uma*, converbial form of *um*- (Ar. *fī rajā'ika* – the line connecting the *jīm* and *alif* is effaced and the word looks like *radā'ika*). Hitherto read *ümä* or (ED, 3) *öme* ("Do not [stop to] think!").  
 ? 62 'TLQ *utluq* N (see n.; Tercüme: *Itlık*; DTS: *Ailuq*).  
 At 102-3 *aqış*- V: the last word 'KRŠVR is *ügrışür*, from *ügrī*- "to rock" (cradle) – the boat "sways" (Ar. *yamīdu*) like a cradle rocks, or like a cloud sways in the air (at 178-9 *bulit* V!). Hitherto read *ägrışür*.  
 ? 105 *eliq*- (hitherto read *aliq*-; but must be from 36 *ēl* in the sense Ar. *la'im*).  
 107 *özäl*- (from *öz*, note mention of Ar. *rūḥ*, and cf. meanings of *özgäy* [QB only] and *öznä*-; hitherto read *üzäl*- or [ED, 287] *uzal*-).  
 ? At 128 *irpäl*- P: *onāli* < \**onāyali* (ED, 199 suggests *onārip*).  
 185 TAIKIŞ (see n.) *tikiş* (hitherto read *tägiş*).  
 At 219 *tügsin* V = 408 *toquq* V: *bögüldi* (< *bög*-, cf. b above, on 387 *türlün*- V; hitherto read *büküldi*).  
 At 251-2 *saranlıq* V: *siγta*- (hitherto read *yiγla*- – although the text is waterstained, S and T are clearly discernible).  
 258 *quđuzγun*. MS. and EP clearly have Z here, and also at 13:3 (EP, I, 17:3) where the word is found again. MTW, Tercüme, DTS, ED all have *quđuryun*. Cf. osm. *kuskun*; Menges, Glossar, 106, s.v. *quşqan* – Menges is also led astray here by a ghost, as is Doerfer, no. 1494 (TMEN); and Clauson, once again, in his re-edition of the Turkish-Khotanese Vocabulary (*İslām Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* V, 1973, 37-45) which also clearly has the sibilant (*kūdāsāh:ānā*)!  
 At 353 *talpir*:- TALWIR *tolwir* (Ar. *ḥajala*) is "pavillion" (cf. 229 *tolwir* and at 485 *yelwir*-), not "partridge" which Ar. *ḥajala* can also mean (MTW, 193 "Rebhuhn"; Tercüme II, 173 and Dizin, 566 "keklik"; DTS, 529 "kuropatka"). Finally corrected in ED, 493.  
 356 *tüzgür*- "give a gift" (Ar. *aḥdaytu*), cf. *tuzγu*! Usually taken as meaning "guide" (would be *hadaytu*), thus MTW "geleiten"; ED: *tüzger*- 'I guided him.' Correct in Tercüme II, 179: *tüzgerdim* (corrected in footnote to *tüzgürdüm*) "armağan verdim."  
 At 369 *täpräş*- V and 461 *yaγmur* V: the phrase *öl qar* "damp and snow" (Ar. *talj wa-nadā* at 369, *talj* only at 461). Hitherto read *ol qar* "that snow."  
 601 *soñ* (Ar. *'aqib*) means "heel" (cf. 251 *tolarsuq*; and also *burun* "nose" then "front"). Hitherto interpreted as "progeny."

## i. Reconstructions.

- At 74 *arpa* P: *art* has dropped from the text.  
 At 536 *sü* V (see n.): much of the second line was not copied. The reconstruction is based on the Arabic translation, and on the example sentence at 268 *qaz*- – at *qazdi*.

## j. Words misread by Kāşyari (? )

- 216 BUTLV *buylu* (see n.; should be at 521).  
 222 JAT'KA'N' *cigān* (see n.; should be at 206).  
 The reading of the words in the text is "correct" according to Kāşyari's patterning system!

## 11. Structure of the Diwan

Consistent with Kāşyari's reliance on Arabic linguistic methodology is his actual arrangement of the lexical material. By the eleventh century there were several systems of arrangement that had been

developed by the Arabic lexicographers.<sup>36</sup> Kāšyarī mentions (MS. 4-5) that he considered adopting the system of al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. 170 or 175/786 or 791), but rejected it as too cumbersome. The system which he did adopt (outlined at MS. 4) was used, so far as is known, only by one Arabic lexicographer, and by no one else in Arabic, Persian or Turkic lexicography except for Kāšyarī himself.<sup>37</sup> This was Abū Ibrāhīm Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī (d. 350/961), the maternal uncle of al-Jawharī (d. c. 398/1007) whose celebrated *Ṣiḥāḥ* was the first widely-used Arabic dictionary based on the rhyme order.

Fārābī, in his *Dīwān al-Adab fī Bayān Luḡat al-‘Arab*, adopted a unique patterning arrangement for the lexical material. First, the work is divided into six books, as follows:

- 1) *kitāb as-sālim* ("sound"): words having only sound consonants
- 2) *kitāb al-muḍā‘af* ("doubled"): words having a geminate consonant or two identical consonants
- 3) *kitāb al-miṭāl* ("similar"): words beginning with one of the weak letters *waw* or *ya’* functioning as (hence similar to) a consonant
- 4) *kitāb ḡawāt at-ṭalāta* ("possessing three"): words with a medial weak letter
- 5) *kitāb ḡawāt al-arba‘a* ("possessing four"): words with a final weak letter
- 6) *kitāb al-hamz*: words with *hamza* (i.e. /’/).

(All of these terms are explained more fully below.) Then each book is divided into two main divisions, "Nouns" and "Verbs." Finally, within each division words are arranged according to pattern (thus, in the book of sound nouns, Fārābī first gives all words of the pattern *fa’l*, then *fa’la*, *fu’l*, *fu’la*, *fi’l*, *fi’la*, *fa’al* etc.). The arrangement of words within each of these sections is by final radical, or the rhyme order.

The "pattern" system is uniquely suited to a Semitic language, where word formation is based on a consonantal skeleton, usually trilateral, containing the basic sense of the word (*k-t-b* "to write) to which is added various vowel combinations, sometimes with additional consonants (*kātib* "writer," *maktūb* "letter"). The Arab grammarians indicated this by using as a model word the root *f-‘-l* meaning "to do." Thus the pattern *fā‘il* represents the active participle or noun of agent (*kātib* "writing, writer," *qātil* "killing, killer"); *maf‘ūl* represents the passive participle (*maktūb* "written, letter"; *maqtūl* "killed, victim"); the pattern *miḡal* forms nouns of instrument (*minsaf* "winnow" from *n-s-f* "to scatter"); and so on. Since Arabic morphology is indicated mainly by the various patterns, the arrangement of the lexical stock according to patterns has as its major feature the grouping together of words embodying a common morph; its major drawback is that words from the same root are widely scattered.

As for the arrangement within sections, this is alphabetical according to the final radical, then the first radical, then the second, and so on (thus: 3-1-2, 4-1-2-3, etc.). It appears that Fārābī was the first to use this rhyme order scheme; then it was given wide currency in Arabic lexicography, beginning with his nephew Jawharī. The pattern arrangement, however, is peculiar to Fārābī.

36. See J. A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography* (Leiden, 1965).

37. The dependence of Kāšyarī on Fārābī was first pointed out by G. Bergstrasser, "Das Vorbild von Kāšgarī's diwān luḡat at-turk," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 24 (1921), 154-5. See also J. Kelly, "On defining *Dhū ath-Thalāthah* and *Dhū al-Arba‘ah*," *JAOS* 91.1 (1971), 132-6; and Kelly III. We have used the Bodleian Library copy of Fārābī's *Dīwān al-Adab* (= MS Pococke 277). The work is now published, ed. Aḥmad Mukhtār ‘Umar, 5 vols., Cairo, 1394-99/1974-79.

Turning now to the Diwan, we find that Kāšyarī follows Fārābī in every detail. Even the title, *Dīwān Luḡat at-Turk*, is closely modelled on Fārābī's *Dīwān al-Adab fī Bayān Luḡat al-‘Arab*. But the change of *luḡa* from singular to plural signals the most original contribution of Kāšyarī to Islamic philology, in that his is to be a comparative lexicon of the Turkic dialects, and not a mere register of words found in a standard literary language.

The first six books in Kāšyarī's Diwan correspond exactly to Fārābī's, except that the *kitāb al-hamz*, which is last in Fārābī's scheme, is first in Kāšyarī's. Although Kāšyarī does not mention Fārābī's work, he clearly alludes to it when he remarks about the *kitāb al-hamz*: "we brought this to the fore, taking an augur from the Book of God Most High" (MS. 4). Kāšyarī's two additional books represent Turkic phonological features not found in Arabic:

- 7) *kitāb al-ḡunna* ("nasal"): words with /ŋ/ or /nč/
- 8) *kitāb al-jam‘ bayn as-sākinayn* ("joining of two unvowelled consonants"): words with consonant clusters

As with Fārābī, each of the books is divided into two main divisions, "Nouns" and "Verbs." (Kāšyarī makes an exception with book 8; see discussion below.) Then the lexical stock is categorized according to the number of radicals (consonants), first biliteral, then trilateral, etc. (Fārābī had no biliteral category, since he followed the tendency of the Arabic philologists to assimilate all roots to the trilateral; also Kāšyarī found much matter for sextiliteral chapters [e.g. MS. 264]<sup>38</sup> because of the agglutinative character of Turkic word formation, whereas Arabic words rarely go beyond the quinquiliteral.) Fārābī had separate chapters within these larger sections depending on the vowel pattern (thus: *fa’l*, *fu’l*, *fi’l*, *fa’al*, *fa’ul*, *fu’al*, etc.), since each of these patterns could have specific meanings (i.e. they could be morphs). Since the vowel pattern had no morphological significance in Turkic, Kāšyarī grouped these together into larger categories (e.g. MS. 33: "Chapter: *fa’l*, *fu’l*, *fi’l*, quiescent second radical, in its various vocalizations"). He again seems to allude to Fārābī at the end of his Introduction (MS. 28) when, remarking on this point, he states: "For the sake of lightness and conciseness I have put together in a single line all the chapters of the *fathḥ*, the *ḡamm*, and the *kasr*." Finally, within each chapter, the arrangement of the words follows Fārābī's rhyme order scheme quite exactly.<sup>39</sup> Also there are subsections within each chapter based on those phonological features which determine the major division of the work into 8 books (e.g. MS. 32: 11 "Nasal" [al-ḡunna minhu], under which heading all the biliterals with /ŋ/ are listed). In general, the principle is observed that each book contains words with the phonological characteristics of its own and subsequent books, but not of preceding books, which would already have included those words; but since it is structurally impossible to carry this out thoroughly, there are in fact numerous overlappings among the books.

Since Turkic is agglutinative and word formation is based on suffixation rather than internal inflection as in Arabic, the pattern system does not by itself mark out classes of words by morphology, as was the case with Fārābī. Combined with the rhyme principle, however, the net effect is to group words together which have a common suffix; and this gives Kāšyarī the opportunity for his frequent excursions on morphology. Thus, the chapter: *fa’al’al* in the noun section of the book of *hamz* (MS. 84ff.) first has the subheading Γ under which are listed all words with the ending /-liḡ/; then the subheading Q under which are those with /-liq/; then K, those with /-lig/ and /-lik/, which he differentiates in a grammatical excursus (86

38. Cf. MS. 13: Septiliteral — "This is rare, in nouns . . . ."

39. Cf. MS. 16-17, "On the Order of the Patterns" and "On the Order of the Letters."



egätlig G). Elsewhere (e.g. 254-5 G) he has occasion to expatiate on these endings and show how they relate to one another. Or the chapter: *fa'aldī* in the verb section of the book of *sālim* (MS. 305ff.) first has the subheading R, then (312) Š, then (326) Q and (327) K, then (328) L, and then (337) N; and at the end of each of these sections is a grammar section discussing the meanings attached to these various endings (causative, reciprocal, etc.).

We shall now discuss each book in greater detail.

- 1) *Kitāb al-hamz* (MS. 29-159). Arabic cannot begin a word with a vowel, but only with a glottal stop /ʔ/, which is considered a consonant; *hamz* or *hamza* is the name of the letter indicating the glottal stop. *Hamz* is peculiar in Arabic both phonologically and orthographically. (It must be recalled that the medieval philologists did not adequately distinguish between these two.) Morphophonemically (confining the discussion to initial-*hamz*, which is all that concerns us) there are two sorts of glottal stops. The first, called *hamzat al-qaṭ'*, remains sound in all positions; this includes roots whose first radical is *hamz* (e.g. '-k-l "to eat" – but note that the *hamz* is lost in the imperative: *kul*), and words of the patterns 'af'al, 'af'āl, etc. The second, called *hamzat al-waṣl*, is elided in all positions except the beginning of a statement; this includes the definite article 'al-, biliteral words such as 'ism and 'ibn, and words of the patterns 'infa'ala, 'ifta'ala, etc. Orthographically (again confining the discussion to initial-*hamz*) the *hamz* is always written along with *alif* which in this case is called the "seat" of the *hamz*; and this *alif* is written even for the *hamzat al-waṣl*, in other words, even when the glottal stop elides. In practice, Arabic writers often omitted the *hamz* even when it was *hamzat al-qaṭ'*, allowing the *alif* alone to indicate the initial glottal stop. It is because of the peculiarities of *hamz* that the Arabic philologists considered it separately from the other consonants, and that Fārābī in particular treated it separately in his work.

Turkic lacks the glottal stop and can begin a word with a vowel. The Uighur script used the letter *alif* initially for all words beginning with a vowel (following the common Semitic practice in Hebrew and Aramaic, of which the Arabic system is also a reflection), and this practice was carried over when Turkic began to be written in the Arabic script. In the case of Turkic, then, writing *hamz* along with the *alif* was redundant. (It was often felt to be redundant in Arabic also, as we just saw.)<sup>40</sup> In the Diwan, in fact, there are only a few *hamz*'s in the Turkic material, and these only in the first few pages; the normal system is simply to have *alif* plus the appropriate vowel sign (*ḥaraka*). Kāšyarī retained Fārābī's terminology, however, calling the book *Kitāb al-hamz*.

Looking at the chapters, which are based on the pattern system, we find first "biliterals" (MS. 29ff. [nouns], 92ff. [verbs]), meaning in this case words (nouns) or stems (verbs) whose first letter is *alif* and whose second letter is another consonant – "letter" (*ḥarf*) meaning one of the letters of the Arabic alphabet; the vowel-signs (sg. *ḥaraka*) occurring above or below the *alif* are not considered letters, any more than the *sukūn* indicating lack of vowel, and so do not figure in the pattern. (Generally Kāšyarī observes the ordering principle A-U-I; thus 'AT' at, ät; 'UT' ot; 'IT' it.) The subsections of the chapter follow the order of the later books; and so we find, in the noun section (MS. 32) first the heading "doubled" (meaning in this case a doubling of the second consonant); then "final-weak" (meaning that the second consonant is either 'V-Y); and then "nasal" (meaning that the second consonant is /ŋ/ indicated by the ligature NK).

"Trilaterals" (MS. 33ff.) begin with a chapter on the pattern CvCC, of which the first consonant is *alif*; this chapter has a subheading "defective" (*manqūṣ*), meaning that the second consonant is either

V-Y. In Arabic, words of the pattern CVC were assimilated to the pattern CvCC, since long vowels were indicated by using *matres lectionis* (*alif*, *wāw*, *yā'*); thus *qīl* is written *qiyl*, etc. Therefore Kāšyarī considers *ōt*, written 'UVT' (i.e. with the mater V) to belong to this pattern; *ōy* has the additional feature of ending in one of the "weak" or "defective" letters (the same ones used as *matres lectionis*), and so its occurrence is preceded by the sub-subheading "final weak" (MS. 36). Then comes the chapter on the pattern CvCvC (MS. 36ff. – nouns, 97ff. – verbs). The first subheading is "doubled" (MS. 52), meaning that the second and third consonants are the same (e.g. 'UBUB' *ūpūp*). Under the subheading "initial weak" (*miṭāl*; MS. 52ff.) we find words whose second consonant, like the first consonant, is *alif*; this is an anomaly, and will be discussed further in the section below on the *Kitāb al-miṭāl*. (The occurrence of *ala* in this subsection [MS. 53 end], besides its expected occurrence at 58, can be partially explained by the consideration that the Arabic philologists often considered *lām-alif* as a single letter, or ligature.) The subheading "medial weak" (54ff.) includes words whose second consonant is either V-Y (here functioning as consonants not as *matres lectionis*); and words like *aya* (55) are subsumed in this category under a sub-subheading "final weak" since their final consonant is *alif*. Words like *ata* then appear under the subheading "final weak"; and so on. This detailed analysis should be sufficient to illustrate Kāšyarī's methodology.

- 2) *Kitāb as-sālim* (MS. 160-406). As we have seen, the Arabic philologists distinguished certain letters as "weak" or "defective" – viz. *alif* (along with *hamz*), *wāw*, *yā'*. All the remaining letters are "sound" (*sālim*), meaning that they do not suffer the changes which the "weak" ones undergo under certain circumstances (e.g. '-k-l, imperative: *kul*; q-w-l, jussive *yaqul*; b-n-y, 3rd fem. sg. perf. *banat*; etc.); nor do they serve as *matres lectionis*, either as vowel lengtheners or as "seats" for the *hamz*. Kāšyarī applies this principle to Turkic in essentially the same way. This book is the least problematic and, since most words are made up of such letters, the longest. The noun section may be outlined as follows:

#### I. Biliterals (160): CvC

#### II. Trilaterals (171 end)

- A. CvCC (172)
- B. CvCvC (178)
- C. CVCvC (204). (In this case, the *matres lectionis* are referred to by the term *madd* augment or "lengthener")
- D. CVCvC (206)
- E. CvCvC (207). (*Madd* or *līn* augment)
- F. CvCCv (209)
- G. CvCCvN (219). (The Arabic philologists often considered N separately from the other consonants, even assimilating it to the "weak" letters, since one of its functions was as an augment, e.g. in the pattern *fa'lān*.)<sup>41</sup>
- H. CvCvCv (223)
- I. CvCvNCv (225). (Again N is considered an augment.)

#### III. Quadrilaterals (226 end)

- A. CvCCvC (226-7)
  1. C<sub>1</sub>vCC<sub>1</sub>vC or CvC<sub>1</sub>CvC<sub>1</sub> (224)
- B. CvCvCvC (244)
- C. CvCvCCv (245). (*tawil*ūč is out of place here, belongs at IV.A; is probably put here because of 245 *tawilqu*; the same for 245 *awilqu*, which should have been in the *Kitāb al-hamz*.)
- D. CvCCvCv (246)

41. Cf. 13 G; see Kelly II, 159-60; and Kelly, *JAOS* 91.1, p. 134.

40. Kāšyarī uses the terms *hamza* and *alif* interchangeably, referring to Arabic, at 280:17.

- IV. Quinquiliterals (247)  
 A. CvCvCCvC (247)  
 B. CvCCvCvC (262). (264 mundaru is out of place here, belongs at III.D)
- V. Sextiliterals (264)  
 A. CvCvCCvCvC (264)
- VI. Septiliterals (264): CvCCvCCCvC. (The example, *zaryunčmūd*, could also have been considered in the Kitāb al-ḡunna or the Kitāb al-jam')

- 3) *Kitāb al-muḏā'af* (406-445) Arabic roots like *d-l-l* or *m-r-r*, of which the second and third radicals are the same, show certain peculiarities in the paradigm (e.g. the 3rd masc. sg. perf. is *dalla*, not \**dalala*, which would be expected on the model of such "sound" roots as *k-t-b*, *kataba*). Such roots were therefore considered separately by the Arabic philologists, who called them "geminate" or "doubled" (*muḏā'af*). (Words like *dalla* also show the orthographical peculiarity of being spelled with only one *lam*; doubling is indicated by a special diacritical mark called *šadda* or *tašdīd*.)

In the noun section, Kāšyarī considers as "doubled" most words having two consonants the same. Among the biliterals we find, alongside such words as *tat* and *qaq*, also such phrases as *hāč hāč* (407), in which the two consonants are different, but the reduplication constitutes a type of doubling. (The Arabic philologists considered roots like *z-l-z-l* "to tremble" in the same light.) Beyond the biliterals, only those words are included in which the two final consonants are the same. (409 *kōkāgūn* is out of place unless N is again considered an augment; one should have expected it to occur in the Kitāb as-*sālim* at MS. 244 [III.B in the above outline] along with *čičālaq*, etc.) This excludes such words as 191 *tutuq*, *čočuq*; 192 *qapaq*, *qatiq*; 219 *taštīn*; 220 *tutyūn*; etc. which are all considered "sound" and not "doubled."

In the verb section (411ff.) Kāšyarī distinguishes between "genuine doubling" and "secondary doubling." Biliteral stems like *tut-*, *sūs-*, *qaq-*, in which both radicals are the same, illustrate genuine doubling. All the other verbs in this section (from 412 end) illustrate secondary doubling, occurring only in the preterite, in which the preterite marker /-Di/ assimilates to the final dental consonant of the stem, resulting in a "doubled" T. This holds for roots ending in /t/ (*bat-*, etc.), and also for roots ending in /d/ (413 *sūd-*, 414 *kād-*, etc.). The majority of words in this section, however (415ff.), are "doubled" because of the causative suffix /-t-/.

- 4) *Kitāb al-miṭāl* (445-493). We have already seen that Arabic roots containing one of the "weak" letters (*hamz/alif*, *wāw*, *yā'*) suffer certain changes in the paradigm and in word formation, and so were considered separately by the Arabic philologists. This and the following two books contain words with such letters (in Turkic: *alif*, *vāv*, *yā'*) respectively in initial, medial, and final position.

Fārābī already separated words initial-*hamz* from words initial-*wāw* or *-yā'*, since these two categories undergo different sorts of changes. The term "similarity" (*miṭāl*) was applied to roots of which the first radical was *wāw* or *yā'*, since in the verbal paradigm such roots were "similar" to sound roots in the perfect, though not in the imperfect; thus *w-j-d* "to find" is conjugated like the sound root *k-t-b* "to write" in the perfect (*wajada*, *kataba*, etc.), but in the imperfect the *wāw* is lost (*yajidu*, *yaktubu*).

In the Diwan there are only two words with initial *vāv*: the interjection 539 *va* (in an initial weak subsection of the biliteral noun chapter of the Kitāb *ḏawāt al-arba'a*), and the foreign proper name *varaṅ* given as an alternant to 80 *oraṅ*. This book, therefore, contains only words initial-/y/.

As with the other cases, we also find examples of words initial-/y/ in other books if they illustrate the phonological peculiarities of those books; thus in the Kitāb al-muḏā'af we have 409 *yetüt*, 422 *yat-*, *yopat-*, etc. under the heading "initial weak" (*miṭāl*).

In addition, we find three cases of the heading "initial weak" in the Kitāb al-*hamz* where the reference is obviously not to the very first radical (which has to be *hamz* or, rather, *alif*) but to the second one which is Y; these are at MS. 68 (*uyyur*, *aytiš*, etc.), 73 (*oynāš*, *ayrān*), and 74 (*ayās*). This usage is probably based on the consideration that in such Arabic patterns as *'af'al* (MS. 60, of which the examples at 68 are a subsection) the initial *hamz* (or *alif*) was considered an "augment" (*ziyāda*), and the letter occupying the *fā'* position was considered to be the first radical.<sup>42</sup> In other instances, however, Kāšyarī uses a different label for such words, e.g. "with *yā'*" (54 – *uyaz*, *ayiy*, etc.), or "defective" (*manqūš*: 115 – *ayit-*, *uyat-*, etc.). (When he says, at 95 *ēt-*, "this word may also be found in the initial-weak chapter," this surely means that it could also have been listed under the following subheading, "defective," and not that there exists a variant with initial-/y/, which could have been listed in the Kitāb al-miṭāl. [Note, however, MS. 66, n. 1].)

Finally, there is one anomalous case (MS. 52) in which *miṭāl* is used to label words whose second radical is *alif*, not *yā'* (this was mentioned above in the discussion on Kitāb al-*hamz*). The words in this section (*āt*, *āč*, etc.) are written with two *alifs* side by side (e.g. *آآ* 'A'T. *āt*) as if to point up their trilateral character; elsewhere in the Diwan they appear with the normal Arabic orthography for /'a-/ which is one *alif* plus a special diacritical mark called *madda* ("lengthener") (e.g. at 555:4 *آآ* 'A'T. *āt*).<sup>43</sup> In the noun section, Kāšyarī distinguishes these words from those with second radical V or Y, labelling the latter category "defective" (*manqūš*: 33ff. – 'UVT. *ōt*, 'IYŠ *iš*, etc.); both, however, are included in the trilateral chapter (33 top). In the verb section, on the other hand, stems like 96 *ār-*, *āz-* ('AR-, 'AZ-) are listed together with stems like 95 *ōp-* ('UVB-) and 96 *ēr-* ('IYR-) under the subheading "defective" (95 end); and the entire section occurs in the biliteral chapter (91ff.), not the trilateral chapter (97ff.). This inconsistency is symptomatic of Kāšyarī's attempt to fit Turkic into the mould of Arabic.

- 5) *Kitāb ḏawāt at-talāṭa* (493-535). It appears that Fārābī applied this term to words with a medial weak radical (e.g. nouns like *bāb*, *būq*, *bīd*; verbal roots like *t-w-b*, *š-y-ḥ*) by analogy with the reason for applying the term *miṭāl* to words initial weak – viz. that the first sg. perf. of a root like *š-y-ḥ* is *šihṭu*, i.e. it is a "possessor of three" (*ḏu t-talāṭa*), meaning three "letters" or consonants.<sup>44</sup>

In applying this to Turkic, Kāšyarī again could not avoid certain inconsistencies, depending on whether he considered the "weak" letter to be a consonant (i.e. a radical) or a mere vowel-lengthener

42. The same consideration explains 521 *āyāgū* alongside *yoriṭa* and *yūliḡā* in an "initial weak" subsection in the following book.

43. One *alif* plus *madda* is the norm outside of the entry. Thus *ālīn* in the proverb at 53 *āl* is spelled 'A'LIYN, but in the same proverb at 410:17 'ĀLIYN (and in the same proverb at 622:13 simply 'ALIYN). Cf. spellings of *āč* (227:15, 228:2, 258:1, 380:4), *āš* (420:5, 526:10; elsewhere simply *aš*), *āw* (27:2), *āy* (202:14, 253:10, 266:1, 458:13). Only the following exceptions occur: *āy* spelled 'Y at 363:6 and 502:14. Also *āč* "open!" spelled 'J in the phrase *qol āč* at 180:15 (secondary lengthening, or phrase stress). As noted in the base index, *at* "horse" occurs with *madda* 14 times. Note anomalous spelling of Ar. *āmiš* "Koumiss" at 236:1: *amīš* |.

44. Kelly, *JAOS* 91.1, 132-6.

(i.e. mater lectionis). The chapter of biliteral nouns (493ff.) first contains a preliminary category of words with final /-h/ which is considered in a special way and is explained by appeal to a special case of *hā* in Arabic. Then comes the chapter headed *fa'l*, etc. (494), which is normally a trilateral pattern (CvCC), but here, as in the verbal section (524), is considered biliteral for the reason Kāšyari gives at 493 G, 515 G, and 526 G – namely that the "weak" letter in these words can be dropped in speech (especially when a suffix is added – 516 G), rendering them "biliteral in pronunciation." (It appears that Kāšyari is attempting to assimilate a Turkic phenomenon like *qōl:qoli* to an Arabic phenomenon like *šāḥa šiḥtu*, i.e. a loss of vowel length, indicated orthographically by the loss of the mater.) In the noun section, Kāšyari again distinguishes words medial-*alif* from those medial-V-Y, putting the former under the heading *fa'al* "of the medial-*vāv* type" (507); this designation is based on the consideration that the Arabic philologists assimilated words like *ḥāl* to the *fa'al* pattern, the *wāw* occupying the 'ayn position being lost intervocally (i.e. \**ḥawal* > *ḥaal* = *ḥāl*; cf. the broken plural *aḥwāl*). In the verb section (524ff.) the two types are again lumped together. The next noun section (516) also has the heading *fa'al*, but "with radical *vāv*" (*čūvit*, *qavut*, etc.), and then (517) "those with *yā*" (*qayir*, *tayir*, etc.), implying that these are considered trilateral; and this is confirmed in the corresponding verb section (526). Among the verbs, however, in addition to stems like *buyur*-, 527 *tayiš*-, etc. we also find 526 *bāqir*-, *tētür*-, 527 *kütür*-, etc. In the latter cases, the medial weak letter is again only a vowel-lengthener or mater, and so a word like *bāqirdi* can be assimilated to the pattern *fa'aldī*, even though orthographically the stem has four radicals (BA'QIR-).<sup>45</sup> In the noun section the corresponding words are again marked off in a separate category (520).

- 6) *Kitāb dawāt al-arba'a* (535-599). In Arabic, as we saw above, verbs with medial weak roots (e.g. *t-w-b*, *ṣ-y-ḥ*) lose the weak radical in the first sg. perf. of the paradigm (*tubtu*, *ṣiḥtu*). Verbs with final weak roots, on the other hand (e.g. *d-'-w*, *b-n-y*), retain the weak radical in the same form *da'awtu*, *banaytu*). For this reason Fārābī called the latter class "possessor of four" (*dū l-arba'a*), meaning four "letters" or consonants, again including the /t/ of the suffix in the count.

In applying this to Turkic, Kāšyari found an analogous case with monosyllabic roots ending in a vowel (e.g. *ba*-, *sa*- – see 554-5 G), since the first sg. preterite of such Turkic roots is also "possessor of four" in the sense of being written with four "letters" or consonants: BA'DIM (*bādim*), SA'DIM (*sādim*). Then Kāšyari extends the designation "possessor of four" to all words ending in a vowel (or, more exactly, all nouns and all verbal stems ending in -V-Y).<sup>46</sup> We have therefore consistently translated *dū l-arba'a* as "final weak," just as *dū t-talāta* is "medial weak" and *miṭāl* is "initial weak."

- 7) *Kitāb al-ḡunna* (599-622). As noted above, Kāšyari added two books to Fārābī's scheme that are based on phonological features prominent in Turkic but not found in Arabic. The first of these is the sound [ŋ]. This was known to the Arabic grammarians, who described it as a secondary sound or allophone.<sup>47</sup> In his discussion of the Uighur script (MS. 7) Kāšyari calls it "the nasal *kāf*, produced between *ḡayn* and *qāf* and *nūn* and *qāf*," and further remarks that "this letter is the hardest to pronounce for a non-Turk." In this instance "letter" (*ḥarf*) means "phoneme." Kāšyari in fact followed the Uighur practice of indicating the sound by means of a ligature of two letters: NK; but he clearly recognized that this represented a single sound; and the two letters are considered as one according to

45. Cf. Kāšyari's remark at 529 G!

46. Cf. 444 G where *tarma*- is "possessor of four" because the imperative form has four radicals (TARMA')!

47. Kelly III, n. 22 (Semaan, p. 40).

the pattern system (e.g. 500 *bōn*, spelled BUNK, is "biliteral"; 611 *qandaš*, spelled QNKDŠ, is "quadri-literal"; etc.).

Unfortunately, Kāšyari confused the issue by including the consonant cluster /nč/ along with the phoneme /ŋ/ as illustrating the same phenomenon of "nasality" (*ḡunna* – see 599 G).<sup>48</sup> In this he was inconsistent, however, since he normally analyzes /nč/ correctly as two distinct sounds (/n/ plus /č/). Thus, we find 128 *enčik*- in the *Kitāb al-hamz* along with 120 *anḡar*-, etc. under the pattern *fa'lal*- (116ff.); 239 *qančiq*, *mončuq* in the *Kitāb as-sālim* (pattern *fa'lal* – 226 end); 457 *yinču* in the *Kitāb al-miṭāl*; 577 *yunči*- in the *Kitāb dawāt al-arba'a*; and 626 *sanč*- along with *sürč*-, *kürs*-, etc. in the *Kitāb al-Jam'*. In the present book the "nasal with *jīm*" occurs first at 607-8, under the pattern *fa'al* (602 end) and the heading "final *ḡunna*" (605), following words ending in /ŋ/, and including such words as *birinč*, *bāzānč*, etc., as well as a few in the sub-category "final weak," including *tutunču*, *qarinča*, etc. Apparently Kāšyari considered the /nč/ in these words to be a single "letter" or phoneme, but not in the other words mentioned above. The "nasal with *jīm*" occurs again at 613 in the quadrilateral chapter (pattern *fa'lal* – 610 end) in the same context, and including *qazḡanč*, *qorqunc*, etc. Besides these two categories of words, we find in this book only 610 *yinčgā* along with *yalḡu* and *yāḡgā* in the initial-weak subsection of the pattern *fa'lā* (608 end).

It is very likely that the section headed "nasal with *jīm*" at the very end of the *Diwan* (637-8) was originally intended to be included in this book, since words like *ötünč* and *inanč* are exactly like *birinč* and *bāzānč*, and they do not in fact illustrate the consonant-cluster characteristic of the final book, as will appear below. Also, the entire section is repeated exactly from the *Kitāb al-hamz* (78-9), where it occurs under the heading *fu'ul*!

- 8) *Kitāb al-jam' bayn as-sākinayn* (622-638). A feature of Arabic phonology is that a syllable can end in a vowel or in a single consonant, but not in a consonant cluster. (That is, all syllables are of the type Cv or CvC, never CvCC.) The only exception is the "pausal" pronunciation of words ending in a short vowel, when the vowel is dropped (e.g. *kaḡb* "dog"). The Arabic philologists expressed this feature, as usual, in terms of the orthography. It will be recalled that the Arabic script is a consonantal one, short vowels being indicated only by small strokes (called *ḡarakāt* "movements") above or below the letters which indicated the consonants. Lack of a vowel could also be indicated by a small circle above the consonant (called *sukūn* "rest"). Thus every letter (consonant) is either vowelled ("moving" *mutaḡhar-rik*), or else unvowelled ("quiescent" *sākin*) (Wright I 13 B); and so the restricted feature could be expressed by the phrase "the joining of two unvowelled consonants" (*al-jam' bayn as-sākinayn*).

Kāšyari did not consider nouns which end in a consonant cluster as illustrating this feature, probably in light of its occurrence in the Arabic "pausal" pronunciation mentioned above. Thus we find words like 33 *alp*, *art*, and in the *Kitāb al-hamz*; words like 172 *bart*, 173 *kānd*, *bars*, and 176 *türk* in the *Kitāb as-sālim*; and words like 447 *yarp*, *yurč*, *yond* in the *Kitāb al-miṭāl*. He did however consider verbal stems which end in a consonant cluster as illustrating this feature, because in the preterite form, which he considered basic, they do contain two unvowelled consonants before the preterite suffix /-Di/ (e.g. 626 *alq*-, *sanč*-, *kürs*-; 628 *art*-, *bärt*-; 630 *amurt*-, *qapart*-; 632 *yort*-, *yānč*-, *yapurt*-). In effect, "consonant cluster" means a cluster of three consonants, not two; or, to use Kāšyari's terminology, the "joining of two unvowelled letters" is significant only before another "letter" (consonant), and not at the end of a word. The only exception to this is the group of words like *ötünč* and *inanč*

48. It is curious that the Old Turkic Runic alphabet used a single letter for the clusters /nč/, /nt/ and /lt/ as well as for /ŋ/ and /ny/.

in the section at 637 marked "nasal with *jīm*"; but this section is probably misplaced here, as we noted above in our discussion of the Kitāb al-*yunna*.

In this book Kāšyarī departs from the pattern arrangement of the other books. Instead there are six chapters corresponding to the first six books of the Diwan, and each of these has a noun section and a verb section. This, at any rate, seems to be the original conception, but certain irregularities have crept in. Thus we find the first two (i.e. vowel-initial and sound) joined together, so that nouns like 622 *arslān*, *oldrum* are followed immediately by 622 *türkmān*, etc.; and verbs like 626 *alq*, 627 *and-γar* are together with 627 *qorq*-, *köndgār*-, etc. The "doubled" chapter (628ff.) mainly has verbal stems ending in /t/, as in the Kitāb al-*muḏā'af*. The "initial weak" chapter (631ff.), in addition to the expected verbal stems, like 632 *yānc*-, *yalq*-, and 633 *yügürt*-, *yaldri*-, also contains 631-2 *yād*-, *yōd*-, *yūd*-, *yēd*- which do not seem to have consonant clusters (cf. 526 *yēr*-, *yōr*-, *yēl*- in the Kitāb *ḏawāt aṭ-ṭalāta*). Similarly, all the words in the defective chapter (633ff.; "defective" corresponds to "middle weak") seem to lack the required feature (633 *ēnc*, *kānc*, *qāfγar*, *bārliγ*, *özlük*, *īd*-, *bēd*-, *tōd*-, *tīd*-, etc.) (cf. 524 *kēc*-, *tār*-, 525 *ēw*-, *čiq*-, *tōg*- in the Kitāb *ḏawāt aṭ-ṭalāta*). And again, in the "final weak" chapter (634ff.), along with the expected 635 *asurtγu*, *qaldraγa*, etc., we also find 634 *zānbi*, *sāwci*, *čāwli*, etc. The common feature in all of these unexpected words is the long vowel, written, it will be recalled, with one of the *matres lectionis*, *alif*, *vāu*, *yā* ('V-Y). Since these letters are first of all consonants, and since they are not "moving" in the sense of being pronounced with a following vowel, the Arabic philologists considered them "quiescent" (*sākin*), and in fact often wrote them with *sukūn*. Thus Kāšyarī could consider words like *yādti* (YA'D-TY), *ēnc* ('IYNJ), and *özlük* ('UVZ-LUK) as illustrating the required feature of three consonants together.<sup>49</sup> As for his inconsistent treatment of verbal roots with long vowels, he apparently considered such roots ending in /d/ in a different light from all others.

From Kāšyarī's statement at 613-4 G that consonant clusters cannot have /n/, it seems clear that his original intention was to end this book with six chapters (or rather five, since he put together the first two) corresponding to the first six books of the Diwan. As noted above, however, we do find a final chapter at 637 marked "nasal with *jīm*" which would correspond to the Kitāb al-*yunna*, but its inclusion at this point was probably an afterthought. It should also be noted that the verb section (637-8) has only one example, *yinčgālān*-, which does illustrate (unlike the nouns) the required feature of the book; but *yinčgā* is found in the Kitāb al-*yunna* (610).

In summary, this final book of the Diwan is based on the feature of a consonant cluster in the middle of a word (-vCCCv).<sup>90</sup> Kāšyarī departed from the pattern arrangement of the other books, probably because this feature was so foreign to Arabic syllabification that it could not be indicated in the normal way using the schematic Arabic root *f-'l*. Kāšyarī realized, however, that the first consonant in the cluster was always one of the liquids /r,l,n/;<sup>51</sup> and he attempted to "justify" such clusters by the idea that these letters (sounds) "lighten the word from its heaviness and make it as though the two [joined] letters were one letter" (626 *alq*- G).

49. Cf. the remark at 190 *baliq*: "Part of Oγuz and part of Arγu say: BA'L-IQ- *bālq* with three unvowelled consonants in a row; in Turkic only two unvowelled consonants in a row are found; the Arγu slur their speech." The intention is to exclude from Turkic the possibility of three consonants at the end of a word; but *bālq* is exactly like *ēnc* and *kānc*.

50. The only exceptions to this are 633 *ēnc*, *kānc*; see previous note.

51. This also holds true for clusters of two consonants at the end of a word, with one exception—33 *ast* (foreign word?). Kāšyarī states the rule at 447 G.

## 12. Turkic and Arabic

Kāšyarī's purpose, as he explains in the Introduction (MS. 5 top) is "to show that the Turkic dialects keep pace with Arabic like two horses in a race."<sup>52</sup> Not only is the study of Turkic recommended on religious and practical grounds (MS. 2-3); but Turkic is regarded as equal to Arabic in richness and complexity, and so its study is recommended on purely intellectual grounds as well.

The prestige of the language of Islam is such, however, that Arabic is the model against which Turkic is measured.

The extreme case of this modelling comprises those Turkic words which "correspond" (Ar. *muwāfaqa*) to Arabic in sound and sense. One of these (517 *tavul*) Kāšyarī takes to be an outright borrowing;<sup>53</sup> and another may also indeed be an Arabic loan (38 *oγar*; see ED, 89). Four of them (62 *iwriq*, 180 *kirit*, 181 *küzāč*, 411 *tārñuk*) are also etymologically related to their Arabic equivalents, most likely as being Iranian loans in both languages. For the rest, the resemblance is fortuitous.<sup>54</sup> There is a suggestion in each case that the Arabic form is somehow prior, an "Urform" of which the Turkic is a reflection. Nevertheless, Kāšyarī does not regard these as foreign words (cf. MS 20: "Foreign words in this language are not mentioned").<sup>55</sup>

More commonly, Kāšyarī cites a point in Arabic grammar or Arabic vocabulary to illustrate (or "justify") a similar point in Turkic, be it a phonetic variation, a semantic shift, or a grammatical usage.<sup>56</sup>

52. The racecourse image recurs at 595 G.

53. Another word which Kāšyarī suggests is a borrowing from Arabic is 179 *qarit*.

54. 32 *arra*, 51 *aγin*, 56 *ari*, 57 *awa*, 66 *ötrüm*, 162 *hāč*, 163 *qar qur*, 169 *bül*, 183 *qadir*, 184 *sāmiz*, 407 *hāč*, 457 *yayru*, 507 *šāp*, 538-9 *ma*, 550 *qarvi*. Another example of *muwāfaqa* (490 G) is the use of /n/ in both Turkic and Arabic to make a transitive verb intransitive, as in the example: *yaz*-, *ḥalla*, "untie"; *yazin*-, *inḥalla*, "come untied."

55. The following exceptions may be noted:

i) The examples already mentioned as Arabic borrowings. (The word *xayl* in an illustrative sentence at 278 *san*-, and translated by Ar. *xayl* "horses," is probably a lapsus for *at*.)

ii) Kāšyarī occasionally mentions an Oγuz word which he understands to be a borrowing from Persian: 51 *örān*; *sāxt* (at 66 *üstām*); *tana* (at 463 *yumγāq* — in this case Uč dialect); *aftābe* and *gāšūr* (Arγu *gēzri*, at 217 *turma* — here also *qalīde* from Arabic). Usually he regards the borrowing the other way around, i.e. from Turkic to Persian: 173 *kānd*, 243 *badram*, 435 *taylat*-, 459 *yalma*, 496 *tēz*, 511 *dāγ*. In portions of the Alexander saga some tribal names have a Persian folk-etymology: 68-9 *uyγur*, 198 *čigil*, 624 *türkmān*. But place names like Qum, Qazvīn, Samarqand are given a Turkic folk-etymology (at 509-10 *qāz N*).

iii) Finally, six words are labelled "not original" (*γayr ašliyya*): 213 *tumsa* (Arγu dialect); 213 *čaxšu*; 230 *borduz*; 541 *šuti* (?); 549 *mamu* (cf. *egāt*); 573 *tayla*- (but cf. 435 *taylat*- and 511 *dāγ!*).

56. MS. 8, 11, 14-5, 29 *ač*, 33 *urq*, 43 *ülüš*, 63 *āpmāk*, 68 *āšgāk*, 69 *uyγur*, 76 *oγri*, *öpkā*, 78 *anda*, 80 *öni*, 82-3 *ārdini*, 88 G, 100 G, 105 *aγuq*-, 112 *atat*-, 117 *axtar*-, 120 *anγar*-, 145 *arqa*-, 158 G, 169 *til*, 181 *küdāč*, 187 *bošuy*, 190 *bašaq*, 194 *bölük*, 198 *tasal*, 201 *boγun*, 207 *solāq*, 226 G, 234 *boγsuq*, 236

Occasionally he brings in examples from Persian as well.<sup>57</sup>

The technical vocabulary used in the Diwan is that developed by the Arabic philologists over several centuries of intense scholarly effort. Kāšyārī borrows these technical terms "since," as he states (MS. 4 end), "people are familiar with them."

In the previous section we discussed terms relating to lexical categorization; and in the following we shall examine the phonological vocabulary. Here we shall concentrate on certain other key terms, also relating to lexicology, which cannot be fully grasped without some knowledge of their background in Arabic.

a) *Ḥarf*: "Particle"

Besides meaning "letter of the alphabet" (e.g. MS. 6ff.; and cf. 48 *üzük*) the word *ḥarf* was used by the Arabic grammarians for any word that was neither a noun nor a verb (adjectives being classified as nouns). This included prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions, and interjections (see Wright I, 278 C).

In addition to these four categories, Kāšyārī considers as "particles" the rich vocabulary of onomatopoeic words, as well as some grammatical suffixes, words of abuse, etc. In the Topical Index, group X, we have listed all of these in sixteen categories. It should be pointed out that not every item in the list is labelled "particle" in the Diwan; but most of the items in each category are so labelled.

Al-Fārābī, who was Kāšyārī's model (see previous section), included particles in the noun chapters of his work.<sup>58</sup> Kāšyārī followed him in this regard also.

A curious feature about some of the "particles" is that they are listed in the noun sections of the Diwan even when they are basically nothing more than the imperative of verbs; e.g. 168 *čök čök*, which is said to camels to make them kneel; or 58 *älä*, "slow!," of which Kāšyārī gives the alternate form *älägil*.

b) *Aḍḍād*: "Words with opposite meanings"

The lexicon of classical Arabic, which includes several layers of dialectal, poetical, and colloquial usage, contains many words which appear to have opposite meanings. In most cases the semantic core can be easily detected from which the various meanings have branched out. Such words, called *aḍḍād* or "opposites," were collected and analyzed in special treatises by the Arabic philologists.

čaqmāq, 247 qurutluγ, 255 G, 267 tur- G, 280 G, 283-4 G, 293 G, 294 G, 333 tinil- G, 338 G, 346 G, 353 G, 354 tāltür-, 366 G, 384 qopsāl-, 396 G, 401 G, 414 G, 416 qidit- D, 437 somlit-, 457 yoγru, 459 yubqa, 493 G, 506 yik, 508 qāp, 510 qāz ~ qās, 516 G 523 sarqiyuq, 524 tür-, 534 yaγmalan-, 536 sa, 543 qari, 545 soqu G, 555 G, 565 siyta-, 581 G, 594 yayirila-, 595 G, 625 burslān.

57. 56 *äčä*, 360 *šästür*, 459 yubqa, 485 yapšur-. (Persian words are cited in the absence of Arabic as glosses for Turkic words in the following entries: 90 *itilgān*, 206 *sīγun*, 264 *zaryunčmūd*.)

58. For example, we find *sawfa*, *layta*, etc. in the noun section of Kitāb *ḍawāt at-ṭalāṭa* (285b, line 12; 286a, line 22). And note Fārābī's remark (3a, line 20): The particle has a single form and is unchanging, except that it can function as a noun, as in the verse of Ibn Zayd: *layta šī'ri wa-ayna minni layt<sup>un</sup> / inna layt<sup>an</sup> wa-inna sawf<sup>an</sup> inā'u* ("Would that I knew, but where am I with 'would that'? Truly 'would that' and 'will be' are nothing but trouble.")

Kāšyārī labels six words as belonging to the class of *aḍḍād*: 183 *čayir* and 205 *sūčig*, both meaning "wine," can also refer to something sweet (Kāšyārī apparently did not consider wine sweet); 462 *yarmaš*, either "coarsely ground" or "finely ground" flour; 580 *sayra-*, either "to sing" (of a nightingale) or "to rave" (of a man); 563 *tükä-*, basically "to come to an end," then either "to be depleted" or "to be sufficient"; 572 *tärlä-*, either "to sweat" (of a horse) or "to currycomb" (a horse – i.e. clean off the sweat).

c) *Luγa*: "Variant; Dialect"

The term *luγa* has a wide range of application in Arabic (cf. Kāšyārī's remarks at 169 *til*). Its basic meaning is "utterance" or "word"; indeed, the title of the Diwan could be translated "Register of the Utterances of the Turks." Then, depending on the context, it could mean "specific pronunciation" or "variant," then "dialect," then "speech" or "language"; also (a modern application) "dictionary."

Unfortunately, Kāšyārī's usage, though it tends to be consistent, does not fully compensate for the lack of precision in the Arabic term.

For example, 456 *yiγāč* is said to be "a variant of *yiγāč*," but also "one of the four variants." Now the variation with or without vowel length in the second syllable is allophonic (cf. 284 G); thus 193 *bāzāk* and 207 *bāzāk* are also "variants." The other two variants of *yiγāč* can only be \**iγāč* and \**iγāč* – i.e. the corresponding forms with ' instead of Y which, though not found as such in the Diwan, would be the expected Oγuz-Qifčāq dialectal forms according to the rule at 26 D (plus such examples as 460 *yelgin*, 49 *ilik*, etc.).

Similarly, the label "one of the two variants" at 202 *tulun* and 221-2 *qalqān* must refer, respectively, to 606 *tulun* and 612 *qalqān*. Although there is no dialect label in these two cases, the variation is probably dialectal, as evidenced by 612 *tapčaṅ*, which is labelled "Känčäk dialect," while 212 *tapčān* has no such label. Also, 608 *yaṅān* is specified as "not Oγuz," and so the label "one of the two variants" at 456 *yayān* probably is equivalent to "Oγuz dialect."

Another level of usage refers to free variation in certain phonetic environments (e.g. γ~x preconsonantly: see 234 *boxsuq*, 432-3 *qoγšat*, 565 *siyta-*; γ~w intervocalically: see 245 *qaγurmāč*, etc.; γ~w preconsonantly: see 223 *süglin*, etc.; see, in general, Dialect Index). If, however, Kāšyārī says that one variant is "more correct" than the other (e.g. 71-2 *owrūγ*) this might imply a dialectal difference, though it might only be a personal judgment (see below on *šihḥa* and *fašāḥa*).

It should be noted that the rubric "D" in the running marginal index will be found wherever the text has *luγa*, and also where a specific dialect group is named without the term *luγa*. The Dialect Index sorts out the various categories, and also includes other variations and alternations, whether or not labelled *luγa* or *mubdala* in the text.

d) *Mubdala*: "Alternant"

Closely related to the concept of "variant" is that of "alternant." In fact the two often amount to the same thing. For example, 215 *tarqa* is "a variant of *talqa*"; but at 215 *talqa* we read "the *lām* is an alternant of *rā*." (Cf. 464 *yepgil*, *yepgin*; 541 *qayu* ~ *xayu*.) Kāšyārī seems to prefer "alternant" when he can find a similar alternation in Arabic or Persian.<sup>59</sup> In the case of 457 *yayru*, the alternation depends on a

59. E.g. 43 *ülüš*, 46 *ušuq*, 56 *äčä*, 68 *äšgäk*, 80 *öni*, 201 *boγun* (cf. 50 *ükim*, 453 *yiγim*) 207 *solāq*, 457 *yoγru*, 506 *yik*, 510 *qāz* ~ *qās*.

supposed connection of the root-form, *yaqru*, with the Arabic equivalent, *yaqrubu*. Similarly in the case of 184 *sämiz*, the alternation depends on a supposed connection between the Turkic word and its Arabic equivalent, *samīn*; but here Kāšyārī finds an inner-Turkic "alternation" of /n/ and /z/ as well, viz. in the second person pronouns *sän* and *siz*.

Kāšyārī also seems to prefer "alternant" when it is a question of a morphemic and not simply a phonetic alternation. Thus he calls /l/ an "alternant" of /n/ in those cases where verbal stems with one suffix mean the same as with the other (110 *oqin-*, 148 *aɣırlan-*, 278 *ban-*, 338 *bāzän-*); but he also says that *itin-* is a "variant" of *itil-* (337 G; cf. 347 G: *bitil-~ bitin-*, "alternant"); and 472 *yan-* is the Qifčāq dialectal "variant" of *yal-*.<sup>60</sup> Also, "*mīm* is an alternant of *bā*" expresses the morphophonemic alternation of the first person plural pronoun, *biz* as an independent word, *-miz* as a suffix (164-5 *-miz*).

e) *Şihha*: "Correctness"; *Faşāha*: "Elegance"; *Zarāfa*: "Refinement"; *Rikka*: "Slurring"

We enter now on a discussion of certain terms which seem to reflect Kāšyārī's personal judgment, rather than being based on objective linguistic criteria; or which reflect a standard of some social class, perhaps the Qarakhanid court, similar to a preference for the King's English over other levels of English speech which would be considered substandard.

Kāšyārī appeals to such a standard overtly in his introduction to the discussion of the various dialects (MS. 24-5). The pithiest statement is at 25:7f.: "The lightest (*axaff*) of the dialects is that of Oɣuz; the most correct (*aşahh*) is that of Yaɣma and Tuxsi . . . as far as the country of Uighur; the most elegant (*aşah*) is that of the Khāqānī kings and those who associate with them."

In practice the judgment of "correctness" and "elegance" often go together, especially in the preference for short vowels over long, and this probably reflects the court standard suggested above. Thus, at 162 *bir* G: "The more elegant and more correct usage in the Turkic dialects is the shorter pronunciation and the abrupt enunciation" (cf. 13 G, 53 *āw*, 204 *kālin* G, 284 G, 305 *qapar-*, 447 G [here *aşwab* instead of *aşahh*], 526 G). We do not find total consistency in this point, however. For example, at 448 *yıyač* we are told that *yıyač* is "better" (here *ajwad* instead of *aşahh*); while at 13 G and 284 G the implication is that *yıyač* is "more elegant" and "more correct" than *yıyāč*. Similarly, *bērt* and *tōrt* are "better" (*ajwad*) than *bert* and *tört* (MS. 172); *qačāč* is "more correct" (*aşahh*) than *qačač* (408); and *šanju* is "more correct" than *šanju* (210). Perhaps the inconsistency derives from a conflict between an abstract standard and actual usage; but it is hard to tell which forms the basis of Kāšyārī's judgment in any given case. Occasionally, however, Kāšyārī does give an objective reason for preferring one form over another.

53 *āz* ~ *ās*: *ās* is "more elegant" (it is also the form used as a nickname for slavegirls; cf. 408 *qačač*: *qačāč*, which is "more correct," is used as a nickname for slavegirls).

70 *āşyäk* is "more elegant" than *āşgäk*.

91 *ūhi*: *ūgi* is "more correct, since there is no *hā* in Turkic."

71 *owrūɣ*: *owrūɣ* is "more correct."

60. With regard to *il-~en-* we find "alternant" at 94 *en-* and 142 *ensä-*, "variant" at 119 *ildur-*. (See section "Phonology," discussion of /i/.)

80 *orañ*: *varañ* is "more correct." (Kāšyārī knew the original form of this proper name and considered it "more correct" than the Turkic pronunciation; cf. 50 *örän* < Pers. *vīrān*; probably *šanju* is "more correct" than *šanju* (210) for the same reason.)

82 *armayān*: *yarmayān* is "more correct." (Possibly the form with *y-*, which is not attested elsewhere, is the Türk-Çigil dialectal counterpart of *armayān*, an Oɣuz word; but note the opposite case at 579 *yıklä-*: *iklä-* is "more elegant.")

121-2 G: the doubly transitive form in *aryurt-*, *üşkürt-* is "more elegant and more correct" than in *aryurtur-*, *üşkürtür-* (perhaps because it is shorter).

133 *örän-* "arise": *ör-* is "better" (*aşsan* — perhaps because it is shorter).

135 *uwşat-* "crumble": "this is the correct form; there is also *uşat-*" (the root-form is more correct).

187 *tariɣ* "wheat" according to most of the Turks, but "millet" according to the Oɣuz; this latter is wrong (*xača*).

192 *qulaq* is "more correct" than the variants *qulxāq* or *qulqāq*.

266 G, 282 G: pronouncing the preterite marker *-di* as *-ti* after /p, t, č, k, q/ is "preferable" or "more elegant" (*aşwab*, *aşah*).

367-8 G: *suwɣarimsin-* "pretend to water," as opposed to *suwɣarin-*, is "more correct, better, and more used" (*aşahh*, *ajwad*, *aktar isti'mā<sup>n</sup>*). (Cf. 533 *bilgälän-*: *bilimsin-* is "better" (*aşsan*).)

400 *qadırlan-*: its root-form, *qadran-*, is "more correct."

443 G D: Tk. *-ɣuluq* ~ Oɣ. *-iysaq* ~ some Oɣ. *-iysi* — "the first form (i.e. *-iysaq*) is more correct; others of them follow the genuine Turks (*şamīm at-turk*) in this type also."

450 *yaliɣ*, a "variant" of *yāl*; *yēl* is "more correct than both." (Unfortunately, *yēl* in this meaning is a hapax; see "Phonology," discussion of velar-palatal alternation in the root.)

503 *tīm* "wine-merchant": *tīmči* is "more correct" since *-či* is the marker for occupations.

505 *bōy*: "A variant of *bōg*; the latter is more correct."

547 *tiki* (*tegi* ?): "The word has *kasra* on the *tā*, but in my opinion *naşb* [thus *tägi* ?] is better (*ajwad*) because . . ." (See R. Dankoff in JAOS 95.1, p. 74.)

547 *kükü*: *küküy* is "more correct."

554 *qa-* (Aryu dialect): *qāla-* is "more elegant."

584-5: *yasta-* < *yastuq*, *bulɣa-* < *bulɣayuq*; "or else these nouns are derived (*ma'xūd*) from the verbs through suffixation; in my opinion this is more correct, because nouns are derived (*yustanbaṭu*) from

verbs" (ex.: *sūd-* > *suđuq*, *sid-* > *siđük*); "this excellence does not belong to any other language but Arabic and Turkic."

591 *satiyla-*: *satiylaš-* is "more correct . . . but both are used." (Probably the *-š-* form is considered more correct because of the reciprocal meaning in the example sentence.)

591 *butiqla-*: *buti-* is "more correct" (perhaps because it is shorter).

600 *čiq-*: "more elegant" than the former (reference uncertain, see note).

Sometimes a word is said to be "elegant" (*fašīha* – thus 588 *ayāla-* "clap the hands") or "inelegant" (*ğayr fašīha* – thus 529 *köytür-* "order to be burned"), without apparently contrasting with anything. (In each case, however, an alternate form is perhaps implied; cf. 176 *qars*, 527 *köyür-*.)<sup>61</sup> In the case of 226 *salindi* ("the male member"), "inelegant" probably means "vulgar." Otherwise it might mean "colloquial," the equivalent of *lafza al-āmma*, a phrase characterizing the form *arīla-*, with the qualification that the entry form, 156 *arāla-*, is "more correct" (*aşahh*). Note also 159 *oçila-*: "the common people (*al-āmma*)" say *oçurla-* (cf. 152, where two "explanations" of this form are given) and "this is an error (*xaṭa*)." Finally, 67 *astin* "below" is labelled "uncouth" (*radiyya*), with the remark that *altin* is "more elegant" (*afşah*) (perhaps Kāşyarī sees in the former a resemblance to Ar. *ist* "posterior").

We noted that in his introduction to the discussion of the various dialects Kāşyarī stated that the "most elegant" dialect was that of the Khāqānī kings and their associates. Before this, however, he gives another criterion (MS. 24 top): "The most elegant of the dialects belongs to those who know only one language, who do not mix with Persians, and who do not customarily settle in other lands; those who have two languages and who mix with the populace of the cities have a certain slurring (*rikka*) in their utterances." Here the standard is provided not by the court, but by those Turkic tribes who have retained their nomadic ways in full vigor, uncorrupted by prolonged contact with the Iranian-speaking populace of the cities. The significance of this idea will be readily grasped if one keeps in mind that the Arabic philologists also had assumed that Bedouin usage was more conservative and less corrupted by foreign elements than the Arabic spoken by the descendants of the early Islamic conquerors, who lived in the Amṣār or camp-towns of the Middle East. The Arabic philologists too had gone to the desert, seeking out the pure Arabic (*al-luḡa al-fuṣḥā*). And Kāşyarī is merely applying their methods and their standards to Turkic.

In the enumeration of the dialects, however, we do not find complete consistency in this regard. Thus Uighur, one of the sedentary peoples, have "a pure Turkic language" (*lisān turkiyya maḥḍa*, 24:13); while, among the nomadic peoples, we find a list of eight tribes (Qırqız, Qifčāq, Oğuz, Tuxsi, Yağma, Čigil, Oğrāq, Čaruq) who speak "pure Turkic, a single language" (*turkiyya maḥḍa luḡa wāḥida*, 25:4), even though the most significant dialectal cleavage is between Oğuz on one side (including Qifčāq) and Čigil on the other (including Tuxsi and Yağma). Kāşyarī does not regard the dialectal differences in this group as reflecting on the purity of the language. This is borne out by his remarks at 243 *badram* "joy and laughter": "I do not know the origin of this word, since I have heard it from the lips of Persians; however, the Oğuz call a festival day *bayram*, since it is a day of joy and pleasure; the *dāl* has been changed to *yā* according to their custom; from this point of view the word must be pure Turkic (*luḡa maḥḍa*)."

61. Similarly, the label "weak" (*da'īfa*), found only at 354 *tamtur-*, probably implies a contrast with 421 *tamit-* (or 312 *tamuz-*).

Related to the notion "pure" is that of "genuine" (*şamīm*). Thus at 517 *tavul* "drum" (Ar. *ṭabl*): "I think that it is derived from the Arabic . . . ; however, I have heard the word spoken by genuine Turks in the farthest reaches of Islam." Also at 199 *büküm* (Oğuz dialect): "Others say *mükim* or *mükin*, changing the *bā* to *mīm* and the final *mīm* to *nūn*; I think this is not genuine; nevertheless, the Qifčāq and other crude peoples use this word." Finally the /h/ found in some Turkic words is not considered "genuine" (7 D, 27 D, 493-4 G D).

Kāşyarī appears to have an ambiguous attitude toward the Oğuz. On the one hand the Oğuz dialect has suffered much admixture from corrupting elements. Thus (51 *örān*): "When the Oğuz mixed with the Persians they forgot many Turkic words and used Persian instead"; and (511-2 *dāγ/dāγ*): "The Oğuz neighbor on the Arḡu and there is some admixture (*muxālaṭa*) in their speech." On the other hand the Oğuz dialect is considered "pure Turkic" and indeed, as we saw, "the lightest of the dialects." Thus (182 *tamur*): "The Oğuz say *tamar* . . . ; they always prefer lightness, and *naşb* [a] is the lightest of the vowels, so they have recourse to it" (cf. 504 *sēn* D). The ambiguity is clearest at 217 *turma*, where Kāşyarī first gives several examples of Oğuz borrowing from Persian because they forgot their own language, and then has a discourse on the "refinement" of the Oğuz, which consists in their using in isolation certain words that the Turks only use in paired expressions. Another "refined" usage is 555 *ota-* in the meaning "warm oneself": "however," Kāşyarī notes, "it belongs to Yağma and Yemāk." ("Refined" translates *zarīfa*.)

Returning to Kāşyarī's statement about those who have a "slurring" (*rikka*)<sup>62</sup> in their utterances (24:4), the three dialects singled out are Soğdāq, Kānčāk and Arḡu; later (25:11) we read: "there is a slurring in the speech of the people of the entire country of Arḡu, which is considered to extend from Isbījāb to Balāsāγūn." The following examples occur in the text:

7 D: "Firestick" is called *čaha* in Kānčāk dialect, with slurring (*rakik*). (Perhaps the original form is \**čaqa* rather than *čaqmāq*.)

190 *baliq* "mud" (Arḡu dialect): "Part of Oğuz and part of Arḡu say *bālq* . . ." (see preceding section, "Structure of the Diwan," n.49); "the Arḡu slur their speech." (Perhaps the "slurring" consists in the long vowel before the consonant cluster; if the Oğuz pronunciation were \**balq*, this might be considered an example of "lightening" (cf. 33 *urq*).

217 *turma* "radish," *sariy turma* "carrot": "The people of Arḡu call the latter *gēzri*, borrowing the Persian word for carrot *gazar* but pronouncing it with slurring; the Oğuz call it *gāşür* which they also borrowed from the Persians . . ."

338-9 *bošan-* (?) "be divorced" (Arḡu dialect) – with slurring (*rakika*). (The basic stem is 561 *boşu-*, where "divorce" is also the Arḡu meaning; the vocalization here and at 418-9 *boşat-* (*boşut-*?) varies between *boşu-* and *boşa-*; but here there are two separate entries, first 338 *boşun-* (?) "be let free, be released," then *bošan-* (?) meaning "come loose (knot)" and also "be divorced" (Arḡu); therefore Kāşyarī seems to be distinguishing the form with *-a-* as a deviation from the root-form, and labels it "slurring.")

563 *qaqi-* aorist *qaqir-*: "The Arḡu say *qaqiyūr* and form all the aorists in this chapter with *ḍamma* even though there is no basis for this *ḍamma*; it is irregular (*lā huwa bi-qiyās*); this is a slurring in the language." (Cf. 275 *bil-*.)

62. The translation "slurring" is an interpretation. The Arabic philologists used the term *rakik* to mean simply "incorrect," the opposite of *jazl* "sound"; it is therefore a synonym of *da'īf* "weak" (see Lane, s.v.).

To these examples should be added the following:

350 G D: "In some dialects of Arɣu the *kāf* of the second person is changed to *ɣayn*" (ex. *tapin-duɣ*, *qačurduɣ*); "*kāf* is the root-form; the insertion of *ɣayn* in this place is incorrect (*hujna*)."

504 *sēn* 'you' (Kāncāk dialect): "The Turks say *sān*; thus the speech of Kāncāk is corrupt (*tarāḍ-dala*) since they always prefer *kasra* . . . . The Turks say *bardim* 'I went' . . . which is the rule (*huwa l-qiyās*); the Oɣuz et al. say *bardam* . . . which is not the rule; the people of Arɣu say *bardum* . . . which is farthest from the rule."

In summary, "slurred" or "corrupt" seem to be catch-all terms for certain substandard dialectal peculiarities, especially characteristic of Arɣu pronunciation, including a type of drawl, or a palatalization, or perhaps a diphthongization, of certain vowels. (For the suggestion that *ē* in some cases represents a diphthong, see section "Phonology," discussion of /*ē*/.)

f) *kināya*: "Allusion," etc.

The terminology of semantic transfer was highly developed by the Arabic philologists, and was applied especially in the field of poetics. Kāšyarī uses five terms (by no means consistently) to express the idea of a shift or extension of meaning: *kināya* "allusion," *ibāra* "expression," *isti'āra* "metaphor" or "extension" (lit. "borrowing"), *tašbīh* "simile" (lit. "likening"), and *qiyās* "analogy."<sup>63</sup>

First of all, *kināya* and *ibāra* are found on a primary level meaning "standing for" or "expressing" the basic meaning of the word. Thus:

31 *ol*: "a particle expressing the meaning 'he' . . . ; "a particle alluding to the meaning 'that' "

30 *ir*: "a particle alluding to shame"

50 *üčün*: "a particle expressing 'cause or sake' "

50 *ičīn*: "a particle expressing 'among' "

167 *čaḡ*: "a particle expressing the essence and exact identity of a thing"

291 G top: "*yā* [i.e., -i] alludes to the third person in the word BAR·DIY *bardi*"

Furthermore, *ibāra* can mean "expression" in the sense of "manner of speaking." Thus:

290 G D: *bardiñiz* "you went," Oɣ. — plural, Tk. — singular to one who is honored. "The Oɣuz here observe the rule; but the Turks have beauty of expression and retain the distinction between superior and inferior."

544 *tušu*: "in a certain way of speaking" (*fi 'ibāra ma*). (The reference could be to the form with

63. *Qiyās* is also the normal term for "rule" in the sense of "regular form"; "irregular" is *laysa bi-qiyās*, or else *šādḍ* "anomalous."

*rā* (turšu ?), which Kāšyarī says cannot be written; the original form is probably tur-šu, i.e. the imperative of tur- plus the emphatic 537 -šu/-šū.)

Now we list the examples of semantic transfer:

51 *aqin* "flood"; metaphorically "night raiding party." (Cf. Kāšyarī's remark at 273 böğ-.)

75 *esri* "leopard"; also "anything two-colored — likened to the color of a leopard."

154 *aruqla*- "rest"; "an expression for sleep in the Khāqānī dialects."

164 *qiz* "dear; girl; daughter; virgin; concubine": "its root-meaning is 'virgin'; the others are by extension from that."

191 *čapaḡ* "a small fish": "a puny man is likened to it and called *čapaḡ är*." 220 *bašyān* "a large fish": "a tribal chieftain is likened to it and called *bodun bašyāni*."

196 *šütük saḡal* "scanty-bearded" — "as likened to an inkstand." (Cf. 146 *tākā saḡal*, Eng. "goatee.")

215 *bürgä* "flee": "a light-witted man is likened to this and called *bürgä kiši*."

237-8 *qudruḡ* "tail": "anal aperture (by allusion)."

239 *qančiq* "bitch": "to curse out a woman one likens her to this and calls her *qančiq*."

277 *qil*- "act": "the word is used by allusion for copulation."

309 *tuɣur*- "give birth," used of a woman; also, "by extension," of animals.

384 *kärtil*-: *qul boyni kärtildi* (lit. "The slave's neck was notched") — "although this derives from 'notching' it is used to express 'humiliation'."

409 *suḡaq* "white antelope": "it is used by allusion for 'a Persian' among the Oɣuz."

457 *yartu* "wood chip": "by analogy 'a writing board' may be called *yartu*."

489 *yayḡal*- "be disturbed (liquid)": "and a man who is strongly inclined to a thing is likened to it . . . ."

504 *kōn* "skin," used especially of a horse; also, "by extension," of a camel. (Note also the idiomatic usage in this entry: "His skin dried up - meaning he died.")

512-3 *bēḡ* "emir": also "husband — he is likened to an emir in his own house."

547 *bala* "young of a bird": may be used for the young of any small animal, "by extension."

628 *art*-: "His rib expanded — this is [an idiom] alluding to arrogance." (Cf. derived meanings of *bayir*, *boɣuz*, *boyin*, etc.)



g) *Aṣl*: "Root"

It was a habit of mind among the Arabic philologists, as it was among the scholars of Islamic jurisprudence and other fields as well, always to seek out the "root" of a matter, and to distinguish what is radical or primary (*aṣlī*) from what is secondary or derivative (*far'ī*, from *far'* "branch"). The philologists often seem to have had in mind the image of language as a tree, of which the manifold acts of speech are like the branches and leaves visible to the eye, while their own task was to uncover and explicate the fundamental words and principles which are like the root system below the ground. (It is not unlike the concepts of "underlying" and "surface" forms in modern linguistics.)

Kāṣṣarī elaborates this tree image in his Introduction (MS. 5, end): "For each of their dialectal groups I have established the root principles from which the acts of speech branch out (*innī mu'atṭil li-kull firqa minhum jurṭūma tatafarra'u minhā l-kalim*); since pruning down what is spread out allows wisdom to grow." Elsewhere he uses other metaphors. Thus at the end of the section on morphology in the Introduction (MS. 12) he states: "These are the principles (lit. roots, *uṣūl*) upon which all the dialects turn, like the Pole upon which turns the Heavenly Sphere." And at the end of the long grammar section in the Kitāb as-sālim (MS. 304): "This is the alchemy of the principles of the dialects."

The various Turkic dialects, then, are like so many branches growing out of the same root. This root is "the basic language" (*aṣl al-luḡāt*, MS. 25, end), and in Kāṣṣarī's mind the main trunk is the dialect of Čigil and related groups.<sup>64</sup>

Thus, in phonology, there is no "radical" (*aṣlī*) /h/ in Turkic, though the sound /h/ does occur in certain dialects which are not "genuine" Turkic, as well as in certain "genuine" Turkic onomatopoeics (MS. 493-4).

Similarly, in Turkic (i.e. Uighur) orthography, there are eighteen "primary" (*aṣliyya*) letters, and also seven other "secondary" (*far'iyya*) letters which the dialects cannot do without (MS. 6). Although Kāṣṣarī does not keep phonology and orthography distinct, he is aware that the first is somehow prior or more basic; thus he explains the plene character of the Turkic (Uighur) script, as opposed to the more phonetic Arabic script, by saying that the *matres lectionis* indicating short vowels in the Turkic script "are not found in Arabic script in the root-word (*fī aṣl al-kalima*)" (MS. 204 G). That is to say, Arabic script reflects the sounds of Turkic better than Uighur script, since the former distinguishes between long and short vowels. There is still confusion here, however, between phonology and orthography. The term "root-word" does not mean "pronunciation" (since Uighur script indicates the pronunciation as well as Arabic script), but rather, in good Arabic fashion, "the consonantal skeleton of the word."<sup>65</sup>

The same phrase, *aṣl al-kalima*, is used elsewhere in connection with morphology, where it means "stem" (581:3): as opposed to Arabic, in which tenses and the like are indicated by prefixes (as well as infixes and suffixes), "in the Turkic dialects the stem (*aṣl al-kalima*) remains fixed and suffixes are added to the end." Deverbal nouns "stem" or "branch out" (*tataṣa'abu*) from verbs by the addition of various letters (9:4). Elsewhere the verbal stem is called the "root-letter" (*ḥarf al-aṣl*). Kāṣṣarī is explicit that the

64. See note 55 above for words regarded as "not original" (*ḡayr aṣliyya*).

65. In the headings at 516:9 and 531:9, Kāṣṣarī uses the phrase *mimmā jā'a 'alā l-aṣl* to characterize words in which the weak letters V and Y are "radical" — i.e., pronounced as consonants, as opposed to being simply *matres lectionis*.

stem is congruent with the imperative form of the verb (286:5): "the stem is what remains fixed in the imperative" (*wa-ḥarf al-aṣl mā staqarra l-amr 'alayhi*); also (281:12): "the letters of meaning (i.e., suffixes, *ḥurūf al-ma'ānī*) that occur with verbs for various purposes are affixed only to the imperative." And finally (97:9): "the verbal system in this language turns on the imperative. The form that is fixed in the imperative is the stem upon which the derivational suffixes turn" (*madār al-af'āl fī ḥādīhi l-luḡa 'alā l-amr fa-kull ḥarf istaqarra fī l-amr fa-hwa l-aṣl yadūru 'alayhi ḥurūf al-ma'ānī allatī tadxulu li-ḡrād muxtalifa*).

In terms of inflection and derivation, then, the root of a word is generally the same as what we identify to be the etymological root. In Kāṣṣarī's terms this is usually a biliteral (see section above, "Structure of the Diwan"), though it can also be a trilateral if one of the "letters" is a *mater lectionis* (examples: 143:13, 349:13, 396 G, 426:15).<sup>66</sup> Thus *qačruš-*, for example, is considered a "branch of a branch" (*far' al-far'*), the root being *qač-* and the intermediate form *qačur-* (379:9).

Any form, however, that is derivationally prior may be considered the root. Thus (393:13-15) *qarta-* is the root of *qartan-*, *kūglā-* of *kūglān-*, *qūrša-* of *qūršan-*.<sup>67</sup> In terms of Kāṣṣarī's patterning system, therefore, any verbal entry which fits a certain pattern and which cannot be analyzed into root plus suffix is considered to belong to that pattern as a "root-category" (*aṣl li-l-bāb* — e.g. 328:4, 427:13, 585:5). It is also called "an independent verb" (*fī l-mustaqill bi-nafsihi* — 337:10), or "a simple verb" (*fī l-maḥḍ binā'an 'alā ḥiyālihi* — 326:6).

Similarly, nouns such as *oq* "arrow" and *qilič* "sword" are termed "simple" (*mawḍū'a* — lit. "given"), since they cannot be further analyzed (*lā yatafarra'u*), while others are "derived" (*muštaqqa*) from verbal roots (MS. 8, end).

Kāṣṣarī occasionally uses methods of analysis which are at variance with the etymological principles of modern linguistics.

One such method is to relate a word to another from the same etymological root which in Kāṣṣarī's mind is somehow prior to the first, even though it too may be derived. The root-word in this case is generally a noun which expresses the basic idea. Thus in the sentences *tōšak tōšaldi* "The bedding was spread" and *tūgūn tūgūldi* "The knot was tied," the verbs are thought to be "derived" (*uttuxida*) from the nouns (348:8). Just as *qariš* "span" is the root of *qaršat-* "to measure in spans," so *qorqunč* "fear" is the root of *qorqit-* "to frighten," and *aylāq* "empty" is the root of *aylat-* "to empty" (445, top). (We may say that *qariš* is derivationally prior, while *qorqunč* and *aylāq* are only conceptually prior; for Kāṣṣarī all three of the verbs are "derived" [*ma'xūḍ* — 444:17] from the nouns.) In other cases the root-word is a verb. Thus *uluḡluḡ* "deeming oneself great" is derived (*ma'xūḍ*) from *ulyād-* "to become great," and *quruḡluḡ* "dryness" is derived (*muštaqq*) from *qurin-* "to dry" (252:6).<sup>68</sup> The case of *tapuḡsāq* "desiring to serve"

66. At 396:7 the final consonant of the root is referred to by the phrase: *āxir ḥarf al-kalima al-aṣliyya*; this covers both the l of *kūl-* and the l of *tīlā-*.

67. Kāṣṣarī relates a word to its derivational root in the following entries: 78 *ūtunč*, 80 *öñik*, 192 *qasuq*, 205 *tūdāš*, 233 *tumliḡ*, 241 *käkmäk*, 323 *čilaš*, 325 *tanuš*, 332 *tusul*, 353 *tuytur*, 355 *tindur*, 399 *butaqan*, 626 *kürs*, 634 *sāwčī*, 637 *üčünč* G. Also in the following, where instead of the concept of "root" we find the concept "derived" (*ma'xūḍ*): 45 *aḍuq*, 61 *ögsüz*, 291:11 G, 566 *tuwra*, 604 *siḡuq*, 635-6 *bärklā-*.

68. In the last example it is conceivable that *qurindi* is a copyist's error for *quridi*.

is ambiguous (350-1 G): the basic form is *tapin-* "to worship"; then the *nūn* drops and the word reverts to its root (*raja'at al-kalima ilā l-aṣl*), namely the word *tapuγ* "service." Elsewhere Kāšyārī has qualms about this method of analysis. Thus (584-5 G) he first states that *yastuq* "pillow" is the root of *yasta-* "hint (lit. to prop up)" and *bulγāyuq* "muddy" is the root of *bulγa-* "to be muddy." "Or else," he goes on, "these nouns may be derived (*ma'xūd*) from verbs through suffixation; in my opinion this is more correct, because nouns are derived (*yustanbaḥu*) from verbs"; and he cites examples like *sūd-* "to spit," *suḍuq* "spittle." Again, *yeni-* "to give birth" has two possible etymons, both of which are "plausible" (482-3 G): the first is *yenik* "light," since a woman is lightened when she gives birth; the second is *yēn* "body," since she expels a body out of herself. (A similar example: 326 *qariq-*).

Another method of analysis Kāšyārī uses is to explain a word as composed of two separate words, where we would explain it rather as root plus suffix. Thus the "root" of 48 *özüük*, a title meaning "pure of soul" or the like, is *öz ök* "that very soul"; and 451 *yazuq* "jerked meat" is derived from *yāz oq ye* "Eat it in the spring!" Other examples: 180 *qulač* "span of the outspread arms" < *qol āč* "Open wide your arms!"; 223 *qurmān* "bow case" < *qūr mān* "Fasten the belt!"; 227 *tutmāč* "a food" < *tutma āč* "Don't leave hungry!"; 418 *közāt-* "wait" < *kōz at-* "throw one's eyes"; 421 *tonat-* "dress in a garment" < *tōn id-* "send a garment"; 428 *yiniṭ-* "blow the nose" < *yiṇ at-* "throw snot"; 439 *yarsit-* "disgust" < *yār sūd-* "spit out something disgusting"; 461 *yasyāč* "rolling-pin for dough" < *yasi yiγāč* "a broad board." In other examples, Kāšyārī's etymologies might well be the correct ones. Thus he considers the verbal infix of desire *-sa-* to derive (*ištiqāq*) from the verbal root *sa-* "to count" (143, end; cf. 554 *sa-* V; see also 464 *yüksäk*); 198 *fāgül* "not" (*Oγuz*) is derived (*aṣluhu ma'xūd*) from the *Aryu* phrase *ḍāy ol*; 229 *bäktür*, a man's name, is from the root *bāk tur* "Hold fast to your place"; and 455 *yamu*, meaning "won't you?" or the like, is from the root *yah* "yes" plus the interrogative particle *mu*.

The root and branch image recurs in connection with jingles or compound phrases (Kāšyārī uses the terms *izdiwāj* and *itbā'*, translated here as "paired expression" and "pleonasm"). Thus in the phrase *āwürdi tāwürdi* (310 *tāwür-*), the first word is the root, the second the branch. The implication is that *tāwür-* has no independent status, but is only found as the complement of *āwür-*. Similarly in the phrase *uṣaldi tāwṣaldi* (384 *tāwṣāl-*), *uṣaldi* is termed the root-word. A mark of the "refinement" (*zarāfa* — see above) of the *Oγuz* is that they use independently words that the other Turks use only as the complement of head words in certain compound phrases (217, end). (See also 625 *burslān*, etc.)

By far the commonest usage of *aṣl* in the Diwan is that translated here as "root-form." This refers to the phonological shape of the word which Kāšyārī regards as prior to the form under discussion. He cites some Arabic examples from the Qur'ān at 68 *āṣgāk*.<sup>69</sup> In some cases it is a question of one dialectal variant considered to be the root-form of another; thus at 44 *iliγ* he states: its root-form is with *yā'*, *yiliγ*. More commonly, the root-form refers to the phonological shape the word would have before undergoing vowel-shortening, assimilation, elision, apocope, augment, metathesis, and the like.<sup>70</sup>

69. For another Arabic example, see 82-3 *ārdini*.

70. *Aṣl* means "root-form" in the following entries: 61 *ögsüz*, *ädgiš*, 64 *ötlük*, *iđrig*, 75-6 *oγri*, 108 *ötün-*, 114 *igit-*, 115 *uyat-*, 120 *aṇyar-*, 123 *ötrüş-*, 126 *orlaš-*, 129 *aytil-*, 134 *öglän-*, 135 *olxut-*, 158 *ištonlan-*, 161 *qoč*, 175-6 *bärk*, 190 *biruq*, 211 *qanda*, 263 *qaryaliγ*, 282 G, 284 G, 306 *tütür-*, 307 *tođur-*, 326 *basiq-*, 342 *čilan-*, 350 G, 356 *tušγur-*, 358 *čantur-*, *činyar-*, *suttur*, *sittür-*, 360 *söktür-*, 362 *qantur-*, 373 *sanriš-*, 374 *sözläš-*, 377 *qarmaš-*, 383 *qurtul-*, 385 *bošγun-*, 391 *qorlan-*, 400 *qađirlan-*, 401 G, 408 *qačāč*, 412 *tit-*, 413 *sut-*, *sit-*, *qot-*, 414 *kät-*, 418 *quzit-*, 420 *bulat-*, *čilat-*, 421 *qalat-*, 422 *yat-*, 423 *yenät-*,

Finally, in many cases *aṣl* is translated "root-meaning." This refers to what Kāšyārī regards as the basic meaning of the word, indicating that the meaning in question is due to a semantic shift.<sup>71</sup>

### 13. Phonology

The following sounds occur in the dialects of the Diwan according to our transcription. Vowels: /a, ä (e), i, o, ö, u, ü/ and the corresponding long vowels; it is to be observed that /e/ has a special status which is discussed in detail below. Consonants: /b, p, m; d, ḍ, t; n, ṇ; l, r; g, k, γ, q; s, z, š, j, č, ž; f, h, x; y, w, v/.

In discussing phonology it will be useful to begin with what Kāšyārī says on the subject (MS. 6-8), although it must be kept in mind that Kāšyārī, as his Arabic sources, did not distinguish adequately between "letters" and "sounds" (orthography and phonology), and also that he attempted to explain all features of Turkic in terms of Arabic grammar.

Kāšyārī recognized that the Uighur alphabet was inadequate to represent the sounds of Turkic. The eighteen "primary letters" stand for the consonants /w, x, v, z, q, y, k, d~ḍ, m, n, s, b, č, r, š, t, l/; with proper diacritical pointing the following could also be distinguished: /p, j, ž, f, γ, g, ṇ/; and also, for Arabic words: /ṭ, š, ḥ, ' , h/.

Arabic script was better, but it also was deficient for Turkic, and it contained certain letters which did not correspond to any sounds in Turkic, viz.: *ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ḫ, h, ' ,*<sup>72</sup> Using a modified Arabic script Kāšyārī was able to represent clearly all the consonant sounds of Turkic; though in practice he was consistent only in using *Ž* for /ž/ and the ligature *NK* for /ṇ/; *W* is found throughout the Diwan, but *F* is also used for /w/; and where we find *P, G, and Č* as distinguished from *B, K, and Ḍ* the diacritical points in the MS. were often, if not always, added by a later hand.

The tradition of Arabic writing had the additional advantage of being able to distinguish vowel length, which the Uighur tradition did not develop.<sup>73</sup> Neither script, however, could distinguish adequately between /a - ä/, between /i - e/, and among /o, ö, u, ü/.

433 *quryat-*, 434 *körkät-*, *bilgät-*, 438 *qalnat-*, 439 *yarpāt-*, 440 *yuwγat-*, 441 *yüglät-*, 452 *yolaq*, 454 *yaqu*, 455 *yigi*, 457 *yaγru*, 461 *yolsuz*, 462 *yašliγ*, *yamliγ*, 472 *yin-*, 483 *yattur-*, *yottur-*, *yettür-*, 539 *nü*, 540 *yi*, 545 *soqu*, 546 *yigi*, 552 *tiy-*, *toy-*, 559 *tara-*, 563 *tülä-*, *čila-*, 564 *sülä-*, 565 *qani- sana-*, 567 *sanri-*, 569 *körsä-*, 577 *yunči-* VG, 578 *yaγsa-*, 579 *yašla-*, *yaγla-*, *yimlä-*, 586 *qačāla-*, 629 G, 635 *bärklä-*.

71. *Aṣl* means "root-meaning" in the following entries: 45 *iḍuq*, 46 *ötüg*, *oluq*, 65 *ügmäk*, 73-4 *ināl*, 118 *eštür-*, 128 *örtül-*, 131 *isrin-*, 145 *arqa-*, 147 *ayna-*, 154 *aruqla-*, 164 *qiz*, 188 *quruγ*, 203 *qačan*, 208 *teğin*, 225 *čulimān*, 237 *saγliq*, 272 *kāw-*, 289-90 GD, 306 *qutur-*, 320 *qawuš-*, 323 *salış-*, 324 *qomiš-*, 345 *kičin-*, 362 *qistur-*, 382 *sančil-*, 390 *qurtan-*, *qatrun-*, 393 *kāmlän-*, 410 *tolγāγ*, 420 *bäküt-*, *tölät-*, 422 *yopat-*, 437 *somlit-*, 453 *yerim*, 462 *yarmaš*, 463 *yawlaq*, 495 *čör*, 497 *siž*, 543 *qara*, 569 *suwsa-*, 606 *toṇa*, 620 *māñilä-*, 626 *kürs-*. In the following we find the concept "derived" (*ma'xūd*) referring to the same phenomenon: 384 *kärtil-*, 543 *qari*, 587 *tikülä-*.

72. *Šabrān* was the "colloquial" pronunciation of *Sabrān* (219); *toγril* is once spelled *toγril* (at 611 *suṇqur*); /h/ was found in "genuine" Turkic only in a "pausal" position — i.e., in certain onomatopoeic words at the end (see MS. 7). Note that in this section slashes / / indicate phonemes, brackets [ ] indicate allophones.

73. See 204 *kälin* G; Kelly II, 152-3. Vowel length is discussed below, part h).

There was a technical vocabulary at Kāšyari's disposal, part of which he lists at MS. 8, which included terms by which the Arabic grammarians distinguished allophonic or dialectal phonetic peculiarities. The first five terms in Kāšyari's list (*išbā'*, *išmām*, *imāla*, *šalāba*, *rikka*) are found sporadically in the Diwan to distinguish among Turkic phonemes; they are discussed in detail below. The other five terms refer to various consonantal phenomena peculiar to Turkic and not found in Arabic. They are:

1) "Nasalization" (*γunna*) refers to the letter N but only when followed by K or J (i.e. the consonant /ŋ/ and the consonant cluster /nč/. See 599 G, the Book of Nasal Words (*kitāb al-γunna*).<sup>74</sup>

2) "The nasal consonant" (*al-ḥarf al-xayšūmī*) apparently refers to N alone (possibly also M) as distinguished from "nasalization"; since this term does not appear again in the Diwan it is hard to see if it refers to a special peculiarity of Turkic as distinguished from Arabic.

3) "The joining of two unvowelled consonants" (*al-jam' bayn as-sākinayn*). See 626 G, the Book of Consonant Clusters.<sup>75</sup>

4) "The joining of *qāf* and *jīm*" denotes the consonant cluster /qč/ which is common in Turkic (e.g. *oqčī*), whereas Arabic roots have the restriction that *qāf* and *jīm* cannot occur together.

5) "The alternation of *bā'* with *mīm* and of *nūn* with *lām*" refers to alternations on three levels: dialectal (e.g. *bān* ~ *mān*); morphophonemic (e.g. *biz* ~ *-miz*); morphological (e.g. *bitin-* ~ *bitil-*). See Dialect Index.

a) *Šalāba*, *Rikka*

Returning to the first five terms, we find that the fourth and fifth (*šalāba*, *rikka*) are mainly used to distinguish /k - g/: the "hard *kāf*" (with *šalāba*) and the "thin *kāf*" (with *rikka*) mean the voiceless /k/ and voiced /g/.<sup>76</sup>

Then Kāšyari extends the meaning of the two terms in somewhat different directions.

At 281-2 G (also 266 G) Kāšyari includes /p, t, č/ and also /q/ along with /k/ as "hard letters" (*ḥurūf aš-šalāba*). Verbal stems ending in such letters prefer the preterite marker *-ti* instead of *-di*.<sup>77</sup> The "hard *bā'*" is mentioned again in the section discussing the Uighur script (MS. 6:15-16); also at 29 op, 55 *ābā*, 456 *yipār*.

74. Kelly I, 188.

75. Kelly I, 188-9.

76. E.g.: 255 G; 185 *söküš*, *sögüš*; 180 *bākäč*, *bägäč*; 500 *küg*, 501 *kök*; 506 *yīg*, *yīk*. Kelly I, 187-8.

77. Kelly I, 186-7. Also, the verses preserve a system in which the stems ending in /-š/ prefer *-ti* as well.

Of "thin letters" (*rakīka*) we find, in addition to the "thin *kāf*" (i.e. /g/), the "thin *fā'*" (i.e. /w/).<sup>78</sup> At 26:17 Kāšyari describes this sound as "the *fā'* produced between the points of articulation for Arabic *fā'* (i.e. /f/) and sound *bā'* (i.e. /b/)"; and furthermore states the dialectal rule that the Oğuz pronounce this sound as *vāv*. Since *vāv* (Ar. *wāw*) is pronounced [v] both in new Persian and "Oğuz" Turkish; and since in Soghdian the grapheme for F was used to signify [w] or [β]; therefore we have represented all *wā'* ( *ف* = "thin *fā'*") as /w/ and all *vāv* ( *و* = Ar. *wāw*) as /v/, both in the transliteration and in the transcription of the Turkic material.<sup>79</sup>

In the Uighur script (MS. 6) /w/ was represented by F, just as /č/ was represented by J; and so the "Arabic *jīm*" (i.e. /j/) and the "Arabic *fā'*" (i.e. /f/) had to be distinguished from these by using diacritical points. /f/, like /j/, was a secondary sound in Turkic, not a primary phoneme. (/j/ occurred only in some loanwords and as a dialectal variant of /č/; /f/ occurred only in some loans and onomatopoeics, and as a variant of /p/ or /w/ in some positions — note *furxān* alongside *burxān* (loan), *xafsi*, *qifcāq*, *qaftān* (\*qāp tōn), etc.). For this reason Kāšyari (or the copyist) was not bothered by an inconsistency in the orthography between w and F for this sound; in virtually all cases F is to be interpreted /W/ not /f/, and we have interpreted it so in our transcription.

A similar wavering is found between D and *Ḍ*; but here the situation is more confusing. Uighur script had only one letter for /d - Ḍ/; Arabic script had D and *Ḍ*, and our transcription reflects the orthography consistently in this case. The result is that most of the words with /Ḍ/ also occur with /d/.<sup>80</sup>

There seem to be three possible interpretations of this phenomenon: 1) D in all these cases is an error for *Ḍ* (Kāšyari, or the copyist, left off the dot, just as he left off two of the three dots of W, writing F instead); 2) the phoneme in question was phonetically between [d] and [Ḍ], and Kāšyari used D and *Ḍ* interchangeably to indicate it (just as he might use A or I to indicate /e/); 3) the wavering reflects dialect mixture.

It must be noted that Kāšyari explicitly states a /d ~ Ḍ/ alternation in connection with two words: 162 *kād*, 511 *dāγ* (Arγu for "not"). And in at least three places in the Diwan he has separate subheadings for D and *Ḍ*. The first is at MS. 52, where the intention seems to be to distinguish between *ād* ("manufactured item") and *ād* ("good omen"). The second is at MS. 416, where the subheading D includes *bādūt-*, *qadit-*, *qadut-*, *qidit-*; while *Ḍ* includes *buḍut-*, *böḍit-*, *sidit-*. The third is at MS. 558, where D includes *bādü-*, *bödi-*; while *Ḍ* includes *uḍi-*, *boḍu-*, *qaḍu-*. The inconsistent treatment of *bödi-* and *qaḍu-* is immediately obvious; only *bādü-* is consistent; but a glance at the Base Index shows that although we find *bādü-* once elsewhere and also *bādūt-*, *bādük* is found six times with /d/ but twice with /Ḍ/. Finally we have Kāšyari's remark at 416 *qidit-* that those dialects which change /Ḍ/ to /y/ also change /d/ to /y/, and also his

78. It is called "thin *fā'*" at 244 *qaγurmāč*, 310 *qaγur-*, 348 G, 516 *čüvit*, 517 *qaviq*, 571 *qarwa-*. It is called "*fā'* between the two points of articulation" at 54 *ävät*, 544 *tewe*.

79. Kelly II, 150-1. Note that Borovkova came to the opposite conclusion, contending that *rikka* simply means "voicing"; see T. A. Borovkova, "O gubnyx soglasnyx v 'Dīvānu Luγāt-it-turk' Maḥmūda Kāšyari," *Turkologičeskij Sbornik*, 1966, 24-27.

80. E.g.: *boḍun* (ten times) ~ *bodun* (seventeen); *öḍ* (eight) ~ *öd* (four); *qoḍi* (twelve) ~ *qodi* (one); *quḍuγ* (eight) ~ *quduγ* (six); *quḍruq* (six) ~ *quduq* (five, four of these at the entry). On the other hand, some words appear only with /Ḍ/: *aḍāq* (nearly fifty times), *iḍ-*, *kiḍiz* (nine times), *sāḍrā-* (six times), etc. Some cases seem to imply voicing intervocally; thus: 45 *aḍuq* < *aγduq*; 400 *qaḍirlan-* < *qadran-* (sic).

typical "explanation" of the /d ~ d/ alternation in Turkic by appeal to an Arabic example. It seems to us that the wavering in the text reflects confusion in Kāšyārī's mind, perhaps compounded by carelessness of the copyist.

*Rikka*, in addition to expressing a feature in phonology (e.g. /g/ as opposed to /k/ and /w/ as opposed to /f/), is used in two other ways: as a synonym of *imāla* meaning "palatalization" (see below); and as a technical term for several dialectal peculiarities (see "Turkic and Arabic," discussion of "slurring.")

b) *Išbā'*, *Išmām*, *Imāla*

Finally we come to the first three terms in the list at MS. 8. These pertain to vocalism. First we shall list the 28 contexts in which Kāšyārī uses these terms to distinguish vocalism of particular words in contrast to other words of the same orthographical shape when they come up as entries according to his pattern system. Then we shall examine the usage of the terms in the grammar sections. Finally we shall analyze the meaning of the terms. The discussion will then turn to the problematic vowels /e/ and /i/.

First, all occurrences of *išbā'* and *išmām* (= *šamma*) in their respective contexts:

(1)	MS. 29	at	"with <i>išbā'</i> of the <i>alif</i> "
		āt	"with <i>išmām</i> of the <i>alif</i> "
(2)	29-30	üč	
		uč	"with <i>išbā'</i> of the <i>alif</i> "
(3)	32	ū	
		ū (?)	
		ū (?)	
		ō (?)	"with <i>išbā'</i> of the <i>alif</i> "
(4)	33-4	ōt	
		ūt	"with <i>šamma</i> of the <i>alif</i> "
		ōt	"with less <i>šamma</i> than the former"
(5)	34	ōd	"with <i>šamma</i> of the <i>vāv</i> "
		ūd	
(6)	34	ōr	
		ōr	"with <i>šamma</i> "
(7)	34-5	ūz	"with <i>šamma</i> "
		ōz	
		ūz	
(8)	42	utuš	
		ötüş	"with <i>išmām</i> of the <i>alif</i> "
(9)	49	ōlüg	
		ūlüg	"with <i>išmām</i> of the <i>alif</i> "
(10)	51	ārān	
		aran	"with <i>išbā'</i> of the <i>alif</i> "
(11)	53	āw	
		āw	"with <i>išmām</i> of the <i>alif</i> "

(12)	55	ābā āpā apa	"with <i>išbā'</i> of the <i>alif</i> "
(13)	200	turum torum	"with <i>išbā'</i> "
(14)	229	bāldir baldir oγul baldir qīz baldir tariγ baldir qozi	"All four of these have <i>išbā'</i> of the <i>bā'</i> "
(15)	309	tuγur- toγur-	"the <i>tā'</i> has <i>išbā'</i> "
(16)	495	tōr tōr	"with <i>išmām</i> " "with <i>išbā'</i> "
(17)	496	bōz bōz būz	"with <i>išmām</i> " "with <i>išbā'</i> "
(18)	496	tōz tōz tūz tūz	"with <i>išbā'</i> " "with <i>išbā'</i> "
(19)	497	tūš tōš tūš tūš	"with <i>šamma</i> " "with <i>išbā'</i> "
(20)	498-9	čōγ čūγ čōγ	"with <i>šamma</i> "
(21)	505	bōy bōy bōy	"with <i>išbā'</i> "
(22)	535	tū to	"with <i>išbā'</i> "
(23)	542	tura tōrā	"with <i>išmām</i> of the <i>tā'</i> "
(24)	599-600	tāṅ taṅ	"with <i>išbā'</i> "
(25)	606	buruṅ bürüṅ	"with <i>išmām</i> of the <i>bā'</i> "

Now the three occurrences of *imāla*:

(26)	497	sīš (SIYŠ) sēš (SAYŠ)	"with <i>imāla</i> "
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(27)	498	kīš (KIYŠ) kēš (KIYŠ)	"with <i>imāla</i> "
(28)	501	tūl tōl	"with <i>imāla</i> "

In the grammar sections, *išbā'* is the general word signifying "velarization"; *išmām* is not found; *imāla* and *rikka* both signify "palatalization." For example, in the discussion of the infinitive ending (284-5) Kāšyarī states that it is /-māq/ for verbal stems containing *qāf* or *ḡayn* or *išbā'*, /-māk/ for those with *kāf* or *rikka* or *imāla*. As an example of a word with *rikka* he gives *sār*, as opposed to *sar* which has *išbā'*. In the discussion of the participial ending /-ḡūci, -ḡūci/ (292) he gives the following examples: "those with *kāf'*: *kūl*-, *kir*-; "those with *imāla*": *tēr*-, *sūr*-; elsewhere, examples "with *imāla*" are: (295 G) *ter*-, and (299 G) *bēr*-, *tēr*-. Finally, at 91 G the opposition palatal:velar is expressed by *rakīk:mušba'*, and also by *mumāl:mufaxxam*.

Analyzing the 28 groups of words and the grammar sections together, we find the following:

*išbā'* = "velarization": 1,2,3,10,12,14,16,17,18,19, 21,22,24 and grammar sections

*išmām* = "palatalization: 1,4,5,6,7,8,11,16,17,19,23,25

*imāla* = "palatalization": 28 and grammar sections (where = *rikka*)

*išbā'* = "lowering" (/ū/ to /ō/ ?) 3; (/u/ to /o/) 13,15

*išmām* = "raising" (/ō/ to /ū/) 20; (/ō/ to /ū/) 9, also 7 (?), also 4 since *ōt* has "less *šamma*" than *ūt*

*imāla* = /ē/ not /ī/: 26,27

The usage of these terms in the Diwan can be explained partially by their meaning in Arabic grammar, and partially by the ambiguity of the Arabic script in representing Turkic vowels. Arabic has six vowel phonemes /a,u,i,ā,ū,ī/ and two diphthongs /au,ai/. The short vowels are indicated only by a small stroke (called *ḥaraka* "movement") above or below the consonant; thus *ب* (*bā'* with *fatha*) /ba/; *ب̣* (*bā'* with *damma*) /bu/; *ب̇* (*bā'* with *kasra*) /bi/. The long vowels and diphthongs are indicated by the letters *alif*, *wāw*, *yā'* used as *matres lectionis*; thus *با* (*bā'* with *alif*) /bā/; *بو* (*bā'* with *wāw*) /bū/ or /bau/; *بي* (*bā'* with *yā'*) /bī/ or /bai/.

The grammarians were aware that each of these vowels had various phonetic realizations (allophones) depending on the surrounding consonants, or varying according to dialect; and they used the terms *išbā'*, *išmām* and *imāla* to indicate this.

*išbā'* (lit. "filling") meant prosodic lengthening of a short vowel in the middle of a word (Wright II 382 D). There is a remnant of this original usage in the Diwan at 284 G where Kāšyarī remarks that the biliteral may be considered trilateral in pronunciation by virtue of *išbā'*, and gives the examples: *bardi* ~ *bārdi*, *turdi* ~ *tūrdi* (secondary lengthening). Elsewhere, however (including the rest of 284 G), *išbā'* means "velarization" – or, more accurately, the requirement of certain roots (like *bar*- and *tur*-) to take velar suffixes, a requirement which these roots share with roots containing *qāf* or *ḡayn* (like *qur*-, *saḡ*-).<sup>81</sup>

*išmām* (lit. "flavoring") meant pronouncing *ḍamma* between *kasra* and *ḍamma* (i.e. [u] to [ü]; Wright I 71 A). Kāšyarī extended this to mean "palatalization" in general, but only used the term as a label to distinguish among roots. Then he further extended the opposition *išbā':išmām* to indicate /o,ö/:/u,ü/.

*imāla* (lit. "deflection") meant pronouncing *fatha* between *kasra* and *fatha* (i.e. [a] to [e], [ā] to [ē] or even to [ī]; Wright I, 10 C). In the grammar sections of the Diwan it means (like *rikka*) "palatalization" – or, more accurately, the requirement of certain roots (like *tēr*-, *sūr*-) to take palatal suffixes, a requirement which these roots share with roots containing *kāf* (like *kir*-, *ög*-). Used as a label to distinguish among words spelled the same as entries, *imāla* means "palatalization" only in one instance (28 above). In the other two cases (26, 27) it has its original signification in Arabic grammar – the pronunciation [ē]. In both instances, however, it contrasts not with [ā] (as in Arabic) but with [ī]. The reason it is used here is because the traditional way of writing [ē] was with the mater for /ī/ not for /ā/, and so the term was used to contrast the pronunciation of two words spelled the same way.<sup>82</sup>

c) /ē/

Historically, *kēš* is most likely to be reconstructed as *kāš*. There was apparently a strong tendency in Turkic for /ā/ to be pronounced [ē] allophonically (like the Arabic *imāla*); and Kāšyarī, as earlier and later writers using the Uighur and Arabic scripts, wished to indicate this phonetic peculiarity. The normal way to do this was to use the mater for Y instead of for *alif* ('), apparently since it was thought this sound was closer to /ī/ than to /ā/.

The case with *sēš* is different, since historically this is most likely to be reconstructed as \**saiš* or \**sayiš* (cf. osm. *sayış* "to settle accounts").<sup>83</sup> The diphthong /ai/ must have fallen together phonetically with some realizations of /ā/, since Kāšyarī considered the vowel in *sēš* to be the same as that in *kēš*. However, the verbal form homophonous with *sēš* is attested with the factitive ending /-tur/ and the usual shortening of the vowel: 359 *seštur*-. Here the infinitive in /-māq/ also seems to imply that the vowel in question was a diphthong, [ai].

It is difficult to separate those roots with /ē/ which ought to be reconstructed with a diphthong from those which seem to represent /ā/, since they are spelled the same,<sup>84</sup> but there are some clues.

Besides *seštur*-, there are three other instances of roots with /e/ occurring with velar suffixes; unless these all reflect copyist's errors, or the like, perhaps the vowel in each case represents [ai]. The instances are: (1) 104 *eniš* (-*māq*) – the only instance of the root *en*- in the Diwan with a suffix distinguishing velar-palatal quality; elsewhere we have interpreted the suffixes palatally; it should be noted, however, that three of the other six occurrences are in connection with *il*- (-*māq*), with the note that N and L

81. Note 582:5 where Kāšyarī specifies such roots as having "i**šbā'** liquids." (On liquids, see "Structure of the Diwan," discussion of *Kitāb al-jam'*.)

82. Persian, which had an /ē/ phoneme used *alif* (') or Y (Kelly I, 186, n. 31); Turkic had normally used Y in both the Runic and Uighur alphabets.

83. Another case of a diphthong, perhaps, is 525 *qīš*-, apparently to be reconstructed as \**qiyš*- (see Base Index s.v. *qiyš*-; but cf. *qay*-).

84. The apparent "variation" or "confusion" in some spellings between I and A is in all cases likely the result of the activity of the later hand. See above.

are "variants" or "alternants" (see Index); this will be discussed further below in connection with /i/. (2) 105 *eliq-*, from *ēl* in the meaning "vile";<sup>85</sup> note that the same word in the meaning "courtyard" is found with the ablative ending in a proverb cited twice in the Diwan, once with the usual shortening of the vowel ('ALDIYN), the other time with the mater Y ('IYLDIN). (3) 44 *ečiqim*, which is *ēci* with the diminutive and first person suffixes.

There are several instances of verbal roots with /ē/ occurring as entries in sections requiring either a short vowel or consonantal /y/. Perhaps the mater Y in these cases does not indicate length, but rather a diphthong [ai] or [äi]. The instances are: 95 *ēt-*, 115 *ēnat-*, 116 *ēttür-* (Pattern *fa'lat*); 139 *ēril-*, *ēwil-* (same section as *äysil-* < \**ägsil-*!); 329 *tētil-*, *sēzin-* (pattern *fa'il-*); 422 *yēt-*; 530 *bēläl-*, *kēčil-*, 577 *yēsä-* (pattern *fa'lat-*); 602 *yēñ-*; 616 *kēñäš-*.

The Känčäk pronunciation of *sän* was 504 *sēn* (SIYN). *Käšyarī* characterizes their speech as "corrupt" (*taradqala*); perhaps this means they pronounced /ä/ as a diphthong, as in some American dialects of English. Similarly, the Arγu pronunciation of Pers. *gazar* is *gēzri* (KIYZRIY), "with slurring" (*rikka*; 217 *turma*; see "Turkic and Arabic," part e), at the end).

In our transcription of the Turkic we have *ē* wherever the text has the mater for /ī/ (Y) which must be reconstructed as /ä/ (or possibly /äi/) on historical principles (e.g. *tēr-*, *bēl-*, *bēr-*, *bēs-*, *kēñ-*, *kēč-*, *eš-*, *yēg-*, *yēl-*, *yēn-*, *yēt-*). With suffixes these words usually shorten and are spelled with *kasra* (I) — but sometimes also, or instead, with *fathā* (A) (probably all of these by the later hand); in any case they are always interpreted as *e*. In addition, we have interpreted the common word *bēg* in this fashion because there are two occurrences with the mater Y (see Base Index); even though there are four occurrences, including the entry, with the mater *alif* ('), and the shortened form uniformly with *fathā*, never *kasra*. Some words whose vocalization cannot be established on historical principles are also interpreted with *ē* or *e* if there is a similar variation in the orthography of the vowel as in the above cases.

There appears to be no opposition *ā:ē*, but only *ä:ē* (*käč:-kēč-*). With suffixes, however, we do find *ä:e* (e.g. 141 *äwsä:-ewsä-*; 416 *käčit:-kečit-*; 541 *käčä:kečä-*); and also with assimilation or secondary shortening (414 *kät-* < *kād-*: *ket-* < \**kēt-* — cf. *kētär-*). The opposition on the phonemic level appears to be /ä:ä/, while phonetically /ä/ is realized as [ē]; but with suffixes, with the usual shortening, the vowel tends to be [ä] — hence the variation in the orthography. Some nominal roots with original /ä/ appear as entries with the mater *alif* ('), interpreted here as secondary lengthening (see below, part h), on vowel length): *ād-*, *āw-*, *kād-*, *känč-*, *tār-*. Words like *kärzü* and *kāwli*, like *bēg* (/bäg/), are probably borrowings; the same for *yāk* and *Känčäk*, which perhaps ought to be read *yāk* and *Ganjäg* (cf. *näg*). The status of *ēz* is uncertain.

Finally, there are five instances where we find AY in the non-first syllable. The most common of these is *tewe* (effect of vowel harmony? — see Base Index). The others are: *süwre*, *čügde*, *čümēli* (surely the same word as *cümāli*), and Oγ. *aftābe* (< Pers. *aftābe*).<sup>86</sup>

d) /i/

In the list of technical terms at MS. 8 *išmām* carries the qualification "to the three vowels," and once (at 284 G) *imāla* also is "to the three vowels." "Vowels" here is *ḥarakāt*, the word which we saw was

85. This point was discussed by R. Dankoff in *JAOS* 95.1, p. 76, n. 47.

86. Cf. the Oγuz pronunciation of Ar. *qaḫāda*: *qalīda* (QALIYDAH); this should perhaps be read *qalēda*, or the like — i.e., with *imāla*! The status of *erēz* is uncertain.

used by the Arabic grammarians for the small strokes above or below a consonant and which indicated the three Arabic short vowel phonemes /a,u,i/.

It is striking, however, that none of the examples for *išbā'*, *išmām* or *imāla* refers to /i/ or /ī/. (As we have seen, the two examples where *imāla* seems to mean /ē/ instead of /ī/ depend merely on a coincidence in the orthography, and that *imāla* really means [ē] as opposed to [ā] or [ä].)

There is positive evidence that there was no phonemic opposition /i:i/ in the language of the Diwan, but only one neutral phoneme /i/ (and the corresponding long vowel /ī/) which could take velar or palatal suffixes. This is reflected in our transcription, which has only *i* and *ī*.

On the one hand, there is a clear tendency for a given root to prefer suffixes of one quality or the other, thus: (in the following examples, roots containing /γ,g,k,q/ are not considered; see below).

Palatal only		Velar only	
<i>ič-</i>	<i>sīd-</i>	<i>īd-</i>	<i>sič-</i>
<i>ič-</i>	<i>siñ-</i>	<i>il-</i> ("come down")	<i>siđir-</i> , <i>sir</i>
<i>il-</i> ("stick")	<i>til-</i>	<i>isir-</i>	<i>siri-</i>
<i>isi-</i>	<i>tir-</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>sīz-</i>
<i>it-</i>	<i>tiz-</i>	<i>biš-</i>	<i>tīd-</i>
<i>bil-</i>	<i>yit-</i>	<i>či</i>	<i>tin-</i>
<i>biti-</i>		<i>čīn</i>	<i>yirt-</i>
		<i>si-</i>	

On the other hand, a significant number of roots have variation in the suffixes, thus:

*īš*: *išiy*, *išqa* (*iškä* — see Index!), *išliγ*; *išlä-*, *išläš-*, *išlät-*, *išlan-* (*išlän-*)<sup>87</sup>  
*bič-*: all suffixed forms are velar except *bičäk*  
*tīl*: *tīllig*; *tīlāq*, *tīliq-*  
*tīš*: *tīšiy*; *tīšä-*; *tīšlä-* (*tīšla-*); *tīšlän-* *tīšlat-*  
*tiz*: *tizlä-* (*tizla-*); *tizlät-*  
*yin*: *yinkä* *yinqa*  
*yīd*: *yidla-*, *yidiγ*; *yidimāq* (*yidimāk*)  
*yili*: *yilimāq*, *yilitmāq*, *yiliγ*; *yilmirmāk*; *yilišmāq/-māk*  
*čiž-*: *čižmāq*; *čižtürmāk*

A further reason for considering /i/ to be neutral is that there is no clear minimal pair illustrating an opposition /i:i/. One apparent exception is the two *il-*'s in the above lists. There are several difficulties here. It should first be noted that the opposition is found with the infinitive ending, but that there is also a corresponding opposition in the aorist (see 94 *il-*): the root meaning "stick, catch" has the aorist form *ilār* and infinitive *ilmāk*; while the root meaning "come down" has aorist *ilur* and infinitive *ilmāq*. It is possible that we are dealing with homophonous roots that have developed a distinction in certain parts of the paradigm, or else that have retained a distinction from an earlier period when the two roots were distinguished (say \**ilä-il-* or *il-:ilu-*). A second possibility is that the phonemic opposition lies in the

87. Verbal stems cited this way appear as entries with -K-Q in the infinitive form; see below, part f).

consonant, not the vowel — i.e., that there were a velar /t/ and a palatal /l/ as two phonemes;<sup>88</sup> however, there are no other examples of such an opposition. A third possibility is that the *il-* meaning "come down" should be read *el-*; Kāšyārī himself says that *il-* in this meaning is an "alternant" or "variant" of *en-*; and one might postulate a root \**e-* (or \**ē* — compare the homophonous *ēn* "downward slope") plus the passive /-l-/ or the medial-passive /-n-/ suffix. If this is so, we would again have the curious phenomenon of a root with /e/ taking velar suffixes; but we have already noted that *en-* seems to be one of those roots that may do so, since we find the form *enišmāq* (see above on /ē/).

The question arises as to the interpretation of /i/ in roots with a velar consonant /ɣ/ or /q/. There are numerous cases of minimal pairs in this regard (pairs cited in parentheses are not strictly minimal):

(īk ~ yīk	— — — —	iq)
irk	— — — —	irq
čik	— — — —	čiq ~ čīq (both onomatopoeic)
(kiqiz	— — — —	qidiɣ)
(kim	— — — —	qimiz)
kin	— — — —	qin ~ qīn
(kīr	— — — —	qir)
kir-, kiriš-	— — — —	qir-, qiriš- (etc.)
(kirpi; kirpik	— — — —	qirpās)
(kīš	— — — —	qiš)
kiz	— — — —	qiz
(sik	— — — —	sīq)
sik-, sikil-	— — — —	siq-, siqil- (etc.)
tik-, tikil-	— — — —	tiq-, tiqil- (etc.)
(yignā	— — — —	yiɣla ~ iɣla-)
yigtūr-	— — — —	yiytur-
(yilik	— — — —	yilqi)

The interpretation adopted here is that in these cases as well the /i/ is neutral, and the phonemic opposition lies in the consonants /k:q/ and /g:ɣ/. In connection with other vowels, however (*kāl-:qal-*, *ük-:uq-*, *bög-:boɣ-*, *bök:böq*, etc.) the guttural consonants are probably merely allophones of the same phoneme, since the phonemic opposition seems to lie in the vowel. (This will be discussed further below.)

#### e) Velar-Palatal Alternation in the Root

In addition to the roots with /i/ that are found with velar or palatal suffixes, listed above, we also find several in which there is an alternation /k~q/ or /g~ɣ/ in the root itself. Thus: (for references, see Base Index)

88. See above, note 81. Cf. the remark of Ibn Sīnā (d. 428/1037):

. . . there is a velarized (l) the relation of which to /l/ is the same as that of /t/ to /t/. This velarized (l) is common in the language of the Turks, and is considered as an independent speech-sound, but those (among them) who commonly use the Arabic language treat it (i.e. the velarized [l]) as the one and the same /l/.

(K. I. Semaan, *Arabic Phonetics* [translation of *Risāla fī Asbāb Ḥudūt al-Ḥurūf*], Lahore, 1963, p. 54.)

čir- "tie." čig- "tie." čigil-, čigin-, čigtūr-  
 ciqra-, cikrā- "grate (teeth)." (Onomatopoeic)  
 qičila- "tickle" (< qīči "mustard" ?). kiči- "itch." (Onomatopoeic ?)  
 qirt "miserly, bad-tempered." kirtüč "grudging, ill-tempered"  
 tiɣrat- tigrät- "harden"  
 yiɣril- "clench (from cold); shrink (garment)." yigrän- "crawl (flesh); consider raw (meat)." (< yīg "raw"?)

Related to this is:

uɣlit-, üklit- (read üglit-?) "increase"

All of these appear to be special cases of a larger category of words having apparent velar-palatal alternation in the root as determined by variation in the suffixes. Thus:

\*os/ös "likeness; trick" (?). osuɣ "correspondence" ? [taḥāyul]. ösüglä- (-māq/māk) "open with-out a key, by a trick [ḥīla]" (Kāncāk). ösnä- "resemble." osnat- "liken."  
 öp- "gulp." öp- "sip; kiss"  
 bus- "lay in ambush." bösiğ bö- "beat; lay an ambush" (the two meanings are unrelated, and it is easier to assume that in the second meaning there is simply a confusion with bus-).  
 \*bur-/bür- "draw together, contract; twist, turn." bür- "draw together (mouth of bag)." bürčäk "forelock." bürgüč "bread turner." bürük "wound string." büril- "be folded (book)." bürmä "waistband." bürün- "wrap or veil oneself." bürünčük "veil." bürün "whirlpool."  
 \*burq- "wrinkle (skin), frown": burqi, burqiy, burqur-, burqit-  
 čom- "dive." čöm- "dive (deeper than čom-)." čomur-, čömür-, čomuš-, čömuš-, čomtur-, čömtür- (same difference, consistent). čömčä "ladle" (Oɣuz). čomuşluq "privy"  
 sārım (sarım ?) "filter (wine)." särmä- "strain (soup, fish, noodles, etc.)." sarmačuq "a type of noodles." sarmal-, sarmaš- (särmäš-), sarmat- (särmät-). (N.b. There is also a stem \*sarma-, not related, derived from \*sar, saru-, sarum.)  
 \*taw-/täw- "turn, twist, move"; used as a jingle with other verbs. taw- (täw- ?) "dispose of (merchandise)" [taşarrafa, < ş-r-f "turn over"] (hapax legomenon: the context implies that it is merely a jingle with sat- "sell," and so it is probably not the root of tawar "merchandise"). täwin-: uwun- t. "wring (hands)." täwür-: äwür- t. "turn upside down . . . (merchandise)." täwrän (tawrän ?) "twisted threads . . ." tawrat- "spin (yarn)." tawuş "sound and movement." täwšä-, tüwšä- "tangle (yarn); form beads (sweat)" (these two stems are hopelessly confused in MS). \*tawiš-/täwiš-: satišyan tawişyan "who buys and sells"; tawişyan "rabbit" (unrelated ?); täwšin- "be very active"  
 tut- "take, catch, capture." Many derived forms with velar suffixes. tütür- ~ tütgür- < tüttür- (sic) "incite to catch." tütsüɣ "quarrelsome" (perhaps here a confusion with tü- "smoke, smoulder"). tütüš = tutuš- "grab one another; quarrel"  
 tuzyu "gift." tüzgür- "give a gift"  
 yäl "mane (horse)." yel "mane" (? — hap. leg.)  
 yanč- "crush; bite." yančil-/yänčil-  
 yar- "split forcefully." yer- "split gently." (yar-/yer- and yaril-/yeril- are due to a confusion, or a failure to distinguish the two consistently.) yaruq, yerük; yarım, yerim "half." yerin-. yarındaq "strap." yariš- "race; share," yeriš- "split." yartur-, yertür-  
 \*yow-/yöw- "share, help." qur- yow- "cement kinship ties, share wealth, overwhelm with kindness." yöwɣil "give!" yowsa- (yöwsä-) "desire to share wealth." yöwüş "help to kin in out-fitting bride." yowuş- (yöwüş-) "help, share." yöwtür-

yüm- "shut the eyes." yümülgän. yumluš. yumun- (yümüñ-). yümtür-  
 yuš- (yüş-) "pour out (beer from tap in vat)." yušil- (yüşil-) "be poured out." yušul - "gush (blood  
 from wound)."

A possible interpretation of this phenomenon in some cases is that it reflects an earlier stage of the language, in which phonemic opposition lay in the consonants, not the vowels. (The Turkic "Runic" alphabet is apparently based on this principle.) Then the opposition on the graphemic level between gutterals (γ:g, q:k), discussed above, would have represented a phonemic opposition also, not only with /i/ but with other vowels as well. It was already suggested, as a possible explanation of the two il-'s, that there were a velar /t/ and a palatal /l/ as two phonemes. As consonantal harmony gave way to vocalic harmony in the phonemic system, there could have arisen a confusion as to the interpretation of the vowel in some cases. And in some cases (čom-/čöm-, yar-/yer-) the doublet would have been revalorized as expressing a different nuance in meaning. Possibly, too, different dialects would interpret the vowel differently.

Alternately, if one assumes original velar/palatal opposition in four pairs of vowels, then in the language Kāšyārī is describing there is a tendency for this opposition to break down; in the case of iī a merger has taken place, with remnants of the former opposition preserved in some paradigms.

Interpretation of the vocalism in the Diwan is complicated, not only by the possibility of dialect mixture in the language Kāšyārī is describing, but also by special factors connected with our unique MS. The scribe miscopied; or else he substituted his own pronunciation; or else the later hand changed the original form in the text. In some cases, therefore, we shall have to fall back on the standard interpretation of apparent velar-palatal alternation in the root: that the variation is a result of phonetic conditioning (the palatal character of certain consonants, such as /y/ and /č/, etc.) and represents consecutive historical phases or interdialectal borrowing.

#### f) -K-Q

Particularly difficult to interpret are those cases in which the infinitive form of the verb appears in the text as -MA'K-Q – i.e., with what looks like a type of ligature ( كق ), combining *kāf* and *qāf*. The 61 occurrences of this combined form are analyzed below. Although in most cases it seems to be due to the scribe writing now one form and now the other, or to a later hand changing what the scribe originally wrote, it is not discounted that in some cases it does reflect a type of ligature by which Kāšyārī himself intended to indicate velar-palatal alternation in the root. Thus it has been used as evidence for such alternation in several of the examples in the above lists (išlan-, ösiğlä-, sarmaš-, sarmat-, yančil-, yowsa-, yowuš-, etc.).

Before listing the occurrences of the combined form, we must first discuss the following cases, where we have interpreted the text to be in error:

#### -MA'K error for -māq

93 aw-  
 102 ozuš-  
 146 usla-  
 152 uđuzla-  
 314 šačis-  
 429 taprit-

#### -MA'Q error for -māk

92 öč-  
 96 ör-  
 106 örül-  
 126-7 äwläš-  
 134 ürpät-  
 157 öñiklän-

479 yerin-  
 sar- at 285:11 G

342-3 särin-  
 477 yörül-  
 486 yügrüš-  
 555-6 üzi-

Some of these are simply errors (the copyist was nodding). In the case of yörül- it might be argued that this should indeed be read yorul-, since modern attestations of this root have back vocalism, and even the text of *Qutadγu Bilig*, contemporary with the Diwan, shows velar-palatal alternation of the type discussed in the previous section (see ED, 955). We have interpreted it here as an error since all the other occurrences of the root in the Diwan are with palatal suffixes (see Index); also it occurs in the Diwan immediately after yaril- and yeril-, a circumstance that might well have engendered confusion in the copyist's mind; so that in this case Clauson's explanation is plausible (ED, 967): "the scribe substituting his own pronunciation for the original one." In other cases the errors are most likely due to influence of the preceding entry. This is clearly the case with taprit- (see section above, "Scribal Errors . . .," A.); and is probably the case also with öč- (follows uč-), örül- (follows orul- – and note that ürül-, following, lacks aorist and infinitive), äwläš- (follows awläš-), and ozuš- (follows üzüš-).

The case of ör- is more complex. Following his usual ordering of the material (A-U-I or, with matres, 'V-Y) Kāšyārī has first 96 ār-; then ör- ('plait') and ör-; then ēr- and ĩr- (treated as a single entry). Apparently he then recalled another meaning of ör- and so we find it now again, out of order ('rise') – but he also gives the meaning he gave previously ('plait'). Perhaps the copyist made an error in the infinitive here under the influence of the preceding entry with the same mater, viz. ör-. It must also be considered, however, whether the reading of ör- as ör- represents a dialectal peculiarity of the copyist.

Our interpretation of the combined form -K-Q is based on a careful examination of the orthography in the MS. In most cases it is quite apparent that either K or Q was written first, and that the other was written later, either by the original copyist or by a later hand. (Based on the orthography alone, the determining criteria are usually the placement of the two dots of the Q and the presence or absence of the small *kāf* inside the K.) It must be admitted, however, that except for a few cases one cannot be 100% certain of the interpretation.

In 36 instances it appears that K was written first, Q later: 93 uw-, 111 inan-, 113 äšüt-, 119 ildur-, 120 alwir-, 141 atsa-, 148 atizlan-, 151 amačla-, 153 ösiğlä-, 318 qaziš-, 370 taplaš-, 370 tüpläš-, 423 yulit-, 428 yonät-, 429 toprat-, 435 töšlät-, 439 yuncit-, 469 yer-, 470 yüz-, 470 yuš-, 477 yaril-, 477 yušil-, 490 yüzlän-, 492 yišimlan-, 524 sār-, 566 tuwra-, 568 čapsa-, 572 tuzla-, 573 tizla-, 573 tišla-, 586 sačula-, 598 burtāla-, 616 tüñüš-, 619 tiñila-, 620 siñila-, 621 sarñula-. In the first two or three cases (the case of äšüt- is uncertain) the Q is in brown ink, indicating the activity of the later hand. The next five cases are also on pages where brown ink is visible, but here the Q is black, and so cannot be due to the individual we have called "the later hand"; the same is true for the example at MS. 490, and most of those at MS. 572 and ff. The majority of all these cases were simply scribal errors of the type discussed above (-MA'K for -māq), emended later, either by the original copyist or, as seems more likely, by a later hand. The emendation of 470 yüz- and 490 yüzlän- perhaps represents a dialectal peculiarity of the copyist (or of a later hand). Some of the examples (120 alwir-, 566 tuwra-, 616 tüñüš-, 621 sarñula-) are hapax legomena.

In 21 instances it appears that Q was written first, K later: 151 išlan-, 156 orīla-, 159 ertālā-, 313 titiš-, 375 sarmaš-, 428 sürčit-, 438 sarmat-, 475 yowuš-, 476 yiliš-, 477 yeđil-, 477 yeril-, 480 yumun-, 480 yiđi-, 485 yelwir-, 488 yančil-, 569 čiwša-, 578 yowsa-, 579 yipla-, 590 tarasla-, 616 tñit-, 635 sorpla-. No brown is visible in the first three cases. tarasla- and sorpla- are hapax legomena. Some of these are again simply cases of scribal error (-MA'Q for -māk) emended later. Others (išlan-, sarmaš-, sarmat-, yowuš-,



yowsa-, yančil-, yumun-) belong to the category of velar-palatal alternation discussed above. In these, as in those containing /i/ in the root, it is not excluded that in some cases the combined form -K-Q goes back to Kāšyarī himself.

Finally there are four anomalous cases. In 571 bitla- and 594 yelimlä- the intention of the orthography in regard to the Q is uncertain. In 428 törpiti- it appears that the Q was written later and then erased, but this too is not certain. In one case only, 567 säwrä- (a hapax), the Q is written directly above the K rather than in the middle of it.

Although the general conclusions drawn here correspond more or less to those of previous interpretations of the Diwan, it might be noted that previous interpreters were not consistent and that they failed to take into account the peculiarities of the orthography. Rifat (EP) simply levelled out all the -K-Q's to either K or Q, apparently depending only on his own preference. Atalay followed Rifat half the time; but in 31 cases he noted that there was a problem. In 29 of these he interpreted it as Q altered to K or vice versa.<sup>89</sup> In one case (I, 298 n., ad 159 išlan-) he interpreted it as a confusion among two different stems (işlen-, islan-); and in one case (III, 73 n., ad 475 yowuṣ-) he posited that the combined form indicates -māq/-māk.

Clauson's approach was very similar to Atalay's. In 27 cases he assumed that the copyist originally wrote one form, then corrected it to the other.<sup>90</sup> In six other cases, however, he could not decide which direction the correction was to be interpreted.<sup>91</sup> Clauson interpreted 159 išlan- along the same lines as Atalay, assuming a confusion between two different roots, one with back vocalism and the other with front (ED, 263); similarly he interpreted 148 atizlan- as confusion in the text with an otherwise unattested \*ätözlän- (ED, 75 – however, even ätöz is not found in the Diwan). In one case (429 toprat-; ED, 444) he misread the form in the text ("MS. in error -me:k"); he also failed to notice our combined form at 578 yowsa- and 475 yowuṣ- (ED, 880, 881; cf. 871, s.v. yov-: "the quality of the vowels is uncertain"). In one instance only he offered a different interpretation of the apparent confusion in the vocalism, viz. as evidence of dialect mixture (ED, 934, yum-: "Except in Xak. the vowel is consistently -u-; in Kaş. the forms are yüm-, yümtür-, yümül-, but yumluṣ-, and see yumun-; unless this is a vagary of the scribe's, this must be a dialect form.').

In the case of 153 ösiğlä-, Atalay suggested (I, 306 n.) that this should be \*osuyla-, on the basis of osuy. Although the reading with g is assured by the position of the word under a K heading, Atalay's

89. See footnotes to Tercüme I, 166, 224, 226, 286, 292, 299, 306, 316; II, 206, 316, 327, 328, 330, 352; III, 58, 60, 77, 78, 79, 100, 181, 284, 294, 352, 394, 404, 405, 410, 444.

90. See the following entries in ED: 4-5 uv-, 156 amaçla-, 213 értile-, 440 taplaş-, tübleş-, 349 borta:la-, 258 eşüt-, 517 teñit-, 523 tıñı:la-, 526-7 tünüş-, 840 siñi:le- ("me:k corrected from -ma:k not vice versa as in Atalay"), 843 sa:r-, 845 sürçit-, 854 sürñi:le- (ad 621 sarñula-), 853 sermeş-, sermet-, 886 yıdı-, 923 yulıt-, 933 yılış-, 945 yançıl- (cf. 944 yanç- "MS. in error -me:k"), yunçıt-, 947 yoña:t-, 967 yarıl-, yeril-, 976 yuṣ-, 978 yışımlan-, 987 yüzlen-.

91. ED: 128 alvir-, 444 tovrä-, 462 titiş-, 564 tişle-, 845 sörple-, 937 yumun-. On tişle- Clauson elsewhere wrote (private communication to R. Dankoff dated 8/11/71): "As the Caus. form is quite clearly تیشلماق, I have no doubt that the text originally had تیشلماق, that the scribe either originally copied it correctly and then added ك to suit his own pronunciation, or first wrote تیشلماق as he would have pronounced it and then saw this was a mistake and added ق."

suggestion is acceptable with the modification that both forms are possible – indeed, that the very purpose of the combined form -K-Q is to indicate that both are possible. It should not be ignored, however, that ösiğlä- also carries the label "Kāncāk dialect." The possibility of dialect mixture must also be considered, then, as an explanation of ösnä-, osnat-. Clauson's hint that 480 yumun-/yümün- might also indicate dialect mixture was just mentioned. In this case, however, as in all the other cases besides ösiğlä-, none of the various forms has a dialect label.

g) /ŋ > g/

There is a tendency for /ŋ/ to lose its nasal quality following /n/ (dissimilation). Thus the usual genitive forms of ol, män, sän are anig, mänig, sänig (see Index). Genitives with -niŋ do occur (ärniŋ 92:7; böriniŋ 221:6 P; bir ekidiniŋ 368:8; bir birniŋ 371: margin, 378:1; oyliniŋ 421:7 P). More commonly, however, the form is -nig (kimnig 182:14 V, 221:12 V, 453:16, 550:8 V, 555:8 V; küniŋ (künnüŋ?) 213:11; xännig 215:3 P; quzŷünnig 221:6 P anañnig 253:13 V; kölnig 308:16 V; yätinig, öznig 462:17 P; yayiniŋ 463:12 P; käyiknig 509:15 P; adinnig 543:2 V; küniŋ 549:12 P; ärnig 574:10; yalñuqnig 612:7 P).<sup>92</sup>

Datives with the third person possessive, normally -iña (e.g. anäsiña 316:17, 354:14; tawäriña 344:11; äwiñä 565:10), occur as -iğa on nouns ending in -n (qāniga 563:11 [fī damihi], 626:13 [dam<sup>an</sup>]).<sup>93</sup>

The second singular possessive, normally -iñ (e.g. 196:7 käziğñ), occurs as -ig on nouns ending in -n (qānig 249:9 V; yēnig 512:3).

Two examples may be noted in which the dissimilation occurs preceding /n/. Thus "your tongue" with the accusative ending is tiligni at 463:4 V; and "his wealth" with the accusative is nägin at 251:17 V.

#### h) Vowel Length; Madd and Līn Letters; Lightening

As a rule, vowel length is phonemic only in the first syllable, or root.<sup>94</sup> Length tends to be lost with suffixes, as Kāšyarī clearly points out (515-6 G); and this is borne out throughout the Diwan.<sup>95</sup> Most of the examples that contradict this rule can be explained.

First, there are many anomalous long vowels (or, rather, plene writing) in the introductory pages of the Diwan (e.g. 10 G bičyu; cf. 304 G bičyu); these are probably to be blamed on the copyist.

Second, Kāšyarī at times inconsistently uses a plene orthography, as in Uighur, even though he states that it is "more elegant and more correct" to shorten the vowel in speech (see 204 kālin G).<sup>96</sup>

92. The same form is found in contemporary documents in Uighur script discovered at Yarkend: yernig (YYRNYK), begnig (B'KNYK). See Ş. Tekin, "Bilinen en eski islami türkçe metinler: Uygur harfleriyle yazılmış Karahanlılar devrine âit tarla satış senetleri (473, 483 = 1080, 1090)," *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi* 4 (1975), 157-186 – facsimile II.9, IV.18, V.1.

93. The words read törkünkä (222:6), ĩnkä (39:14 P) and yinkä (446:14 P) should perhaps be read törkünigä, ĩnigä, yinigä (?).

94. Kelly II, 155.

95. Examples in Kelly II, 157. Other examples: 339 tutun-: öt tutundi, V: üđig oti tutunup; 380 sawruq-: közdän yaş sawruqti, V: közüm yaşı sawruqup; 616 tañıldı baş, är başın tañındı. (Cf. 426 G.)

96. Kelly II, 152-3, 159.

Third, there are numerous examples of secondary lengthening, or what may be called "pausal lengthening," when words are cited alone, or else in proverbs or verses, especially toward the end of a line and in the rhyme position. Examples of /ā/ in entries have been cited above (see discussion of /ē/); also **bārdi**, **tūrdi** cited at 284 G (see above, discussion of *išbā'*). Example in a proverb: at 176 **börk**: **tātsiz**, **bāšsiz**; but same proverb at 407 **tat**: **tatsiz**, **bašsiz**. Example in a verse: at 513 **bāl**: **qāl** (imperative of **qal**-, rhymes with **bāl**).<sup>97</sup>

Fourth, there is another type of secondary lengthening in the root which, like plene writing in the non-first syllable, is rather to be interpreted as indicating stress.<sup>98</sup> We especially find such plene writings in two-word phrases, where it points to stress on the root as against the general rule; e.g. 170 **tün**: **tūnlā kāldim**; 170 **tin**: **anig tīni**; 171 **qin**: **qilič qīni**; 243 **bayram qum**: **bayram qūmi**. This is similar to the loss of length in other phrases where the stress goes to the end, following the general rule; e.g. 634 **qōd**-, aorist **qōdūr**, but in verse: **qođur mān**. The entire subject of stress is complicated and requires much further study.

Normally **Kāšyarī** uses the term "madd and *līn* letters" for the *matres lectionis* 'V-Y'.<sup>99</sup> Omitting these letters is an example of "lightening" (e.g. 204 **kālin** G).<sup>100</sup> And the shorter form is generally considered "better" or "more elegant" (e.g. 162 **bir**, 52 **ād**, 53 **āw**; but note 172 **tört**: "the better pronunciation is TUVRT **tört** with *vāv*"; also 305 **qapar**-, 13 G, 284 G, 526 G).<sup>101</sup>

With the exception of 32 **arra**, **urra**, **irra**, all words ending in a vowel are written plene.<sup>102</sup> It is unlikely that this indicates vowel length in all these cases; rather, it is probably merely an orthographical convention. When suffixes are added the plene writing of the base word is usually maintained. This is true, for example, of all verbal stems ending in a vowel (MS. 553 end - 599);<sup>103</sup> in these cases our transcription

97. Other examples: at 37 **ögüt** V: **tīlā** (imperative of **tilā**-); at 396 G: **tīlā**, **bīlā** (imperatives); 42 **ölās** V, **ūkūš**; also **bāš**, etc. — see ED, 372, 528.

98. Kelly II, 159-60.

99. Only at 13 G **Kāšyarī** distinguishes *alif* (') as *madd* and V-Y as *līn*; elsewhere he uses them interchangeably. Kelly II, 153-5, 159.

100. Other examples: 579 **yašla**-, 584 G. In this context "lightening" is a synonym of "assimilation." The term "lightening" as opposed to "heaviness" also means pronouncing a word with a consonant dropped (45 **ađuq** for **aγduq**, 120 **anγar**- for **andγar**-, **qulna**- for **\*qulunla**- at 482 **yeni**- G; also 30 **ir** for 32 **irra**, 183 **sākkiz** for **sākkiz**); or pronouncing a word with a vowel dropped (33 **urq** for **uruq**, 76 **oγri** for **oγiri**, 152 **oγurla**- < **oγri**- [sic]). Nasality and consonant clusters, on the other hand, are both "heavy" (613 G, 626 G); as is the joining of two gutturals of the same genus (292 G: **\*saγγūči** > **saγqūči**). Another type of "lightening" is the pronunciation of **tiđ**- as 522 **tiy**-.

101. Kelly II, 159.

102. Kelly II, 160-1. Other "exceptions" can be explained as copyist's errors: **bolγāli** at 109:7 (LY misread as L); **muyāvu** at 271:3 (VUV judged to be a dittograph and read VU); **ara** at 470:10 ('R' misread as 'R'); **tāgrā** at 618:12 (TKR' misread as TKR). Similarly, the later hand added a vowel sign to the final consonant in certain words, making them appear as if they end in a vowel and are written non-plene: **yoqār** at 83:5 (verse, shortened from **yoqāru** for the meter!); **ay** at 175:9,10; also at 496 **qūr**, 495 **kēp**, 500 **šiq**.

103. But note 597 G, which implies that the final mater is only required in the imperative form and may be dropped with any endings.

follows the normal system of indicating the plene writing in the middle of the word (553-4 **bādi**, **bār**, **bāmāq**), but omitting the vowel-length notation in the running marginal index (**ba**-). It is also true of bisyllabic nominal stems (540 **tapa**, 586 **tapāla**-), but not of monosyllabic nominal stems, though **Kāšyarī** often gives the "root-form" in plene notation and says that the mater has dropped (see e.g. 535 **tū**, **či**; 563 **tūlā** < **tūlā**-, **čilā** < **čilā**-).<sup>104</sup>

104. Other examples: 323 **čilaš** < **čilaš**-, 534 G; 597 G on **uđiqla**-. Note 538 **qi** (vocative particle): "It is pronounced long (*yumaddu*) between the *qāf* and the *i*-vowel" — i.e., an exception? Note also that nouns consisting of a vowel only are interpreted long (32 **ā**, **ū**, etc.). Some inconsistent writings are again perhaps to be explained by the effect of phrase stress. Thus we find **kišini** (KIŠINIY) four times in the context **bu X ol k. X-γān** (88:11,15, 89:4,8), but elsewhere **kišini**, always in the context **X k. X-di** (KIŠIYNY 136:14, 554:15; KIŠY NY 416:14, 430:11, 485:17). Similarly, we find **kišilār** (KIŠYL'R) six times (102:14, 103:9, 160:7, 438:9, 467:8, 617:11); but at 208:8,9 first **kišilār** (KIŠY LA'R) in the phrase **qurām k.**, then **kišilār** (KIŠIL'R) in the sentence **k. qurām olturdi**.

[I. 2/3]

2

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

— in Him there is Assistance —

Praise be to God, most lavish of bounty, and gracious of benefaction; Who sent forth Gabriel, with a detailed Exposition, a Revelation, setting forth clearly what is forbidden and what permitted; to Muhammad, who then followed the Way, and raised up the Lamp and the Guide; at a time when the heartiest was sickly, and the most eloquent was dumb; God bless him and his family, of most noble lineage, and grant them peace.

To proceed. The slave, Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad [al-Kāšḡarī] states:

When I saw that God Most High had caused the Sun of Fortune to rise in the Zodiac of the Turks, and set their Kingdom among the spheres of Heaven; that He called them “Turk,” and gave them Rule; making them kings of the Age, and placing in their hands the reins of temporal authority; appointing them over all mankind, and directing them to the Right; that He strengthened those who are affiliated to them, and those who endeavor on their behalf; so that they attain from them the utmost of their desire, and are delivered from the ignominy of the slavish rabble; — [then I saw that] every man of reason must attach himself to them, or else expose himself to their falling arrows. And there is no better way to approach them than by speaking their own tongue, thereby bending their ear, and inclining<sup>1</sup> their heart. And when one of their foes comes over to their side, they keep him secure from fear of them; then others may take refuge with him, and all fear of harm be gone!

I heard from one of the trustworthy informants among the Imams of Bukhara, and from another Imam of the people of Nishapur: both of them reported the following tradition, and both had a chain of transmission going back to the Apostle of God, may God bless him and grant him peace. When he was speaking about the signs of the Hour and the trials of the end of Time,

[I. 3/4]

3

and he mentioned the emergence of the Oγuz Turks, he said: “Learn the tongue of the Turks, for their reign will be long (*tuwāl*, transmitted with *rafʿ* of the *tāʾ*)” Now if this Hadith is sound — and the burden of proof is on those two! — then learning it is a religious duty; and if it is not sound, still Wisdom demands it.

I have travelled throughout their cities and steppes, and have learned their dialects and their rhymes; those of the Turks, the Turkmān-Oγuz, the Čigil, the Yaγma, and the Qirqiz. Also, I am one of the most elegant among them in language, and the most eloquent in speech; one of the best educated, the most deep-rooted in lineage, and the most penetrating in throwing the lance. Thus have I acquired perfectly the dialect of each one of their groups; and I have set it down in an encompassing book, in a well-ordered system.

1. MS. *ištīmāla*, read *istīmāla*.

I wrote this, my book, asking the assistance of God Most High; and I have named it *Dīwān Luγāt at-Turk* (“Compendium of the Turkic Dialects”); in order that it be an everlasting memorial, and an eternal treasure; and have Dedicated it to:

His Excellency; of the Hallowed and Prophetic, Imamate, Hashemite, Abbasid line; our Master and Patron; Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad al-Muqtadī bi-Amrillāh; Emir of the Faithful and Deputy of the Lord of Worlds. May God prolong his abiding in everlasting glory and felicitous life, and anchor the foundations of his authority in such glory that former splendors will abide in his courtyard. May He exalt the degrees of his Proof with such favors that mankind will draw life from the bounty of his hand; with Good Fortune the companion of the auspicious star, and Determination whose arrow hits the mark; with friend joined to glorious victory, and foe weakened by ignominious subjection. May the Muslims never be deprived of his Shadow and his Beauty, his Strength, his Favor, and his Splendor.

And I have set it out according to the order of the alphabet;

[I. 4/5]

4

and adorned it with words of wisdom and elegant speech, proverbs, verses of poetry, and sentences of prose. Thus did I soften its rough places, and make smooth its pits and hollows. I have spent long years of labor over it, causing each word to lie down in its proper place, and lifting each one out of obscurity; so that the one who seeks it may find it in its correct compartment, and the one who desires it may observe it in its allotted order.

I have comprised this entire language in eight books:

- 1st — Book of Words Vowel-Initial (*kitāb al-ḥamz*): we brought this to the fore, taking an augur from the Book of God Most High;
- 2nd — Book of Sound Words (*kitāb as-sālim*);
- 3rd — Book of Doubled Words (*kitāb al-muḍāʿaf*);
- 4th — Book of Words Initial-Weak (*kitāb al-miṭāl*);
- 5th — Book of Words Medial-Weak (*kitāb dawāt aṭ-ṭalāṭa*);
- 6th — Book of Words Final-Weak (*kitāb dawāt al-arbaʿa*);
- 7th — Book of Nasal Words (*kitāb al-ḡunna*);
- 8th — Book of Words Joining Two Unvowelled Consonants (*kitāb al-jamʿ bayn as-sākinayn*).

Each of these books I have divided into two parts, Nouns and Verbs; putting the nouns first, then the verbs, and dividing them further into chapters according to their stations, the first ones first, [etc. — i.e., according to length and pattern]. The titles of these books and chapters I have borrowed from Arabic, as technical terms, since people are familiar with them.

I originally intended to structure the book along the lines of al-Khalīl in his

[I. 5/6]

5

*Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, recording together both words that are in use and those that do not occur, in order to show that the Turkic dialects keep pace with Arabic like two horses in a race. That method would have been more comprehensive. The present structure, however, is more to the point, since it is easily accessible, and people generally prefer it. Therefore I have set down only what is in actual use, and have ignored what does not occur, for the sake of brevity.

The following is a table of [the types of words which] are found, and those which are not found, so that you may know their scope in Turkic.

'ARIQ·	<b>ariq</b>	“canal” ( <i>nahr</i> )	found.
'AQUR·	<b>aqur</b>	“stable” ( <i>iṣṭabl</i> )	found.
QA'R·	<b>qār</b>	“snow” ( <i>talj</i> )	found.
QARA'	<b>qara</b>	“black” ( <i>aswad</i> )	found.
RAQA'	<b>raqa</b>		not found.
RA'Q·	<b>-rāq</b>	Comparative suffix	found.
'AZUQ·	<b>azuq</b>	“provisions” ( <i>zād</i> )	found.
'AQUZ·	<b>aquz</b>		not found.
QUZIY	<b>qozi</b>	“lamb” ( <i>ḥamal</i> )	found.
QIYZ·	<b>qīz</b>	“girl” ( <i>jāriya</i> )	found.
ZIQIY	<b>ziqi</b>		not found.
ZIYIQ·	<b>ziyiq</b>		not found.

“The first step points the way”: you may judge by analogy with these the case of quadrilateral and multi-literal words.

I have chosen this arrangement, then, for the sake of lightness and brevity. Thus have I brought forth a book with which nothing at all can compete. The fundamentals are arranged according to rules and principles which are clearly set forth, so that the composition follows the proper path and the exemplary model. It will guide correctly those who seek earnestly in it, and follow faithfully those who forge ahead of it; it is an open road on which to travel, and a ladder by which to ascend.

For each of their dialectal groups I have established the root principles from which the acts of speech branch out; since pruning down what is spread out allows wisdom to grow. I have strewn therein examples of their verses, which they utter in their pronouncements and declarations; as well as proverbs

[I. 7/8]

6

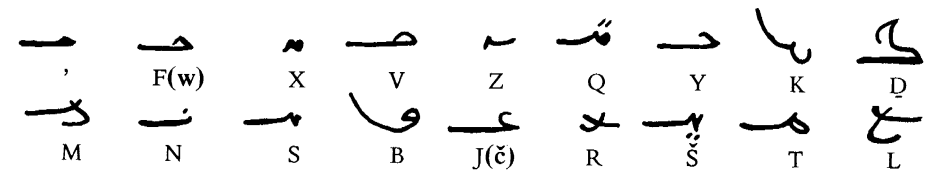
which they coin according to the ways of wisdom, both in adversity and in felicity, and which are handed down from speaker to transmitter. And I have gathered therein much-repeated matters, and famous expressions. Thus has the book attained the utmost of excellence, and the extreme of refinement.

May God grant me success in my endeavor. Upon Him do I rely. There is no power and no strength except with God the Exalted. He is our Sufficiency, and the finest Protector.

#### Concerning the Letters on which the Dialects are Based

The letters composing the Turkic dialects comprise eighteen primary letters, which go to make up the Turkic script. They are combined in the following vox memoriae: *'axuwka laffa samj nazaq baḍr šutiyyā*.<sup>1</sup> Separately [i.e., in alphabetical order] they are written as in the following table.

1. These are Arabic words, meaning: “your brother, he wrapped, ugly, frivolity, seed, the rainy season.” The first word, in normal transcription, is *axūka*.



These letters correspond to the Arabic [*hijā'* order]: ', b, t, ṭ.

There are also seven other, secondary, letters, which are not differentiated in the script, though the dialects cannot do without them. They are: the hard *bā'*<sup>2</sup> (p); the Arabic *jīm*, which is rare<sup>3</sup> in this language; the *zāy* produced between the points of articulation for *zāy* and *šīm* (ž); the Arabic *fā'*; the dotted *ḡayn*;<sup>4</sup>

[I. 8/9]

7

the *kāf* produced between the points of articulation for *qāf* and *kāf* (g); the nasal *kāf*, produced between *ḡayn* and *qāf* and *nūn* and *qāf* (ŋ) – this letter is the hardest to pronounce for a non-Turk. These secondary letters are written with the characters of the primary letters, but they are distinguished by diacritical points.

In none of the Turkic dialects will you find the following [Arabic letters]: *tā'*; the emphatic letters, *ṭā'*, *ẓā'*, *ṣād*, *ḍād*; the guttural letters, *ḥā'*, *ḥā'*, *ʿayn*. To be sure, some say for “owl”: 'UVHIY *ūhi*, but the genuine language has: 'UVKIY *ūgi* with *kāf* – Qifčāq dialect. “Flint” is called: JAHA' *čaha* in Kānčāk dialect, with slurring (*rakīk*). And “bleariness of the eye” is called: 'UVH *ūh* (?) – this too is not genuine. Besides this, *ḥā'* may appear in pausal form [in certain onomatopoeic expressions], such as the call for a falcon: TA'H· TA'H· *tāh tāh*, or the call for a foal: QURRIH· QURRIH·<sup>1</sup> *qurrih qurrih*. But it does not occur in orderly speech. You do find *ḥā'* in the speech of Khotan, since it is of Indian origin; and in the speech of Kānčāk as well, since it is not Turkic.

If you require to write *tā'*, then you must use the form for Turkic *dāl* and add the appropriate diacritical marks; similarly for *ḍād* use *dāl* with pointing, and for *ṣād* use *sīn* with pointing. For *ḥā'*, *ʿayn* and *ḥā'* use the form for the dotted *xā'* and indicate the intended form with an appropriate mark, since these letters are peculiar to Arabic and when they are written in the Turkic alphabet they must accommodate to the pattern of its letters; they may then be distinguished by appropriate pointings or markings.

All of the letters may be written.

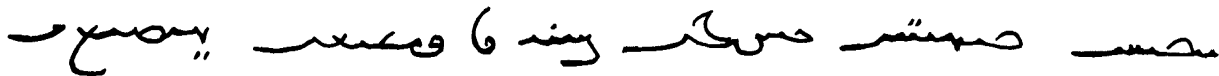
[I. 9/10]

8

in the following vox memoriae when joined together.

2. MS. *γā'*.
3. MS. *γarīza*, read *'azīza*.
4. MS. *'ayn*. The “dot” distinguishes *ḡayn* from *'ayn* in Arabic script; in Uighur script Γ is written with the sign for X and Q.

1. Final *sukūn* (·) in each case altered from U.



(*'awaxa vasaqa yakađa manaza bačara šatala*)

The basic principle of this orthography is that every *fatha* (A) is expressed by an *alif* in the script, even when there is no basis for it in pronunciation [i.e., when not pronounced long]; every *damma* (U) is written with *vāv*, even when there is no basis for it in pronunciation; and every *kasra* (I) with *yā*, even when there is no basis. This is similar to the Arabic orthography of the words *ab* and *ax* (“father, brother”) in the construct state; you say *hāđā abūka* (“This is your father”), *ra’aytu abāka* (“I saw your father”), and *marartu bi-abīka* (“I passed by your father”) – you write them this way, with an added letter for the vowel.<sup>1</sup>

This is the script used for all documents and correspondence of the Khāqāns and the Sultans, from ancient times to the present, and from Kāshgar to Upper Šīn, encompassing all the lands of the Turks.

Furthermore, the speech of the Turks contains *išbā’* (“saturation”); *imāla* (“deflection”) and *išmām* (“flavoring”) to the three vowels; *šalāba* (“hardness”) and *rikka* (“thinness”) in pronunciation; *γunna* (“nasalization”); the nasal consonant; the joining of two unvowelled consonants; the joining of *qāf* and *jīm*; the alternation of *bā’* with *mīm* and of *nūn* with *lām*; etc. Each will appear in its proper place.

#### On Deverbal Nouns

Nouns are of two types, derived and simple. Those from verbs are derived by adding to them [i.e., to the verbal stems] letters (suffixes) to the number of twelve. Simple ones are such as: QILIJ·*qilič* for “sword” and: ’UṼQ·<sup>2</sup> *oq* for “arrow”; this type of noun cannot be further analyzed.

[I. 10/11]

9

Only the derive ones may be analyzed. Furthermore, of these, some are actually heard and in use, while others may be derived analogically but are not actually found. I have omitted what does not occur, and I have furnished principles based on actual usage, although non-occurring forms may be derived from these by analogy.

The nouns that stem from verbs are formed by the addition of one [or more] of the following twelve letters: *alif*, *tā’*, *jīm*, *šin*, *γayn*, *qāf*, the sound *kāf*, the thin *kāf* produced between the points of articulation for *qāf* and *kāf* (*g*), *lām*, *mīm*, *nūn*, *vāv*.

Example of *alif* :: BIL·KA’ *bilgā* “Knowing, wise, intelligent”; derived from: BIL·DIY *bilđi* “He knew something.” :: ’UGA’ *ögā* – an honorific title for one of superior intellect; derived from: ’UVDIY NA’N·KNIY *ōđi nāñmi* “He understood the matter after thinking it over.” And a certain food is called: ’UVA’ *uva* derived from: ’UV·DIY *uvđi* “He crumbled the thing,” since you crumble sugar in it.

1. In Arabic script vowel lengthening is indicated with the *matres lectionis*: *alif* for *ā*, *wāv* for *ū*, *yā’* for *ī*.

2. Original word in red ink; *hamza* over *alif* (’) and V added later in black.

The *alif* is usually fixed with a *mīm*. Example :: KAS·MA’ *kāsmā* “Forelock”, from: KAS·DIY *kāsđi* “He cut,” since that part of the hair is cut off so that it does not cover the eyes. And “a braid” is called: ’UVR·MA’ SAJ·*ōrmā sač* from: ’UVR·DY *ōrđi* “He braided.”

Example of *tā’* :: QAJUT·*qačut* “Pursuit,” from: QAJ·DIY *qačđi* “He fled.” And “a garment” is called: KADUT·*kāđut*, from: KAD·TIY *kāđti* “He put on the garment.”

[I. 12/12]

10

Example of *jīm* :: KUMAJ·*kōmāč* “Flat-bread,” from: KUMDIY *kōmđi* “He buried (in the embers, or other).” :: SAWIN·J *sāwinč* “Joy,” from: SAWIN·DIY *sāwindi* “(The person) rejoiced.”

Example of *šin* :: BILIŠ·*bilis* “One with whom [you have] acquaintance,” from: BIL·DIY *bilđi* “He was acquainted.” And “war and strife” is called: ’UVRUŠ· TUQUŠ·*ūruš toquš*, from: ’UVR·DIY *ūrđi* “He struck,” and from: TUQIYDIY *toqđi* also “He struck.”

There are three usages of the *γayn*.

1) It is added to verbal roots to form nouns. Example: something “clean” is called: ’ARIG·*ariγ*, from: ’ARIN·DIY [sic] NA’N·K *ariđi nāñ* “The thing was clean.” And something “dry” is called: QURUΓ·*quruy*, from: QURIYDIY *qurđi* “It dried.”

2) It is added to simple nouns to form nouns of place. Example :: YAY·LA’Γ·*yaylāy* “Summer pasture”; YA’Y·*yāy* is “Summer,” and *γayn* is added to it for this meaning. Similarly, “Winter pasture” is called: QIŠ·LA’Γ·*qišlāy*; QIŠ·*qiš* is “Winter,” and adding *γayn* brings about this meaning.

3) It is added to verbal roots, fixed with *vāv*, in all of the Turkic dialects [sic], to form nouns of instrument. Example :: BIYJ·ΓV *bičγu* “Name of the instrument with which something is cut,” from: BIYJ·DIY *bičđi* “He cut.” :: ’UR·ΓV NA’NK·*uryu nāñ* “Something with which a thing is beaten,” from: ’UR·DIY *urđi* “He beat.” In this last usage it alternates with thin *kāf*. Example :: KAS·KUV NA’NK *kāsgü nāñ* “Something

[I. 13/13]

11

with which to cut,” from: KAS·DIY *kāsđi* “He cut.” :: ’AWUṼS·KUV *āwüsgü* “Something with which to winnow,” from: ’AWUṼS·DIY *āwüsdı* “He winnowed something.” The *γayn* occurs with verbs that have *išbā’* but not those that have *imāla* or *rikka*; the *kāf* acts just the reverse of this. The *γayn* or *kāf* in this language corresponds to the *mīm* which is prefixed to verbal roots in Arabic [to form nouns of instrument]; for example: *minjal* (“scythe”), from *najala* “He cut the herbage”; *munxul* (“sieve”), from *naxala* (“He sifted the flour, or other”); *minsaf* (“winnow”), from *nasafa*, “He winnowed the thing.”

The Oγuz, for this usage, have *alif* in place of *γayn* or *kāf*, and *šin* and *yā’* in place of *vāv*. Example :: YAIΓA’J·<sup>1</sup> BIJA’SIY NA’NK *yıyāč bičāsi nāñ* “Something with which to cut wood.” :: ’UTVNG·KASA’SIY BAL·DUV *otūñ kāsāsi baldu* “An ax used to cut firewood.” Nouns of time and place, and the infinitive [sic], are formed on the same pattern. Between the Khāqānī Turks, etc., on the one hand, and

1. First A in red, as rest of word, crossed out in black (later hand); I in black.

Turkmān-Oğuz, etc., on the other, there is an absolute and consistent dialectal cleavage. This will be explained in the proper places, God willing [see 25-28].

Example of *qāf*: a “comb” is called: TAR·ΓA'Q· **taryāq**, from: SAJ· TARA'DIY **sač tarādi** “He combed the hair.” And a “scythe” is called: 'UR·ΓA'Q· **oryāq**, from: 'UT· 'UVR·DIY **ot ōrdi** “He cut the grass.”

Example of hard *kāf*: you call a “piece” of something: KAS'K· NA'NK· **kāsāk nān**, from: KAS·DY **kāsdi** “He cut.” You call a “coverlet”: 'AŠUK **āšük**, from: 'AŠUVDIY **āšüdi** “He covered it.”

Example of thin *kāf*: you call something “alive”: TIRIK· **tirig**, from: TIRIYL·DIY **tirildi** “He came to life.”

[I. 15/15]

12

And something “dead” is called: 'UVLUK **ōlüg**, from: 'UVL·DIY **ōldi** “He died.”

Example of *lām* :: BIYJ·ΓIYL· YIYR· **bīč'yl yēr** “Cracks in the ground,” from: BIYJIYL·DIY NA'NK· **bīč'ildi nān** “The thing was cut.” And you call something “mixed black and white”:<sup>1</sup> TAR·ΓIYL· **taryīl**, from: TARIYL·DIY **tarildi** “The thing separated” — as if the black and white had mixed and then separated from each other.

Example of *mīm* :: YADIM **yađim** “Carpet,” from: YAĐ·TIY **yađti** “He spread it out.” And “a slice of melon” is called: BIYR· BIYJIM· QA'ΓUVN· **bīr bīcim qāγūn**, from: BIYJ·DIY **bīčdi** “He cut.”

Example of *nūn*: you call “a flood”: 'AQIN· **aqin**, from: SUW· 'AQ·DY **suw aqdi** “The water flowed.” And you call “a pile of dirt”: YIYΓIN· TUB·RA'Q· **yīγin toprāq**, from: TUB·RA'Q YIΓ·DIY **toprāq yiγdi** “He piled up the dirt.”

The *vāv* is seldom found alone without an accompanying word following it. Example: you call “a cupping glass”: SUR·ΓUV **soryu**, from: SUR·DIY **sordi** “(The animal) sucked (the milk or blood).” :: TUR·ΓUV YIYR· **turyu yēr** “A place to stay.”

These are the principles upon which all the dialects turn, like the Pole upon which turns the Heavenly Sphere. They are general rules for all verbs, biliteral, trilateral, quadrilateral, quinquiliteral, or longer. We have given a summary explanation in this place, and will dwell on each point as it comes up afterward, God willing.

#### On the Scope of Word Patterns

Biliteral, lightened [i.e., with short vowel]. Example :: 'AT· **at** “Horse.” 'AR **ār** “Man.”

Trilateral. :: 'AZUQ· **azuq** “Provisions.” YAZUQ **yazuq** “Sin.”

Quadrilateral. ::

1. MS. *ayraf a'ram*, the first word should be read *abraq*.

[I. 16/16]

13

YAΓMUR· **yaymur** “Rain.” JAΓ·MUR **čaymur** “Turnip.”

Quinquiliteral. :: QURUΓ·SA'Q **quruysāq** “Stomach.” QUĐUR·ΓA'Q· **quđuryāq** “One of the two tails of a gown.”

Sextiliteral. The “girth” of a saddle is: KUMUL·DURUK· **kömlüdürük**. The “crupper” is: QUĐUZ·ΓUVN· **quđuzγūn**.

Septiliteral. This is rare, in nouns. An example is: ZARΓNJMUVD· **zaryunčmūd** — the name for a type of basil.

There is no pattern beyond the septiliteral.

#### On Nominal Augments

Nominal augments [consist first of all of] *madd* (“prolonging”) and *līn* (“softening”) letters.

Example of *madd*: “A sack of wheat” is called: TAΓA'R· **taγār**. And “a firebrand” is: JAW'R· **čawār**.

Example of *līn*: “a protected place or reserve” is called: QURIYΓ· **qoriγ**. Something “clean” is: 'ARIYΓ· **ariγ**. Something “ready” is: 'ANUVQ· **anūq**. “A witness” is: TANUVQ· **tanūq**.

Example of *hamza*: “a stallion” is called: 'AĐ·ΓIR· **ađγir**. “Rhubarb” is: 'ŠΓVN **išγūn**.

Example of *nūn*: “A smith’s hammer” is called: BAZ·ΓA'N **bazγan**. “Eroded land” is: QAZΓ'N· **qazγān**.

Example of *vāv*: “silk” is called: TUR·QUV **torqu**. A “light-witted” man is: QURΓUV **quryu**.

Example of *yā'*: “A mound” is called: KUT·KIY **kōtki**. A “frowning” face is: BUR·QIY **burqi**.

It is permitted to drop the *līn* letter in pronunciation from words of the pattern *fa'al* or *fu'al* or *fi'al* or *fa'ul* or *fa'il*. For example, “wood” is called: YAIF'J· **yīγāč**, but you are permitted to say: YIFAJ· **yīγāč**. Similarly, “the opposite bank of a canal or a river” is called: YUFUVJ· **yoγūč**, but it is permissible to pronounce it: YUFUJ· **yoγuč**. The same holds for the word: QURIYΓ· **qoriγ** “Reserve”; you may also say: UQURIG· **qoriγ**. Shorter speech is more elegant than that which is lengthened.

The remaining points will be mentioned in the course of the book, God willing.

#### On Verbal Augments and their Formation

Verbs [i.e., verbal stems] may be biliteral, trilateral, quadrilateral, quinquiliteral, or sextiliteral.

[I. 18/19]

14

Verbal augments [i.e., suffixes to nominal or verbal roots] consist of the following ten letters: *alif, tā', rā', sīn, šīn, qāf* or *kāf, lām, nūn, lām-alif, yā'*. Each is suffixed with a different meaning.

The *alif* [forms verbs from nouns.] Example :: TAB'ZA'DIY **tāpzādi** "He envied," from the root: TABIZ' **tāpiz** "Swamp." :: QUB'ZA'DIY **qopzādi** "He played the lute," from the root: QUBUZ' **qopuz** ["Lute"].

The *tā'* is used to transitivize a verb. Example :: TARIΓ 'ARITĪY **tarīy aritti** "He cleaned the wheat (or other)"; :: TUVN' QURUŪY **tōn qurutti** "He dried the garment (or other)." The respective roots are: 'ARIYDIY **arīdi** "It was clean," and: QURIYDIY **qurīdi** "It dried."

The *rā'* is usually compounded with *tā'* to transitivize a verb. Example :: BAR'DIY **bardī** "He went"; BAR'TUR'DIY **barturdi** "He caused to go." KAL'DIY **kāldi** "He came"; KAL'TUR'DIY **kālturdi** "He let come."

The *sīn* is added to verbal roots with the meaning that one desires to perform the action. Example :: SUVW' 'IJSADIY **sūw ičsādi** "He desired to drink the water." :: 'AŠ' YAIYSADIY **aš yēsādi** "He desired to eat the food."

It may also be added with the meaning of [the Arabic pattern] *tafā'ul*, when one pretends<sup>1</sup> to perform a certain action, but does not actually do so. Example :: 'UL MAN'DIYN' YARMA'Q 'ALIM-SIN'DY **ol māndin yarmāq alimsindi** "He pretended to take from me the dirham (or other)." :: 'UL MAN'K' KULUM'SIN'DY **ol maṇa kūlūmsindi** "He [pretended] to laugh at me."

The *šīn* is added with the meaning of *mufā'ala*, when the action is mutual. Example :: 'UVR'DIY **ūrđi** "He struck"; 'URUŠ'DIY **urušđi** "He struck back or fought." TUR'DIY **turđi** "He stood up"; TURUŠ-DIY **turušđi**

[I. 19/20]

15

"He stood up to someone or withstood." The idea of competing or vying may also be present with this type; we shall discuss that in its proper chapter [see, e.g., 325 G].

The *qāf* is added with the meaning of *maf'ul*, when one is overcome or forced. Example :: 'AR' 'AJIYQ'DIY **ar ačiqđi** "The man was overcome with hunger (from being imprisoned or detained)." :: YIL-QIY YUTUQ-DIY **yilqi yutiqđi** "The cattle were burnt (i.e. frostbitten) by a calamity that overtook them." Usually in this type the *qāf* is compounded with *sīn*. Example :: 'AR' 'AR-SIQ-DIY **ār arsiqđi** "The man was deceived." :: 'AR' SUY-SUQ-DIY **ār soysuqđi** "The man was stripped of his wealth."

The *kāf* alternates with *qāf* in this meaning for words with *rikka* or *imāla*, or that have *kāf*. Example :: QAJ'ΓIN 'R' YIT'SIK'TIY **qačyin ār yetsikti** "The fleeing man was caught up with." :: 'UL 'AR' BIL-SIK'TIY **ol ār bilsikti** "That man was recognized and his hidden affair became known."

14 1. *arā*, altered to *uriya*; thus throughout the text.

The *lām* is added to verbal roots when the agent of the action is not mentioned. Example :: 'AR' 'UVQ 'ATĪY **ār oq atti** "The man shot the arrow"; :: 'UVQ 'ATIL'DIY **oq atildi** "The arrow was shot." :: BUVZ' TUQIYDIY **bōz toqīdi** "He wove the cloth"; then :: BUVZ' TUQIYL'DIY **bōz toqīldi** "the cloth was woven."

The *nūn* is added with the meaning of direct association of the agent with the action, with no intermediary. Example :: 'UL YAR'MA'QIN 'ALIN'DY **ol yarmāqin alindi** "He seized his dirhams by himself." :: UL MAN'DIYN' TAW'RIYN' QULUN'DIY **ol māndin tawārīn qolundi** "He took it upon himself to ask me for his money."

The *lām-alif* is added only to nouns to form verbs. Example :: BAIYK' QUVŠ'LA'DIY **bēg qūšlādi** "The emir hunted

[I. 21/22]

16

birds"; QUVS' **qūš** meaning "birds" is an indeclinable noun, and when *lām-alif* is affixed to it, it then acts like a simple verb in all respects. This is an important principle, and must be memorized. :: BAK KAN-DA' QIYŠ'LA'DIY **beg kāndā qīšlādi** "The emir spent the winter in the city"; QIYŠ' **qīš** is "winter," and becomes a verb when *lām-alif* is joined to it.

The *yā'* is compounded with *lām* for verbs meaning that the action was about to be performed but had not yet taken place. Example :: 'UL TUR'ΓA'LIY QAL'DIY **ol turyāli qaldi** "He was about to stand up."<sup>1</sup> :: 'UL BAR'ΓA'LIY QAL'DIY **ol baryāli qaldi** "He was about to go but had not yet gone."

Learn these principles!

## On the Order of the Patterns

We begin with biliterals, then trilaterals, quadrilaterals, quinquilaterals, and sextilaterals.

We put first those with unvowelled middle radical, then those that are vowelled with various vocalizations; after this, those with prefixed augments, namely *hamza* and the like; then those with augments between the first and second radicals, in their various vocalizations; finally, those with suffixed augments.

This is the method for every pattern that I have explained; and these are the sum of the nominal patterns in every book.

## On the Order of Letters

We begin with nouns ending in *bā'*, and go on from there, following the course of the entire alphabet, according to the model of the foremost litterateurs, and in imitation of the arrangement

16 1. Gloss in a later hand: "but did not stand."

in Arabic dictionaries. At the same time, we have taken into account the initial consonant of words, and also their articulation; the closer a letter is to *hamza*, the earlier does it appear in the [words of a given] pattern. We have not put the [Arabic] copula *waw* among the words, since it has no place in this language; so understand!

#### On Adjectivals that are not Mentioned

The following adjectivals may be formed [from verbs] in any chapter, each with its characteristic meaning.

1) The participle expressing infrequency of the action. Example :: BAR'DIY 'AR' **bardi** 'är "The man went"; participle :: BAR'DAJIY 'AR' **bardači** 'är "The going man, the man who went." KAL'DY 'AR' **käldi** 'är "The man came"; KAL'DAJIY 'AR' **käldäči** 'är "The coming man, the man who came." This type of adjectival will not be mentioned [in the noun sections].

2) The participle expressing continuity or frequent occurrence of the action. Example :: 'UL 'AR' 'UL 'AWKA' BARAΓA'N **ol** 'är **ol** 'äwkä **baryän** "That man is one who goes frequently to his house." :: 'UL KIŠY 'UL BIYZ'K' KALAKA'N **ol** kiši **ol** **bizkä** **kälgän** "That man is one who comes to us often." This type of adjective will not be mentioned.

3) The participle expressing intent and desire to perform the action. Example :: 'UL 'AR' 'UL 'WK' BARIΓ'SA'Q' **ol** 'är **ol** 'äwkä **bariysaq** "That man is one who intends and desires to go home." :: 'UL KŠY 'UL BYZKA' KALIK'SA'K' **ol** kiši **ol** **bizkä** **käligsäk** "That is a person who is desirous of coming to us."<sup>1</sup>

4) The participle expressing that one ought to perform the action. Example :: 'UL 'AWKA' BAR'ΓILIQ [sic] 'AR'DY **ol** 'äwkä **baryuluq** 'ärdi "He should have gone home."<sup>1</sup> The Oγuz replace this *läm* by *sän* for this meaning, in all

chapters [see 296 G]. [Another example] :: 'UL YIKT' BIYZ'KA' KALKUVLUVK 'AR'DIY **ol** **yigit** **bizkä** **kälgülük** 'ärdi "That young man ought to have come to us."

5) The participle expressing that one is about to perform the action. Example :: MAN 'AW'KA' BARIYΓ'LIY MAN **män** 'äwkä **bariyli** **män** "I am about to come to you."<sup>1</sup>

All of these adjectivals were derived from the same verbal roots. By analogy with these you may deduce the adjectivals in these meanings from all verbs.

17 1. Gloss in later hand: "This will not be mentioned." In the body of the text the words "not mentioned" are crossed out after the first sentence of 4) and 5).

18 1. See note to previous page.

The passive participle (?)<sup>2</sup> is also left unmentioned, except in connection with [the sections explaining] rules, in order to explain the scope of the rule and the manner of the variants of this form among the people (?).

As for the formation of plurals and singulars, the comparison of adjectives, diminutives, and other types of inflection - none of these is mentioned, since I have devoted to them another book, named: *kitāb jawāhir an-naḥw fi luḡāt at-turk* ("The Gems of Grammar of the Turkic Dialects"), and you may study it for these grammatical rules, God willing.

#### On Infinitives that are not Mentioned

Infinitives or verbal nouns are of two sorts: 1) the infinitive absolute – this is mentioned in the verb sections along with the preterite and the aorist,<sup>3</sup> and 2) the infinitive construct, which has the meaning of a *ḡāl* (adverb describing a condition) – I do not mention this except when necessary.

Example of the infinitive absolute :: BAR'DIY **bardi** "He went," BARIYR' **barir** "He goes," BAR'MA'Q' **barmāq** "A going, to go." KAL'DIY **käldi** "He came," KALIYR' **kälir** "He comes," KAL-MA'K' **kälmäk** "A coming, to come."

#### Examples of the infinitive

construct :: MANIG BAR'ΓIM' BULSA' MAN'K' TUŠΓIYL **mänig** **baryim** **bolsa** **maḡa** **tušyil** "When the time comes for me to go, meet me." :: KAYIK' KALKIY BULSA' 'UQTA' **käyik** **käligi** **bolsa** **oqta** "When the game appears, shoot at it." Proverb [= 286 G, 293 G]: TA'Z' KALIKIY BURK'JIYKA' **tāz** **käligi** **börkčikä** "The bald man's coming to a hatter (is inevitable)." The rule for this type of infinitive is to add to the stem *ḡayn* or *qāf* in words that have *qāf* or *išbā'* [or *kāf* otherwise; see 286]. Example :: BARIΓ' BAR'DY **bariy** **bardi** "He went a direct going." :: 'UL QULIN 'URUΓ' 'UR'DIY **ol** **qulin** **uruḡ** **urdi** "He gave his slave a real beating." The *qāf* or [hard] *kāf* is only found in construct [to a personal pronoun], never alone like the *ḡayn* [or thin *kāf*]. Example :: 'ANIG' YURUQIY NATAK **anig** **yoriqi** **nätäg** "What is the manner of his walking, how is his conduct?" This type of *qāf* may also be an alternant of *ḡayn*. The [thin] *kāf* is used in words that have *kāf* or *rikka*. Example :: 'ANIY SUKUK' SUK'TIY **ani** **söküg** **sökti** "He reviled him greatly." :: 'UL QULIN TABIK TAB'DIY **ol** **qulin** **täpig** **täpdi** "He gave his slave a strong kick." This type is used for emphasis and affirmation, as in the words of God Most High and Blessed: *wakallama llāhu müsā taklīm<sup>an</sup>* (Q.4:162 "and unto Moses God spoke directly").

My sole purpose in mentioning these types of rules is conciseness and completeness, since these rules have a general application. Every rule that I mention, and every principle that I establish holds good for all of these dialects, and so must be learned, God willing.

2. *al-mawšūf allādī waqa'a 'alayhi l-fi'l*: this is probably a roundabout expression for the passive participle, elsewhere called *maf'ūl* and discussed after the *fā'il* (active participle) section in the sections explaining rules; see, e.g., 351, 425, 583. The last part of the sentence is also troublesome: *ibānat<sup>an</sup> li-jarayān al-qiyās wa-i'lām<sup>an</sup> kayfiyya luḡāt hādā l-ḡarf min an-nās*.

3. MS. 'ābir, read *ḡābir*.



## On What is Mentioned in the Book and What is Not

Of the names of mountains and deserts, and of rivers, lakes, and other bodies of water, I have mentioned

[I. 26/27]

20

those which are within the territories of Islam, since their names are on people's tongues. I have mentioned them because they are well known; but the majority of them I have left unmentioned, because of their obscurity. As for those that are in the lands of Polytheism, I have mentioned a few and have avoided the rest, since there is no profit in mentioning them.

Foreign words in this language are not mentioned.

The same for proper names of men and women, except that I have mentioned those that are well known and widespread, and which therefore require to be known exactly.

## On the Classes of the Turks and an Outline of their Tribes

The Turks are, in origin, twenty tribes. They all trace back to Turk, son of Japheth, son of Noah, God's blessings be upon them – they correspond to the children of Rūm, son of Esau, son of Isaac, son of Abraham, God's blessings be upon them. Each tribe has branches whose number only God knows. I shall mention only the great tribes and leave the little ones, except for the branches of the Oγuz-Turkmān – their branches I shall mention, along with the brands of their cattle, since people need to know them [see 40-41 oγuz].

[In the following list] I outline the geographical position of each of their tribes in the eastern world.<sup>1</sup> They are listed in order [from West] to East, both pagan and Muslim, beginning with those closest to Rūm. First is: BAJANAK' *bāčānāk*, then: QIFJA'Q' *qifčāq*, then: 'UΓUZ' oγuz, then: YAM'K' *yemāk*, then: BAŠΓIR'T' *bašyirt*, then: YAS'MIL'<sup>2</sup> *basmil*, then: QA'Y' *qāy*, then: YABA'QUV *yabāqu*, then: TATA'R' *taṭār*, then: QIR'QIZ *qirqiz*. The last one is closest to Šīn.

[I. 28/28]

21

All of these tribes are opposite Rūm, extending toward the East.

Then: JIKIL *čigil*, then: TUXSY *tuxsi*, then: YAΓM' *yaγma*, then: 'ΓRA'Q oγrāq, then: JARUQ *čaruq*, then: JUMUL *čömül*, then: 'UY'ΓUR *uyγur*, then: TANKUT *taṅut*, then: XITA'Y *xitāy* which is Šīn, then: TWΓA'J *tawγāč* which is Māšīn. These tribes are middling between South and North.

Each of them is shown in the following circle (map).<sup>1</sup>

20 1. I.e., excluding the conquests of the Turks in the Near East and Anatolia.

2. Y altered from B as throughout the text.

21 1. The map covers MS. 22-3. The original is in four colors, the key given in the four corners as follows:

Rivers are gray.	Seas are green.
Sands (deserts) are yellow.	Mountains are red.



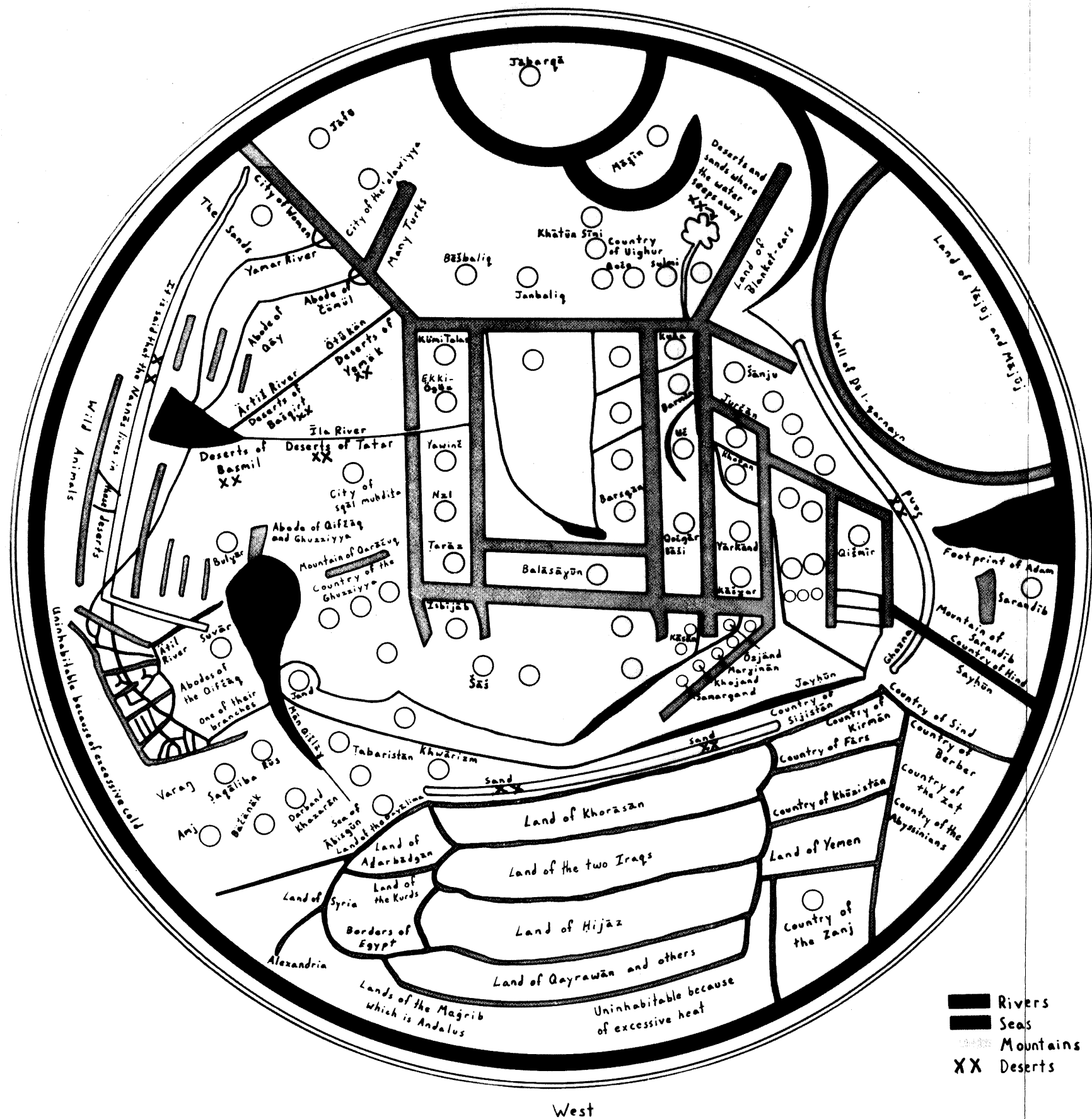
South

ers  
S  
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East

North

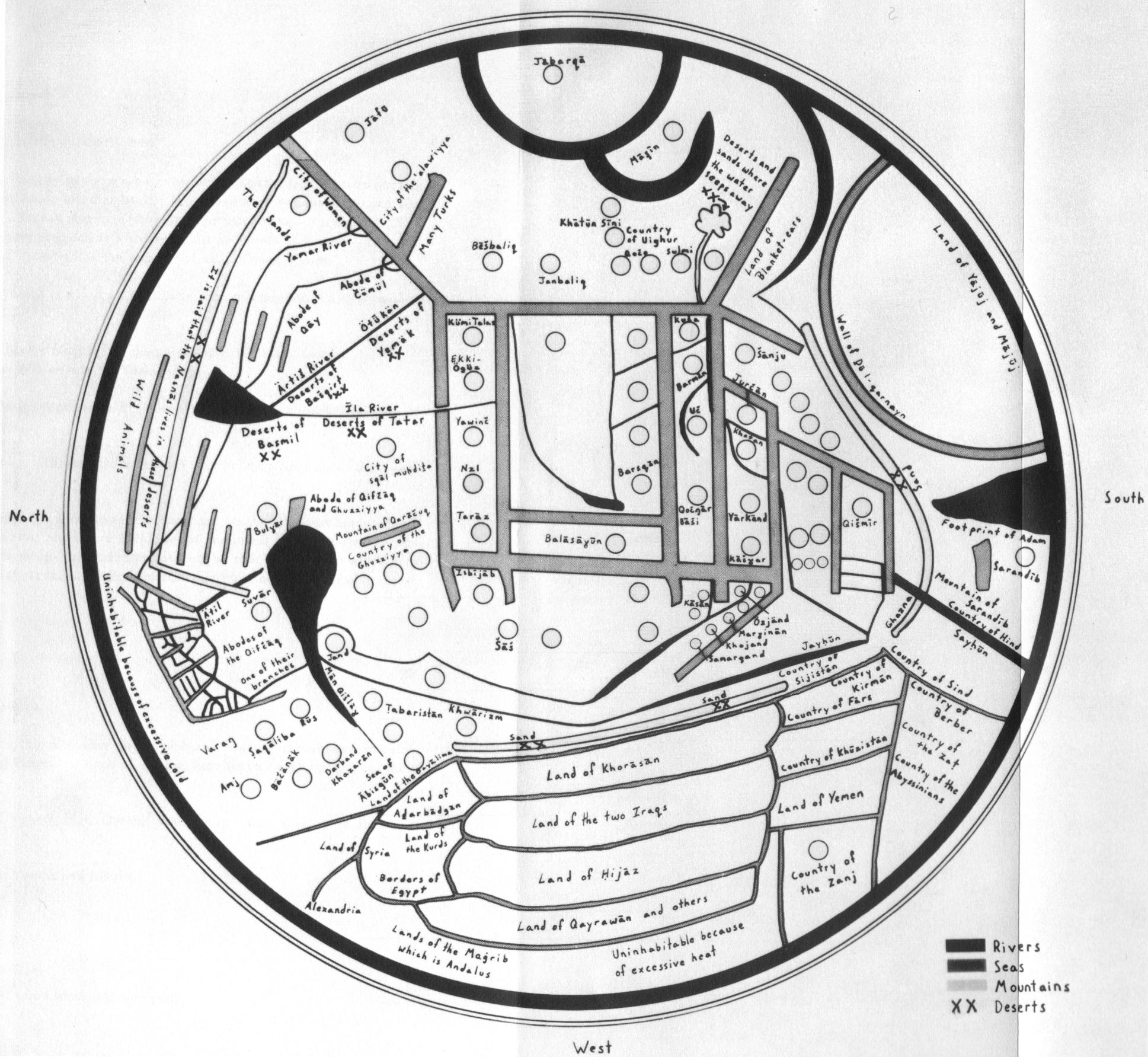
South



West

The map covers MS. 22-23. In the original, the color key is given in notes in each corner as follows: "Rivers are grey. Seas are green. Deserts are yellow. Mountains are red." In this translation of the map, the original colors are indicated by shading.

East



West

The map covers MS. 22-23. In the original, the color key is given in notes in each corner as follows: "Rivers are grey. Seas are green. Deserts are yellow. Mountains are red." In this translation of the map, the original colors are indicated by shading.

## On the Turkic Dialects

The most elegant of the dialects belongs to those who know only one language, who do not mix with Persians, and who do not customarily settle in other lands. Those who have two languages and who mix with the populace of the cities have a certain slurring (*rikka*) in their utterances — for example, Soy-dāq, Kānčāk and Arγu. The second category are such as Khotan, Tübüt and some of Tangut — this class are settlers in the lands of the Turks. I shall now outline the language of each of their groups.

The language of the people of Jābarqa is unknown because of their distance and the interposition of the Great Sea between them and Māšīn.

The people of Māšīn and of Šīn have a language of their own, although the sedentary population know Turkic well and their correspondence with us is in the Turkic script.

Also the language of Yājūj and Mājūj is unknown because of the Barrier and the interposition of the mountains and the sea that is near Māšīn.

Tübüt have a language of their own. Khotan also have both a script and a language of their own. Both of these do not know Turkic well.

The Uighur have a pure Turkic language, and also another language which they speak among themselves. [And they have two] writing systems, one in the Turkic script composed of twenty-five<sup>1</sup> letters which I have enumerated above [6] and in which their correspondence is written, and another which they have in common with Sin and in which they write their scriptures and registers — no one can read it except their priests.

Those that

I have named to this point are sedentary peoples.

Among the nomadic peoples are the Čömül — they have a gibberish (*raṭāna*) of their own, but also know Turkic; also Qāy, Yabāqu, Tatār and Basmil<sup>1</sup> — each of these groups has its own language, but they also know Turkic well.

Then Qirqiz, Qifcāq, Oγuz, Tuxsi, Yaγma, Čigil, Oγrāq,<sup>2</sup> and Čaruq — they speak pure Turkic, a single language.

Approaching these is the language of Yemāk and Bašγirt.

24 1. MS. "twenty-four."

25 1. MS. YAS'MIL, Y altered from B.

2. MS. 'IΓRA'Q'; I by a later hand (dark black ink, thin pen).

As for the language of Bulḡār, Suvār, and Bāčānāk, approaching Rūm, it is Turkic of a single type with clipped ends (?).<sup>3</sup>

The lightest of the dialects is that of Oḡuz. The most correct is that of Yaḡma and Tuxsi, and those who dwell on the rivers Īla, Ārtis, Yamār and Ātil, as far as the country of Uighur. The most elegant is that of the Khāqānī kings and those who associate with them.

The people of Balāsāḡyūn speak both Soghdian and Turkic. The same is true of the people of Ṭirāz (Talas) and the people of Madīnat al-Bayḡā' (Isbījāb).

There is a slurring (*rikka*) in the speech of the people of the entire country of Arḡu, which is considered to extend from Isbījāb to Balāsāḡyūn.

Kāshgar has villages in which Kānčāki is spoken, but in the main city [they speak] Khāqānī Turkic.

The main part of the lands of the Turks, from the area next to Rūm up to Māšīn, is five thousand farsakhs long by three thousand wide, making a total of eight thousand farsakhs [sic]. I have indicated all this in the circle (map) in the shape of the earth so that it may be known.

#### On Dialectal Differences

There is very little variation in the basic language (*aḡl al-luḡāt* [lit. the root-form of the dialects]). Differences occur only in certain letters

[I. 31/31]

by virtue of alternation or elision.

Thus, the Oḡuz and Qifčāq change every *yā'* at the beginning of a word, whether nominal or verbal, into *alif* or *jīm*. For example, the Turks say: YAL'KIN **yelgin** for "traveller"; they say: 'ALKIN **elgin**. 0 The Turks call "warm water": YILIF SUVV<sup>1</sup> **yiliy sūw**; they say: 'ILIF **iliy** with *alif*. Likewise, the Turks call "a pearl": YIN'JUV **yinčü**; according to them it is: JINJUV **jinčü**. And the Turks call "the long hair of a camel": YUḡDUV **yoḡdu**; with them it is: JUḡDUV **joḡdu**. 0

The Arḡu change every medial or final *yā'* to *nūn*. For example, the Turks call a "sheep": QUḠVY' **qōy**; they say: QUḠVN' **qōn**. The Turks call "a poor man": JIYḠA'Y' **čiyāy**; they say: JIḠA'N' **čiyān**. And the Turks say: Q'YUḠV NA'NK **qāyu nāḡ** meaning "which thing?"; they say: QA'NUḠ **qānu** with *nūn*.

3. *maḡdūfa al-aṭraf 'alā namaṭ wāḡid*. This has been translated as follows: "aber in ein- und derselben Weise verstümmelt" (C. Brockelmann, "Maḡmūd al-Kāšgharī über die Sprachen und die Stämme der Türken im 11. Jahrh.," *Körösi-Csoma Archivum* 1.1, 1921, p. 38); "mit gleichmässiger Elidierung der Suffixe" (O. Pritsak, "Kāšgharīs Angaben über die Sprache der Bolgaren," *ZDMG* 109, 1959, p. 106); "bir düzüye kelimelerin sonu kısaltılmış" (Tercüme I, 30).

26 1. Originally SUVF, two dots added to F by later hand (brown ink).

The Oḡuz, Qifčāq and Suvārīn change every initial *mīm* to *bā'*. For example, the Turks say: MAN BARDIM **mān bardim** meaning "I went"; these groups say: BAḠ BARDUM **bān bardum**. 0 The Turks call "broth": MUVN' **mūn**; this class call it: BUVN' **būn**. 0

The Oḡuz and those who follow them change every *tā'* to *dāl*. Thus, the word for "camel" is: TAWAY **tewe** but they call it: DAVAY **dävä**. Also, the Turks call a "hole": 'UVT' **ūt**; they say: 'UVD' **ūd**. [However,] most *dāl's* among the genuine Turks correspond to *tā'* in Oḡuz dialect.<sup>2</sup> For example, the Turks say: BUGDA' **bögdä** for "dagger"; with them it is: BUKTA' **bögtä**. 0 The "service tree" is: YIKDA' **yigdä** in Turkic; in Turkmān-Oḡuz it is: YIGTA' **yigtä**. What I leave unmentioned is according to this rule.

Every *fā'* produced between the points of articulation for Arabic *fā'* and sound *bā'* (i.e., **w**) in

[I. 33/31]

27

genuine Turkic is changed to *vāv* by the Oḡuz and those who follow them. Thus, the Turks call "a house": 'AW' **āw**; they say: 'AV' **āv**. The Turks call "the hunt": 'ĀW **āw**; they say: 'AV' **av** with *vāv*. I shall write the genuine form of the word, and you should alter the letters for this class of alterers whom I have named. 0

The Yaḡma, Tuxsi, Qifčāq, Yabāqu, Tatār, Qāy, Čömül and Oḡuz all agree in changing every dotted *dāl* to *yā'*. They never pronounce it *dāl*. For example, all those other than this class call the "birch": QADING<sup>1</sup> **qadiḡ**; these groups call it: QAYING<sup>1</sup> **qayin**. 0 And "an inlaw" is called: QADIN' **qadin**; but by them: QAYIN' **qayin**.

Similarly, every dotted *dāl* in the speech of Čigil and other Turks is changed to *zāy* by some of Qifčāq, Yemāk, Suvār, Bulḡār and those [in the area] stretching to Rūs and Rūm. Thus, the Turks call "a foot": 'ADAQ' **adaq**; they call it: 'AZAQ **azaq**. The Čigil Turks say: QARIN' TUḌTY **qarin toḡti** to mean "His belly was full"; they say: TUZDIY **tozdi** with *zāy*. You may form the other nouns and verbs by analogy with these examples.

In summary, the *dāl* of the Čigil dialect corresponds to *yā'* in the dialects of Yaḡma, Tuxsi, Oḡuz, and part of Arḡu going up to Šīn; and to *zāy* in the dialect of Qifčāq, etc., going down<sup>2</sup> to Rūm. We shall explain everything in its proper place.

The people of Khotan and Kānčāk change every *alif* at the beginning of a word to *hā'*. For this reason we do not consider them among the Turks, since they insert into the speech of the Turks what does not belong to it. For example, the Turks call "father": 'ATA' **ata**; they say: HATA' **hata**. And "mother" is: 'ANA' **ana**; but they say: HANA' **hana**. 0

The *rā'* may alternate with

2. In MS. this is turned around.

27

1. Final G altered from K by later hand (addition of three dots in brown ink).

2. MS. *mutasfilan*, read *musfilan*.

[I. 34/33]

*lām* – this will appear in its proper place [e.g., 145 *arqa*-, 215 *tarqa*, *talqa*]. The *zāy* may alternate with *sīn*, and vice versa – this too will be explained [e.g., 53 *āz*, *ās*, 510 *qāz/qās*].

The Oğuz change every *γayn*<sup>1</sup> in nouns of time and place to *alif*. Thus, the Turks say: BAR·ΓUV YIYR· *barγu yēr* meaning “A place of going”; the Oğuz change this to: BARA·SIY YIYR *barāsī yēr*. The Turks say: TUR·ΓUV 'UΓVR· *turγu uγūr* meaning “The time for standing”; the Oğuz say: TURA·SIY 'UΓVR· *turāsī uγūr*. 0

The *qāf* may alternate with *kāf*, and vice versa – this will appear in its proper place, God willing.

This completes the topic of alternation of letters.

As for elision: the groups of Oğuz and Qifčāq agree in eliding every medial *γayn* in nouns and in the [de-]verbal form expressing continuity of action. An example in nouns is the word for “white-footed crow”: JUMΓUQ *čumγuq* which they call: JUMUQ *čumuq* dropping the *γayn*. The Turks call “the gullet”: TAMΓAQ *tamγaq*; they say: TAMAQ· *tamaq*. A [de-]verbal example :: 'UL 'AWKA' BAR·AΓA'N· 'UL ol *āwkā baryān ol* “He is one who frequently goes home”; the Oğuz say: BARA'N 'UL *barān ol* with the same meaning. The Turks say: 'AR· QULINY 'URAΓA'N 'UL *ār qulini urγān ol* “That man is one who constantly beats his slave”; they say: 'URA'N· *urān*. They also drop *kāf* in nouns, for the sake of lightness; and, in verbs, the *kāf* which corresponds to *γayn* in the above meaning.

This is the scope of all the Turkic dialects. What remains will be mentioned in the course of [the sections explaining] rules.

For the sake of lightness and conciseness I have put together in a single line all the chapters of the *fath*, the *čamm*, and the *kasr*.<sup>2</sup>

There is no power and no strength save with God  
Most High.

[I. 37/34]

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

Book of Vowel-Initial (*hamz*) Nouns

Chapter of Biliterals

B

28 1. MS. 'ayn.

2. This indicates the usual order of entries; e.g. 29-30: 'AJ (ač), 'UJ (üč, uč), 'IJ (ič); 95: 'AT- (at-), 'UT- (ut-, öt-, üt-), 'IT- (it-), 'IYT- (ēt-).

'B· *äp* A particle of emphasis and exaggeration. To exaggerate in describing something as good :: 'AB· 'ADKV N'NK *äp ädgü nāñ* “A very (*jiddan*) good thing.” 0

äp

:: 'AB· 'AQ· *ap aq* “Very pure (*nāši' jiddan*) white.” Oğuz dialect.

ap D

'AB· *ap* A particle meaning “not (*lā*)” Thus :: 'AB· BUV 'AB· 'UVL *ap bu ap ol* “Neither this nor that.”

'UB· *üp* A particle of emphasis for colors. Thus, in Čigil dialect :: 'UB· 'URUNG<sup>1</sup> *üp ürün* “Pure (*yaqaq*) white.”

üp D

'UB· 'UB· *ob ob* A particle used when an ass stumbles, as the Arabs say *la'an* meaning “Up! (*inta'is*).” 0

ob

'UP· *op* – with hard *bā'* – “Threshing ox (*ar-rākis min at-tīrān*).” Arγu dialect.

op

T

'AT· *at* “Horse (*faras*).” With *išbā'* of the *alif*. Proverb: QUVŠ QANATIN· 'AR· 'ATIN· *qūš qanatin är atin* “The bird (reaches its goal) by wing (and similarly) the man (reaches his goal) by horse.” 0

at

P

'AT· *ät* – with *išmām* of the *alif* – “Meat (*lahm*).” 0 “Soft (*sahl*) ground” is called: 'AT· YIYR *ät yer*. 0

ät

'UT· *ot* “Plant (*nabt*).” :: 'UT· 'UNDY *ot öndi* “The plant grew.”

ot

'UT· *ot* A word used for any kind of “fodder (*alaf*).” Thus :: 'AT·QA· 'UT· BYR·KYL *atqa ot bērgil* “Feed (*i'lif*) the horse.” 0

'UT· *ot* “Medicine (*dawā*).” Thus :: 'UT· 'IJ·TIM *ot ičtim* “I drank the medicine.” From this comes the word for “doctor (*tabīb*)”: 'UT·JY *otāči*. 0

'UT· *ot* “Poison (*summ*).” Thus :: 'BAK 'NK'R· 'UT· BİYRDİY *beg aṅār ot bērdi* “The emir made him drink poison.” 0

'IT· *it* “Dog (*kalb*).”

it

J

'AJ· *ač* An utterance used in the same way as the vocative particle (*yā' an-nidā'*) in Arabic. :: 'AJ BARUV KAL· *ač bārū käl* “You! come here! (*ta'ālā ya hāḏā*).” 0

ač

'UJ· *üč* The number “three (*talāta*).”

üč

29 1. G altered from K by later hand (addition of three dots in brown ink).

[I. 38/35]

Thus :: 'UJ· YARMA'Q üč yarmāq “Three dirhams.” 0

'UJ· uč – with *išbā'* of the *alif* – A well-known city.

'UJ· uč A mountain tree from which are made pens for writing Turkic; also spindles and staffs are made from it.

'IJ· ič “The inner part (*bātin*)” of anything. Hence “a girdle (*wiṣāḥ*)” is called: 'IJ· QUR· ič *qur* meaning “inner belt”; and “a secret (*sirr*)” is called: 'IJ· SUVZ· ič *sōz* meaning “inner words.” 'IJ· 'AT· ič *āt* “The tender meat attached to the liver.”

R

'AR· är “Man (*rajul*).” The plural is: 'ARAN *ärän* which is irregular, since the plural marker is: LA'R· -*lār*.'IR· ir A particle alluding to shame. Thus :: 'AR· 'IR· BULDY *ar ir boldi* “The man was ashamed (*xajila*).”

Z

'UZ· üz “Grease (*dasam*).” Hence :: 'UZLUK MUVN· üzlüg *mün* “Greasy (*dasima*) soup.”

S

'US· us “Discrimination (*tamyīz*) between good and evil.” Oγuz dialect. Thus :: 'UL· 'US· BULDY *ol us boldi* “He discerned (*aqila*) good from evil.”'AS· äs “The prey (*jazar*) of beasts of prey.” 0'US· üs “Vulture (*nasr*).” 0KLDY MANK' T'T  
'AY·DYM 'M·DY YA'T  
QUŠ·QA' BULUB· 'AT  
SNY TILAR 'US· BURYkaldi maṇa tāt  
aydīm amdi yāt  
qušqa bolup āt  
sani tilār üs böri“An Uighur infidel came to me;  
I killed him and made him prey  
for vultures.”<sup>1</sup>[A Tat came to me  
I said, “Now lie down!”<sup>2</sup>  
Be meat for the birds  
May vultures and wolves seek you.”]

- 30 1. Gloss: “and beasts of prey.”
- 
2. Or possibly: “Now, foreigner!”

30

uč N

ič

är

ir

üz

us

D

äs

üs

V

Verse:

š

'UŠ· oš A particle meaning “thus (*hākaḍā*).” :: 'UŠ MUNDAΓ QYL oš *munday qīl* “Do thus.” oš'UŠ· oš A particle meaning “now (*al-ān*).” :: 'UŠ KALDUKUM BUV oš *käldüküm bu* “I have just come (*ḥaḍūrī al-ān*).”

'UŠ 'UŠ· oš oš A particle used to incite oxen to drink water.

'UŠ· öš “The core (*qalb*)” of a tree or branch or horn. Thus :: MUNKUZ 'UŠY *münüz öši* “Core of a horn.” Also the “tail bone (*asib aḍ-ḍanab*)” of a bird or a horse is called: 'UŠ· öš. öš'IŠ· iš “Soot (*sināj*)” of a lamp; “smoke (*duxān*)” found on a wall, or other. Thus :: TUVN· 'IŠ BULDY *tōn iš boldi* “The garment was sooted with smoke (*tadaxxana*).” iš

[I. 40/37]

31

Q

'UQ· oq “Arrow (*sahm*).” oq'UQ<sup>1</sup>· oq “Beam (*jā'iza*) of a house.” Thus :: 'AW·<sup>2</sup> 'UQIY *āw oqi* “Beam (*sahm*) of a house.” 0'UQ· YILA'N oq *yilān* “A viper (*af'ā*) which hurls itself at a man.”'UQ· oq “Lot (*qur'a*)” used in dividing up lands or shares of property.'UQ· oq A verbal emphatic particle. Thus :: BARΓIL 'UQ· *barγil oq* “Do go! (*iḍhabanna*).” 0'UQ· oq A particle which accompanies circumstantial expressions. Thus :: BAYA' 'UQ· KALDIYM *baya oq kaldim* “I came just now (*qabla ḥāḍihi s-sā'a ḥaḍīqatan*).” :: 'AM·DY 'UQ· 'AY·DYM *amdi oq aydīm* “I said just now (*sā'at'idīn*).” 0'IQ· iq “Hiccup (*rabw*) arising from the chest when one drinks cold water and eats bread on top of it.” Thus :: 'ANY 'Q TUTY *ani iq tutti* “He had hiccups.” iq

L

'UL· ol A particle expressing the meaning “he (*huwa*).” Thus :: 'UL 'ANDAΓ 'AY·DY *ol anday aydi* “Thus said he.” ol

- 31 1. Q altered to W by later hand (addition of one dot in brown ink).
- 
2. W altered from Q by later hand (one dot in brown ink).

'UL ol A particle alluding to the meaning “that (*dāka*)” also. :: 'UL 'AR' ol är “That (*dālīka*) man.”

'UL ol An emphatic particle added to nouns or verbs. Thus :: 'UL MANK 'UFLUM 'UL ol mänig oylum ol “He is definitely (*haqīqatan*) my son.” 0 :: 'UL 'AWK' BARMİYŞ 'UL' ol äwkä barmiš ol “He definitely went home.”

M

'AM\_ äm “Medicine (*ilāj*).” Hence “a medicine man (*mu'ālīj*)” is called: 'AM'JY ämči. äm

'AM am “Vulva (*jahāz al-mar'a*).” Oğuz and Qifčāq dialect. 0 am D

'UM üm “Trousers (*sarāwīl*).” üm

'IM\_ im “Password (*amāra*)” which the king designates among his troops; it is the name of a bird or a weapon, or some other word, used as a challenge (?)<sup>3</sup> when two groups meet, so that each party may know their own men in order not to attack one another by mistake. When two men meet at night one asks the other the signal (*alāma*), and, if he answers with the right password, he lets him pass since he is of the same party; but if the one challenged mentions a signal which is different from the password of the challenger, he attacks him. Proverb: 'IM' BIL'SA' 'AR' 'ULM'S im bilsä är ölmäs 0 im

[I. 42/38]

“If a man knows the signal he won't be killed” – by mistake at the hand of one who will recognize it.

N

'UN' ün “Voice (*şawt*).” It is permitted to say: 'UVN ün. ün

Doubled

'AĀRA arra “Urine (*bawl*).” This is a particle used to incite an ass to leap the female; one repeats it two or three times until he leaps. This agrees with Arabic, since *arr* means “copulation” in Arabic. 0 arra

'URĀ urra “Hernia (*udra*),” in men. Oğuz dialect. urra D

'IRĀ irra “Shame (*xajla*).” This may occur either light [i.e. 30 ir] or heavy [i.e. irra]. irra

Final Weak

3. MS. *y.t.f.'k*, probably in error for *yutasā'alu* (or possibly *yutafa'alu*).

'ā A particle expressing bewilderment. Thus :: 'UL MĀNY' QILDY ol māni ā qildi “He made me bewildered (*mutahayyir*):” 0 ā

'UV<sub>1</sub> ū “Sleep (*nawm*).” Hence :: 'UḌIYDIYM uḏīdīm “I slept (*nimtu*).” The *vāv* drops because it falls between *ḍamma* (U) and *kasra* (I). 0 ū

'UVA<sub>2</sub> ū (?) A particle of response to a caller. If a person is addressed, “O Muḥammad!,” then he responds: 'UVA<sub>2</sub> ū meaning “What do you command?” ū ?

ū<sup>3</sup> “Surety (*kafāla*).” :: MAN 'ANY 'UVQA' 'AL'DIM män ani ūqa aldim “I stood surety (*kafaltu*) for him.” 0 ū

'AṢV<sup>4</sup> ō – with *išbā'* of the *alif* – A particle of refusal of an order. 0 ō

'AIY<sub>1</sub> ē (?) “An orange-colored brocade.” 0 'AY<sub>1</sub> BİTİKŸ ē bitigi Name of a roll (*tūmār*) in which are written the provisions (pay? [*arzaq*]) of the troops and their names. 0 ē ?

'IY<sub>1</sub> ī An utterance of refusal (*inkār*), like: 'UAV<sub>1</sub> ō. ī

Nasal

'ANG<sub>5</sub> āṅ “Cheek (*xadd*).” :: QIZIYL 'ANG<sub>5</sub> qizīl āṅ “Red cheek.” āṅ

'ANAG<sub>5</sub> aṅ Name of a bird whose fat is used as a medicine. When the palm of the hand is coated with it, it penetrates to the other side. 0 aṅ

'ANG<sub>5</sub> aṅ An Oğuz particle meaning “no (*lā*).” When a person is ordered to do something he says: 'ANK 'ANK aṅ aṅ meaning “No no.” 0 D

'UNG<sub>5</sub> öṅ “Front (*qudām*).” :: 'UL MINDĀ<sup>6</sup> 'UNKDUN BAR'DIY ol mindä öṅdün bardi “He went in front of (*quddām*) me.” 0 öṅ

'UNG<sub>5</sub> öṅ “The color (*lawṇ*)” of a thing. :: YA'ŞIL 'UNK LUK' TUVN' yāşil öṅlüg tön “A green-colored garment.” 0

'UVNG<sub>5</sub> 'IYŞ öṅ iş “An easy (*sahl*) matter.” It is the shortened form of: 'UNGA'Y<sub>5</sub> öṅāy. 0 öṅ

'UNG<sub>5</sub> 'ALIK<sub>1</sub> öṅ älig “The right (*yummā*) hand.” Čigil dialect. 0 D

32

1. Marginal gloss: 'UḌUV.

2. Final *alif* (') apparently added later.

3. Entry word missing; marginal gloss: 'VQ'. On these words, see ED. 1.

4. U crossed out and A added by later hand (brown ink).

5. G altered from K by later hand (three dots in brown ink).

6. Second A added by later hand in brown ink (to indicate nunnation, thus: *mindän*).



[I. 44/41]

End of Biliteral Chapters

Chapters of Trilaterals

Chapter: *fa'l, fu'l, fi'l*, quiescent second radical, in its various vocalizations

B

'AL:B' alp "Brave (*šujā'*)." Proverb: 'AL:B' YAΓIYDA' 'AL:JAQ JUΓIYDA' alp yaγīda  
alčaq čoyīda "The warrior (*baṭal*) (is tested only) when he confronts the enemy (just as the for-  
bearance of) the gentle (is tried) in a dispute." Verse:

'AL:B' 'AR TUNK' 'ULDIYMU	alp är toṅa öldi mü
'YSYZ 'ŽVN QALDIYMU	ēsīz aḏūn qaldi mu
'UD'LAK 'UVJIN 'ALDIYMU	ödläg öčün aldi mu
'AM'DY YURAK YIR'TILUVR	amdi yüräk yirtilür

"Has King Afrāsiyāb died? Does the wicked world remain (empty of him)? Has Time exacted  
its revenge upon him? Now the heart bursts (out of grief for his kingdom and out of rage against  
Time)."

T

'AR:T' SAJ: art sač "Hair of the nape (*qafā*)," since: 'AR:T' art is "neck (*raqaba*)."

'AR:T' art "Pass (*aqaba*) in the mountains." Proverb: 'AR:MAKUVKA' 'ŠIK 'AR:T  
BULUVR: ärmägükä ešik art bolür "For the lazy man a threshold becomes a mountain pass."

'UR:T' urt "Eye of a needle (*samm al-xiyāṭ*)."

'UR:T' ört "Blazing fire (*ḥariq*)."

'AS:T ast "Alleys (*aziqqa*)."

D

'AN:D' and "Swearing an oath (*ḥalif*)."

Q

'R:Q' arq "Feces (*aḏira*)."

tämür arqi. 'URQ urq The lightened form of: 'URUQ uruq [45, "rope"] – in Oḡuz dialect. This is  
like [Arabic] 'unq and 'unuq ("neck").

33

'IR:Q' irq "Divining, taking omens, drawing out what is hidden (*kahāna, fa'l, ixrāj aḏ-  
ḏamīr*)."

K

'AR:K' ärk "Authority; power to act (*salṭana; nafāḏ al-amr*)."

'UR:K' örk "Halter (*zināq*)" for lambs; "tether (*ṭawīla*)" for horses.

'IR:K' irk "A four-year-old sheep (*ḏa'n* [defined])."

'IL:K' ilk "The first (*awwal*)" of anything. :: 'ILK SAN BAR:ΓIYL ilk sän barγīl "You  
go first."

Defective

B

One says to a man who brags about something and then is unable to prove it: 'UVB'  
'UVB' öb öb.

T

'UVT' öt "Fire (*nār*)."

[I. 46/43]

Proverb: 'UVT' TIYSA' 'AΓIYZ KUY:MA'S öt tēsā aγīz köymās "If one says 'Fire' his  
mouth does not catch fire." This is coined about someone who apologizes for something he said.

'UVT: üt "Hole (*ṭaqb*)" in a wall or a piece of wood. With *šamma* of the *vāv*.

'UVT: öt "Gall (*marāra*)."

J

'UVJ: öč "Seeking vengeance (*ḥiqd*)."

'VJ KAK: QMUΓ KIŠY NINK YALINKUVQ'UVZA' 'ALYM BYL  
'ḌKVLVKVK 'UVΓANJ' 'ALIKYNK BYL' TLYM QYL

öč kāk qamuγ kišiniṅ yalṅūq üzä alīm bīl  
äḏgūlüküg üγanča älgīṅ bilä tālim qil

"Vengeance (*ṭar*) is claimed like a debt, therefore guard against it by doing good to strangers and  
travellers as much as you can."

irq

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34

P

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ast D

and

arq

urq D

Verse:

öč

V

[Know that vengeance (hend.), of all people, is a debt claimed upon a man  
Do good, as much as is in the power of your hand.]

'UVJ ūč The “extremity (*ṭaraf*)” of a thing. :: BUTAQ\_ 'UVJIY butaq ūči “End (*ṭaraf*)  
of a branch.” 0 ūč

'UVJ 'YL ūč ēl “Frontier (*ṭaṣr*).” 0

'UVJ ūč The “depletion (*nafād*)” of a thing. Oḡuz dialect. :: BUVY·DA' NA' 'UVJ D  
BA'R bōyda nā ūč bār “There is no depletion in number (*nafād* . . . *kaṭra<sup>tan</sup>*) among the people.”

D

'UVD\_ ōd “Time (*zamāna*).” With *šamma* of the *vāv*. Proverb: 'UVD·KAJ'R KIŠY ōd P  
TUVY·MA'S· YALINKUVQ 'UVΓ·LIY MANK·KUV QALMA'S· ōd kăčăr kiši tūymās, yalḡūq  
ōḡli māḡü qalmās 0 “Time (*zamān*) passes and man does not perceive it, the sons of Adam do  
not live forever.”

'UVD· ūd “Ox (*baqar*).” Čigil dialect. :: 'UVD·YYLY ūd yīli One of the twelve years ūd D  
in Turkic.

R

'UVR· 'AT· ōr at “A horse between sorrel and bay (*bayn al-ašqar wa-l-kumayt*).” ōr

'UVR· ōr — with *šamma* — The “waist (*maḡall al-xāsiratayn*)” of a cloak. 0 ōr

'YR· ĩr (ēr?) “Awl (*mitqab*).” ĩr (ēr?)

'YR· ēr “Ground (*ard*).” Variant of: YĪYR<sup>1</sup> yēr. ēr D

Z

'UVZ ūz “Grease (*dasam*).” With *šamma*. Hence :: 'UVZ·LUK 'AŠ\_ ūzliḡ aš “Greasy ūz  
(*dasim*) food.” 0

'UVZ ūz “Deaf (*ašamm*).” :: 'UVZ KIŠY ūz kiši. 0

'UVZ\_ ōz “Self (*nafs*).” 0 Verse: ōz

KVRKLVK TUNVΓ 'VZVNK K' kōrklūḡ tonūy ōzūḡkă V  
TATLYΓ 'ŠYΓ 'AḊIYN·Q' tatliḡ ašīy aḡinqa  
TUVTΓIYL· QUNUVQ 'AḊIYRLYΓ· tūtḡil qonūq aḡīrliḡ  
YAḊSUVN JAWIYNK BUḊUVN·QA' yadsūn čawiḡ boḡunqă

“Put on fine garments for yourself; make tasty food as a portion for others; honor the guest,  
so that he spread your fame among the people.” 0

'UVZ\_ ōz “Valley (*wādī*) in the mountains.” ::

[I. 47/46]

TA'Γ\_ 'UVZIY tāy ōzi “Mountain valley.”

'UVZ\_ KIŠY ōz kiši “A person who is a kinsman (*qarīb*).” :: BUV BIZ·NIK· 'VZ\_ KIŠY  
'UL bu bizniḡ ōz kiši ol “This is one of our kinsmen.”

'UVZ ōz “The heart and what is inside the belly (*al-qalb wa-mā taḡwī 'alayhi l-baṭn*).”  
:: 'UVZUM 'AḊRIYDIY ōzūm aḡrīdi “I have a belly-ache (*waja'a ma fi baṭni*).”

'UVZ\_ ōz “The core (*qalb*) of a tree” :: YIAΓ'J 'UVZIY yiyāč ōzi — like the pith (*jum-  
mār*) of a date palm, or the like. 0

'UVZ KIŠIY ūz kiši “A person who is skilled and expert in his craft (*san' al-yad, mahir  
fi hirfa*).” 0 ūz

'UVZ QUNUQY ōz qonuqi [“The soul's guest”] Name for “a part of the body that  
palpitates (*mā yaxtaliju min al-jasad*).” It is said to be the spirit (*rūh*). The following verse  
speaks of it in this sense. Verse: ōz

BAR·DY KVZVM YARVQY	bardi kōzūm yarūqi	V
'AL·DIY 'UVZVM QUNUQY	aldi ōzūm qonuqi	
QANDA· 'RNJ QANIYQY	qanda ärinč qaniqi	
'AM·DIY 'UVDIYN 'UVD·ΓURVR	amdi ūdīn oḡyurūr	

“The delight of my eye has gone; he took away my spirit (when he departed). Where can he be  
now? He wakens me from sleep.”

Š

'IYŠ iš “Work, affair (*'amal, amr*).” :: NA' 'IYŠING<sup>1</sup> BA'R na išin bār “What is your  
affair or your work?” İš

'YŠ ēš “Companion (*šāḡib*).” “One who has a familiar spirit (*ma'ahu tābi'a min al-  
jinn*)” is called: 'YŠLK ēšlig. Verse: ēš

'NINK 'YŠYN KAJUVRDUM	aniḡ išin kăčürdüm	V
'YŠYN YM· QJUVRDUM	ešin yemă qačürdüm	

'VLVM 'VTIN 'IYJVRDUM  
'YJ·TY BULUB YVZY TURN [sic]

ōlūm ōtin ičürdüm  
īčti bolup yūzi turi

“I put an end to his affair (*amḍaytu amrahu*) (by killing him); and I made his companion flee; I gave him the potion of death to drink; he drank it with a sour face.” He means, “I made him taste death.”

Γ

'UVİ ūγ “Any of the ribs (*ḍil'*) in the upper part of a tent.”

ūγ

Q

'UVQ ōq “Share (*naṣīb*) of an inheritance.” Thus :: 'NK'R\_ BYR\_ 'UVQ\_ TKDY aṇār bīr  
ōq tāgdi “He received a share of the inheritance.”

ōq

K

'UVK ōg “Understanding (*'aql, fiṭna*).” From this comes the title: 'UVKA\_ ōgā for a man of understanding and ripe old age.

ōg

One calls “any animal that has reached maturity (*intaṣafa sinn, kabura*)”: 'UVK ōg. “A four-year-old (*allaḍī jāwaza arba' sinīn*) horse” is called: 'UVK 'AT\_ ōg at. 0

'IYK īk “Spindle (*miṣzal*).” A variant of: YYK yīk. 0

īk D

'IYK\_ īg “Sickness (*marād*).”

īg

[1. 49/48]

36

L

'UVL\_ ūl “The foundation (*uss*)” of any kind of wall. Thus :: T'M\_ 'UVL\_IY tām ūli  
“Foundation of a wall.” 0

ūl

'UVL\_ NA'NK\_ ōl nāṇ “Anything damp (*raṭb*).” Thus :: 'UVL\_ TUVN\_ ōl tōn “A damp garment.” The Oγuz do not know this word. 0

ōl

D

'IYL ēl “Realm or province (*walāya*).” :: BAK 'IYLIY beg ēli “The emir’s realm or province.” 0

ēl

'YL ēl “Courtyard (*fiṣā'*).” Thus :: QABUΓ 'YLY qapuy ēli. 0

'YL ēl A word used for “horses (*xayl*),” since horses are the Turk’s wing. Hence a “groom (*sā'is*)” is called: 'IYL BAŠ\_IY ēl baši which translates as “head of the realm or province” but refers to a groom of horses.

'IYL\_ ēl “Peace (*ṣulḥ*) between two kings.” :: 'IYKY BAK BIYR·LA\_ 'IYL\_ BUL·DIY  
ēki beg bīrlā ēl boldi “The two emirs made peace between themselves (*ṣālahā . . . ma'an*).”

'IYL\_ KIŠ\_IY ēl kiši “A vile (*la'im*) man.”

'YL\_ QUVŠ\_ ēl qūš “Vulture (*raxma*).”

M

:: 'AR\_ 'UVM\_ BULDY ar ōm boldi “The man had upset stomach and sluggishness  
(*ittaxama, ḡamita*) from eating meat.”

ōm

N

'UVN\_ ōn The number “ten (*ašara*).” 0

ōn

'UVN\_ ūn “Voice (*ṣawt*).” With long or short vowel.

ūn

'UVN\_ ūn “Flour (*daqīq*).” 0

ūn

'IYN YIYR\_ ēn yēr “A downward slope (*habūt*) of the ground.” :: 'IYN YUQ ēn yoq “A decline (*habṭa*) and an incline.” 0

ēn

'IYN\_ ēn The “breadth (*'arḍ*)” of anything. :: BUUV BUUVZ\_ 'IYNIY NJA\_ bu bōz ēni  
nāčā “What is the breadth of this cloth?”

'IYN\_ īn The “den or lair (*'arīn, wijār, ma'wā*) ” of a lion, fox, or any beast of prey.  
You may say: YIYN\_ yīn with yā'.

īn

'IYN īn “Sheep dung (*fart' al-ḡanam*).” A variant of the form with yā' [i.e. yīn]. 0

D

Final Weak

Y

'UVY\_ ōy “Ravine (*al-huwwa fī l-arḍ*).”

ōy

'UVY\_ 'AT\_ oy at “Ash-colored (*dayzaj*) horse.” 0

End of the chapters of the quiescent second radical.

Chapters of the Vowelled Second Radical

Chapter: *fa'al, fa'ul, fa'il*, vowelled second radical, in its various vocalizations

T

BYR\_ 'ADUT NA'NK\_ bīr aḍut nāṇ “A handful (*ḡafna* [defined]) of something.” 0 aḍut

[I. 51/50]

'RT 'T **orut ot** "Year-old dried grass (*dawīl* [defined])." 0

'UJUT **öçüt** "Vengeance, desire for revenge (*ta'r, ḥiqd*)." Its root is: 'VJ **öç**. 0

'UFUT **uγut** Name for a leaven (*xamīr*) used to make beer, as follows. Various herbs are mixed with flour made from sprouted barley; [the mixture] is then kneaded, cut into portions the size of hazelnuts, and left to dry. The resulting leaven is crumbled and sprinkled over wheat that has been cooked together with barley, in the ratio of one portion (lit. hazelnut) of leaven to one *mann* of cooked wheat. The wheat is then wrapped in something clean and left to ferment for three days, after which it is taken out and put into a vat and left to ferment for ten more days. Finally water is poured on top and it is strained. This is "wheat wine (*šarāb al-ḥinṭa*)." 0

'AWAT\_ **äwät** A particle meaning "yes (*na'am*)." There are three variants. 'AWAT\_ **äwät** belongs to Yaγma, Tuxsi, Qifčāq and Oγuz.<sup>1</sup> 0 'MAT 'VAT\_ **YAMAT\_ ämät, ävät, yämät** belong to the rest of the Turks.

'UWUT\_ **uwut** "Modesty (*ḥayā*')." 0

'UWUT [sic] **oqut** "Invitation or summons (*da'wa*)," to a meal or a sultan. 0

'KIT **ägit** A medicine which is rubbed on the faces of babies to ward off demonic possession and evil eye. It is made from herbs mixed with saffron, or the like.

'UKUT\_ **ögüt** "Advice (*i'za*)." 0

Verse:

'L'PYL 'UKUT MINDYN 'U'VL 'AR'DAM TIYLA'  
BVY'DA' 'U'VL' BILKA' BULUB BILKYNK 'UVLA'  
alγīl ögüt mindīn oγūl ärdām tīlā  
böyda uluγ bilgä bolup bilgīñ ülä

"Take counsel from me, my son, and seek virtue, so that you become a chief of the people and dispense wisdom and virtue among them." 0

'UKIT\_ **ögüt** "Grinding (*taḥn*)" of grain, or other. 'UKIT\_JIY **ögütçi** "Grinder (*taḥīn*)." <sup>2</sup>

'AIKAT\_ **egät** "The maidservant (*xādima*) sent with the bride on the night of the nuptial procession to serve her."

'YKIT **īgit** "Lie (*kaḍib*)." Oγuz dialect. Hence :: 'IKT SUVZ\_ **igit söz** "Lying words." <sup>3</sup>

37 1. Originally *wa-l-γuzziyya*, changed to *wa-li-l-γuzziyya* by later hand (brown ink). The text is confused.

2. In MS. this entry comes before the verse s.v. **ögüt**.

3. MS. *qatl*.

'ULUT\_ **ölüt** "Killing (*qitāl*)." Hence "a killer (*qātil*)"<sup>3</sup> is called: 'ULUTJY **ölütçi**.

'ULUT 'AR\_ **olut är** "A man who is mature, in his prime (*kahl, tārr*)." 0

[I. 52/52]

J

'ATAJ\_ 'U'UVL **atač oγūl** A boy who acts like an old man (*mutašayyix*), as though he were "father of the people."

'TJ **ātič** "The hole used as a target in the children's game of 'walnuts' (*mizdāt* [define])." 0

'IŠIJ **ešič** "Kettle (*qidr*)." Proverb: 'ŠIJ 'AYUVR\_ TUVBUM\_ 'ALTUVN\_ QMIJ 'AYUVR\_ MAN QANDA'<sup>1</sup> MAN **ešič ayūr tūpüm altün, qamič ayūr män qanda män** "The kettle claims its bottom is gold, the ladle says, 'Where am I?'" 0 This is coined about someone who brags in the presence of one who knows him. 0

'KAJ\_ **äkäč** A little girl who acts sagely, as though she were "sister of the people (*uxt al-qawm*)." She is given this name as a sign of affection. 0

'AMAJ\_ **amač** "Target (*hadaf*)." 0

'AMAJ **amač** "Plow (*faddān* [defined])." 0

'ULJ **olič** A particle of affectionate address for sons. :: 'ULJM **oličim** "My dear son (*bunayya*)." Qarluq dialect. 0

'ANAJ **anač** A little girl who acts sagely, as though she were "mother of the people (*umm al-qawm*)." She is given this name as a sign of affection. 0

'ANUJ **anüč** "Cataract on the eye (*zafra al-'ayn*)." 0

R

'AFIR\_ **aγir** Anything "heavy (*taqīl*)." A person who is "honored (*mukarram*)" by a people or an emir is called: 'AFIYR\_ LIYΓ\_ KIŠY **aγirliγ kiši**. :: TANKRY MANIY 'AFIYR\_ LA'DIY **tānri māni aγirlādi** "God honored (*akrama*) me." When a portion of the night (*hudū*<sup>2</sup> *min al-layl*) has passed, one says: 'AFIYR\_ 'ADA'Q 'AM'RUL'DY **aγir adāq amrułdi** meaning, "The heavy foot is still"; the intention is, "He has reached the way-station, though his journey was slow." 0

38 1. QANDA' altered to QAY\_DA' by later hand (brown ink).

2. MS. *huduwu*.

'AḠIYR\_ NA'NK\_ aḡir nāñ "A high-priced (*ḡālī fi t-taman*) object." 0

'UḠUR 'AT\_ oḡar at "Horse with a blaze on the forehead (*aḡarr*)." This word agrees with the Arabic in sound and sense, except that the *alif* has *fatḥa* in Arabic and *ḍamma* in Turkic. 0

'UḠUR\_ uḡur "Time (*waqt*)." :: NA\_ 'UḠUR·DA\_ KAL·DIYNK\_ nā uḡurda kälđiñ "At what time did you come?" 0

'UḠUR\_ uḡur "Reign (*dawla*)." :: BAK 'UḠURIYN·DA\_ MANIK\_ 'IYŠIYM 'IYTIL·DIY beg uḡurında mär:ig išim etildi "My affairs prospered during the reign of the emir." 0

[I. 54/53]

'UḠUR\_ uḡur "Opportunity (*imkān, furša*)" for a thing. Hence :: BV 'YŠ 'UḠUR·LUF BUL·DIY bu iš uḡurluḡ boldi "This matter became opportune." 0

'UḠUR\_ uḡur "Compensatory gift (*iwaḍ*)." Oḡuz dialect. :: 'AT·QA\_ 'UḠUR 'AL·DIYM atqa uḡur aldım "I received a compensatory gift for the horse." 0

'UḠUR\_ uḡur "Good fortune (*xayr, baraka*)." Oḡuz dialect. One says to a traveller: YUVL\_ 'UḠUR BUL·SUVN yöl uḡur bolsün "May the journey be fortunate." This expression is used only in the case of travel. 0

'AKIR äḡir "Galingale (*wajj*)," which is used as a medicine for stomach ache. Proverb: 'AKIR BULSA\_ 'AR\_ 'UL·MA'S\_ äḡir bolsa är ölmäs 0 "If a man has galingale he won't die" from stomach ache, since he can take it and find relief. [This is coined] as advice to prepare for something before the need for it arises. 0

'UGUR\_ üḡür "Millet (*duxn*)." Among the Turks; the Oḡuz do not know this. 0 üḡür D

YA'Ḡ\_ 'UKRY yāḡ üḡüri "Sesame (*simsim*)." Oḡuz dialect. D

'UGUR\_ öḡür Any "flock (*sirb, qaḡi'*)," of sheep, antelope, slave-girls, grouse, or camels. 0 öḡür D

'AMIR\_ imir "Gloom, mist (*dajm, ḍabāb*)." Oḡuz dialect. imir D

Z

'UBUZ\_ obuz "Any roughness of terrain (*kull ḡilaz min al-arḍ*)." Hence :: 'UVY 'UBUZ öy obuz "Rugged land (*ḡā'iḡ wa-fadfad*)." 0 obuz

- 39
1. First *alif* (') added by later hand (brown ink).
  2. Z altered from R (dot added in brown ink).

'ATIZ atiz "A strip of land between two embankments (*kull šatba min al-arḍ bayn al-arimayn*)." 0 atiz

'UJUZ NA'NK\_ uḷuz nāñ "Something cheap (*raxiṣ*)." And a "despicable (*ḍalīl, muḥān*)" person is called: 'UJUZ\_ uḷuz. Hence :: BAK 'ANY 'UJUZ·LA·DIY beg ani uḷuzlädi "The emir belittled (*ahāna*) him." uḷuz


'UḌUZ\_ uḍuz "Mange (*jarab*)." Proverb [= 446 yin]: TLKV 'VZ 'YNIKA\_¹ 'UR·SA\_ 'UḌUZ\_² BULVR tilkü öz yinka ürsa uḍuz bolür 0 "When a fox yelps at its own den he becomes mangy (*yajrabu*)." This is coined about someone who blames his own tribe or clan or city, to rebuke him and his fault-finding. uḍuz P


Any ground, or other, that is "raised (*murtafi'*)" is called: 'AḌIYZ YZR äḡiz yēr. 'DIYZ T'Ḡ äḡiz tāy "An inaccessible (*māni'*) mountain." 0 äḡiz


'AḠUŽ aḡuž "Beestings (*libā*)." With *žāy* between the two points of articulation. Pronunciation with regular *zāy* [i.e. *aḡuz*] is permitted. 0 aḡuž (aḡuz)


[I. 55/55]


'AḠIZ\_¹ aḡiz "Mouth (*fūha*) of a river; mouth (*fam*) of a waterskin or a wire jug or a well." 0 'AḠIZ\_ aḡiz "Mouth (*fam*) of a man or animal." Proverb: 'AḠIZ YIYSA\_ KVZ\_ 'UYA·DUVR\_ aḡiz yēsā köz uyadūr 0 "When the mouth eats the eye is ashamed." This is coined about someone who has "eaten" another person's gift and then is ashamed for failing to do what he should in return. aḡiz P


'UḠUZ\_ oḡuz A tribe of the Turks; the Turkmān. They consist of twenty-two branches, each of which has a distinctive brand (*'alāma, sima*) on its animals by which it is known from the others. The chief of them is: QINIḠ\_ qiniḡ to which our present sultans belong; 0 the brand on their animals is .² oḡuz N


The second is: QAYIḠ qayiy. Their brand is .


The third is: BA'YUN·DUR\_ bāyundur. Their brand is .

The fourth is: 'IWA' ewä — with *hamza*, or else with *yā'*: YW' yewä. Their brand is .


The fifth is: SAL·ḠUR\_ salḡur. Their brand is .


The sixth is: 'AF·ŠA'R\_ afšār. Their brand is .


The seventh is: BAKTILY bāktili. Their brand is .


The eighth is: BUK·DUZ\_ bügdüz. Their brand is .


- 40
1. Z altered from R by later hand (dot added in brown ink).
  2. Brands are in red ink; numbers over brands are in pencil.


The ninth is: BAYĀ'T<sub>1</sub> bayāt. Their brand is .


The tenth is: YAZĪR yazır. Their brand is .


The eleventh is: 'AY·MUR äymür. Their brand is .


The twelfth is: QR·BULK qara bölük. Their brand is .

The thirteenth is: 'L·QA' BULUK alqa bölük. Their brand is .

The fourteenth is: 'IK·DIĀR igdir. Their brand is .

The fifteenth is: 'URAKIR' ürägir – the *hamza* alternates with *yā'*: YURAKIR' yürägir. Their brand is .


The sixteenth is: TUVTIR·Q' tütirqa. Their brand is .


The seventeenth is: 'UVLA' YUNDLUF ūla yondluḡ. Their brand is .


The eighteenth is: TUVKAR<sub>2</sub> tögär – the *vāv* may drop: TUKAR<sub>2</sub> tögär. Their brand is

[I. 57/57]

18.

The nineteenth is: BAĴANĀK<sub>1</sub> bācānāk. Their brand is .

The twentieth is: JUVŪL·DAR<sub>1</sub><sup>1</sup> čuvuldar. Their brand is .

The twenty-first is: JAB·NY čāpni. Their brand is .

The twenty-second is: JARUQLUF čaruqluḡ. They are few in number and their brand is unknown. 0

Maḥmūd says: I have mentioned all of these subtribes because they must be known. These brands are all signs of their animals and horses. Each branch knows its cattle by means of these signs when they mingle.

These are the principle subtribes. Then each subtribe is composed of sub-branches, which I have omitted for the sake of brevity. The names of these subtribes are the names of their ancestors who gave birth to them in olden times. They trace back their ancestry to them, just as among the Arabs one says “Banū Salīm” or “Banū Khafāja.” 0

3. Brand in margin, now invisible because of repair on the MS.

41 1. A altered from U by later hand (brown ink); second U crossed out (? – unclear).

'UKUZ ögüz Any “flowing river (*wādī jāri*),” such as the Jayḥūn (Oxus) or the Euphrates. When this word is used in a specific sense among the Oḡuz it applies to a river called Wādī Banākat [Syr Darya?]; their cities are along it, and those among them who are nomadic camp along its banks. This word is used in the names of many rivers in the lands of the Turks; also of a frontier town called: 'YKY 'UVKVZ ēki ögüz – it is a town between two rivers: 'ILA' ila and: YAFINJ yawinč. 0

ögüz  
D N

N

'UKUZ öküz “Ox (*ṭawr*).” Proverb: 'UKUZ 'AD·QY<sup>2</sup> BUL·ḠIN·JA' BUZ·ḠUV BAŠIY BULSA' YIYK öküz aḡāqi bolḡinča buzāḡu baši bolsa yēḡ “Better to be the head of a calf<sup>3</sup> than the foot of an ox.” This means that ruling oneself is better than submitting to another.

öküz P

S

'AWUS<sup>4</sup> awus

awus

[I. 58/59]

42

“Wax (*mūm*).” Bulḡār dialect. 0

D

'UVLA'S· KUVZ<sub>2</sub> ōlās kōz “A gently-glancing (*laṭīfa ar-runuwu*) eye,” like the eye of a drunken man. Verse:

ōlās

BULN'R MYNY 'UVLA'S· KVZ  
QAR' MNKYZ QIYZYL· YUVZ  
'ANDYN TM'R TVK'L TVZ  
BULNA'B YAN' 'UVL QAJ'R

bulnār mīni ōlās kōz  
qara mānīn qizil yūz  
andīn tamar tūkāl tūz  
bulnāp yana ōl qačār

V

“This drunken (*sakrā*) eye captivates me; with a bright face and a charming mole upon it; as if charm dripped from his cheeks; then you flee from me after taking me captive.”

š<sup>1</sup>

'UBUŠ öpüş “A kiss (*taqbīl*), between two people.”

öpüş

'AṬIŠ<sub>2</sub> atiš “Shooting at one another (*murāmāt*).”

atiš

'ATAIŠ<sub>2</sub> atiš A man's name. 0

N

'UTUŠ utuš Also [a man's name]. 0

utuš N

2. Q altered from F by later hand (one of dots in brown ink).

3. MS. 'ijjawl (?), read 'ijl.

4. W altered from Q by later hand (one of dots in brown ink).

42 1. MS. S.

'UTUŠ: ötüš – with *išmām* of the *alif* – [A word used] in a game, as follows. Boys sit themselves in a circle and one of them pushes the boy next to him and says: 'UTUŠ 'UTUŠ ötüš meaning “Pass the push (*'addi 'anka l-qamş*) to the one next to you.” This goes on until they reach the end of the circle.

'TIŠ itiš “Two people pushing each other with the hand (*al-mudāfa'a bayn itnayn bi-l-yad*).” 0

'UJAŠ: öcäs “Wager (*muxāṭara*).” Hence :: 'UL MAN'NIG<sup>2</sup> BIRLA' 'UVJAŠ'DIY ol mäniñ birlä öcäsdi “He made a wager (*xāṭara*) with me over something.” 0

'ADAŠ adaš “Intimate friend (*xidn*).” 0

'IDIŠ idiš “Drinking-bowl (*qadah*).” Among the Yaḡma, Tuxsi, Yemāk, Oḡuz and Arḡu it means “any kind of pot or vessel (*qidr, tawr, inā*).”

'ARIŠ: ariš “Warp (*sadā*).” 'ARIRIŠ: ariš arqāḡ “Warp and woof.” 0

'URUŠ: uruš “A quarrel (*mušājara*).” Also, “a battle (*ḡarb*).” 0

'AḡIŠ: aḡiš “Ascent (*ša'ūd*).” 0

'UḡUŠ: oḡuš “Clan (*ašīra*).” 0

'UWUŠ uwuš “Crumbs (*futāt*)” of a thing. “Bread crumbs (*duqāq*)” are called: 'UWUŠ<sup>4</sup> 'AT'MA'K uwuš ätmäk. 0

'UQUŠ: uquš “Intelligence (*fiṭna*).” An “intelligent (*faṭin*) person” is called: 'UQVŠ: LUḡ KIŠIY uqūşluḡ kişi. 0

'VKUŠ: NA'NG<sup>5</sup> ūkūš nāñ “Much or many (*kaṭīr*)”

[I. 60/62]

of anything.” Proverb: TIYRIYK 'ASAN BULSA' TA'NG<sup>1</sup> 'VKVŠ KURUVR tīriḡ āsān bolsa tāñ ūkūš körür 0 “When one is alive and healthy one often (*kaṭīran*) sees wonders.” 0

2. Three dots of G in brown ink; *sukūn* (·) in pencil (?).

3. A crossed out and I (with *hamza*) added in brown ink; other *hamzas* on this line and on next line (aḡiš) also in brown ink.

4. Three dots of W in brown ink.

5. Three dots of G in brown ink.

43 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.

“An unruly (*ḡarūn*) animal” is called: 'VKVŠ YLQY ūḡūš yilqi. 0 ūḡūš

'ALIŠ ališ “The draw-off points of a reservoir (*fūḡāt aš-šīrb wa-l-anšībā*).” 0 ališ

'ALUŠ: aluš Name of a village belonging to Kāčḡar. aluš N

'ALIŠ: ališ “Suing the debtor for the debt (*al-mu'āxaḡa bi-d-dayn li-l-ḡarīm*).” Hence :: 'ALIŠ BIYRIYŠ ališ bēriš “Taking and giving what is due (*axḡ ḡaqq wa-i'ṭā' ḡaqq*).” ališ

'ULUŠ ūlūš “Share (*našīb*).” The root-form is with *kāf* instead of *šīn*: 'UVLUK ūlüḡ. This is like the alternation of *kāf* with *šīn* in the Arabic feminine suffix, as in the verse of Majnūn: *fa-'aynāši 'aynāhā wa-ḡīduši ḡīduhā*<sup>2</sup> (“Your eyes are her eyes and your neck is her neck”) – he means *'aynāki* and *ḡīduki*. 0 ūlūš

'ULUŠ uluš “Village (*ḡarya*)” in Čigil dialect. Among the people of Balāsāḡūn and the neighboring Arḡu country, “City (*balda*).” Hence the city of Balāsāḡūn is called: QUḠVZ: 'VLUḠŠ: qūz ūlūš. 0 uluš D N

'ULŠ ūlūš “Distribution of shares (*tafriḡa al-anšībā*)” among the people.” The *šīn* is an alternant of *kāf* [i.e. ūlüḡ], as in the variant reading [Qur'ān 19:24]: *ḡad ja'ala rabbuši taḡtāši sariyy*<sup>am3</sup> (“thy Lord has set below thee a rivulet”) – instead of *rabbuki* and *taḡtāki*. ūlūš D

ḡ

'AJIḡ aḡiḡ Name for “a gift (*ḡā'iza*) of the sultan.” Thus :: XA'N: MANKA' 'AJIḡ BIYR'DY xān maḡa aḡiḡ bērdi “The king gave me a gift (*aḡāza*).” 0 aḡiḡ

'AJIḡ aḡiḡ “Savoring life (*tana'um*).” Hence :: 'VZVNKNY 'JIḡ'LIIḡ TUT ōzūñni aḡiḡliḡ tut “Enjoy some fine food (*na'im nafsaka bi-l-aḡḡiya aš-ṣāliḡa*).” 0

'AJIḡ: aḡiḡ “Bitter (*murr*),” of anything.

'ADIIḡ: aḡiḡ “Bear (*dubb*).” Proverb [= 167 tāw]: 'AWJY<sup>4</sup> NAJ' 'AL BIL'SA' 'ADIIḡ 'ANJ' YUḠL BILYR: awēi nāčā al bilsā aḡiḡ anča yōl bilir 0 “As many tricks as the hunter knows the bear knows ways (of escape).” This is coined about two clever people who have a dispute. 0 aḡiḡ P

'ADIIḡ aḡiḡ “One who has recovered (*ṣāḡī*)”

[I. 60/63]

from drunkenness.” Thus :: 'AS'RUK 'ADIIḡ asrük aḡiḡ “Drunk and sober (*ṣāḡī*).” 0

2. MS. *ḡīdahā* (a in brown ink).

3. *Tāšdīd* over *r* crossed out in brown ink.

4. W altered from Q by later hand (one dot in brown ink).

'ADIF adiy Name of one of our villages. 0	N
'UDUF 'AR' oduy ar "A man (or other) who is awake (yaqzān)." 0	oduγ
One calls "a man of wakeful heart ( <i>mutayaqqiz al-qalb</i> )": 'UDUF KVNKUVL; LUVK; 'AR' oduy kōñüllüg ar – this means an "intelligent ( <i>faṭīn</i> )" man. 0	
'ARIF ariγ "Tent band ( <i>izār al-xibā</i> )." Barsγān dialect. 0	ariγ D
ARIF NA'NK ariγ nāñ "Something clean ( <i>naẓīf</i> )." 0	
'URUF uruγ The "seed ( <i>ḥabb</i> )" of anything. "Seed for sowing ( <i>baḍr</i> )" is called: 'URUF uruγ. Thus :: 'URUF 'AKTIY uruγ äkti "He sowed the seed." "Relatives ( <i>aqārib</i> )" are likened to it, and are called: 'URUF TARIF uruγ tariγ. 0	uruγ
'AZIF aziγ The "canine tooth ( <i>nāb</i> )" of any animal. 0	aziγ
'ASIF asiy "Profit ( <i>riḥ</i> )." 0	asiγ
'USUF osuγ The "correspondence ( <i>taḥāyul</i> )" of one thing to another. Hence :: BV 'YŠI 'USTIY MUNDAF bu iš osyi munday "The following corresponds ( <i>muḥāyala</i> ) to this matter." 0	osuγ
'ALIF aliγ Anything "bad ( <i>radī</i> )." Oγuz and Qifčāq dialect.	aliγ D
'ULUF uluγ Anything "large ( <i>kabīr</i> )." 0	uluγ
'ILIF SUVF iliy sūw "Lukewarm ( <i>fātīr</i> ) water." Its root-form is with yā': YILIF Verse: iliy	iliy
'ULUF LVQUF BULSA' SAN 'DKV QILYN BULFYL KIŠIYK BAK'LA'R QATIN YXŠY 'VLA'N uluγlūquγ bulsa sān ädgü qilīn bolγīl kišīg beglār qatin yaxši ūlān	uluγ V
"When you gain great prestige and influence ( <i>jāh wa-baṣṭa</i> ) then behave correctly. Be before the emirs a good joiner, one who presents well people's affairs ( <i>waṣṣāl xayr ḥasan al-maḥḍar li-amr an-nās</i> )." 0	
Q	
'AČUQ ačuq "Open ( <i>maftūḥ</i> )," of anything. Thus :: 'AJUQ QABUF ačuq qapuy "An open door." "Sky that has become clear ( <i>muṣḥiya</i> )" is called: 'AJUQ KUVK ačuq kōk. 0	ačuq
And "a matter that is clear ( <i>bayyin</i> )" is called: 'AJUQ 'IYŠ ačuq iš. 0	

'UJAQ očaγ "Stove or fireplace ( <i>kānūn</i> )." 0	očaγ
The Khāqāniyya address an elder brother ( <i>ax akbar</i> ) by saying: 'AJIQIM ečiqim inserting a <i>qāf</i> [to <i>ečim</i> , see 56 <i>eči</i> ], but only when joined to the first person suffix; it is not permitted to say: 'AJIQING ečiqin in the second person. 0	ečiq D
[I. 63/65]	45
'ADAQ adaq "Foot ( <i>rijl</i> )." 0	adaq
'DUQ N'NK aduq nāñ "Something unknown ( <i>majhūl</i> )." Its root-form is: 'AFDUQ ayduq meaning "Changed, disguised ( <i>mutaγayyir, mutannakir</i> )." This is derived from the phrase: 'N'K MANKZY 'AFDY anig (anin?) māñzi aydi "His color changed ( <i>taγayyara</i> )." The <i>γayn</i> is dropped for lightening ( <i>taxfiḥ</i> ).	aduq
One calls a "sleepy ( <i>wasnān</i> )" man: 'UDIQ 'AR' udiq ar. 0	u diq
'IDUQ iduq Anything "blessed ( <i>mubārak</i> )." Its root-meaning is that any animal that is set free ( <i>yusayyabu</i> ) is called: 'IDUQ iduq. One does not burden its back nor milk its udder nor shear its wool, because of a vow which falls on its owner. 0	iduq
'IDUQ TA'F iduq tāγ "A mountain that is inaccessible and long ( <i>māni' ṭawīl</i> )." 0	
'ARIQ ariq "Canal ( <i>nahr</i> )." Proverb: 'AFYL DA' 'UFLA'Q TUḤSA' 'ARIQ DA' 'VTIY 'UVNA'R ayilda oylāq tuγsa ariqda oti oñār 0 "When a kid is born in the pen, grass for it grows in the canal." 0 This is coined to advise someone not to be too concerned with making a living. 0	ariq P
'ARUQ 'AR' aruq ar "A man (or other) who is tired out ( <i>mu'yī</i> )." 0	aruq
'ARUQ TURUQ aruq turuq Name of a mountain pass between Farγāna and Kāčγar. 0	N
'ARUQ aruq "Emaciated ( <i>mahzūl</i> )." Oγuz and Qifčāq dialect. 0	D
'RUQ uruq "Rope ( <i>šaṭan</i> )." 0	uruq
'AZUQ 'UVQ azuq oq "Stray arrow ( <i>sahm al-γarb</i> )" – i.e. of which one does not know who shot it. 0	azuq
'AZUQ <sup>1</sup> MUNQ azuq munuq "A runaway, a stray ( <i>ābiq, ḍāll</i> )." 0	
'AZAQ azaq Name of a chief among the Oγuz emirs. 0	azaq N



'AZUQ\_ azuq "Provisions (*zād*)."  
 BULSA' YUVL 'UVZA' YZR' sarnig (-niñ?) azuqi ariy bolsa yöl üzä yēr 0 "When a merchant's provisions are clean he can eat them (sitting) on the (open) road." This is coined about someone who brags about his loyalty but runs away when it comes to proving it. 0

"A matter that has lasted long (*tāla*)" is called: 'UZAQ\_ 'IYŠ\_ uzaq iš. Hence :: YAL'VAJ\_ 'UZAQ BAR'DIY yalāvac uzaq bardī "The messenger has been gone long (*abṭa'a*)."  
 0

'UZUQ 'AT\_ ozuq at "A horse that runs in front (*sābiq*)," in a race, or other. 0

'AŠAQ ašaq "Foot of a mountain (*safḥ*)."  
 Oğuz dialect.

'AŠUQ ašuq "Anklebone (*ka'b*)" of a man

[I. 64/67]

or other.

"Things that are small (*šiyār*)" are called: 'UŠAQ\_ NA'NK\_ ušaq nāñ. Hence "babies (*šibyār*)" are called: UŠAQ\_ 'UΓ'L'N ušaq oγlān, and "chips (*duqāq*) of fire-wood" are called: 'UŠAQ\_ 'UVTUNK\_ ušaq otuñ. This word is not used for the singular but only for the plural. 0

'ŠUQ ušuq "Iron helmet (*bayḍa al-ḥadīd*)."  
 The *alif* is an alternant of *yā'* [i.e. *yušuq*], as one says [in Arabic] *alma'ī* or *yalma'ī* ("brilliant").

'UΓUQ uγuq "Overshoe (*jurmūq*)."  
 0

'IWIQ\_2 iwiq The "she-antelope (*zābya*)" which frequents stony tracts and deserts. 0

'ALUQ 'AR\_ oluq ār "A sturdy (*aḍla'*) man."  
 Oğuz dialect. 0

'ULUQ\_3 oluq (olaq?) Something hollowed out (*yunqaru*) of a tree trunk, such as a "trough (*mi'laf*)," for cooling juice or watering animals. 0

'ULUQ\_ TUVN\_ oluq tōn "A garment that is shabby, worn out (*xalaq, bālī*)."  
 The same for anything worn out. 0

'ULUQ oluq "Small boat (*zawraq šayīr*)."  
 Its root-meaning is the first [i.e. "something hollowed out . . ."]. 0

2. The word is crossed out and there is a marginal gloss: 'RΓ in a different hand.

46 1. MS. *alma'ī wa-yalma'ī*.

2. W altered from F by later hand (two dots added in brown ink).

3. There is a V inserted in brown ink between the *alif* (') and L; second U (brown) altered from original A (black).

'ULUQ uluq "Withers (*minsaj*) of a horse." Proverb: 'ULUQ YAL'IRIY 'UΓUVL\_ QA' QALIYR\_ uluq yayri oγülqa qalīr "The sore of the withers remains (an inheritance) for the son." This means that it will not heal quickly since it is the place where the joints and sinews are gathered. 0

'ALIQ aliq "Beak (*minqār*) of a bird."  
 Oğuz dialect. aliq D

'ANUQ NA'NK\_ anuq nāñ "Something ready (*ḥādir*)."  
 Proverb [= 278 san-]: 'ANUQ 'UTRUV TUTSA' YUVQA' SA'N'M'S\_ anuq utru tutsa yōqqa sānmās 0 "If one offers what food is available (*al-ḥādir min aṭ-ṭa'am*) (to the guest then hospitality) is not reckoned as nought." This is coined to advise a person to offer what he can as host.

K

A baby word for "bread (*xubz*)" is: 'ABAK äpāk. 0 äpāk

'ATAK\_ ätäk "Skirt (*ḍayl*)."  
 0 ätäk

'ATUK ätüük "Boot (*xuff*)."  
 0 ätüük

'UTUK\_4 ötüüg "A petition (*qišša, ḥāja*) which is addressed to the sultan." Its root-meaning is "imitating or recounting (*ḥikāya*)" a thing. 0 ötüüg

'UTUK ötüüg "Dysentery (*ḥayḍa*)."  
 :: 'NK'R 'UTVK TUṬY anār ötüüg tutti "He had a case of dysentery." 0

'UTK\_ ütüüg "An iron (*ḥadīda*), like a trowel, which is heated and used to warm the nap of a garment to make it smooth." 0 ütüüg

'IJUK ičük "A fur (*farw*)," made from sable ičük

[I. 66/69]

or squirrel, or the like.

'UḌIYK\_ üḍig "Passion, desire (*ḥayajān aš-šawq wa-l-išq*)."  
 Verse: üḍig

'UḌIYK MYNY QUMIṬY  
 SAQINJ MANK' YUMIṬY  
 KVNKLVM 'NK'R 'AMIṬY  
 YVZUM MANIK SAR'ΓARUVR

üḍig mīni qomitti  
 saqinč maṇa yomitti  
 kōṇlüm anār ämitti  
 yüzüm mänig sarγarür V

4. There is a V inserted in brown ink between the *alif* (') and T.

“Longing for the beloved (*aš-šawq wa-t-taḥannun ilā l-maḥbūb*) roused me, and care joined me, when my heart inclined toward him, and so my face is yellow.” 0

'ARUK **ärük** A general term for peaches, apricots and plums. They are distinguished from one another by adjectives. Thus “peach (*xawx*)” is called: TUVLUK\_ 'ARUK **tūlüg ärük** [“hairy”]; “apricot (*mišmiš*)” is: SA'RIF 'ARUK **sāriy ärük** [“yellow”]; and “plum (*ajāš*)” is: QAR 'ARUK **qara ärük** [“black”].

One calls anything “plaited (*maḍfūr*)”: 'URUK\_<sup>1</sup> **örük**. Thus a “braid (*ḍafīr*)” is called: 'URUK SAJ\_ **örük sač**. 0

'URUK\_ **örüg** “Staying in a place for a period of time (*al-iqāma . . . muddatan*).” Hence :: SUV 'UVN\_ KUVN\_ 'URUK BULDY **sü ön kün örüg boldi** “The army stayed in one place for ten days without leaving or raiding.” The same for an emir or a tribe when they halt (*aqāma*). 0

“Anything that has rotted (*baliya*)” is called: 'IRIK NA'NK **irig nāṅ**. Thus “moldering (*hašīm*) fire-wood” is called: 'IRIK 'UTVKN\_ **irig otūṅ**. 0

'ARUK\_ NA'NK **äriḡ nāṅ** “Anything that melts (*ḍā'ib*),” like butter, or the like; also anything that has melted after being frozen. 0

'IRUK **erük** “A breach or crack (*tulma*)” in a wall, or other. Proverb: KUNDA' 'IRUK YUQ BAKDA' QIYIQ\_ YUVQ **kündä erük yoq, begda qiyiq yōq** 0 “There is no crack in the (disc of the) sun (just as) there is no breach of promise in the emir.” This is coined to advise emirs not to break their promises. 0

'ARUK\_<sup>2</sup> **ärük** “Anything used in tanning skin (*mā yudbaḡu<sup>3</sup> bihi l-jild*).” Hence :: TARIY 'ARUK\_ LA'DIY<sup>2</sup> **tāri ärüklādi**, “He tanned (*dabaḡa*) the skin.” 0

'ARUK\_<sup>4</sup> YIYL\_QIY **erig yīlqi** “A lively (*fāriha*) animal.” Thus :: 'RIYK<sup>4</sup> 'AT\_ **erig at** “A splendid (*rāyi'*) horse.” The Oḡuz do not know this word.

'RIK 'R **irig är** “A man who is steadfast and resourceful (*jalad, nāfiḍ fī l-umūr*).” Proverb: 'ARUK 'IYRINIY YA'G\_ LIYI' 'AR\_ MAKUV BA'ŠIY Q'N\_ LIYI' **irig ērini yāyīlīy, ärmāḡü bāši qānīlīy** 0 “The steadfast one has greasy lips (since he works hard and so gets good food and fat meat which makes his lips greasy); the lazy one (who is too lazy to work gets hit and so) has a bloody head.” [This is coined] to advise steadfastness and leaving off laziness. 0

'IRIG NA'NK **irig nāṅ** “Anything rough (*xašin*).” 0

47 1. Original A (black) over the *alif* (') altered by later hand to *hamza* (brown); and U added (brown).

2. U in pencil (?).

3. Altered from *yudbaḡu* (dot of *dāl* changed to *sukūn* in brown ink).

4. Y added by later hand (brown ink).

One calls a “scabby head (*ra's al-jarbān*)”: 'IRIK\_ **irig**. 0

'AZIK **eziḡ** “A lengthwise scratch (*xadša . . . tūl<sup>an</sup>*) in the skin.” 0 **eziḡ**

'UZUK\_ **özük** A title for women, as in: 'AL'TUVN\_ 'UZUK\_ **altūn özüḡ** meaning “Pure of Soul as Pure Gold (*naqiyya an-nafs ka-ḍ-ḍahab al-xāliṣ*)” and : 'AR'TINY 'UZUK **ärtini özüḡ** “Pure of Body as a Pearl (*ṣāfiyya al-badan ka-ḍ-durra*)” – since a peerless pearl is called: 'AR'DINY **ārdini** and there is assimilation [cf. 82 **ārdini**]. This title is for the women of Čigil. Its root is: 'UVZ\_ **öz** “soul” with *kāf* joined to it in the meaning “that very thing,” as one says: 'UL 'AR'NY 'UK\_<sup>1</sup> **KALDUR ol ārni ök kāldür** “Bring that very man.” 0 'UQ' **oq** is used instead with words that have *išbā'* or *qāf* or *ḡayn*. 0

'UZUK **özük** Any “land that is swampy or flooded (*mā stanjala min al-arḍ fa-šāra ḡiyāḍ*).” Similarly, “an arm of a river (*xālij min al-awdiya*)” is called: 'UZUK SUVW<sup>2</sup> **özük sūw**. 0

'UZAK\_<sup>3</sup> **özäk** “Spinal cord (*abhar*).”<sup>4</sup> It is a vein inside the spine, the one the Prophet referred to when he said: “The food I ate at Khaybar causes me renewed pain each year; this was the time my spinal cord was cut.”<sup>5</sup> 0 **özäk**

'UŽUK\_ **üzüḡ** “Spelling (*hiḡā*).” Hence :: BITIK 'UŽUK\_ LA'DIY **bitig üzüḡklādi** “He spelled out the writing (*ḡajā l-ḡurūf wa-l-kitāb*).” One calls every “letter (*ḡarf*) of the alphabet”: 'UŽUK\_ **üzük**. Thus :: BUV NA' 'UŽUK\_ 'UL\_ **bu nā üzüḡ ol** “What is this letter?” With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. 0 **üzük**

'SIK YIYR\_ **äsik yēr** “Steppe (*sahab*) land” – it is the “stretched out one (*maḍāida*).” **äsik**

- 48
1. There is a V in brown ink inserted under the K.
  2. W altered from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).
  3. There is a V and an *alif* (') inserted in brown ink between the three consonants (thus: **özäk**).
  4. MS. *abhur*, *u* altered from *a* by later hand (brown ink); *u* in *abhurī* in the following Ḥadīth is also in brown ink.

5. Originally: *mā zālat ukla xaybar tu'āddunī fa-ḡadā awān qaṭa'at abharī* (MS. *abhurī* – see previous note). A later gloss has altered this to read: *mā zālat ukla xaybar tu'āwidunī fī kull 'ām ḡattā kāna ḡadā awān qaṭ' abhurī* (“The food I ate at Khaybar keeps coming back to me each year; this was the time my spinal cord was cut”). In Arabic idiom, “to cut the spinal cord” means “to cause intense pain.” Cf. Bukḡarī, Bk. 64, no. 83 (ed. Krehl, Vol. III, p. 184, three lines from bottom): *qālat 'ā'īša kāna ḡ-nabī . . . yaḡūlu fī maraḡihi llaḍī māta fīhi yā 'ā'īša mā azālu aḡidu alam aṭ-ṭa'ām allaḍī akaltu bi-xaybar fa-ḡadā awān waḡadtu nḡiṭā' abharī min ḍālika s-samm* (“'Ā'īša said: The Prophet . . . used to say during the illness from which he died: O 'Ā'īša! I still feel the pain of the food I ate at Khaybar; this was the time I felt my spinal cord cut from that poison”).

'ISIK NA'NK isig nāṅ "Something hot (*ḥārr*)." Thus :: 'ISIK KUVN' isig kūn "A hot day." 0

'AŠUK äšük "Coverlet (*daṭār*)." 0 'AŠUK äšük The name for any brocade which is sent to cover the grave of a dead emir or king as a sign of honor to him; it is afterward divided among the poor. 0

'UŠIK: üšik ["Frost"] The cold which scorches (*al-bard alladī yahriqu*)<sup>6</sup> fruit and prevents it from growing. 0

'ALIK: älig "Hand (*yad*)." 0

[I. 69/72]

One calls the "right hand": 'VNG<sup>1</sup> 'ALIK oṅ älig – the Oğuz call it: SA'T' 'ALIK sāγ älig. One calls the "left hand": SUVL 'ALIK sōl älig – this is common to both. 0

'UVLUK ölüg "Dead (*mayyit*)." 0

'UVLUK ülüg – with *išmām* of the *alif* – "Share (*našīb*)." 0

'ILIK ilik "Marrow (*muxx*)" – in Oğuz dialect; among the Turks it is: YILIK: yilik. The *alif* is an alternant of the *yā'*. 0

'AMIK ämig "Female breast (*tady*)." Also the "male breast (*tunduwa*)" is called: 'AMIK ämig.

One calls a "warm (*fātir al-ḥarr*) day": 'A'IMIK: KUVN emik kūn. Similarly, anything "which becomes warm (*saxuna*) after being cold but whose heat is not intense (*lam yaštadd ḥarāra*)" is called: 'AMIK: emik. 0

'ANUK: änüük "Lion whelp (*šibl al-asad*)." The "young (*walad*)" of a hyena, wolf or dog is: 'ANUK: änüük. 0

One calls the "teeth (*asnān*) of a lock": KIRTULK [sic] 'ANVKY kiritlik änüki.

L

'BUL<sup>2</sup> abul (?) Name of one of our villages. 0

'ATIL ätil Name of a river [the Volga] in the country of Qifčāq which flows into the Bulγār Sea; it has an arm (*xalīj*) which flows over Rūs. 0

6. Altered from *yahṭariqu* by later hand (brown ink).

49 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.

2. U in pencil (? – unclear).

'ATIL SUWY 'AQ' TRVR  
QYA' TUBY QAQ' TRVR  
BLYQ TLYM BAQA' TRVR  
KVLUVNK TQY KUŠ'RUVR

ätil suwi aqa turūr  
qaya tüpi qaqa turūr  
balīq tālim baqa turūr  
kōlūn taqi kōšārūr

V

"The water of the Ätil River flows, striking against the foot of the cliff; there are many fish and frogs in the pool which fills up from its overflow." 0

'AḠIL aḡil "Sheepfold (*marbaḍ al-ḡanam*)." Among the Oğuz it is "sheep dung (*rawṭ al-ḡanam*)." This is because of the close connection between the two, just as [in Arabic] both rain and clouds may be called "sky," 0

aḡil D

'UḠUL oḡul "Son (*ibn*)." "A boy other than a son" may also be called: 'UḠUL: oḡul. BUV 'UḠUL NA' T'YR: bu oḡul nā tēr "What does this boy (*šabi*) say?" The plural is: 'UḠLA'N: oḡlān – this is irregular; according to rule the plural should be: 'UḠL' LA'R: oḡullār – this is like: 'ARAN: ārān for "men"; both of them [i.e. oḡlān and oḡullār] are found.

oḡul

G

'UKIL ükil "Much or many (*kaṭīr*)." Qifčāq dialect.: 'UKIL KŠY ükil kiši "Many people." 0

ükil D

'AMUL: amul "Quiet (*sākin*)" of anything. Thus one who is "forebearing (*ḥalīm*)" is called: 'AMUL: amul. Verse:

amul

[I. 71/74]

50

QANJA' BAR'DINK 'AY 'UḠUL  
'AR'DIYNK MUNDA' 'INJ 'AMUL  
'AṬIN 'AM'DY SAN TVNKVL  
QYLDYNK 'RSA' QYLM'ḠV

qanča bardıñ ay oḡul  
ärđiñ mändä enč amul  
attin amdi san tūñül  
qıldiñ ärsä qilmāyu

V

Scolding a boy who had been with him but went away leaving his horse behind, who then came back looking for it – he refuses to give it back to him, because of his turning against him, saying: "You were tranquil and contented (*sālīm sākin ḥasan al-ḥāl maḥbūr al-bāl*) with me, so why did you turn away from me?"

[Where did you go my boy?

You were content and quiet with me.

Now give up the horse,

For you have done what should not be done.]

M

BIYR' 'UBUM: MUVN: bīr öpüm mün "A sip (*ḥaswa*) of soup." 0

öpüm

3. V inserted between M and L by later hand (brown ink).

- 'ATIM 'AR: **atim är** "A man skilled at shooting, a marksman (*ḥāqīq fī r-ramy, muqar-  
tis*)."<sup>0</sup> **atim**
- BĪYR: 'URUM 'UT: **bīr orum ot** "One cutting (*qadr mā yuxtalā marra<sup>tan</sup>*) of herbage."<sup>0</sup> **orum**
- 'UZUM: **üzüm** "Grapes (*inab*)."<sup>0</sup> **üzüm**
- BIYR: 'AĪM YĪYR<sup>1</sup> **bīr aym yēr** "An elevation in the ground that can be climbed in  
one step (*ṣa'ūd . . . qadr mā yaṣ'adu daf'atan 'alayhā*)."<sup>0</sup> **ayim**
- BYR 'AQIM SUVW<sup>2</sup> **bīr aqim sūw** "One flowing (*qadr mā yasīlu marra<sup>tan</sup>*) of water."<sup>0</sup> **aqim**
- BĪYR: 'AKIM: YIYR: **bīr ākim yēr** "Land of an amount that can be sown at one time  
(*qadr mā yub<sup>daru</sup> marra<sup>tan</sup> wāḥidatan*)."<sup>0</sup> **ākim**
- BIYR: 'UKUIM: YAR:MA'Q **bīr uküm yarmāq** "A pile (*kawma*) of dirhams." The *mīm*  
is an alternant of *nūn* [i.e. *ükün*].<sup>0</sup> **üküm**
- 'ALIM **alim** "The claim on a debt (*ad-dayn allaḏī 'alā insān*)."<sup>0</sup> Proverb [= 206 *bērim*]:  
'ALIYM'JY 'AR:S'LA'N: BYRYM:JIY SIJ'ΓA'N: **alimči arslān bērimči sičγān** "The creditor  
(*dā'in*) is (like) a lion (in his charge), the debtor is (like) a mouse (because of the fear that falls  
upon him)."<sup>0</sup> **alim**  
P
- 'ULUM: **ölüm** "Death (*mawt*)."<sup>0</sup> **ölüm**
- N
- 'ATAN: **atan** "Gelded camel (*al-xaṣī min al-ibil*)."<sup>0</sup> Proverb: 'ATAN: YUVKY 'AŠ  
BULSA' 'AJ'Q' 'AZ KUR:NUVR: **atan yūki aš bolsa ačqa az körnür** "Even a gelded camel's  
load of food seems a small amount to a hungry man" – because of his overwhelming hunger.<sup>0</sup> **atan P**
- 'UJUN: **üçün** A particle which expresses "cause or sake (*ajl*)."<sup>0</sup> :: SANIK: 'UJUN:  
KALDIM **sänig üçün kälidim** "I came because of (*li-ajl*) you."<sup>0</sup> **üçün**
- 'IJIN: **için** A particle which expresses "among (*bayn*)."<sup>0</sup> :: 'ULA'R: 'IJIN: 'AY:TIŞ:DIY  
LA'R: **olār için etişdilār** "They became reconciled among themselves (*taṣālahū fīmā baynahum*)."<sup>0</sup> **için**
- 'UDUN **udun** Name of the city of Khotan. The inhabitants of Khotan. **udun N**

1. Two dots of Y in brown ink.
2. W altered from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).

[I. 72/76]

are also called: 'UDUN **udun**.<sup>0</sup>'ADIN: **aḏin** A particle meaning "other (*ḡayr*)."<sup>0</sup> Čigil dialect. **aḏin D**'ARAN: TUVZ: **ārān tüz** Name of the constellation "Libra (*al-mizān*)."<sup>0</sup> It is one of the  
lunar mansions. **ārān**'ARAN: **ārān** "Men (*rijāl*)" – an irregular plural.'ARAN: **aran** – with *isbā'* of the *alif* – "Stable (*ārī*)."<sup>0</sup> **aran**'URAN **örān** "Bad (*radī*)," of anything. Oḡuz dialect. I consider it to derive from Per-  
sian *vīrān* "ruined (*xarāb*)."<sup>0</sup> When the Oḡuz mixed with the Persians they forgot many Turkic  
words and used Persian instead. This is an example. **örān D**'IRIN: **erin** "Lip (*šafa*)."<sup>0</sup> **erin**'UZUN **uzun** "Long (*ṭawīl*)," of anything. **uzun**'AŽUN: **ažun** "World (*dunyā*)."<sup>0</sup> :: BUV 'AŽUN: **bu ažun** "This world (*ad-dunyā*)."<sup>0</sup> 'UL  
'AŽUN **ol ažun** "The other world (*al-āxira*)."<sup>0</sup> Čigil dialect. With *žay* between the two points of  
articulation. **ažun**  
D'ASAN: **äsän** "Sound or well (*sālim*)," of anything. Thus :: 'ASAN: MUV SAN: **äsän**  
**mü sän** "Are you well?" It may also be used to mean "well-being (*salāma*)," as in the proverb:  
'ASANDA' 'IYWAK: YUVQ: **äsändä ewäk yōq** "There is no haste in well-being." This is  
coined to advise someone to act slowly. **äsän**  
P'ASIN: **äsin** "Breeze (*nasīm*)."<sup>0</sup> **äsin**'UŠUN: **öšün** "Shoulderblade (*ra's al-katif*)."<sup>0</sup> **öšün**'AΓAIN 'AR: **ayin är** "A man with a nasal voice (*aγann*)."<sup>0</sup> This agrees with the Arabic  
in sound and sense. **ayin**'UΓAN: **uγan** "Having power over things (*al-qādir 'alā l-aṣyā'*)."<sup>0</sup> Thus God is called:  
'UΓAN TANK:RIY **uγan tänri** meaning "God almighty (*al-qādir*)."<sup>0</sup> **uγan**'AWIN: **äwin** "Grain of seed (*ḡabb*)."<sup>0</sup> **äwin**'AQIN **aqin** "Flood (*sayl*)."<sup>0</sup> "A flash flood (*ati*)" is called: MUNDUZ 'AQIN **munduz**  
**aqin**. This word can be used metaphorically for a "night raiding party (*al-katiba al-muḡira laylan*)."<sup>0</sup>  
Thus one says: 'AQINJY KAL:DIY **aqinči kälidi** which means "The raiding party came pouring in  
like a flash flood."<sup>0</sup> **aqin**'AKIN: **ägin** "Shoulder (*katif*)."<sup>0</sup> **ägin**

'AKIN äkin “Sown land ( <i>mazra'a</i> ).” Oğuz dialect. 0	äkin D
'KIN ägin A piece of cloth ( <i>kirbās</i> ) that is a span and a half wide and four cubits long; the Suvār use it for their merchandise. 0	ägin D
'UKUN_ ükün A “heap ( <i>kawma</i> )” of dirhams or roses or other things. “Heaped up ( <i>mujtami'</i> ) earth” is called: 'UKUN TUB·RA_·Q_ ükün topṛāq. 0	ükün 52
[I. 74/78]	
'ALIN_ alin “Forehead ( <i>jabha</i> ).” 0 'ALIN alin “The brow ( <i>ḥayd, rukuḥ</i> ) of a mountain.” 0	alin
'ULUN ulun “Shaft ( <i>qidḥ</i> ) of an arrow.”	ulun
Doubled	
B	
'UBUB_ üpüp “Hoopoe ( <i>hudhud</i> ).” A variant of: 'UB·KUK üpgük.	üpüp D
K	
'AKAK_ 'ŠL'R_ äkāk ešlār “Prostitute ( <i>mūmisa</i> ), of women” 0	äkāk
'UKAK_ ükāk “Box ( <i>tābūt, sundūq</i> ).” <sup>1</sup> 0	ükāk
'UKAK_ ükāk “Tower ( <i>burj</i> ) on the city wall fortified for battle.”	
L	
'ILAL_ ilal A particle meaning “yes ( <i>na'am</i> ).” Khāqān dialect. It is used in replying to emirs and kings.	ilal D
Initial Weak	
T	
'A'T_ āt “Name ( <i>ism</i> ).” 'A'T āt “Title ( <i>laqab</i> ).” Thus :: BAK 'NK'R_ 'A'T_ BIYR·DIY beg aṅār āt bērdi “The emir gave him a title ( <i>laqqaba</i> ).” Thus “a chief of the people ( <i>kabīr al-qawm</i> )” is called: 'ATLΓ atliγ [lit. “Having a name”].	āt

J		
'A'J āc “Hungry ( <i>γurtān</i> ).” Proverb: 'A'J N' YYM'S TOQ NA' TIYMA'S_ āc nā yēmās, toq nā tēmās [“What won't the hungry one eat? What won't the full one say?”] This means that the hungry one will not turn away from any food put before him, though he is held blameworthy by the full one who despises it.	āc P	
D <sup>2</sup>		
'A'D_ ād Anything “manufactured ( <i>maşnū'</i> ),” such as brocade, and the like. It may be shortened to: 'AD_ ād – this is the better pronunciation. :: 'ADKUV 'AD_ ādgü ād “A good manufactured item.”	ād	
D		
'D_ ād “Good omen ( <i>fa'l jayyid</i> ).” Thus :: 'IKLIK TUTZΓY 'A'D BULVR iglig tutzuγi ād bolūr “The testament of a sick man is a good omen ( <i>fa'l ḥasan</i> ) (for him).” This phrase is used to request a sick man's testament.	ād (P)	
R		
'A'R_ BURIY ār böri “Hyena ( <i>dabu'</i> ).” 0	ār	
'R_ NA'NK ār nāṅ “[Something] chestnut- ( <i>aşhab</i> ) colored.” It may also be called: 'AR·SAIL arsal with an augment. Verse:		
KRUB· NJUK QJMADINK YAMAR SUWIN KAJMADINK TAWA'RINK·NY SAJMADINK YYSUV SNY 'A'R_ BURY	körüp nāčük qačmadiṅ yamar suwin kāčmādiṅ tawāriṅni sačmadiṅ yēsü sāni ār böri	V
Describing one of the routed soldiers whom he has taken: “When you saw me why did you not flee from me and cross the Yamār tributary ( <i>xalīj</i> )? Why did you not cast off your belongings (and escape with your life)? So now may (you be killed and) the hyena eat you.”		
[I. 76/80]	53	
Z		
'A'Z N'NK āz nāṅ “Something little in amount ( <i>qalīl</i> ).”	āz	
'A'Z āz “Ermine ( <i>qāqūm</i> ).” A variant of the form with <i>šin</i> [i.e. ās], which is more elegant. 0	D	

2. Original D altered to D (heading letter in red ink, dot in black).

3. D altered from original D (dot in brown ink).

'A'IZ<sup>1</sup> ēz Any "lengthwise scratch (*xadša . . . tūlan*)" in the ground or the skin. 0 ēz  
QZL 'UZ qizil ez A winter pasture in the Kāšyar mountains. N

S

'A'S ās "Ermine (*qāqum*)." A variant of the form with zāy [i.e. āz]. This is used as a name for slave-girls. ās D  
N

š

'A'Š āš "Food (*ta'am*)." āš

One calls the "repaired part (*ru'ba*)" of a vessel: 'Š āš. Hence :: 'AYQ 'AŠL' ayaq ašla "Repair (*ir'ab*) the bowl." 54

Γ

'A'Γ aγ "Space between the thighs (*al-masāfa allatī bayn al-faxidayn*)." :: YUVZ 'AT' MINK 'AΓ'DIN' KJTY yūz at mānig aydin kācti "A hundred horses have passed between my thighs." It is similar to the span between two fingers. āγ

W

'A'W āw "Hunt (*šayd*)." :: BAK 'AWQA' JIQ'TY beg awqa čiqti "The emir went out to hunt." 0 āw

'UW<sup>2</sup> āw "House (*bayt*)." With *išmām* of the *alif*. The shortened form is more elegant: 'UW<sup>2</sup> āw. āw

Q

'A'Q āq "White (*abyad*)" of anything. Oγuz dialect. Among the Turks it is used for horse colors: 'A'Q 'AT' āq at "Gray (*ašhab*) horse." 0 āq D

'A'Q SAQA'L 'AR' āq saqāl ār "A white-bearded (*ašyab*) man." Oγuz dialect. 0 D

'Q SA'Y āq sāy Name of a place. 'A'Q TAR'K āq terāk Name of a ford of the İla River in Yaγma. N

L

'A'L: āl An orange-colored brocade used to make kings' banners and to cover the saddles of their favorite horses. Also the color "orange (*nāranjī*)" is: 'A'L āl. 0 āl

53 1. First *alif* (') crossed out (black ink).

2. U (brown) altered from original A (black); the second occurrence of the word is crossed out (black ink).

'A'L: āl "Cunning, deceit (*makr, xadī'a*)." Proverb [=410 *kösgük*, 622 *arslān*]: 'A'LİYN 'AR:S'L'N: TUT'R: KVJUN 'YUQ TUTM'S: ālīn arslān tutār, kūcün oyuq tutmās "You can capture a lion by trickery (*hīla*) but you cannot capture a scarecrow by force." This is coined to advise a person to use trickery for something when he cannot get it by force. 0 P

L'

'ALA' ala "Leprous (*abraş*)," of a man. :: 'ALA' 'AT' ala at "Spotted black and white (*arqať*)," of a horse. 0 ala

BAK 'ALA' BUL'DİY<sup>3</sup> beg (*xānqa*) ala boldi "The emir rebelled against (*xālafā . . . waxaraja 'alā*) the king and came to terms with his enemy." 0

[I. 77/82]

'ALA' ala Name of a summer pasture near Farγāna. 0 N

'ALA' YİΓ'J ala yiyāč Name of a place on the frontier. N

Another Type

'A'Y: [sic] āy "Moon (*qamar*)." "The full moon (*bard*)" is called: TUVLUN 'A'Y: tōlun āy. 0 āy

'A'Y: āy "Month (*šahr*)," also. Verse:

QİŞQA' 'ITIN [sic] KAL'SA' QALY QUTLUΓ YA'Y  
TUN KUN KAJ' 'LQNVR 'UD'LK BILA' 'Y

qişqa anun kalsā qali qutluγ yāy  
tün kün kəcā alqinūr öđlāg bilā āy

"Prepare for winter when blessed summer comes, for Time runs out and months come to an end with the passing of night and day." The reason "month" is called by the word for "moon" is simply that the passing of the month is known by it. Proverb [= 146 *imlā-*]: 'Y: TULVN BUL: SA' 'İLKIN 'İM'LA'M'S<sup>1</sup> āy tolün bolsa ālgin imlāmās 0 "When the moon is full one does not point to it with the hand" – since anyone who has eyes can see it. This is coined about any matter of which the defect is apparent. P

Medial Weak

T

'AVUT avut A variant of: 'ADUT: adut [36] meaning "handful (*hafna*)." 0 avut D

3. In lower margin: X'NQ'.

54 1. U above first *alif* (') crossed out in brown ink.

'UVUT<sub>2</sub> **uvut** A variant of: 'UWUT<sub>2</sub> **uwut** meaning "modesty (*hayā*)."<sup>0</sup> **uvut** D

'AVAT<sub>2</sub> **ävät** Equivalent of: 'AWAT<sub>2</sub> **äwät** meaning "yes (*na'am*)."<sup>0</sup> **ävät** D

The principle is that every *wā*' between the two points of articulation may alternate with *vāv*. For example, one calls "messenger": YALA'VAJ **yalāvač** or: YALA'WJ **yalāwač**. One calls "[the plant] *turtūt*": YAWA' **yawa** or else with *vāv*: YAVA' **yava**. Thus.

'VN **āvan** "Trees (*šajar*)."<sup>0</sup> Dialect of Sayram, which is Isbijāb. **āvan** D

'AVIN<sub>3</sub> **ävin** "Grain of seed (*ħabba*)."<sup>0</sup> Variant of: 'AWIN **äwin**. **ävin** D

With *yā*'

'UYAZ **uyaz** "Small gnats (*al-ħamaj min al-ba'ūd*)."<sup>0</sup> Oğuz dialect. **uyaz** D

Γ

'AYIΓ **ayiy** "Bear (*dubb*)."<sup>0</sup> Dialect of Oğuz, Qifčāq and Yağma for: 'DIF **adiy**. **ayiy** D

'YIΓ **ayiy** A particle corresponding to [the Arabic verb of praise] *ni'ma*<sup>4</sup> and also to [the verb of blame] *bi'sa*. Thus :: 'AYIΓ 'AIDKUV **ayiy ädgü** "What a good (thing)!" :: 'AYIΓ YAWUZ NA'NK' **ayiy yawuz nāñ** "What a bad thing."<sup>5</sup> This particle is used as an emphatic prefix (*yadxulu ta'kidan*) for "good," or other. **ayiy**

Q

'AYAQ **ayaq** "Bowl (*qaṣ'a*)."<sup>0</sup> The Oğuz do not know this; they call a "bowl": JANAQ' **ayaq** D  
**čanaq**.

'AYAQ **ayaq** "Foot (*qadam*)."<sup>0</sup> Variant of the form with *dāl* [i.e. 45 **adaq**]. **ayaq** D

'AYIQ' **ayiq** "Promise (*ida*)."<sup>0</sup>

[I. 79/84]

Thus :: 'NIK MANK' 'AYIQIY BA'R **anig maña ayiqi bār** "I have his promise."<sup>0</sup>

'UYUQ **oyuq** "Scarecrow, waymark stone (*xayāl, iram*)."<sup>0</sup> Oğuz dialect. **oyuq** D  
Verse [= 193 **qonuq**]

2. First U (brown) altered from original A (black).

3. Three dots added above V in brown ink.

4. MS. *na'am*.

5. "thing" added in margin in brown ink.

BAR'DIY 'ARAN QUNUQ KRUB' QUT'Q' SAQ'R **V**  
QALDIY YAWUZ 'UYQ KRUB' 'WNY YQ'R

**bardi ärän qonuq körüp qutqa saqār**  
**qaldi yawuz oyuq körüp äwni yiqār**

"Gone are [the men] who, when they found a guest, used to reckon him as good luck; left are [the bad ones] who, when they see a waymark stone or a scarecrow (in a desert), tear down their tents (for fear lest it alight as their guest)."

K

'UYUK<sup>1</sup> **öyük** "Any ground that is elevated (*murtafi'*), like a mound (*tall*)."<sup>0</sup> Oğuz dia- **öyük** D  
lect.

'UYUK YIYR **öyük yēr** "Quicksand (*al-'ānik min ar-raml*)," which is sand in which the feet sink and from which it is difficult to pull them out because of water, or other. <sup>0</sup>

'IYK **iyik** A variant of: YIYK **yīk** meaning "spindle (*miγzal*)."<sup>0</sup> **iyik** D

N

'UYUN **oyun** "Game (*la'ib*)."<sup>0</sup> **oyun**

Medial and Final Weak (*mu'tall al-'ajz*)

Y

'AYA' **aya** "Palm of the hand (*kaff*)."<sup>0</sup> **aya**

'UYA<sup>1</sup> **uya** "Nest (*wakr, 'ušš*) of a bird."<sup>0</sup> **uya**

'UYA' **uya** "Brother, relative (*ax, qarīb*)."<sup>0</sup> Verse:

TAWAR 'UJUN TNKRY [sic] 'DLMADB **tawar üçün täñrini ädlämäđip** **V**  
'UYA' QADAŠ 'UFILNY JIN'LA' BUΓ'R **uya qadaš oylini činla boγār**

Describing lack of affection among brothers: "A man sees his wealth and does not pay attention to God, but he strangles his own brother's son for the sake of wealth."<sup>0</sup>

[For the sake of wealth he pays no heed to God / But truly strangles his own brother's son]

Final Weak

B<sup>2</sup>

55 1. First U (brown) altered from original A (black).

2. B originally (?) P (two dots scratched out?).

'ABA'<sup>2</sup> **äbä** "Mother (*umm*)."<sup>0</sup> Oğuz dialect. Among the Qarluq Turkmän it is pronounced with hard *bā*' [i.e. *äpä*]. 0

'BA'<sup>2</sup> **apa** –with *išbā*' of the *alif* – "Bear (*dubb*)."<sup>0</sup> Qifčāq dialect. 0 **apa** D

'BA'<sup>2</sup> **aba** "Father (*ab*)."<sup>0</sup> Tübüt dialect – as though it were a remnant in their language from Arabic; they are the descendants of Tābit, a man from Yemen who fled to the country of the Turks and sired them. 0 **aba** D

'ABA'<sup>2</sup> BAŠY **apa baši** "The *tannūm* plant"<sup>0</sup> – it grows like cucumber (*qitā*') and has a thorny stem; it is eaten in the mountains. 0 **apa baši**

'BY **abi** A man's name. 0 **abi** N

'UBA' **oba** "Tribe (*qabīla*)."<sup>0</sup> Oğuz dialect. 0 **oba** D

'UBUV<sup>1</sup> **opu** "White lead (*isfidāj*)."<sup>0</sup> **opu**

T

'ATA **ata** "Father (*ab*)."<sup>0</sup> **ata**

[I. 81/86]

'TA' SA'ΓUVN **ata sāyūn** "Doctor (*ṭabīb*)."<sup>0</sup> **56**

J

'AJA' **äcä** Equivalent of: 'AKA' **äkä** meaning "Elder sister (*uxt akbar*)."<sup>0</sup> The *jīm* is an alternant of *kāf* [i.e. 57 **äkä**], as [Persian] *jarm* and *garm* ("warm"), *junbad* and *gunbad* ("arch"). 0 **äcä** D

'AJY **ači** "Sly old woman (*šahla*)."<sup>0</sup> Barsγān dialect. 0 **ači** D

'UJA' **uča** "Back (*zahr*)."<sup>0</sup> **uča**

'IJY **eči** "Elder brother (*ax akbar simn<sup>an</sup>*)."<sup>0</sup> **eči**

Ḍ

'UDV **uḍu** "Mound (*akama*)."<sup>0</sup> From this one calls a "sanddune (*kaṭīb*)": QUM 'UDV **qum uḍu**. Also from this, a city in Arγu is called: 'UDV KAN'D **uḍu känd**. 0 **uḍu** N

'UDV **uḍu** [A particle] meaning "behind (*xalfa*)."<sup>0</sup> :: MAN 'ANİ'K 'UDV KALDIM **män anig (anig ?) uḍu kaldim** "I came behind him."<sup>0</sup> :: MAN SANIK 'UDV BAR'DIM **män sänig uḍu bardim** "I followed (*iqtafaytu*) you."<sup>0</sup>

'IDIY **idi** "Master (*sayyid, mawlā*)."<sup>0</sup> :: 'IDIM NA' TIYR **idim nä tēr** "What does my master (*mawlāya*) say?" And "God (*allāh ta'ālā*)" is called: 'IDIY **idi**. They say: 'IDIMIZ YAR-LIY **idimiz yarliyi** "The command of our Lord (*rabb*)."<sup>0</sup> **idi**

R

'ARA' **ara** "The middle (*wasat*) of something."<sup>0</sup> Thus :: KŠY 'ARA' KIR'DIM **kiši ara kirdim** "I came in among (*bayna*) the people."<sup>0</sup> **ara**

'ARIY **ari** "Hornet (*zanbūr*)."<sup>0</sup> This agrees with Arabic, since *al-arī* in Arabic is "honey," and in Turkic it is that from which honey is produced. The Čigil Turks call "honey (*asal*)": 'ARIY YAΓIY **ari yaγi** meaning "bee butter (*samn an-naḥl*)."<sup>0</sup> **ari** D

'UVRUV **ōru** "A pit (*ḥufra*)" that is dug out for keeping wheat, turnips, or the like. 0 **ōru**

'URIY **ori** "Outcry (*šiyāḥ, jalaba*)."<sup>0</sup> Proverb: 'URIY QUB'SA' 'UĞUŠ 'AQLIŠUVR YAΓY KALSA' 'IMRAM TAB'RAŠUVR' [sic] **ori qopsa oγuš aqlišūr, yaγi kälšä imrām tērišūr** 0 "When the call for help (*šurāx*) is raised<sup>1</sup> the clan gathers (to it to help the caller); when the enemy comes the parties gather (to fight them)."<sup>0</sup> This is coined to advise someone to band together with his kinsmen (*at-ta'allub fi l-umūr*)."<sup>0</sup> **ori** P

'URIY **uri** "Male child (*aḍ-ḍakar min al-awlād*)."<sup>0</sup> :: 'URIY 'UVΓL'N' **uri oylān** "Male children."<sup>0</sup> **uri**

Z

'AZUV **azu** An utterance giving an alternative (*taxyīr*) between two things. Thus :: 'UZUM YIYKIL 'AZUV QA'ΓUVN YKIL **üzüm yēgil azu qāyūn yēgil** **azu**

[I. 82/88]

"Eat grapes or else (*aw*) melon." It is usually used in interrogative sentences. :: KALIR' MUV SAN 'AZUV BAṘIYR' MUV SAN **kälir mü sän azu baṘir mu sän** "Are you coming or (*am*) going?" 0 **57**

'UZA' **oza** "Former times (*ad-dahr as-salif*)."<sup>0</sup> Hence :: 'UZA'QIY BIL'KA' 'N'JA' 'AY'MIYŠ **ozāqi bilgā anča aymiš** "Thus spoke the sage of former times."<sup>0</sup> Verse: **oza**

'AR'DY 'UZA' 'ARAN LA'R' **ärdi oza äränlār**  
'AR'DAM BAKIY BLIK' TA'Γ' **ärdäm begi bilig tāγ**  
'AY'DY 'KUŠ 'KUT LA'R' **aydi üküš ögütlār**  
KUNKLUM BULUR 'NKAR SA'Γ **könlüm bolur aṇar sāγ**

V

"There were in olden times (*ad-dahr as-sābiq*) men, masters of virtues, mountains of wise sayings and knowledge, who spoke many words of counsel; the heart is purified by (mentioning) them."<sup>0</sup>



'UZIY özi	“Ravine ( <i>fajj</i> ) in a mountain.” Čigil dialect.	0	özi D
'IZIY izi	“Year after next ( <i>qubāqib</i> [defined]).” <sup>1</sup>	Thus :: 'AR'QIN 'IZIY arqin izi	izi
	“Next year and the year after.”		
S			
'AŠUV ašu	“Red ocher ( <i>muγra</i> [defined]).”		ašu
Γ			
'AΓUV aγu	“Poison ( <i>samm</i> ).”	0	aγu
'AΓIY aγi	“Brocade ( <i>dībāj</i> ).”	From this one calls a “treasurer ( <i>xāzin</i> ):	aγi
aγīči	because he guards it.	'AΓIY:JIY <sup>2</sup>	
W			
'AW' awa	A particle expressing “pain ( <i>ta'allum</i> ),”	corresponding to Arabic <i>wāwaylī</i>	awa
	said by a person experiencing pain ( <i>tawajja'a</i> )	from something. 'W' 'W' awa awa.	0
'UWA' uwa	Name of a food made by cooking rice,	putting it into cold water and strain-	uwa
	ing it, then adding sugar and ice and	letting it cool. It is eaten as a cooler.	0
'IW' ewä	A branch of the Oγuz.		ewä N
Q			
'AQIY aqi	“Generous ( <i>jawād</i> ).”	Hence “a walnut that is easy to shell ( <i>farik</i> )”	aqi
'AQIY YAΓ'A'Q' aqi	yaγāq meaning a “generous”	walnut.	
K			
'AKA' äkä	“Elder sister ( <i>uxt akbar</i> ).”	The Oγuz say: 'AZA' äzä.	äkä D
'UKA' ögä	The title for a man of the common	people who is intelligent, mature, and	ögä
	experienced in affairs. He is one	degree below the Tegīn. The origin of	
	this is that when Du-l Qarnayn	arrived in Şīn the king of the Turks	
	sent toward him a detachment	made up completely of young men	
	in order to engage him in battle.	The vizier said to him:	

57 1. The definition reads: *al-ām alladī yatlū l-muqbil*; the last word is crossed out and replaced by *l-qābil* in a later hand.

2. Y' (brown) altered from original N (black).

[I. 84/90]			
	“You have sent young men against him,	but there ought to be with them some	mature man, advanced in years, experi-
	enced in war.” He said: 'UVKA' ögä	meaning, “A mature man ( <i>a-kahl</i> )?”	and he answered, “Yes.” So he sent a
	mature man. They attacked the vanguard	of Du-l Qarnayn and routed them. One	of the Turks struck one of the soldiers
	of Du-l Qarnayn and cut him near the	navel. The one thus killed had tied a	purse of dinars round his middle, and
	now the purse split open and the dinars	came pouring out, mixed with blood.	In the morning the detachment of
	Turks saw the dinars mixed with blood	and wondered what it was. Someone	said: 'AL-TUN QA'N' altun qān meaning
	“gold and blood” – and a great	mountain that was there was given	this name. It is a mountain surrounded
	by nomads, near Uighur. Du-l	Qarnayn made peace with him after	that.
L			
'ALA' ala	“Leprous ( <i>abraş</i> ).”	Proverb: KIŞY 'ALA'SIY 'IJ'TIN	YILQIY 'ALA'SIY TAŞ'TIYN' kişi
	alāsi ičtin, yilqi alāsi taštīn	0 “The leprosy of a man is <sup>1</sup> on the	inside” <sup>2</sup> – by this is intended the
	concealing of rebellion ( <i>muḫālaḫa</i> )	– “the leprosy of animals is on the	outside (of the body, apparent).”
	This is coined about someone who	uses flattery while scheming	treachery. 0
'ALA' älä	A particle meaning “slowly ( <i>ruwayd</i> ).”	:: 'ALA' 'ALA' älä älä “Slowly,	slowly.” You may also say: 'ALA'KIL
	älägil with the addition of <i>kāf lām</i> .	0	älä
'ULA' ula	“A waymark in the desert ( <i>şawā</i>	[defined]).”	Proverb: 'ULA' BULSA' YVL 'ZM'S
	BLIK BULSA' SUVZ YAZMA'S	ula bolsa yöl azmās, bilig bolsa	söz yazmās 0 “If there is a
	waymark ( <i>iram</i> ) in the desert one	cannot lose the way; if there is	intelligence (in a man) one cannot
	err in speech. 0		
'ILA' ila	Name of a river [the Ili].	On its banks camp two tribes of the	Turks, namely Yaγma and Tuxsi,
	and a group of Čigil. It is the	“Jayhūn” (the “Oxus”) of the Turk	country.
[I. 85/92]			
'ILY QABUI' ili	qapuy “A door (or a bolt) that	opens without a key ( <i>yanfatıhu</i>	min γayr miftāh).”
M			
'UMA' uma	“Mother ( <i>umm</i> ).”	Tübüt dialect –as though it were	a remnant among them from Arabic.
	0		uma D

58 1. gloss: “hidden.”

2. MS. *fī zāhirihi*, in error for *fī bāṭinihi*.

'UMA' **ümä** "Guest (*ḡayf*) who stays in one's house." Proverb: 'UMA' KAL:SA' QUT **ümä** P  
KALYR **ümä käl̄sä qut käl̄r** 0 "When a guest comes (to you) good luck comes (with him)."  
That is, he should be considered a blessing, not a burden. Verse:

KAL:SA' QALY YAR:LIḡ BULUB YUNJIF 'UMA' V  
KALDUR 'ANUQ BULMIYŠ 'AŠIF TUTM' 'UMA'  
käl̄sä qali yarliḡ bolup yunčiḡ ümä  
kaldür anuq bolmiš ašiy tutma uma

"When a guest comes (to you) tattered and distressed, then offer (him) what food is available and don't keep him waiting and hoping." 0

N

'ANA' **ana** "Mother (*umm*)."  
0**ana**'INY **ini** "Younger brother (*ax ašḡar fī s-sinn*)."  
0**ini**

Nasal

T

'ANGIT<sup>1</sup> **aṅit** "Ruddy goose (*nuḡām*)."  
It is a red bird, similar to a duck. 0**aṅit**

'NKUT<sup>2</sup> **aṅut** "Funnel (*qam'*) for wine." Proverb: YURT' [sic] KIJK BULSA' 'NKUT **aṅut** P  
BADUK 'UVR' **bart kičig bolsa aṅut bādük ür** "When the wine measure is small, put in a big  
funnel." 0 This is coined to advise someone to pretend to people that a small matter is big. 0

R

'ANGAR<sup>1</sup> **aṅar** A particle meaning "to him (*lahu*)."  
:: 'ANGAR<sup>1</sup> 'AY'DIM **aṅar aydim** **aṅar**  
"I said to him." Verse:

'AY'DM' 'ANKAR SA'WUIK **aydim aṅar sāwük** V  
BIZ'NY TAB' NA' 'LUK [sic] **bizni tapa nālük**  
KJTNK BALZAY [sic] K'RIK **käčtiḡ yazi kārık**  
QIRL'R 'AḌIZ BA'DUK **qirlār äḏiz bādük**

Describing the phantom of the beloved: "I said to him, O my beloved! how did you cross over to us, passing over the stretched-out deserts and the lofty mountains?" 0

'UNGUR<sup>1</sup> **ünür** "Cave (*kaḡf*)."  
0**ünür**

'INGIR<sup>1</sup> **iṅir** "Twilight (*sudfa*)" – i.e., the mixture of light and darkness. The Oḡuz **iṅir** D  
call it: 'IMIR' **imir** [39]. 0

59 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.

Z

'ANGIZ<sup>1</sup> **aṅiz** "Stubble (*jill*)" – i.e., the stalks of wheat, or other, after it has been **aṅiz**  
reaped.

S

"A man who turns right

[I. 87/94]

**60**and left as though he were a foreigner (*a'jami*)" is called: 'INKAS KIŠY **äṅäs kiši.** **äṅäs**

L

'ANKIL 'AJUQ QABUḡ **aṅil ačuq qapuy** "wide open (*futuḡ jiddan*) door." **aṅil**

N

'UNKIN **öṅin** A particle meaning "other than (*ḡayr*)."  
:: BUV 'AṪÄ<sup>1</sup> 'UNKIN KAL- **öṅin**  
DUR' **bu atta öṅin kaldür** "Bring a horse other than this one."

End of the Chapters of Simple Roots

Chapters of Augmented Roots

Chapter: *af'al*, in its various vocalizations

T

'AR:MUT' **armut** "Pear (*kumuṭrā*)."  
**armut**

J

AR:TUJ' **artuč** "Juniper (*'ar'ar*)."  
In Kāšḡar there are two villages named: 'AR:TUJ<sup>2</sup> **artuč** N  
**artuč.** 0

'UJLJ **üčläch** A "featherless arrow (*mi'rād*) used to shoot at rabbits, and made of three **üčläch**  
sticks (*ṭalāt quḡbān*) joined at the tip by a piece of iron." 0

'UDḡJ **oḡyuč** "Firebrand (*aš-šu'la min an-nār*)."  
0 **oḡyuč**

2. Three dots faintly visible over the K.

60 1. Second A: another A in brown ink (indicates nunation: **attan**).  
2. J altered from Ḥ by later hand (dot in brown ink).

'AR·ΓUJ\_ aryuč Anything “by which one is deceived (*yaγtarru bihi l-insān*).” “The world (*ad-dunyā*)” is called: 'AR·ΓUJ 'AZUN aryuč azun meaning “Deceitful (*γarūr*) world.” 0

'AR·KAJ\_ ärkäč “He-goat (*tays*).” Proverb: 'ARKAJ 'ATIY 'AM BULVR 'AJ·KUV ärkäč P 'ATIY YAIL· BULUVR ärkäč äti äm bolūr, äčkü äti yel bolūr 0 “He-goat’s meat is medicinal, she-goat’s meat is flatulent (generates wind in the belly).” 0

'UR·KUJ\_<sup>3</sup> ärkäč “Wave (*mawj*).” Hence :: SUVW<sup>4</sup> 'UR·KUJ\_LAN·DIY sūw ärkäčländi “The water was wavy (*māja*).” 0

'URKUJ\_ örgüč “A woman’s braid or tuft (*ḡafīra, qunza'a*).” 0 'URKUJ örgüč örgüč “Trivet (*utfiya*).”

R

'ADΓIR adγir “Stallion (*fahl*),” of horses. 0

'UL·KAR\_ ülkär “The Pleiades (*aṭ-turayyā*).” 0 There is a battle tactic called: 'UL·KAR JARIK\_ ülkär čäriḡ – the troops fall back in squadrons on all sides, then when one squadron rounds to attack, the others follow. Using this stratagem they are seldom routed.

Z

'ARWUZ arwuz A man’s name. 0

'AR·KUZ SUVF ärgüz sūw “Thaw water (*ḡuwāba*) of snow and ice at the beginning of spring.” Verse: 'ARGUZ

YA'Y BARVBAN 'ARKUZY	yāy yarūban ärgüzi	V
'AQ·TIY 'AQIN MUNDUZIY	aqti aqin munduzi	
TUḡDY YARUQ YULDUZIY	tuḡdy yaruq yulduzi	
TINKL' SUVZUM KULKVSUZ	tiḡla sōzüm külgüsüz	

[I. 88/96]

“Spring dawned; the thaw water (*ḡawāba*) (of ice) and the flash flood flowed; the shining star rose; listen to my words (which are strange) without laughing.” 0

'UK·SUZ ögsüz “Orphan (*yatīm*); bewildered (*ḡayrān*).” Its root-form is: 'VKSUZ ögsüz derived from: 'UVK\_ öḡ meaning “understanding (*aql, fiṭna*).”

Ş

3. First U (brown) altered from original A (black).
4. W altered from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).

'UTAMIŠ\_ utmiš A man’s name. 0

utmiš N

'AD·RIŠ\_ adriš “Fork of a road (*ra's kull ṭariqayn*).” 0

adriš

'UDRUŠ\_ üdriš “Choosing (*muxāyara*) among things.” 0

üdriš

'ADΓIŠ\_ adγiš Name of a place. 0

adγiš N

'UDKIŠ\_ ädgiš A tribe of the Turks who have settled in Özjänd. Its root-form is the metathesis of this: 'AK·DIŠ\_ äḡdiš. 0

ädgiš N  
(äḡdiš)

'ARTIŠ\_ ärtiš Name of a river [the Irtish] in the steppes of Yemāk which flows into a lake there and which has many arms and tributaries. It is called: 'ARTIŠ SUWIY ärtiš suwi. It is derived from the word: 'ARTIŠ ärtiš [122] meaning “Compete with me in crossing (*bārini<sup>1</sup> fi l-mu'ābara*) [to determine] which of us is stronger in crossing it.” 0

ärtiš N

'IRTAŠ\_ irtäš The “inquiry, claim, calling to account (*tafaḡḡuṣ, muṭālabā*)” that occurs among a people over a certain matter. Thus :: 'IR·TAŠ\_ QUB·DIY irtäš qopdi “The inquiry (*baḡṭ, tafaḡḡuṣ*) was stirred up.” 0

irtäš

'ARQIŠ\_ arqiš “Caravan (*'ir*).” Proverb: YIRA'Q YIYR SA'WIN 'ARQIŠ KALDURUVR yirāq yēr sāwin arqiš kaldürür 0 “The traveller (*safir*) brings news of a distant land.” This is as in the verse: *wa-ya'tika bi-l-axbāri man lam tuzawwidi* (“There will bring you the news one whom you have not provisioned”).<sup>2</sup> 0

arqiš P

'ARQIŠ\_ arqiš Name of the “envoy (*mursal*)” to someone in a distant country. Thus :: 'NIK 'ARQIŠY KALDIY anig arqiši kaldi “His messenger (*rasūl*) came.” It can also mean “message (*risāla*).”

'ALQIŠ\_ alqiš “Eulogizing, recounting the strengths and virtues (*ṭanā', du'ā', ḡikr ayādī, 'add manāqib*) of a man.” :: 'UL BAK·KA' 'ALQIŠ BIYR·DIY ol begkā alqiš bērdi “He eulogized (*aṭnā 'alā*) the emir.” :: YALA'VAJ·QA' 'ALQIŠ BIYR·KIL yalāvačqa alqiš bērgil “Call blessings (*ṣalli*) upon the Prophet (peace be upon him).”

alqiš

Γ

'UTRUḡ\_ otruy “Island (*jazīra*).” 0

otruy

'ATLIḡ 'AR\_ atliy är “Horseman (*rajul fāris*).” 0

atliy

'UTLUḡ T·Γ\_ otluḡ tāḡ “Grassy (*mu'ṣib*) mountain.” 0

otluḡ

61

1. MS. *bārini*.
2. From the end of the Mu'allaqa of Ṭarafa; meaning news of one's death.

'ITLIΓ 'W itliy äw “House with a dog ( <i>dū kalb</i> ).” 0	itliy
'ARTIΓ artiy A woman’s “bodice ( <i>şudra</i> ).” 0	artiy
'ARTIΓ artiy “[One of] the two balanced halves of a load ([ <i>aḥad</i> ] ‘ <i>idlay al-ḥiml</i> ).” 0	
'AΓRIΓ aγriγ “Pain ( <i>waja</i> ’),” in general; then the pain of any specific member is named by that member. <sup>3</sup> 0	aγriγ
'AΓRUΓ SUNKVKY oγruγ süñūki “First vertebra of the neck ( <i>fahqa</i> ).” 0	oγruγ
'UΓRUΓ oγruγ “The bend of a valley ( <i>jiz’ al-wādī</i> ).” ::	
[I. 90/96]	62
TAΓ 'UΓRUΓY tāγ oγruγi “Jag ( <i>munqaṭa</i> ’) of a mountain.”	
'TLQ utluq Name of a city near Țarāz. 0 'UT_LUQ_ utluq means “stable ( <i>ārī</i> )” in their dialect. <sup>1</sup> 0	utluq N D
'UJFUQ učγuq “The common cold ( <i>zūkām</i> ).” 0	učγuq
'ADRIQ adriq A plant called in Arabic <i>aṭ-ṭīl</i> (“peat”). 0	adriq
'ADRUC_ adruq A word meaning “other ( <i>γayr</i> )” in Oγuz dialect. The Turks say: 'ADIN_ adin for “other.” Proverb: 'ADIN KŠY NA'NKY NANKSINMA'S <sup>2</sup> adin kiši nāṇi nāṇ-sinmās “The property of another cannot be considered property” – even if it is in your hand, since it can be reclaimed. 0	adruq D P
'UDLUQ udluq “The thick part of the bone of the foreleg ( <i>mustaylaz’ azm ad-dirā</i> ).” 0	udluq
'UD_LUQ <sup>3</sup> udluq “Stable for cows ( <i>mabīt al-baqar min al-ārī</i> ).” Arγu dialect. 0	udluq D
'UD_MAUQ <sup>3</sup> udmaq <sup>4</sup> “Follower, servant ( <i>tābi</i> ’, <i>šākiri</i> ).” 0	udmaq

3. *ilā a'ḏā'ihī* is crossed out and replaced in the margin by *ilayhi*.

62 1. *fi luḡatihim* – this must refer to the dialect of the place just mentioned, apparently a place named after a stable, which in their dialect was **utluq** instead of **udluq** (below). Another word in this dialect appears at 251:9 where the place is spelled: 'TLIQ.

2. Gloss above word in a later hand: NNK S'NM'S nān sānmās.

3. D' altered from original D in these two words: dot of D (black) changed to *sukūn* (brown).

4. Gloss below word in a later hand: 'UYMAQ uymaq.

'AR_TUQ_ artuq “Excess ( <i>ziyāda</i> ).” 0	artuq
'UR_TUQ_ <sup>5</sup> ortuq “Partner ( <i>šarīk</i> ).” Proverb: 'UR_TUQ_ <sup>5</sup> 'AR_DAN 'ARTUQ 'LM'S ortuq P ortuq ārdān artuq almās “One does not take from one’s partner an excess (in the share [of the profit]).” This is coined to advise someone to be equitable. 0	ortuq P
'ŽMUQ aźmuq “White alum ( <i>šabb abyad</i> ).” The baldness of a scabby-head is likened to it, thus: 'AŽMUQ TA_Z: aźmuq tāz that is to say, as though the head of the bald man were spattered with alum. With <i>zāy</i> between the two points of articulation. 0	aźmuq
'IS_RIQ isriq A word said when treating babies for demonic possession or evil eye. One fumigates the [victim’s] face with incense ( <i>yudaxxanu wa-yubaxxaru fī wajhihi</i> ), then says: 'SRIQ 'ISRQ isriq isriq meaning “Be bitten ( <i>kun ma'ḏūḏ</i> ) O jinni!” 0	isriq
'USRUC_ osruq “Fart ( <i>rudām</i> ).” 0	osruq
'USRIQ usriq “Sleepy ( <i>wasnān</i> ),” of a person.	usriq
'AΓ_DUC_ KIŠY aγduq kiši “A stranger, one whose identity is unknown ( <i>ad-daxīl allaqī lā'yu'rafu man huwa</i> ).” 'DΓUC_ adγuq is a variant, by metathesis. 0	aγduq D
'AΓRUQ_ aγruq “Heavy merchandise ( <i>ṭaqal al-matā</i> ’).” <sup>6</sup> Thus :: 'AΓIR 'AΓ_RUC_ QAYUVDA' QAL_DIY aγir aγruq qayūda qaldi “Where was the baggage ( <i>al-ḥaml wa-ṭ-ṭaqal</i> ) left?” 0	aγruq
'IWRQ iwriq “Ewer ( <i>ibriq</i> ).” This agrees with Arabic in sound and sense, except that the <i>bā</i> ' was changed to <i>wā</i> ' in Turkic. Verse:	iwriq
[I. 92/100]	63
'IWRQ BAŠY QAZLAYUV iwriq baši qazlayu SAΓRQ TULUV KUZLAYUV sayraq tolu közläyü SAQINJ QUḐY KIZLAYUV saqinč qoḏi kizläyü TUN KUN BILA' SAWNALIM' tün kün bilä säwnälīm	V

“The head of the ewer is (upright) like (the neck of) a goose and the cup is full like the eye, so let us bury sadness under it and be joyful night and day.” 0

'UQ\_RUC\_ uqruq “Lasso (*wahaq*).” Proverb [cf. 539 ya]: TA'ΓIΓ 'UQRUC\_ 'AK'M'S uqruq P  
TNKIZNY QAY\_ΓIQN BUKM'S tāyig uqruqin āgmās, tāñizni qayγuqin bögmās 0 “The (lofty) mountain cannot be bent with a lasso, 0 the sea cannot be dammed up with a boat.” 0 This means that an important matter cannot be rejected for a weak cause. 0

5. Second U is perhaps A (scratchy, cannot be distinguished); therefore **ortaq**?

6. Later changed to *aṭ-ṭaqal wa-l-matā*'.

'UQLUQ oqluq	“Quiver ( <i>kināna</i> ).” 0	oqluq
'ALJJAQ alčaq	“Forbearing, gentle ( <i>ḥalīm zariḥ</i> ).” 0	alčaq
'ULDUQ 'AT' olduq at	“A shoeless ( <i>ḥāfi</i> ) horse (or other).” 0	olduq
'ALFUQ alɣuq	Name of a village belonging to Kāšyar. 0	alɣuq N
'AM'RAQ KUNKUL amraq kōnül	“A warm, pure ( <i>maḥmūm naqī</i> ) heart.”	amraq
K		
'IB'RUK iprük	“A mixture of curdled and fresh milk ( <i>an yuxlaṭa r-rā'ib bi-l-laban al-ḥalīb</i> )” which is drunk as a laxative by one who is constipated from drinking sour ( <i>raṭi'a</i> ) or churned milk ( <i>maxiḍ</i> ). 0	iprük
'BMAK äpmäk	“Bread ( <i>xubz</i> ).” Dialect of Yaɣma and Tuxsi and part of Oɣuz and Qif-äpmäk D	äpmäk D
	čäq. In Arabic there is an equivalent of this [i.e. the alternation <i>p-t</i> in <i>äpmäk</i> ~ <i>ätmäk</i> ] in the alternation of <i>wāw</i> and <i>bā'</i> , because of the closeness of the points of articulation, and then of <i>tā'</i> and <i>wāw</i> , as in the oath <i>bi-llāhi wa-llāhi ta-llāhi</i> (“By God!”). 0 However, this rule is rarely applied in Turkic. 0	G
'ÄTLIK <sup>1</sup> ätlik	“Meat hook ( <i>mi'lāq al-laḥm</i> ).” Also, “a sheep prepared for the slaughter ( <i>uḥḍirat li-ḍ-dabḥ</i> )” is called: 'AT'LIK QVY ätlik qōy meaning “meat sheep.” 0	ätlik
	“A corpulent ( <i>daxm</i> ) man” is called: 'ATLIK KİŞY ätlig kişi. Also “one who owns meat ( <i>şāḥib al-laḥm</i> )” is called: 'ATLIG <sup>2</sup> KİŞY ätlig kişi. With a thin <i>kāf</i> . It is my intention not to mention adjectivals except those that would not be known if they were not mentioned. 0	ätlig G
'AT'RAK äträk	“Ruddy ( <i>aşqar</i> ),” of a man. Oɣuz dialect. 0	äträk D
'UTRUK <sup>3</sup> ötrük	“Scheming ( <i>muḥtāl</i> ).” Oɣuz dialect. Verse: ötrük D	ötrük D
	'UT'RUK <sup>3</sup> 'UTN 'UFRİY LAYUV YUZKA' BAQ'R 'ILKIN TUŞB' BIR'MİŞ 'ŞĠ BAŞRA' QAQ'R ötrük utun oɣrılayu yüzkä baqār elgin tüşip bermiş aşıy başra qaqār	V
[I. 94/102]		64

“(There has remained from among men) he who is scheming (*dā ḥīla*) and ignoble, who looks into

- 63
1. First I (black) crossed out in brown.
  2. Three dots of G in brown ink.
  3. Second U altered from original A (?).

(a guest's) face as though he were a thief, who vaunts over the traveller-guest what he feeds him and hits him over the head with it [i.e. throws it in his face].” 0

'UTLUK ötlük “Advice (*'iṣa*).” One may also use: 'UVUT' övüt for “advice”; its root-form is: 'UKUT' ögüt. 0

ötlük

'ATMAK ätmäk “Bread (*xubz*).” 0

ätmäk

'IJ'LİK ičlik “Saddle cloth (*waliyya as-sarj*).” 0

ičlik

'IJ'MAK ičmäk “Fleece, sheepskin (*farw al-birqān*).” 0

ičmäk

'İDRİK idrig Something “rough (*xašin*).” Arɣu dialect. Its root-form is: İRIK irig. 0

ıdrig

'UDLAK<sup>1</sup> ödläg “Time (*zamān*).”

Verse [= 462 yunčiy]:

D

ödläg

'UDLK QAMUĠ KUFRAĐIY  
'AR'DAM 'ARIĠ SAWRAĐY  
YUNJİĠ YAWUZ TAWRAĐY  
'AR'DAM BAKY JARTILUVR

ödläg qamuy käwrädi  
ärdäm ariy säwrädi  
yunčiy yawuz tawradi  
ärdäm begi čärtilür

V

“Time has become weak and virtues few, the weak and obscure have grown strong, since the emir of virtues passed away” – meaning Afrāsiyāb the king. 0

'UDRAK NA'NK üdräg nāñ “Anything thriving, prospering (*rāyi'* [defined]).”

üdräg

'ADLIK NA'NK ädlik nāñ “Anything that can be put to good use (*yuntafa'u bihi*).” 0

ädlik

'URPAK ürpäk “Shaggy (*aş'at*),” of an animal or man. 0

ürpäk

'ARTIK ärtik “A well-travelled road (*ṭariq maslūk*).” 0

ärtik

'URTUK<sup>2</sup> örtüg “The covering (*sutra*)” over anything, such as a saddle cover, or the brocade used to cover the graves of nobles; also “the cover (*ḡiṭā'*)” of anything. 0

örtüg

'URJUK örçüg “Braid (*ḍafīra*).” Oɣuz dialect. It is the metathesized form of: 'UR-KUJ<sup>3</sup> örgüč [60]. 0

örçüg

- 64
1. Dot of D partially altered to *sukün*(<sup>·</sup>) in brown ink.
  2. Second U altered from original A (?).
  3. First U altered from original A (?).

'URDAK ördäk "Duck (*iwazz*)." Proverb: QA'Z: QUBSA' 'URDAK KUVLG 'K'NVR [sic] qāz qopsa ördäk kölüg ellänür (?) "When the goose<sup>4</sup> rises from the pond the duck takes possession of it." This is coined about an obscure person who lords it over a people after their real master leaves. 0

'ARSAK: 'ŠL'R ärsäk ešlār "Prostitute (*mūmisa bāḡiya*)." Proverb: 'ARSAK 'ARK' TKM'S 'IYWAK 'AWK' TKM'S ärsäk ärkä tägmās, ēwāk äwkä tägmās "The hasty prostitute (*al-ajūl min al-bawāḡi*) rarely finds men (because of her extreme haste

[I. 95/104]

which does not accord with her purposes; similarly) the hasty man does not get home (since he jades his riding animal in his haste.)" This is as the Prophet said, "The traveller stranded because his mount died has neither crossed a land nor left a mount alive." This is coined to advise someone to leave off haste.

'AR'LİK ärlik "Manliness (*rujūliyya*)." 0

'AR'NAK ärnäk "Finger (*işba'*)." A variant of 'R'NG'K<sup>1</sup> ärnäk. 0

'IYZ'LIK izlik "Sandal (*hiḡā'*)" of the Turks, made from camel hide. Proverb: 'IZLIK BULSA' 'AR' 'ULDIYMA'S' 'IJ'LK BULSA' 'AT' YAḡRIYM'S izlik bolsa är oldīmās, ičlik bolsa at yaḡrimās "When there is a sandal (accompanying) a man he does not go barefoot; when there is a saddle cloth (on the back of) a horse he does not get galled." [This is coined] to advise prudence. 0

'AS'RUK äsrük "Drunk (*sakrān*)." 0

'AWŠUK äwšük "Beam, rafter (*āriḡa*)." 0

'ILRUK ilrük "Rue (*ḡarmal*)." Dialect of Uč. 0

'UMZUK<sup>2</sup> ümzüük "Tip of a saddle-tree in front or back (*ḡaraf ḡanw as-sarj muḡaddam<sup>an</sup> wa-mu'axxar<sup>an</sup>*)." 0

'IK'DUK igdüük A food made from milk and curdled milk, similar to cheese. 0

'AKRIK ägrik "Yarn (*ḡazl*)." 0

'UG'RUK<sup>1</sup> ügrüg "Rocking of a baby's cradle (*taḡrīk al-mahd li-ḡ-ḡabī*)." 0

4. MS. *xayḡ* in error for *batt*.

65

1. Three dots of G in brown ink.
2. First U altered from original A (?).

'AK'ŠIK\_ äkšig Anything "sour (*muzz*)" such as a sour pomegranate. 0

'AKSUK ägsük "Defective (*nāḡiḡ*)," of anything. :: 'KSUK YARMA'Q ägsük yarmāq "A defective dirham." 0

'UG'MAK<sup>1</sup> ügmäk "Woman's earring (*xurḡ, ḡalaḡa*)," of gold or silver. 0 It is an infinitive in root-meaning. 0

One calls anything "piled up (*mukawwam*)": 'UKMA'K ükmäk. It is also an infinitive in its root-meaning. 0

'ANDAK ändäk "Roof (*saḡh*)." Oḡuz dialect.

L

'UJKUIL\_ üčgil "Triangle (*muḡallat* [defined])." 0

'R'SAL SAJ' arsal sač "Chestnut (*aḡhab*) hair." 0

'AŠTAL 'UḡUL aštal oḡul "Child of a man's old age (*ujza walad ar-rajul*)." 0

'ANDIK 'AR' ändik ar "A simple-minded (*ablah*) man." Proverb: 'ANDIK 'UMA' ändik P 'AWLIKNY 'AḡIR'LA'R' ändik ümä äwligni aḡirlār "The simple-minded guest is one who entertains the host." This means that it is the guest who should be entertained. Verse:

[I. 97/106]

'AN'DIK KIŠIY TAḡTILSUVN  
'IYL TURV YATILSUVN [sic]  
TUQLY PURY YAYTILSUVN<sup>2</sup>  
QDİV YM' SAWLSUVN

ändik kiši tētilsün  
ēl törü ētilsün<sup>1</sup>  
toqli böri yētilsün  
qaḡḡu yemä sawulsün

"(We shall uncover trouble with the sword,) so that the simple-minded come to his senses, the realm prosper, the wolf walk with the six-month lamb close behind,<sup>3</sup> and care leave us." 0

66 1. The translation (*taḡluḡu*) requires this reading. Possibly the initial *alif* (') was omitted by an over-zealous scribe who thought it was otiose after the V of TURV and did not belong with a Turkic word.

2. First Y altered to Q in brown ink; *qatilsün* ("may lamb and wolf be joined together") would be an excellent reading (cf. QB 461, 1040, 3096) but would not accord as well with the euphony of the rhyme position or with the translation (see next note).

3. *fa-yamši ḡ-ḡi'b ma'a l-jaḡa'a min aḡ-ḡi'b ma'<sup>an</sup> xalfahu*. The last four words are crossed out in MS., but the sense accords with 476 *yetil-* (*laḡiḡa*). Clauson (ED, 469) amends *min aḡ-ḡi'b* to *min aḡ-ḡa'n*; cf. 217 *toḡlu*.

M		
'UTRUM	ötrüm “Purgative ( <i>dawā' mushil</i> ).” 0 One calls “milkweed ( <i>šubrum</i> )”:	ötrüm
SUVT_	'UTRUM sūt ötrüm. This is close to the Arabic [in sound and sense].	0
'AX_ŠAM_	axšam “Evening ( <i>waqt al-maγrib</i> ).” 0	axsam
'AD_RIM_	ädrim [“Saddle-pad”] The leather and felt that is beneath both sides of the saddletree. 0	ädrim
'UDRUM	üdrüm The “best or choice ( <i>xiyār</i> )” of a set of things. 0	üdrüm
'AR_DAM_	ärdäm “Refinement, virtue ( <i>adab, manqiba</i> ).” Proverb [= 169 til, 501 til]:	ärdäm
'AR_DAM	BAŠIY TIYL ärdäm baši tīl “The head of virtue is the tongue” – the one who knows how to speak well gains honor thereby. 0	P
'US_TAM_	üstäm The “inlay ( <i>mā yuraşsa'u</i> )” of gold and silver in the buckles of belts or saddle straps. It is what the Oγuz call: SA'XT säxt [Persian loanword]. 0	üstäm D
'IS_RIM	KIŠY isrim kiši “A man who clenches his teeth and scowls ( <i>mutaqabbid, qaṭūb</i> ).” 0	isrim
'IŠKUM	išküm “A large bowl-shaped tray ( <i>mā'ida ka-hay'a al-jafna</i> ) which is put before the king.” It has no legs. 0	išküm
BYR	'UQTAM YZR bīr oqtam yēr “A bowshot length ( <i>qadr ramiyya</i> ) of land.” 0	oqtam
'AK_RIM_	ägrim “Whirlpool (?), a place where water collects ( <i>tayhūr<sup>4</sup> al-mā' wahwa mustanqa'uhu</i> ).”	ägrim
'IM_RAM	imrām “All the groups of the realm when they embark boldly on a matter ( <i>kull jamā'at min ahl al-walāya idā xādū fī amr</i> ).” :: 'MRAM TIYRIŠTY [sic] imrām täpräšti “The community ( <i>jamā'a</i> ) was set in motion.”	imrām

## N

'UTFUN	utγun A broad strap on the saddle from the left <sup>5</sup> side; the ring of the girth is attached to it and fastened with its tongue.	utγun
'ARQUN	arqun “A horse that is crossbred from a wild stallion and a tame mare.” It is the fastest racehorse. 0	arqun

4. Clauson (ED, 113) amends to *tayhuwa*; but cf. *tayhūr* “quicksand” at 199 *tarim*. Normally *wahwa* introduces a definition of the Arabic key-term translating the Turkic; here in error for *wa*?

5. MS. *ansā*, error (?) for *aysar*.

'URKAN_	örgän “Thong of a camel' girth ( <i>nis'</i> ).” Oγuz dialect. 0	örgän D
'AR_KAN_	ärkän A particle meaning “at the time of ( <i>ḥālata</i> )” such-and-such.	ärkän
[I. 98/108]		67
Thus ::	'UL KALUR 'ARKA'N_ KUR_DUM ol kälür ärkän kördüm “I saw him at the time of his coming.” 0	
'IRKIN	SUVW irkin sūw “Water that has collected in a place ( <i>mustanqa'</i> ).” The same for anything “gathered together ( <i>mujtama'</i> ).” From this comes the title of the Qarluq chiefs: KVL_ 'IRKIN kōl irkin meaning that his intelligence is “gathered together like a full pond.” 0	irkin N
'IRKIN	YAΓMUR irkin yaγmur “Rain which lasts for days ( <i>dā'im ayyām<sup>an</sup></i> ).” 0	
'ARQUN	arqun The word for “next year ( <i>al-'ām al-muqbil</i> ).” Thus :: 'ARQUN 'YZY arqun İzi “Next year and the year after.” 0	arqun
'URKUN_	ürkün “The panic ( <i>hazāhiz</i> ) that befalls a people because of the enemy so that they flee to forts and castles.”	ürkün
'UTRAN	otran “Trousers ( <i>sarāwīl</i> ).” I heard it in Yaγma. 0	otran D
'IJ_KIN	'AR_ ičkin är “A man who has come over from the enemy and whom they grant safe conduct ( <i>daxala min al-'aduww mustaslim<sup>an</sup> wa-āmanūhū</i> ).”	ičkin
'US_TUN	üstün A particle meaning “above ( <i>fawq</i> ).” :: 'ANDĀ <sup>1</sup> 'US_TUN anda üstün “Above it.” 0	üstün
'AS_TIN	astin A particle meaning “below ( <i>taḥt</i> ).” It is an uncouth word; the more elegant form is: 'ALTIN altin. 0	astin D
'AWRAN	äwrän “Something built in the shape of a smith's furnace and used for baking.”	äwrän
'ALTIN	altin A particle meaning “below ( <i>taḥt</i> ).” 0	altin
'IŠFUN	išγun “Rhubarb ( <i>riḃās</i> ).” 0	išγun
'AŠKIN	TUBRA'Q äškin topraq “Earth (or sand) that is poured out ( <i>munhāl</i> ).”	äškin
	“Riding at a gallop ( <i>safar mu'addī</i> )” is called: 'AŠKIN äškin. Hence “a mounted express courier” is called: 'AŠKINJY äškinči. 0	
'AMŠAN	amšan “Fleece, a skin made into a fur ( <i>burqān, jild yuttaxadu minhu l-farw</i> ).” 0	amšan

67 1. Second A: another A added in brown ink (indicates nunnation, thus: *andan*).

'ANDĀ'N<sup>2</sup> **andan** An Oğuz word meaning “after that (*ba'da dālika*).” Thus :: 'ANDAN **andan** D 'AY'DIM **andan aydim** “I said after that (*ba'dahu*).” The Turks say: 'ANDA' **anda** with *alif*, but the meaning is “there (*hunāka*)” [78]; thus :: MAN 'ANDA' 'AR'DIM **mān anda ārdim** “I was there.”

Doubled

T

'ARTUT **ärtüt** “A gift (*hadiyya*),” such as a horse, or the like, offered in the presence of emirs, or others; then every gift came to be called: 'ARTUT' **ärtüt**.

Q

'ARQUQ KİŞİY **arquq kişi** “Obstinate (*harūn*),” of a man. 0 'ARQUQ **arquq** “A wooden obstruction (*xašaba mu'tariḍa*) between two walls or columns.” **arquq**

K

'UBKUK **üpgük** “Hoopoe (*hudhud*).” Čigil dialect. 0 **üpgük** D

[I. 100/110]

68

'AM'KAK **ämgak** “Hardship (*miḥna*).” Proverb: 'AM'KAK 'AKINDA' QALMA'S **ämgak P** **ägindä qalmās** 0 “Hardship does not remain (stuck) to the shoulders (of those who are deprived or afflicted).” This is similar to the words of God Most High [Q.94:6]: “truly with hardship comes ease.”

'UM'KUK **ümgük** “Fontanel – i.e., the soft part of the skull (*al-qurqūf wahwa ramā'a*<sup>1</sup> **ümgük** *ar-ra's*).” Verse:

'AY'DY SANIK 'UVDV **aydi sānig ūḍu**  
'AM'KAK TALIM 'YDV **ämgak tālim īḍu**  
YUMŠAR QTIF 'VDV **yumšar qatīy ūḍu**  
KUNK'LUM' SANK' YUKRUK **könlüm saḇa yügrük**

Describing the passing phantom of his beloved, he says [cf. 59 **aḇar**], “How did you cross these hard mountain paths to us?” and he answers: “I endured hardships because of you, and so the mountains softened; my heart is racing toward you.” 0

'ASKAK **äšgak** “Ass (*ḥimār*).” One of two dialectal variants, the other being: 'ŠYA'K **äšyäk** D The *yā'* is an alternant of one of the doubled letters. The same thing is permitted in Arabic

2. Second A: another A added in brown ink; also second *alif* (') in brown ink.

68 1. MS. *rimāya*.

as in the phrase *taqaḍḍā l-bāzī* – its root-form is *taqaḍḍāda* (“the hawk swooped”); or in the words of God [Q.75:33]: *tumma ḍahaba ilā ahlihi yatamaṭṭā* – i.e. *yatamaṭṭātu* (“then he went to his household arrogantly”); or [Q.91:10]: *wa-qad xāba man dassāhā* – its root-form is *dassasahā* (“and failed has he who seduces it”).<sup>2</sup> 0

'AR'KAK **ärkāk** The “male (*ḍakar*)” of any animal. Thus “cock (*utrufān*)” is called: **ärkāk** 0 'AR'KAK TAQ'GV **ärkāk taqāyu**. 0

'INKAK **ingäk** “Cow (*baqara*).” 0 **ingäk**

'INKAK **ingäk** “Female turtle (*al-unṭā min as-satāḥif*).” Oğuz dialect. D

Initial Weak

R

'UY'GUR **uygur** The name of a principality (*wilāya*) composed of five cities, which Ḍu-l **uygur** N Qarnayn built when he made peace with the king of the Turks. I was told by Niẓām ad-Dīn Isrāfīl Ṭoḡān Tegīn, son of Muḥammad Čaqir Tonqa Khān, on the authority of his father, who said: When Ḍu-l Qarnayn arrived in the vicinity of the principality of Uighur, the Khāqān of the Turks sent toward him four thousand men. The wings of their caps were like the wings of falcons, and they could shoot backward and forward equally. Ḍu-l Qarnayn was astonished at them

[I. 102/112]

69

and said [in Persian]: *inān xuḍ xurand*, meaning “These are independent in feeding themselves” – they have no need of anyone’s food since game never escapes them but they eat it whenever they wish. Therefore the principality was named: XUDXUR **xuḍxur**. Afterward, the [first] *xā'* was changed to *alif*. This is the case with guttural letters; they alternate with one another, especially *xā'* with *alif* and *alif* with *xā'*. G

Maḥmūd, the author of this book, states: In accordance with this, our forefathers, the emirs, used to be called *xamīr*, since the Oğuz were not able to say *'amīr*; they changed the *alif* to *xā'* and said *xamīr*. Our forefather – he was the one who conquered the lands of the Turks from the Samanids – used to be called: *al-'amīr* ?JRKYN (?).<sup>1</sup> They changed the *alif* to *xā'* as I showed you. D

2. The Arabic words *taqaḍḍā*, *yatamaṭṭā* and *dassā* are spelled with final *yā'* (*alif maqṣūra*); Kāšyarī considers this *yā'* an “alternant” of the final consonant in *taqaḍḍāda*, *yatamaṭṭātu* and *dassasa*, which are their respective “root-forms.”

69 1. The text reads: **الامير بجرکين**. Atalay’s suggested reading is: **xamīr tegīn** (Tercüme I, 112n.; Dizin, 832). Togan read the name “Beherkin” (sic; *Atsız Mecmua* 17, 1932, pp. 133-4). The easiest emendation is to: *al-'amīr* (error for *al-xamīr*?) *baḥr tegīn*; or, possibly: *al-'amīr naṣr tegīn*. According to Pritsak (*TM* 10, 1953, pp. 243-4) he must be Buḡra Khān Hārūn al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān, who conquered Bukhara from the Samanids in 382/992, rather than Arslan Ilig Naṣr ibn 'Alī, who together with Maḥmūd of Ghazna brought an end to the Samanid state in 389/999.



Concerning Uighur: When they changed the *xā'* to *alif* they made the *dāl* in *xud* into a *yā'* – this is an important rule, namely that *dāl* may be made *yā'*. Then they made the *xā'* in *xur* into a *ḡayn* – the alternation of *xā'* with *ḡayn* and *ḡayn* with *xā'* is permitted [in Arabic also] as in *xatara* ~ *ḡadara* (“he betrayed”).

This principality consists of five cities whose people are the strongest of the infidels and the best shooters. They are: SULMY *sulmi* which Du-l Qarnayn built; then: QUVJUV **qōčo**; then: JANBALIQ **janbaliq**; then: BIYŠ BALIQ **bēš baliq**; then: YANKY BALYQ **yañi baliq**.

Š

'AYTIŠ **aytiš** “The inquiring after one another’s health (*an yas'ala r-rajulān kull wāḥid minhumā ḥāl al-āxar*).” **aytiš**

Γ

'AYITIF **aytiγ** A variant of: 'AYITIS **aytiš** meaning “the inquiring after one’s health (*al-istixbār 'an as-salāma*),” or the like. **aytiγ** D

Q

'AYRUQ **ayruq** A variant [of 62 **adruq**] meaning “other (*ḡayr*).” Oḡuz dialect. **ayruq** D

'AYRIQ **ayriq** “Peat (*tīl*)” – it is a tender plant. The Turks call it: 'DRIQ **adriq**, and the Oḡuz change it [i.e. the *d*] to *yā'*. 0 **ayriq** D

::'AYLUQ 'AYLUQ **ayloq ayloq** “Thus, thus (*kaḡā kaḡā*).” Oḡuz dialect. **ayloq** D

Doubly Weak

L

'AYLA' **ayla** – Oḡuz dialect – “Thus (*ka-ḡālika*).” :: 'AYLA' QILFIL **ayla qilfil** “Do thus (*kaḡā*).” **ayla** D

'UYLA' **öylä** “Noon (*zühr*).” Oḡuz dialect. The Qifčāq make the *yā'* into *zāy* and say: 'UZLA' **özlä**. **öylä** D

Another Type

Q

'AJLIQ **äčliq** “Hunger (*majā'a*).” 0 **äčliq**

[I. 104/114]

70

'AŠLIQ **ašliq** “Kitchen (*maḡbax*).”<sup>1</sup> The Oḡuz call “wheat (*burr*)”: 'AŠLIQ **ašliq**. **ašliq** D

K

'ŠYAK **äšyäk** “Ass (*ḡimār*).” 'AŠKAK **äšgäk** is a variant; the form with *yā'* [i.e. **äšyäk**] **äšyäk** D is more elegant.

W

'AWIYA **awya** “Quince (*safarjal*).” A variant.<sup>2</sup> **awya** D

Final Weak

T

'IKTUV **igtü** “Stall-fed (*'alūfa*),” of an animal. **igtü**

R

'AQRUV **aqruA** particle meaning “slowly (*ruwayd*).” :: 'AQRV 'AQRV **aqru aqru** “Slow and gentle! (*taraffaq ruwaydan*).” **aqru**

K

'ADKV **ädgü** “Good (*ḡasan*),” of anything. Verse: **ädgü**

QUŠ'NIY QUNUM 'AFIŠQA' **qošni qonum oyišqa**  
 QILFIL 'ANKAR' 'AFIR'LQ' **qilfil anar ayirliq**  
 'ARTUT 'ALIB' 'ANUNFIL **ärtüt alip anunfil**  
 'ADKUV TAWAR' 'UFURLUQ **ädgü tawar uγurluq**

V

“Honor and respect your clansmen; when you receive a gift prepare a good recompense for it.”

Another Type

'AMŠUVY\_ **amšuy** A kind of plum (*ajāš*); it is yellow. **amšuy**

Nasal

Z

- 70 1. MS. *muḡbax* – not a classical form; perhaps to be read *miḡbax* “cooking implement.”  
 2. Presumably **aywa**, the regular form, has dropped from the text.

'ANKDUZ **aṅduz** “Elecampane (*rāsan*)”<sup>3</sup> – it is the root of a plant that is dug up and used to cure horses of stomach-ache. Proverb: 'ANK'DZ BULSA' 'AT' 'ULM'S **aṅduz bolsa at ölmās** 0 “If there is elecampane<sup>3</sup> the horse will not die (of stomach-ache)” – since he can be made to drink it and then will recover. This is coined [as advice] for travellers to be prepared.

**aṅduz**  
P

J

'INKLJ **iṅliç** A mountain plant, similar to garlic, which is eaten with roast meat.

**iṅliç**

K

'NKLIK **änlik** “Rouge (*raxf*)” – a red color used to paint women's cheeks (*wajanāt*).

**änlik**

N

'UNKDUN **öṅdün** A particle meaning “front (*quddām*).” The Oγuz drop the *dāl* and *nūn* and say: 'UNK' **öṅ**. :: 'NKDUN YURUT' **öṅdün yort** “Ride in front (*sir bi-farasika quddām<sup>an</sup>*).” They have the correct form.<sup>4</sup>

**öṅdün** D

Final Nasal

'UL'DANK **uldaṅ** “Sole of a shoe (*aşfal al-xuff*).” Proverb: 'IT'Q' 'WUT' 'AT'SA' **uldaṅ** P  
'ULDANK YIY(T)M'S **itqa uwut itsä uldaṅ yēmās** 0 “If one beats modesty into a dog it will not eat the sole of a shoe.” 0 This is coined to advise someone to behave modestly. The meaning is: One who is forced to be modest stops his bad behavior

[I. 105/116]

71

out of modesty.

L

'ZLNK **azlaṅ** “Chameleon (*ḥirbā*).” With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. Oγuz dialect.

**azlaṅ**  
D

D

'IZDANK **izdaṅ** “A kind of net (*şabaka*) for catching fish.” One plants a row of thin stakes in the water leaving an opening in the middle of the channel, and throws the net over the mouth of the opening. The fish go into it and are pulled out all at once.

**izdaṅ**

S

3. Originally *turmus* “lupine,” altered to *rāsan* in pencil (?); EP has *rāsan*.

4. Referring to the Oγuz; presumably the second sentence and the example sentence should be reversed.

'AXSUNK' 'AR' **axsuṅ är** “A man who is brawling drunk (*mu'arbid fī sukrihi*).” A dialect variant of: 'AXSUM **axsum**.  
D

Initial Weak

B

'AY'BANG<sup>1</sup> 'AR' **aypaṅ är** “Bald (*aşla'*) man.” Čigil dialect.

**aypaṅ** D

'AY'DINK **aydiṅ** “Moonlight (*faxt al-qamar*).”

**aydiṅ**

Final Weak

'AR'INGA'N'<sup>1</sup> 'AR' **ärṅän är** “Unmarried (*azab*) man.” Proverb: 'ARNK'N'KA' **ärṅän** P  
'ALIK' QARIY BUVZUN 'UVM' TUIKA'MA'S' **ärṅänkä ällig qari bözün üm tükāmās** “Fifty cubits of cloth are not enough for the trousers of an unmarried man” – since a stranger will not sew it for him. This is coined to advise someone to marry.

Chapter: *af'āl, uf'āl, if'āl*, vocalized second radical, in its various vocalizations

R

'ARQA'R' **arqār** “Mountain she-antelope (*arwiyya* [defined]).” Its horns are made into knife handles. 0

**arqār**

'ŞBA'R **aşbār** “A mixture of moistened straw and bran that is fed to horses.” 0

**aşbār**

'AIŞL'R' **eşlār** “Woman (*mar'a*).” Its root-form is: 'AŞIYLA'R' **eşlār** meaning “noble women (*as-sayyidāt min an-nisā'*)”; the *yā'* dropped for lightening since the word was used so often. It is a plural used as a singular. There is a long story behind the giving of this name.

**eşlār**  
G

Γ

'UXŞA'Γ **oxşāγ** “Like or similar (*şabih*).” :: 'ANIK' 'UXŞA'ΓIY **anig oxşāγi** “One who resembles him.” 0

**oxşāγ**

'AR'QA'Γ' **arqāγ** “Weft (*luḥma at-tawb*).”

**arqāγ**

'UWRUVI' **owrūγ** A variant of: 'UΓ'RUVI' **oyrūγ** [61-62] meaning the “joint (*maf-şil*)” of a bone or the “bend (*jiz', munqaṭa'*)”<sup>2</sup> of a mountain.

**owrūγ**  
D

'UWRUVI' **owrūγ** “First vertebra of the neck (*fahqa*).” The more correct form

D

71 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.  
2. MS. *jaz', manqaṭa'*.

[I. 107/120]

for all three of these is: 'UFRUVΓ' oγrūγ.

'UFRAG' uγrāγ "Aim, intention (*qaṣd*, 'azīma)." 0'ANDA'Γ andāγ A particle meaning "thus (*ka-dālika*)." Thus :: 'ANDAG' 'AY'DIM andāγ aydim "Thus (*kaḏā*) said I." Čigil dialect. 0'NIDΓ indāγ (?) "Frame of a sieve (*iṭār al-munxul wa-l-γirbāl*)." 0

Q

'UBRA'Q' oprāq A "tattered (*xalaq*)" garment, or other. Thus :: 'UBRA'Q TVN' oprāq tōn "A tattered garment." 0'ATGA'Q' atγāq "Bile, colic (*ṣufār*, *qawlanj*)." A plant with yellow flowers is called: 'ATGA'Q atγāq. Any face that is yellow with grief is likened to it.UJMA'Q' ucmāq "Paradise (*al-janna*)." 0TURLK JJK YAZIL'DIY  
BARJIN YAḌM KARILDY  
'UJM'Q YARY KURUL'DIY  
TUMLG' YAN' KALKUḌSUVZtürliḡ çečäk yazildi  
barcin yaḏim kärildi  
uċmāq yeri körüldi  
tumliḡ yana kalgūsüz

Verse: ucmāq

Describing springs: "Varieties of flowers have split open, (as though) a brocade carpet has been spread, and the land of paradise has been seen; (the season has become so temperate that) cold will never return." 0

'AXSA'Q axsāq "Lame (*a'raj*)." 0'ART'Q' NA'NK artāq nān "Something spoiled or corrupt (*fāsīd*)." 0'URGA'Q orγāq "Scythe (*minjal*)." 0

'UFRAG' oγrāq A tribe of the Turks inhabiting a frontier district called: QARA' oγrāq N YIGA'J qara yiyāč.

'AGLA'Q YR' aγlāq yēr "A lonely or unfrequented (*lā anīs bihi*) place." 0'UFL'Q oγlāq "Kid (*jady*)." Proverb: 'UFLA'Q YLIK SIZ 'UFL'N BILK SIZ oγlāq yiliksiz oγlān biligsiz 0 "There is no intelligence in babies, just as there is no marrow in (the bones of) kids."

K

72

uγrāγ

andāγ  
D

indāγ ?

oprāq

atγāq

ucmāq

V

axsāq

artāq

orγāq

QARA' oγrāq N

aγlāq

oγlāq P

'IS'TA'K istāk "Inquiry, prosecution, investigation (*ṭalab*, *tatabbu'*, *faḥṣ*)" of a thing. Thus :: 'IS'TAK QUB'DIY<sup>1</sup> istāk qopdi "The inquiry (*ṭalab*) was stirred up." 0'US'TA'K üstāḡ "Added amount (*ziyāda*)," as when 100 is added to 1000. Thus :: MAN 'US'TA'K BIYR'DIM mān üstāḡ bērdim "I gave him the added amount."

N

'B'L'N aplān A small animal of the rat (*jirdān*) genus.'AR'ΓUVN arγūn A small animal of the rat (*jirdān*) genus. Its body is as long as half a cubit, and it is used to hunt out small birds in the crevices of walls. If it attacks a sheep, its flesh turns yellow; and if it attacks a man

[I. 108/120]

in his sleep, he suffers retention of urine. 0

'LTVN altūn "Gold (*dahab*)." 0'UMK'N ömgān "Jugular vein (*wadaj*)." 0'IN'KA'N ingān "She-camel (*nāqa*)." Proverb: 'IN'KA'N 'INK'RASA' BUTUV BUZ-LA'R ingān inṣasa botu bozlār 0 "When the she-camel moans the baby-camel grumbles (in answer)." 0 This is coined about the longing of relatives for each other. 0

Initial Weak

Š

'UYN'Š' oynāš "A woman who has an illicit lover (*lahā man yarhaquhā ḥarām<sup>an</sup>*)." 0

Q

'UYN'Q 'ŠL'R oynāq ešlār "A coquettish (*ṭula'a xuba'a*) woman."

N

'AY'RA'N' ayrān "Churned milk (*māxiḏ*)." 0

With Final Vāv

Γ

'UYNA'TUV YIYR' oynāγy yēr "Playground (*mil'ab*)." 0

istāk

üstāḡ

aplān

arγūn

73

altūn

ömgān

ingān P

oynāš

oynāq

ayrān

oynāγy

## Defective

N

'ULYA'N<sub>1</sub> **ulyān** A sweet-smelling edible root of a plant (*ar-rāl* [? – defined]).

ulyān

## Nasal

K

'ARNK'K **ārṅāk** "Finger (*iṣba'*)." Proverb: BIYŠ 'RNK'K TUVZ 'ARMA'S **bēš ārṅāk** **ārṅāk** P  
tūz **ārmās** "The five fingers are not equal" – and likewise people are unlike one another.'URNGA'K<sub>2</sub> **ürṅāk** "Gypsum (*jaṣṣ*)."

ürṅāk

Chapter: *fa'āl, fa'ūl*

J

'ALUVJ **alūč** "Yellow plum (? *barqūq*)."<sup>3</sup>

alūč

'ULA'R **ulār** "Partridge (*ya'qūb*)."

ulār

Z

'UVSUVZ K<sub>1</sub>ŠY **ūsūz kiši** "A sleepless (*šaqqdān*) one." 0

ūsūz

'ISIZY **esīz** "Naughty (*a'ram*)," of a child. 0

esīz

'ADIZY **ādīz** "Raised (*murtafi'*)," of anything.

ādīz

Š

'AIKYŠ **egīš** "The filings of any ore which is smelted (*suhāla kull mā yuḍābu min al-jawāhir*)."<sup>0</sup>

egīš

'IKYŠ **igiš** "Unruly (*harūn*)," of an animal.

igiš

K

'AIWA'K 'AR' **ewāk är** "A hasty (*ajūl*) man." 0

ewāk

73

1. Y altered from B by later hand (one dot in brown ink).
2. Three dots of G in brown ink.
3. MS. *barūd*.

'AJLUVK<sup>4</sup> **älük** "Mockery (*suxriyya*)."

älük

Γ

'ULA'Γ **ulāy** "A horse which an express courier takes by order of the emir and rides until he finds another." **ulāy**'ULA'Γ **ulāy<sup>5</sup>** "Patch (*ruq'a*) of a garment."

Q

'UX'Q **oxāq** "The juice of dried apricots (*'uṣāra falīq al-mišmiš*)"<sup>6</sup> which is drunk. 0

oxāq

'UŠ'Q **ušāq** "Slander (*namīma*)."<sup>7</sup> :: 'UŠ'Q SUVZ **ušāq sōz** "Words of slander." **ušāq**

L

'USA'L<sub>1</sub> K<sub>1</sub>ŠIY **osāl kiši** "A negligent (*γāfil fi l-umūr*) person." 0

osāl

'IN'L **ināl** The name for any young man whose mother is a Khātūn

ināl N

[I. 110/122]

74

and whose father is a commoner. This is the root-meaning.

N

'UJA'N<sub>1</sub> **učān** "A boat with two sails (*safīna dāt janāḥayn*)."<sup>8</sup> Qifčāq dialect. **učān** D'

Initial Weak

'AYA'S' KVK **ayās kōk** "Clear (*muṣḥiya*) sky." Thus mamlukes may be called: 'AYA'S **ayās** N  
**ayās**, likening to it the clearness (*ṣafā'*) of their faces.

N

'UTUVN<sub>1</sub> **utūn** "Shameless, vile (*waqīḥ, la'īm*)."<sup>9</sup> **utūn**

4. I crossed out in brown ink.

5. Gloss in brown ink below the word: YM'Γ *yamāy*.6. MS. *muššamš*.

K	<p>'UKA'Y' 'ATA' <b>ögāy ata</b> "Stepfather (<i>rābb</i>).<sup>1</sup> One calls a "stepson (<i>rabīb</i>)": 'UKA'Y' 'UFUL <b>ögāy oγul</b> 0 and a "stepdaughter (<i>rabība</i>)": 'UKA'Y' QIYZ <b>ögāy qiz</b>.</p>	ögāy
M	<p>'UMA'Y' <b>umāy</b> [Placenta] "Something that emerges from the woman's womb after giving birth"; it is like a container (<i>ḥuqqa</i>) and is said to be the companion (<i>ṣāḥib</i>) of the child in the womb. Proverb: 'UMA'Y'QA' TBNSA' 'UFUL BULVR <b>umāyqa tapinsa oγul bulūr</b> 0 "One who worships that one [i.e. <b>umāy</b>] will get a child." They<sup>1</sup> draw a good omen from that.</p>	umāy P
Chapter: <i>fa'lī</i> ( <i>fa'lā</i> ), <sup>2</sup> in its various vocalizations		
B	<p>'ARBA' <b>arpa</b> "Barley (<i>ṣa'īr</i>).<sup>1</sup> Proverb: 'ARBA'SIYZ 'AT' 'AŠUVMA'S 'ARQ'SIYZ 'AL'B JARIYK SIYUVMA'S <b>arpasiz at</b> [art] <b>ašūmās, arqasiz alp cāriḡ siyūmās</b> 0 "The horse is not able to cross the mountain pass until he nibbles on some barley; (and also) the warrior is not able to break the battle line except with a backer to help him." This is coined to advise helping one another.</p>	arpa P
T	<p>'URTV <b>ortu</b> The "middle (<i>wasat</i>)" of anything. Thus :: 'URTV 'AR' <b>ortu ār</b> "Middle-aged (<i>tawassata min 'umurihi</i>) man." :: 'AW' 'UR'TUṼSIY <b>āw ortūsi</b> "Middle of the house." :: KUVN 'UR'TUV <b>kūn ortu</b> "Noon (<i>zuhr</i>).<sup>1</sup> Čigil dialect. 0</p>	ortu D
	<p>'AIR'TA' <b>ertā</b> "Early morning (<i>bukra</i>).<sup>1</sup></p>	ertā
J	<p>'AR'JY <b>arči</b> "Saddlebag (<i>ḥaqība</i>).<sup>1</sup></p>	arči
D	<p>'URDUV <b>ordu</b> "Residence of a king (<i>qašaba al-malik</i>).<sup>1</sup> Thus the city of Kāšγar is called: 'UR'DUV KAND <b>ordu känd</b> meaning "City of Residence of Kings (<i>balda al-iqāma wa-qašaba al-mulūk</i>).<sup>1</sup> 'URDUW <b>ordu</b> A residence near Balāsāγūn. Balāsāγūn also is called: QUVZ 'URDUV <b>qūz ordu</b> from this word. 0</p>	ordu N N

74 1. Gloss: "Women." In the text, after the heading "Proverb" comes "of women" (*maṭal an-nisā'*, altered in brown ink to *maṭal li-n-nisā'*), later crossed out.

2. This reading in brown ink.

	<p>'URDUV BAŠY <b>ordu baši</b> Name for the "bedmaker (<i>farrāš</i>)" of kings. 0</p>	
	<p>'URDUV <b>ordu</b> The "burrow (<i>nāfiqā</i>)" of a gerboa; the "hole (<i>ḥijr</i>)" of a weasel; the "underground habitation (<i>maskan</i> . . .</p>	75
	<p>[I. 112/124]</p>	
	<p><i>taḥta l-arḍ</i>)" of any animal. 0</p>	
	<p>'UR'DUV T'L <b>ordu tāl</b> "Depilatory paste (<i>nūra</i>).<sup>1</sup> One of the two variants [Cf. 84 <b>ordu tāl arḍūtāl</b>]. 0</p>	ordu tāl D
	<p>'AK'DUV <b>ägdü</b> "A crook-headed knife (<i>sikkīn mu'aqqaf ar-ra's</i>)" used to hew out sheaths for swords, or other.</p>	ägdü
	<p>'KDY <b>ägdi</b> (?) "Slaughterhouse (<i>maḍbaḥ</i>).<sup>1</sup> 0</p>	ägdi ?
	<p>'AMDİY <b>amdi</b> A particle meaning "now (<i>al-āna</i>).<sup>1</sup> :: 'AM'DIY KALDIM <b>amdi kældim</b> "I came now." The Oγuz have <i>kasra</i> with the <i>alif</i> and say: 'IM'DIY <b>imdi</b>. Verse: D <b>imdi</b></p>	amdi D imdi
	<p>'UBKAM KLİB' 'UFRADIM <b>öpkām kälip uγradim</b> 'ARS'LAN LAYUV KUK'RADIM <b>arslanlayu kökrädim</b> 'ALB' LA'R BAŠIN TUFRADIM <b>alplār bašin toγradim</b> 'AM'DY MĀNY KYM TUT'R <b>amdi māni kīm tutār</b></p>	V
	<p>"I went toward the enemy in a raging fury; I roared like a lion and cut the warriors' heads; (I called out in the midst of the multitude:) '[Now] who can capture me?' " 0</p>	
	<p>'UM'DUV <b>umdu</b> "Coveting, begging (<i>ṭama', su'āl</i>).<sup>1</sup> Hence "a beggar (<i>sā'il</i>)" is called: 'UMDUVJİY <b>umdüci</b>. 0</p>	umdu
	<p>'ANDA' <b>anda</b> A particle meaning "there (<i>hunāka</i>).<sup>1</sup></p>	anda
	R	
	<p>'UB'RİY <b>opri</b> "Pit or hollow (<i>ḥufra</i>).<sup>1</sup></p>	opri
	<p>'UTRA' <b>otra</b> The "middle (<i>wast</i>)" of anything – i.e. the middle of anything that has sides. It is a metathesis of: 'UR'TUV <b>ortu</b>. 0</p>	otra
	<p>'AYRUV <b>ayru</b> A particle meaning "if not (<i>in lam</i>).<sup>1</sup> Thus :: MUVNY TIYLA'MASA' SAN 'AYRUV NA' KRA'K <b>mūni tīlāmāsā sän ayru nā kārāk</b> 0 "If you are not (<i>iḍā lam</i>) pleased with this, then what do you want?" 0</p>	ayru
	<p>'AD'RİY <b>ađri</b> "Winnowing fork (<i>miḍrā</i>)" – i.e., the instrument used to winnow wheat in order to cleanse [the chaff from the grain]. And anything bifurcated (<i>lahu šu'batān</i>) is: 'AD'RİY <b>ađri</b>. Thus "man (<i>insān</i>)" is called: 'AD'RİY BÜT'LUF <b>ađri butluγ</b> meaning "split at the thighs (<i>munfarij al-faxiḍayn</i>).<sup>1</sup></p>	ađri

- U'UTRUV<sup>1</sup> utru** “Opposite or facing (*qubāla*)” anything. :: 'UVL MANK' U'UTRUV<sup>1</sup> KALDY ol maṅa utru kaldi “He came to meet me (*bi-qubālatī*).” 0
- 'AS·RA' asra A particle meaning “under (*taḥta*).”
- 'IS·RA'<sup>2</sup> isra A word meaning “beyond that place (*dūna dālika l-makān*).” Thus :: 'UL 'ANDAN 'IS·RA' 'UL ol andan isra ol “He is after or beyond (*ba'da, dūna*) that.” 0
- 'AIS·RIY esri “Leopard (*nimr*).” 0 “A rope with black and white strands (*mubal-laq*)” is called: 'AIS·RIY YAŠIΓ esri yišiy. Also anything that is two-colored (*dū lawnayn*) is: 'AIS·RIY esri likened to the color of the leopard. 0
- 'UFRİY oγri “Thief (*liṣṣ*).” 0
- :: BUM<sup>3</sup> [sic] NA'NK 'ANIK 'UFRY 'UL bu nāṅ anig oγri ol “This
- [I. 114/126]
- thing is below (*dūna*) that.” The root-form is with *kasr* of the *ḡayn* [i.e. oγiri], but it was lightened, as one says [in Arabic] *ibil* or *ibl* (“camels”), *uḡun* or *uḡn* (“ear”). 0
- 'AGRIY āgri Anything “crooked (*mu'wajj*).” Proverb: YLA'N KANDUV 'AKRIY-SIYN BILM'S TAWAY BU'VY·NIN 'AKRY TYR yilān kāndu āgrišin bilmās, tewe bōynin āgri tēr “The snake does not know its own crookedness (*iwajj*) but claims that the camel's neck is crooked (*mu'wajj*).” This is coined about someone who lays blame where he himself is to blame. 0
- 'UK·RA' ügrä “Noodles (*iṭriyya*).” It is similar to: TUTM'J tutmāč 0 except that it is finer. 0
- 'AILRIY elri “Kid-skin (*badra* [defined]).” You may say: 'AIL·DIRIY eldri with a *dāl* augment. 0
- Z
- 'ŽRV [sic] aržu “Jackal (*ibn āwā*).” With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. You say about people who “stand around (*ḥaffū ḥawla*)” something: KŠY 'ŽRVLYV TURDIY<sup>1</sup> kiši aržūlayu turdi meaning “The people crowded around him (*izdahama . . . ḥawlahu*) as jackals crowd around a person to eat him.”

- 75 1. Second (originally first) U crossed out in brown ink.  
2. Gloss in brown ink below the word: BSR'.  
3. Later gloss (black): BV.

- 76 1. Altered to QRY(?).

- S
- 'AR·SUV ärsü “Vile or depraved (*raḡal*),” of anything. Oγuz dialect. ärsü D
- Γ
- 'AR·ΓV arγu “Ravine between two mountains (*al-lihb<sup>2</sup> bayn al-jabalayn*).” From this the country between Ṭirāz and Balāsāγūn was named: 'AR·ΓU arγu since it is between two mountains. 0 arγu N
- 'URΓA' urγa “A tall many-branched tree (*dawḥa*).” Oγuz dialect; also Arγu dialect. 0 urγa D
- 'IM·Γ' imγa “Treasurer (*al-xāzim li-l-amwāl wa-l-qayyim 'alā jam'ihā*).” 0 imγa
- 'NΓA' 'AR· inγa ār “A vile or depraved (*raḡl*) man.” Anything “fallen or base (*sāqit*)” is called: 'NΓA' inγa. inγa
- W
- 'IR·WY QULA'Q irwi qulāq “A pointed, thin (*mu'allala, ḥašra*) ear.” 0 irwi
- 'IR·WY irwi An Indian medicine.
- Q
- 'AR·QA' arqa “Back (*zahr*).” arqa
- 'AR·QA' arqa “Backer (*zahīr*), one who helps you in misfortune.” As in the saying: 'AR·QA'SIZ· 'ALB· JARIK SIYUVMA'S arqāsiz alp čäriḡ siyümās “The warrior cannot break the battle line except with a backer.” [See 74 arpa P.] P
- K
- 'UB·K' öpkä “Lung (*riyya*).” 0 'UB·K' öpkä “Anger (*ḡayz*).” The reason it is called this is that anger rises in the lung, and the two are closely connected, just as [in Arabic] “rain” may be called “sky.” 0 öpkä
- [I. 115/128] 77
- 'UTAKY ötki “Compensatory gift (*iwaḡ*).” Čigil dialect. :: BUV 'ATQA' 'UTAKY BYRDIM bu atqa ötki bērdim “I gave a compensatory gift for this horse.” 0 ötki D

2. Later addition: *wahwa mā*.

'AJ·KUV äčkü "Goat ( <i>'anz</i> )."	0	äčkü
'IJ·KUV ičkü "Drink ( <i>mašrūb</i> )," of anything.	0	ičkü
'ADKUV ädgü "Good ( <i>hasan</i> )."	Verse [= 277 kü]-]	ädgü
		V
KUL·SA' KIŠY 'AT·M' 'ANK'R' 'UR·TAR' KULA'		
BAQIL 'ANK'R 'ADKUVLKUN 'AΓ·ZIN KULA'		
külsä kiši atma anār örtär kü-ä		
baqqil anār ädgülükün aγzin külä		
"When a person comes toward you smiling, don't pour hot ashes on his face [i.e. put him to shame], but regard him with kindness ( <i>ihsān</i> ) and a laughing mouth." 0		
'AR·KIY ärki A particle of doubt ( <i>šakk</i> ). Thus :: 'UL KALIR· MUV 'AR·KIY ol kälir mü ärki "Is he coming or not ( <i>am lā</i> )?" It takes the place of an interrogative ( <i>istifhām</i> ).	0	ärki
'URKV örgü "Hump ( <i>sanām</i> )."	0	örgü
'AS·KV <sup>1</sup> äsgü "Winnowing basket ( <i>minsaf</i> )."		äsgü
'AS·KY äski Anything "old, worn out ( <i>qadīm, bālīn</i> )."	Hence :: 'AS·KY TUVN äski ton "A tattered ( <i>xalaq</i> ) garment."	äski
'ULKUV ülgü "Measure ( <i>faymān</i> )."		ülgü
'AL·KA' BULA'Q älkä bulāq A tribe of the Turks.		älkä N
L		
'UΓ·LA' oyla "Young man ( <i>fatā</i> )."	Arγu dialect. 0	oyla D
'UFLY oγli "Parsnip (? <i>hinzāb</i> )."	It is a sweet white carrot ( <i>jazar</i> ) cultivated in the city of Kāšγar and eaten. 0	oγli
M		
'DMA' YLQY idma yilqi "Set free ( <i>sā'iba</i> ), of an animal."		idma
'UVR·MA' SAJ' örmä sač "Braid ( <i>ḍafīra</i> )."	0	örmä
'AZ·MA'N <sup>2</sup> azma [Gelded ram] A ram of which the skin of the testicles has been cut so that it is no longer able to mount the female. 0		azma

77 1. VU added in brown ink between *alif* (') and S (thus: äviüsgü).  
2. N' added in brown ink.

'UŽMA' üzmä "Mulberry ( <i>tūt</i> )."	<sup>3</sup> With <i>zāy</i> between the two points of articulation. 0	üzmä
'UŠMIY TARIM usmi tarim	Name of a large river which flows from the land of Islam toward Uighur and there is absorbed in the sand. 0	usmi N
'AK·M' ägmä "Arch ( <i>tāq</i> )"	in a house.	ägmä
'UK·M' TUBRA'Q_ ükmä topraq	"Piled up ( <i>mukawwam</i> ) earth." The same for anything piled up. 0	ükmä
'AL·MA' alma	"Apple ( <i>tuffāḥ</i> )."	Oγuz dialect. The Turks say: 'LMLA' almila. 0
'ULMA' olma	"Jar ( <i>jarra</i> )."	0
N		
'UT·NUV ötnü	A particle used in connection with loans. :: MAN YARMA'Q 'UT·NUV BIYR·DIM mänyarmāq ötnü berdim "I gave the dirham as a loan ( <i>qarḍan</i> )."	0
'AŠ·NUV ašnu	A particle meaning "before ( <i>qabla</i> )."	:: MAN 'ANDĀ <sup>4</sup> 'AŠ·NUV KALDIM män anda ašnu kälidim "I came before him." 0
'ANDA' anda <sup>5</sup>	A particle meaning "there ( <i>hunāka</i> )."	The Oγuz
[I. 117/130]		78
change the final <i>alif</i> to <i>nūn</i> [i.e. 67 <i>andan</i> ] when the meaning is "after ( <i>ba'da</i> )"; but when the meaning is "there" they agree with the others. The alternation of <i>alif</i> and <i>nūn</i> is permitted in Arabic, as in the words of God [Q.26:23]: <i>wa-mā rabbu 'l-'ālamīn</i> ("And what is the Lord of all Being?") in the story of Moses – the <i>alif</i> is an alternant of <i>nūn</i> , since it is not permitted when inquiring about rational beings to say <i>mā hādā</i> ("What is this?"), but rather <i>man</i> ("Who?"); or in the words of God [Q.96:15]: <i>la-nasfa'an bi-n-nāṣiya</i> ("We shall seize him by the forelock") – the <i>alif</i> is an alternant of <i>nūn</i> [i.e. <i>la-nasfa'an</i> , with <i>nūn</i> instead of <i>tanwīn</i> ]; 0 or in the verse of al-A'šā:	D	
<i>wa-lā n-nuṣuba<sup>1</sup> l-manṣūba lā ta'budannahu</i>		
	<i>li-'āqiba<sup>tin</sup> wa-llāha rabbaka fa-'budā</i>	
– meaning <i>fa-'budan</i> ("Do not worship the idol that is set up, lest there be a consequence, but God your Lord, [Him] worship!"). <sup>2</sup>		
3. MS. <i>tūt</i> .		
4. Second A: another A added in brown ink (indicates nunnation, thus: <i>andan</i> ).		
5. This entry is out of order here; see 75 <i>anda</i> .		
78 1. MS. <i>n-nasba</i> (vowels in brown ink).		
20: 2. Cf. R. Geyer, ed., <i>Gedichte von . . . al-'A'šā</i> (Gibb Memorial Series, 1928), no. 17 (p. 103), v.		

Chapter: *fa'lā*'IKY **ekki** The number “two (*iṭnān*).”**ekki**Nasal with *jīm*Chapter: *fu'ul*

T

'UTN<sub>J</sub> **ötünč** “Loan (*qarḍ*).” :: MAN 'NK'R YARMA'Q 'UTN<sub>J</sub> BYR'DIM **mān aṅār yarmāq ötünc bērdim** “I loaned (*aqraḍtu*) him the dirham.”**ötünč**One calls a matter that is “disgraceful, reproachable (*mundiyya, mu'āyir*): 'UVTUNJ 'YŠ **ütunč** *iš*. Its root is from: 'UWT<sub>J</sub> **uwut** “modesty or shame (*ḥayā*).”**ütunč**

J

'UJNJ **üčünč** The [ordinal] number “third (*tālīt*).” 'IKNJ **ekinč** “Second.” This is a rule, namely that for any number below ten one adds to the root word *nūn* and *jīm* to express that it follows the number that is before it: TVRTNJ **törtünč** “Fourth,” BYŠNJ **bēšinč** “Fifth” – the roots are: TUVRT **tört** “Four,” BYŠ **bēš** “Five” – *nūn* and *jīm* were added to express this meaning. It is permitted to express the tens in the same way: 'VNNJ **önunč** “Tenth,” YKRMNJ **yigirminč** “Twentieth.” 0 This is a regular rule. 0**üčünč**

G

'ARINJ **ärinč** A particle meaning “perhaps (*la'alla*).” Thus :: 'UL KALDIY 'ARINJ **ol kälđi ärinč** “Perhaps he has come.” 0**ärinč**'URUNJ **urunč** “Bribe (*rušwa*).”**urunč**

[I. 118/132]

79

'IRINJ **erinč** “Comfort, happiness (*at-tana'um wa-t-taqallub fī n-ni'ma*).” In some dialects it is: 'RIN/YŽ **erēž** (?) with *zāy* between the two points of articulation. 0**erinč**

D

W

'AWINJ **awinč** “Friendliness or familiarity with a thing (*al-mu'ānasa bi-š-šay*).” :: MANK' 'AWIN'DY **maṅa awindi** “He was friendly (*ānasa*) with me.”**awinč**

*wa-ḍā n-nuṣubi l-manṣūbi lā tansukannahu wa-lā ta'budi l-awṭāna wa-llāha fa-'budā*  
with the variant:

*wa-lā n-nuṣuba l-manṣūba lā tansukannahu bi-'āqibatīn wa-llāhu rabbuka fa-'budā*  
For the grammatical principle, see Wright I, 61 D.

K

'IKINJ **ekinč** The “second (*tānī*)” of something, in numbering. 0**ekinč**'UKUNJ **ökünč** “Regret (*ḥasra*).” :: 'UL TALIM 'UKUNJ 'UKUNDY **ol tālim ökünč ökündi** “He had many regrets (*taḥassara bi-ḥasarāt kaṭīra*).” 0**ökünč**'UGUNJ<sup>1</sup> **ögünč** “Self-praise (*tamadduḥ*).” :: BUV 'IYŠ·QA<sup>2</sup> NA' 'UGUNJ<sup>1</sup> **KARA'K bu išqa nā ögünč kārāk** “Why must there be self-praise in this matter?”**ögünč**

L

'ILINJ<sup>3</sup> YVL **ulinč yōl** “A winding (*multawī, laysa bi-l-mustawī*) road.” The same for anything winding (*multawīn*). **ulinč****ulinč**'IALANJ **ilänč** “Reproach (*ta'yīr*) to an advisor over a matter of which it appears that his view was unsound.” **ilänč****ilänč**

M

'UMNJ **umunč** “Hope (*rajā*).” :: 'UMNJ TANKRIY KA' TUT **umunč tānrikā tut umunč** “[Put] your hope in God (may He be exalted).”**umunč**'UNNJ YARMA'Q **onunč yarmāq** “The tenth (*āšir*) dirham (or other).” 0**onunč**'INANJ **inanč** “Reliable (*mu'tamad*).” From this comes the name: 'INANJ BAK **inanč inanč N beg** meaning “Reliable Emir.”**inanč**Another type: *fa'anlā*, in its various vocalizations

T

'IATINJUV NA'NK **atinču nāṅ** “Something thrown (*maṭrūḥ*).”**atinču**'ITNJUV NA'NK **itinču nāṅ** “Something pushed (*madfū'*).”**itinču**

Ḍ

'IDINJV SAJ **iḍinču sač** “A man's hair which he lets loose after confining it (*arsala ba'd al-awl*).” The same for other things. 0 **iḍinču**

- 79
1. Three dots of G in brown ink.
  2. Altered to: 'IŠ·KA' **iškā**.
  3. Altered to: 'A<sub>J</sub>YLANJ<sub>J</sub> (Y in brown ink).
  4. MS. *karb*.



One calls “an animal that is set free ( <i>sā'iba</i> )”:	'IDINJV YILQY <b>idinču yilqi.</b> 0	
'IARINJV <b>irinču</b> “Sin ( <i>itm</i> ).”		<b>irinču</b>
W		
'AWINJV NA'NK <b>awinču nāñ</b> “Something with which one enjoys pleasure and familiarity ( <i>yuta'allalu bihi wa-yusta'nasu</i> ).” Thus slavegirls may be named: 'WINJV <b>awinču.</b>		<b>awinču</b> N
Q		
'AQINJY <b>aqinči</b> “Night raiding party ( <i>as-sariyya allatī taḏhabu laylan wa-tubayyitu l-'aduww</i> ).”		<b>aqinči</b>
	Nasal with <i>Kāf</i>	
'ABAN'K <b>apañ</b> A particle meaning “if only ( <i>law</i> ).” :: 'ABANK SAN BARSA' SAN <b>apañ sän barsa sän</b> “If only you went.”		<b>apañ</b>
T		
'UTN'K <b>otuñ</b> “Firewood ( <i>ḥaṭab</i> ).”		<b>otuñ</b>
R		
'URN'K <b>ürün</b> “White ( <i>abyaḏ</i> ),” of anything. The Oḡuz say: 'Q <b>aq.</b>		<b>ürün</b> D
'URN'K <b>ürün</b> “White of the nail ( <i>kadab</i> <sup>4</sup> [defined]).” :: TIRNK'Q 'URNKY <b>tirñāq ürün</b> “White ( <i>bayāḏ</i> ) of the nail.”		
'URNK <b>ürün</b> “Diviner's fee ( <i>ḥulwān al-kāhin</i> ).” :: LIK 'URNKY BİYR <b>älig ürün</b> “Give the fee! [lit. the white of hand].”		
[I. 120/134]		80
'URANG <sup>1</sup> <b>orañ</b> Name of a place near Rūm. It is toward the north, over against Rūm. The more correct form is: VARANK <b>varañ.</b> 0		<b>orañ</b> N
'IRINK <b>irin</b> “Pus ( <i>qayḥ, ṣadīd</i> ).”		<b>irin</b>
Ş		
'USANK TA'Ş: <b>üşañ tāş</b> “Smooth ( <i>malsā</i> ) rock.” A variant of: YUŞAUNK <b>yüşañ.</b>		<b>üşañ</b> D
L		
'ALANG <sup>1</sup> YAZIY <b>alañ yazi</b> “Level ( <i>qarqar</i> ) plain.” It is a metathesis of: 'NKL <b>añil</b> [60] which is used for an “open ( <i>futuḥ</i> )” door.		<b>alañ</b>

	Doubled	
'ANGAK <sup>1</sup> <b>añäk</b> “Jaws, jawbone on either side of the mouth ( <i>al-māḏiḡān wa-l-fanīkān min janbatay al-fam</i> ).” 0		<b>añäk</b>
'ANKAK <b>añäk</b> “The string ( <i>xayṭ</i> ) with which a woman ties her veil.” 0		
'UNKIK <b>öñik</b> “False earlock ( <i>şudḡ . . . ḡūrān</i> ) which women make from goat's hair.” It is called: 'UNKIÄK YURKAY'K <b>öñik yörgäyäk.</b> The root is: 'UNKY <b>öñi</b> meaning “other.” 0		<b>öñik</b>
'UNKIUK <b>öñik</b> “The silk tassels ( <i>aḏnāb, āḏān</i> ) of a pillow.” 0		
	Final Weak	
'UNKIY <b>öñi</b> A particle meaning “other ( <i>ḡayr</i> ).” The <i>yā</i> is an alternant of <i>nūn</i> : 'UNKIN <b>öñiñ.</b> This is like the alternation of <i>yā</i> and <i>nūn</i> in Arabic, as in <i>inkamana</i> and <i>inkamā</i> , <sup>2</sup> “It was hidden.”		<b>öñi</b>
	Another Type	
'ARNKAYUV <b>ärñäyü</b> “A man with six fingers ( <i>lahu sitta aşābi</i> ).” 0		<b>ärñäyü</b>
'ARNKAYUV <b>ärñäyü</b> “A very short ( <i>qaşir . . . jiddan</i> ) man” — one who is two cubits tall.		
	Chapter: <i>fa'ālū, fu'ālū, fi'ālū</i> , in its various vocalizations	
T		
'ULA'TUV <b>ülätü</b> [Silk handkerchief] “A piece of silk which a man keeps in his pocket to clean his nose with.”		<b>ülätü</b>
J		
'ALAJUV <b>alāču</b> “Large tent ( <i>fāza, fuşṭāṭ</i> ).” 0		<b>alāču</b>
'AB'JIY <b>abāci</b> “Nightmare ( <i>jātūm</i> ).” To frighten a baby one says: 'ABA'JIY KALDIY <b>abāci kälđi</b> meaning “Nightmare has come.” 0		<b>abāci</b>
'AĞIN'JY <b>aḡiči</b> “Keeper of brocade ( <i>xāzin ad-dībāj</i> ).”		<b>aḡiči</b>
Γ		

1. Three dots of G in brown ink.
2. *inkamā* is spelled with final *yā* (= *alif maqşūra*).

'ULA'ΓUV NA'NK ulāγu nāḡ "Anything by which something is mended (*mā yūṣalu bihi š-šay*)." such as the patch of a garment. 0

:: BUV 'UFUR 'UL BURIY 'ULIYΓUV bu uγur ol böri ulīγu "This is the time for the howling (*'uwā*') of the wolf (or other)."

Q

'ABA'QIY abāqi "A scarecrow (*xiyāl*) that is set up in vegetable gardens to ward off the evil eye."

'ATA'QIY atāqi

[I. 122/136]

A word of affectionate address, meaning "O my father (*yā abati*)."

K

'ITA'KUV itāgü "The wooden frame on which the turning millstone is mounted." It is raised if one wants coarse flour, and lowered if one wants white flour or the like. 0

'IJA'KV ičāgü [Intestines] The name for what is enclosed by the ribs. 0

'ULIYKA' öligä "The plant of birdlime (*nabt ad-dibq*)," which is the residue (? *šart*).

'INA'KV ināgü Name of a sickness which takes hold opposite the navel, like colic.

K

'AB'KY äbāki A particle, said when belittling (*istiqlāl*) something.

M

'ANUVMY anūmi "Elephantiasis (*juḡām*)."'IKA'MA' egāmä "A type of lute (*naw' min al-mazāhir*)."

Doubly Weak

K

'AYA'KV äyāgü "Rib (*dil'*)."

0 One calls the "ribs (*aḡlā'*)" of a tent: 'AYA'KUV äyāgü. And "a piece of land in the middle of a mountain, like an incline (*ša'ūd*)" is called: 'AYA'KUV YIYR' äyāgü yēr.

With Nūn Final Augment

'ŠYJA'N ašijān Name of a city on the stages of the journey to Šīn. ašijān N

'ALUVJYN alūčīn An edible plant with nodes (*anābīb*). alūčīn

D

'RUM DUVN [sic] arūdūn "Dye (*šibγ*)."

Γ

'URA'ΓVN urāγūn An Indian drug used as a medicine. urāγūn

K

'UTUVKA'N ötükān Name of a place in the deserts of Tatār near Uighur. ötükān N

Another Type

'ALIMĀLA' almila "Apple (*tuffāḡ*)."

K

'AR'MAKUV ärmāgü "Lazy (*kaslān*)."

Proverb: 'AR'MAKUVK' BULUIT' YUK ärmāgü  
BULUVR ärmāgükä bulit yük bolūr "For the lazy one the (shadow of a) cloud is a burden." P

Γ

'UFLA'ΓUV oγlāγu "Accustomed to or raised in luxury (*muna'am, murabbā fī ni'ma*)."

Thus Khātūns (princesses) are called: 'UFLA'ΓV QA'TUVN oγlāγu qātūn. 0

'UXŠA'ΓUV oxšāγu "Plaything (*lu'ba*)."

It is used as a nickname for women. 0 oxšāγu N

Chapter: *afā'ul*, in its various vocalizations

T

'ARUVBA'T arūbāt "Tamarind (*tamr hindī*)."

0 arūbāt

'URA'ΓUVT\_ urāγūt "Woman (*mar'a*)."

0 urāγūt

'AR'MUVT arāmūt A tribe of the Turks near Uighur. 0 arāmūt

'AR'MUVT arāmūt Name of a place. N

J

'IQYLA'J **iqilāč** "Courser (*faras rāyi' jawād*)."  
 'IQYLA'J 'AR'Q'SIN YAΓ'RIT'M' **alp äriγ yawritma iqilāč arqāsin yaγritma** 0 "Do not harm and weaken the man who is a warrior, do not gall the back of the courser (*jawād*)

[I. 124/139]

*sabūh*)." This [is coined] as advice for emirs.

'IQYLA'JIM' 'IRK' BUL'DY **iqilāčim erig boldi**  
 'RIK' BUL'ΓUV YARIY KURDY **erig bol'yu yeri kördi**  
 BULIT' 'UVRUB' KUVK' 'UR'TUL'DIY **bulit öriγ kök örtüldi**  
 TUMAN TUVRUB' TULIY YAΓ'DIY **tuman tūrup toli yaγdi**

"My courser (*jawād*) galloped swiftly,<sup>1</sup> because he saw that that was proper for him; when the cloud rose covering the sky, and the mist piled up and the hail poured down." 0

'ALA'VA'N **alāvān** "Crocodile (*timsāh*)."

Chapter: *af'alān*

'AR'BAΓ'N **arpaγān** A plant similar to barley (*ša'ir*) that grows ears but without seeds.

0

'AR'MAΓA'N **armāγān** A "gift (*hadiyya*)" which a man returning from a successful journey brings for his relatives. Oγuz dialect. There is another variant: YAR'MAQA'N [sic] **yarmāγān** which is more correct.<sup>2</sup> 0

Chapter: *fi'inlī*, in its various vocalizations

T

'ITINDY NA'NK **itindi nāṅ** "Something pushed (*madfū'*)."

Q

'AQINDIY SUVW **aqindi sūw** "Flowing (*sā'il*) water." 0

'AKIN'DY TARIΓ **äkindi tariγ** "Sown (*mazrū'*) seed."

'UKUNDIY KŠY **ögüнди киши** "A man praised (*mamdūh*) by every tongue." 0

82

- MS. *sabaḥa* . . . *wa-a'adda fi s-sayr*; for *a'adda* read *ajadda* (or, less likely, *a'addā*, cf. 67 *äškin*).
- MS. AMUJ (overlined, as if Turkic), in error for *aṣahḥ*.

'IKINDY NA'NK **ekindi nāṅ** "The second (*tāni*) thing" – in numbering. 0

ekindi

'AKINDY **ekindi** "Time of the afternoon prayer (*waqt ṣalāt al-'aṣr*)."

End of the Triliteral Chapters

Chapters of Quadrilaterals

Chapter: *af'al*

Doubled

'AR'ΓA'Γ **irγāγ** "Fishhook (*aš-šišš allaḍī yuṣādu bihi s-samak*)."

irγāγ

'IR'Γ'Γ **irγāγ** "Grapnel (*xuṭṭāf*) used to drag ice from the source to the icebox."

With *yā'* suffixed to this pattern

:::BUV 'YŠIF' 'IMTILY QLDIY **bu išiγ imtili qildi** "He performed this matter without deliberation, haphazardly (*min γayr tadabbur wa-lā rawiyya jazāfan*)."  
 Čigil dialect.

imtili

D

J

'UM'DUVJY **umdūci** "Beggar (*sā'il*)."

umdūci

'AR'QUJY **arquči** "Mediator (*mutawassiṭ*) between two men; go-between (*rasūl*) of the two families in a marriage."

arquči

D

'AR'DINIY **ärdini** "Peerless pearl (*durr yatīm*)."  
 'AR'TINY 'UZK **ärtini özüik** meaning "With a body like a peerless pearl" – the *dāl* assimilates into *tā'* as [Arabic] *muddakir*

ärdini N

ärtini

[I. 126/141]

83

from the root-form *mudtakir* ("remembering").

R

'USBRY **usbari** "[A dish made by] crumbling (*yufattu*) bread baked in ashes into butter and adding sugar." 0

usbari

Chapter: *fa'ül*, doubled middle radical

'UTUZ YARMA'Q **ottuz yarmāq** "Thirty (*talātūna*) dirhams (or other)."  
 This word may also be used for "three (*talāta*)."  
 Among the Yaγma, in: KUNKUT **künüt** I heard them say: 'UTUZ 'IJA'LIM **ottuz icālim** when they meant "Let us drink three," though the word means thirty. In my opinion, they drank three each (*talātan talātan*).  
 Verse:

ottuz

D

'UTZ 'IJB' QIQRALIM  
YUQ'RU QUBB SAK'RILIM  
'AR'SLAN LAYUV KUK'RALM  
QJTY SAQNJ SAWNALIM

ottuz içip qıqralım  
yoqār qopup sekrilim  
arсланlayu kökrälim  
qaçti saqině säwnälim

V

“Let us drink three, let us stand up and shout, let us roar like a lion, and let us rejoice<sup>1</sup> that care has fled from us.”

According to another tradition: 'UṬVZ 'IJB' QIQRALIM *ottuz içip qıqralım* means: “Let each one of us drink three each.” 0

“One who is impudent, treacherous, shameless, wicked (*waqihī, ḡaddār, xalī' al-'idār, širrīr*)” is called: 'IṢIZ KIṢY *essiz kiši*. The doubling [of the s] is for exaggeration. 0

'AṢIZ *essiz* A word of sighing for a loss (*talāhhuf*), like Arabic *yā asafā* (“Alas!”). Thus :: 'AṢIZ 'NIK YKTLIKY *essiz anig yigītliki* “Alas (*yā lahfā*) for his youth!” 0

'IKZ 'UḠL'N *ekkiz oḡlān* “Twins (*taw'amān*).”

ekkiz

Γ

'ARṘIḠ N'NK *arriḡ nāḡ* “Something very clean (*naḡīf jiddān*).” The doubling [of the r] is for exaggeration.

arriḡ

K

'LIK YARM'Q *ällig yarmāq* “Fifty (*xamsūna*) dirhams (or other).”

ällig

Chapter: *fa'allā*,<sup>2</sup> quiescent third radical

Γ

'AWIJ'IA' *awičḡa* “Old man (*šayx*).” 0

awičḡa

With *Ḍamma* on First Radical

M

'UDIT'M' *uđitma* “Moist cheese (*jubun raṡub*).”

uđitma

With *Kasra* on First Radical

Γ

'ILIMḠA' *elimḡa* “Secretary (*kātib*)” who writes the correspondence of the sultan in the Turkic script. *elimḡa*

Chapter: *af'alil*

T

'ALBA'ḠUT *alpāḡut* “A hero, a brave (*mubārız, buhma*).”

Verse: *alpāḡut*

BUDRAJ YMA' QUDR'DIY  
'ALBA'ḠUTIN 'UḌR'DIY  
SUVSIN YAN' QDIR'DIY  
K LK'LIMAT 'IR'KAṢUVR

*buđrač yemā qu d ur di*  
*alpāḡutin uđür di*  
*sūs in yana qadirdi*  
*kālgālimāt irkišür*

V

“Buđrač (the name of a former emir of the Yabāqu) turned back his troops, chose [And Buđrač went beyond the limit  
He chose his braves  
He turned round his troops  
They are assembled to come (against us).”]

[I. 128/144]

84

his braves (*abṡāl*) and assembled to approach.”

Q

'AD'ḠIRA'Q' *ađḡirāq* “White-footed mountain goat (*al-a'šam min al-wu'ül*).” It corresponds to the ram (*kabš*) among sheep. *ađḡirāq*

'AD'ḠIRA'Q SUWY<sup>1</sup> *ađḡirāq suwi* Name of a river in Yaḡma. 0

N

'R'QJQ *arqičaq* Name of an instrument with which medicine is poured into the corner of the mouth. It is similar to a *sukurja* [a type of bowl] and has a spout (*maṡ'ab*). *arqičaq*

L

'AR'ḌUVTA'L *arđūtāl* “Depilatory paste (*nūra*).” *arđūtāl*

arđūtāl

Chapter: *fa'lūlī*

T

83 1. MS. *ليطن*, read *li-nusarra*.  
2. MS. *fa'lal*.

84 1. W altered from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).

'ŠKURTY [sic] ešgūti An embroidered Šinī brocade of the silk variety. ešgūti

Z

'WZUVRIY awrūzi "Mixed (maγlūt), of food, such as wheat and barley flour mixed together and baked. awrūzi

Chapter: fa'landī

D

'UḌRUNDIY NA'NK üdrüdi nāṅ "Something chosen (muxtār)." 0 üdrüdi

'AWDIN'DY NA'NK äwdindi nāṅ "Gleanings (luqāṭa) of anything." äwdindi

This chapter consists of deverbals corresponding to the Arabic pattern *fu'āla* for what is left over from something. G

Chapter: fu'ūlīn

Nasal

N

'UNKUVŽIYN\_ onūžīn "A ghou (γūl) that attacks a man in the desert." onūžīn

End of the quadrilateral chapters

Chapters of Quinquilaterals

Chapter: fa'al'al, in its various vocalizations

This chapter contains simple nouns, adjectivals, and nouns of the place in which something is situated. One ought to be able to form the nouns of place and the adjectivals by applying the rule, but there are some which one could not know unless mentioned. They are therefore mentioned here so that the rule may be applied by the one who understands it.

Γ

"A modest (raqīq al-ḥayā) man" is called: 'WUTLIΓ KIŠY uwutluγ kiši. 0 uwutluγ

'FIRLIΓ 'AR' aγirliγ ār "A man who is honored (mukram) among the people." 0 aγirliγ

'UΓRLUIΓ 'YŠ uγurluγ iš "An opportune (allaḏī waqa'a fi imkānihi) matter." uγurluγ

2. MS. *ḏū ajrab*.

:: 'UVY 'UBUZLUΓ YZR öy obuzluγ yēr "Land with rugged terrain (*ḏāt γīṭān wa-ḥuzūna*)." 0 obuzluγ

'UḌZLUΓ KIŠY uḏuzluγ kiši "Man with mange (*ḏū jarab*)." 2 0 uḏuzluγ

'TUŽLUΓ 'AR' aγuzluγ ār aγuzluγ

[I. 130/146]

85

"A man with beestings (*ḏū libā*)." 0

'TUŠLIΓ 'AR' oγušluγ ār "A man with a clan (*lahu 'ašīra*)." 0 oγušluγ

----- Γ<sup>1</sup> 'AR uqušluγ ār "An intelligent (*faṭīn*) man." 0 uqušluγ

'AJIΓLIΓ 'AR' ačiyliγ ār "A man who savors life (*muna'am*)." Proverb: 'AJIΓLIΓ ačiyliγ  
----- 2 QRYM'S ačiyliγ ār tārk (šap ?) qarīmās "A man who savors life (*ḏū ni'ma yatana'amu*  
*fīhā*) does not age quickly." P

'AJIΓLIΓ KB ačiyliγ küp "A vat which sours whatever is poured into it (*ḏū ḥamūḏāt muḥammiḏ mā šubba fīhi*)." 0

'DIΓLIΓ TA'Γ aḏiyliγ tāγ "A mountain with many bears (*ḏū dubb kaṭīr*)." 0 aḏiyliγ

'URUΓLIΓ 'ALTVN uruγluγ altūn "Gold (or other) that is struck or minted (*mawḏū*)." 0 uruγluγ

'AZIΓLIΓ 'AT' aziγliγ at "A horse that is full grown, that has all his teeth (*qāriḥ*)." aziγliγ  
Also for any animal whose canines (*nāb*) have appeared.

'UJUQLUIΓ<sup>3</sup> 'AW očaqliγ äw "A house with a stove (*ḏū kānūn*)." 0 očaqliγ

'AJUΓLIΓ<sup>4</sup> KŠY ačuqluγ kiši "A cheerful, good-natured (*ṭalq, ḥasan al-xuluq*) person." ačuqluγ

'ASIΓLIΓ 'IYŠ asiγliγ iš "A useful (*ḏū manfa'a*) deed." asiγliγ

'AḌAΓLIΓ<sup>4</sup> NA'NK aḏaqliγ nāṅ "A thing with feet (*ḏū arjul*)." 0 aḏaqliγ

'ARIQ'LIΓ YZR ariqliγ yēr "A land with a canal (*ḏāt nahr*)." 0 ariqliγ

85

1. Waterstained.
2. Waterstained; hitherto read: Š'BVK šābūk.
3. Second (originally first) U amended to A (black ink).
4. First Γ amended to Q (black ink).

U'URQ'LUΓ QUVA' uruqluγ qova	"A bucket with a rope ( <i>dū ḥabl</i> )."	0	uruqluγ
'ZUIQLIΓ 'AR' azuqluγ är	"A man with provisions ( <i>dū zād</i> )."	Proverb: 'AZUIQLIΓ	azuqluγ
'AR'MA'S <sup>5</sup> azuqluγ armās	"One who has provisions for the journey does not get tired	0	P
	(since he is strong and well nourished)."	0	
'ARAN'LIΓ 'AW aranliγ äw	"A house with a stable ( <i>dū iṣṭabl</i> )."	0	aranliγ
'ATANLIΓ 'AR' atanliγ är	"A man with a gelded camel ( <i>ba'ir xaṣī</i> )."	0	atanliγ
'ULARLIΓ TΓ ularliγ tāγ	"A mountain with partridges ( <i>dū ya'āqīb</i> )."	0	ularliγ
'ALIMLIΓ 'AR' alimliγ är	"A man who is a creditor ( <i>dā'in</i> )."	<sup>6</sup>	alimliγ
'ALINLIΓ 'AR' alinliγ är	"A man with a large forehead ( <i>dū jabha 'aẓīma</i> )."	0	alinliγ
'ULUNLUΓ 'AR' ulunluγ är	"A man who has arrow-shafts ( <i>dū qidāḥ li-s-sihām</i> )."	0	ulunluγ
Q			
'URUNJAQ urunčaq	"Deposit ( <i>wadī'a, amāna</i> )."	It may also be pronounced: 'URNJ'Q	urunčaq
urunčaq.		Verse:	
'URNJQ 'AL'B' YARMADY	urunčaq alip yermādi	V	
'ALIMLIΓ KURV 'ARMADY	alimliγ körü armadi		
'DAŠLQ 'UZ' TURMADY	adašliq üzä turmadi		
QLIN 'RAN TRKŠVR	qalin ärän tergäšür		
Reproaching a man: "He was not loath to take a deposit and then to put off the one to whom it was due when he saw him; nor has he continued in friendship. Now he has mustered a huge army (and is advancing toward me with it)."	0		
'UGULJUQ oγulčuuq	"Womb ( <i>raḥim</i> )," of a woman.		oγulčuuq
'AΓIUR'ŠUQ <sup>7</sup> aγiršuuq	"Spindle whorl ( <i>filka al-miγzal</i> )."	0	aγiršuuq
'UGULMAUIQ <sub>2</sub> oγulmuq	"A straight piece of wood supporting a beam ( <i>xašaba musta-</i>		oγulmuq
wiya			
[I. 131/149]			86
<i>fī qiwām al-'arīda</i> )." 0			

5. Gloss between the two words: 'ARUQ (thus: **azuqluγ aruq ärmās**).
6. MS. *dayn*.
7. A altered to U in brown ink.

'UJZLUQ učuzluq	"Cheapness ( <i>ruḥṣa</i> )," in prices.	0	učuzluq
'UJUZLUQ učuzluq	"Humiliation, belittlement ( <i>maḍalla, ṣaγār</i> )."	0	
'ADIAŠ'LIQ adašliq	"Friendship ( <i>ṣadāqa</i> )."	0	adašliq
'ADAQLIQ adaqliq	"Wood used to make legs for trellises ( <i>sūq al-'arīs</i> ) in vineyards."	0	adaqliq
'UDUQLQ uduqluq	A person's "neglect, unawareness ( <i>γafḥa, tanāwum</i> )" <sup>1</sup> of a thing.	0	uduqluq
'UDUΓ'LUQ oduγluq	"Wakefulness or awareness ( <i>at-tayaqquḥ fī l-umūr</i> )."	0	oduγluq
'ARIΓLIQ ariγliq	"Cleanliness ( <i>naẓāfa</i> )."	0	ariγliq
'URUFLUQ BUΓDA'Y uruγluq buγdāy	"Wheat that is stored for use as seed grain ( <i>allaḍī udduxira li-l-baḍr</i> )."	0	uruγluq
	The same for any other seed or grain.	0	
'AJIΓLIQ ačirliq	"Bitterness ( <i>marāra</i> )."	0	ačirliq
YUVZ 'AJUQLQY yūz ačuqluqi	"Openness ( <i>ṭalāqa</i> ) of face."	0	ačuqluq
QBUΓ 'AJIQLIQY qapuγ ačiqliqi	"A door's being open ( <i>an yakūna . . . maftūḥan</i> )."	0	ačiqliq
'UJAQLIQ YZR' očaqliq yēr	"Place for a stove ( <i>mawḍi' al-kāmūn</i> )."	0	očaqliq
TITIK očaqliq titig	Any "clay (or other) used to make a stove."	0	
'ARUQLQ aruqluq	"Tiredness ( <i>i'γā</i> )."	0	aruqluq
'URUQLUQ YUVNG <sup>2</sup> uruqluq yūḡ	"Wool that is to be made into a rope ( <i>u'idda li-</i>		uruqluq
<i>yuttaxaḍa minhu l-ḥabl</i> )."	0		
'AZUIQLIQ azuqluq	"Something prepared as provisions ( <i>mā u'idda li-z-zād</i> )."	0	azuqluq
'UZAQLIQ uzaqliq	"Being slow or late ( <i>ibṭā</i> )" for something."	0	uzaqliq
'UŠAQLIQ ušaqliq	"Childishness ( <i>tašābī</i> ) in a matter."	:: 'UŠAQLIQ QILM' ušaqliq	ušaqliq
qilma	"Don't be childish."	0	
'ULUFLUQ uluγluq	"Grandeur, glory ( <i>kibriyā, šaraf</i> )."	Thus :: 'ULFLUQ TNKRIY-	uluγluq
KA' uluγluq tāḡrikā	"Grandeur belongs to God (Glorified and Exalted)."	0	'ULUFLUQ
uluγluq	"Old age ( <i>al-kibr fi s-sinn</i> )."	0	

1. MS. *tanā'um*.
2. Three dots of G in brown ink.

U'AMJ'LIQ YZR **amačliq yēr** “A place where a target for shooting (*hadaf li-r-ramy*) can be set up.” 0

'ANUQLQ **anuqluq** “Readiness (*al-isti'dād fi l-umūr*).”

K

'UZTLK **özütlük** “Stinginess (*dinn*) over a thing.” 0

'AKAT'LIK QARA'BA'Š **egätlik qarābāš** “The maidservant who is to be sent with the bride on the night of the nuptial procession.” And “the bride (*'arūs*)” is: 'AIKAIT'LIK **egätlig**.

This is a general rule. When the suffix is with the hard *kāf* [i.e., -lik] the meaning is the place where the noun is, or that it is a thing stored up or made ready for the noun, or an infinitive. When it does not have any of these three senses, but the intended meaning

[I. 133/151]

is the possessor or companion (*šāhib*) of the noun, then it is with the thin *kāf*<sup>1</sup> [i.e., -lig]. Thus: 'AKAT'LIK **egätlik** – with the hard *kāf* – means that the slavegirl is made ready to be sent as the bride's maidservant; and if the *kāf* is made thin [i.e. **egätlig**] the meaning is that the bride has or is the possessor or companion (*šāhiba*) of the maidservant. The meaning is thus in all of these cases. 0

'TJLK **ātičlik** “Place where the hole is dug for the game of ‘walnuts’ (*al-mawđi' alladī yuhfaru fihi l-mazda li-la'ib al-jawz*).” 0

'ADAR'LIK **ädärlik** [Saddletree] “The wooden frame on which the saddle is placed.” The “possessor of a saddle (*šāhib as-sarj*)” is with the thin *kāf* [i.e. **ädärlig**]. 0

'UKUR'LUK **ügürlük** “Place where millet (*duxn*)<sup>2</sup> is put.” The owner of it is with thin *kāf* [i.e. **ügürlüg**].

'UGURLK 'AR' **ögürlüg är** “A man who has a flock (*dū qatī'*) of sheep, or other.” 0

“A stallion with mares (*lahu rimāk*)” is called: 'UKUR'LK 'AD'GIR' **ögürlüg ađyir**.

'ADIZLIK **ädizlik** “Elevation (*irtifā'*).” 0

'ISIZLIK **esizlik** “Evil (*šarr*).” 0

**amačliq**

**anuqluq**

**özütlük**

**egätlik**  
**egätlig**

G

87

**ātičlik**

**ädärlik**  
**ädärlig**

**ügürlük**  
**ügürlüg**

**ögürlüg**

**ädizlik**

**esizlik**

'ATAK'LIK BU'VZ **ätäklik böz** “Cloth that is to be made into a skirt (*dayl*).” If a garment is characterized by a skirt it is called: 'ATAK'LIK TU'VN **ätäklig ton** meaning “A garment with a skirt” – with the thin *kāf*. 0

'ATUKLUK SA'GRIY **ätüklük sađri** “Leather that is to be made into a boot (*xuff*).” 0

'UTKLIK KŠY **ötüglüg kiši** “A person with a petition (*dū hāja*) for the sultan.” 0

U'UZK'LUK **üzüklük** “A being cut off (*inqiā'un*).” 0

'URUMJK **örümčäk** “Spider (*'ankabūt*).” 0

'IALARSUK **ilärsük** “Waistband (*tikka*) of trousers.” 0

'ISIK'LIK **isiglik** “Heat (*harāra*).” 0

'SIK'LIK **isiglik** “Love, affection (*hubb mawadda*).” :: KUNKUL 'ISKLIKY KAR'K **könül isigliki kārāk** “There must be warmth of affection (*harāra al-mawadda*) in the heart.”

'ARUKLUK **ärüklük** “Peach orchard (*manbit al-xawx*).” 0

'YRIK'LIK **eriglik** “Liveliness (*farāha*),” of animals.

'AŠIK'LIK YI'GA'J **ešiklik yiγāč** “A piece of wood (or other) to be used for a threshold (*'ataba*).” 0

'AŠUK'LK BAR'JIN **äšüklük barčün** “Brocade that is to be made into a coverlet (*diṭar*).” The owner of one is with thin *kāf* [i.e. **äšüklüg**]. 0

'AWAK'LIK **ewäklik** “Haste (*al-'ajala fi l-umūr*).” 0

'AKAK'LIK **äkäklik** “Wantonness, shamelessness (*xalā'a, qiha*),” of a woman. 0

'UKAK'LIK **ükäklik** “Any piece of wood that is to be made into a box (*šundūq*).”

“A wall on which there are towers (*'alayhi burūj*).” is called: 'UKA'KLİK TA'M' **ükäklig tām**. 0

'LIKLIK **äliglik** “Gloves (*quffāzān*).” 0

'AMIKLIK 'AŠ'LA'R **ämiglig ešlār** “A nursing (*murđi'a*) woman.” 0

[I. 135/153]

88

Proverb: 'AMIKLIK 'URA'TUT KUSA'K'JY BULUVR **ämiglig urāyut küsāgči bolūr** 0 “A nursing woman gets food-cravings” – so she is given whatever suits her. 0

'NUKLUK 'ARS'L'N **änüklüg arslān** “A lioness with cubs (*dāt ašbāl*).” 0

87 1. MS. *fa-l-bi-kāf*, read *fa-bi-l-kāf*.

2. MS. *duxn*.

Chapter: *fa'al'ān*, first and second radicals vowelless, in its various vocalizations

This chapter is concerned with participles denoting frequent occurrence of the action. It corresponds to the Arabic pattern *mif'āl* for an adjectival expressing the frequent occurrence of the action, as *miṭ'ām* “often feeding” and *miḥrāb* “often making war.” It has final *nūn*, but most of Oğuz and Qifčāq make this *nūn* a *qāf*. For example, a “quick-tempered (*dajir*)” man is called: BUŠGA'N *bušyān*; the Oğuz say: BUŠAQ' *bušaq* – dropping the *ḡayn* altogether. This is a genuine rule.

T

:: 'UL 'AR' 'UL 'UVZIN KŠDAN 'BTΓ'N ol ār ol ōzin kišidān opityān “He is a man who habitually hides (*min 'ādātihī l-ixtifā'*) from people.” 0

:: 'UL KUB 'UL SUJIK'NY 'AJITΓ'N ol küp ol süčigni ačityān “It is a jar which always sours (*abadan yuḡammiḡu*) something sweet (that is poured into it).” 0

:: 'UL [sic] BUV 'UT 'UL KŠINY 'UDITΓ'N bu ot ol kišini uđityān “This is a drug which always puts people to sleep (*yurqidu*).” 0

:: 'UL KŠY 'UL TARIΓ'ARITΓA'N ol kiši ol tariγ arityān “That man is always cleaning (*yunqī*) the wheat (or other).” 0

:: 'UL KIŠY 'UL YUVLDAN 'AZIYTIΓ'N ol kiši-ol yōldan azityān “This is a person who always leads people away (*yudillu*) from the road.”

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'IYŠIΓ 'AZITΓA'N bu ār ol išiy uzatyān “This is a man who always prolongs (*yuṭawwīlu*) an affair.” 0

:: BUV 'AR 'UL 'ATIN 'UZITIΓA'N bu ār ol atin ozityān “This is a man who always makes his horse run ahead (*yusbiqū*).” 0

BUV QUYA'Š' L KIŠINY 'USITΓA'N bu quyāš ol kišini usityān “This is a summer heat that makes one thirsty (*mu'aṭṭiš*).” Verse: usityān

'USITΓA'N QUYS' QABSADY	usityān quyāš qapsadi
'MNJLF 'DŠ YAYSADY	umunčluγ ađaş täpsadi
'ARTŠ SUWIN KAJSADIY	artiš suwin kácsadi
BUVDUN 'ANIN 'URKUŠVR	bōdun anin ūrkūšūr

“The summer heat encompassed us, the longed-for friend envied us, (the enemy) was about

[I. 137/155]

to cross<sup>1</sup> the Ärtiš River; because of that the people were panic-stricken.” 0

89 1. MS. *ta'yura*, read *ya'bura*.

:: BUV KAYK 'UL 'ITIF T'ΓQ' 'AΓITΓ'N bu kāyik ol itiy tāyqa ayityān “This is game which always makes the dog climb (*yuša'idu*) up the mountain.” 0

:: BV T'Γ 'L TAWRA'Q 'AQIN 'AQITΓ'N bu tāy ol tawraq aqin aqityān “This is a mountain which makes the rainfall stream quickly (*sari' al-isāla li-l-maṭar*).” 0

BV BITK 'L KŠINY 'UQITΓA'N bu bitig ol kišini oqityān “This is a book which often causes one to read it (*kaṭīr<sup>an</sup> mā yuqri'u*) (because of its length).” 0

:: BUV 'R' 'L 'ITIN 'ULITΓ'N bu ār ol itin ulityān “This [is a man who] often makes his dog bark (*yunbiḡu*).”

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL SUVZ 'UNITΓA'N bu ār ol sōz unityān “This is a man who often for- gets (*kaṭīr an-nisyān*) words.”

:: BUV 'R' 'UL 'YŠIΓ 'ANUITΓ'N bu ār ol išiy anutyān “This is a man who is always prepared (*yasta'iddu*) for things.” 0

:: BUV 'R' 'L QUŠIΓ 'UJURΓ'N bu ār ol qušiy učuryān “This is a man who often flies (*kaṭīr al-iṭāra*) birds.” 0

:: BV 'AŠ 'UL KŠINY 'AJURΓ'N bu aš ol kišini ačuryān “This is food which is (quick to digest and) quick to leave hungry (*sari' al-ijā'a*).” 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'L TALIM 'ASURΓ'AN bu ār ol tālim asuryān “This is a man who often sneezes (*kaṭīr al-'uṭās*).” 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'L 'USURΓA'N bu ār ol osuryān “This is a man who farts much (*ḡarrāṭ*).” osuryān

:: 'ISIRΓA'N 'IT isiryān it “A biting (*aqūr*) dog.” isiryān

Γ

'AWUŽΓUVN awužyūn The “acacia leaves (*qaraz*)” used in tanning hides. 0 awužyūn

:: 'UL MANIK BIRLA' 'UQ 'ATIŠΓA'N 'UL ol mänig birlä oq atišyān ol “He customarily competes with me in shooting arrows (*min 'ādātihī an yurāmiya ma'i n-nabl mubārātan*).”

K

:: BV 'AR' 'L SUVT 'UBURKA'N bu ār ol sūt öpürgän “This is a man who customarily gives others milk to sip (*iḡsā*).” 0

:: BUV 'R' 'L TLM SUJK 'IJURK'N bu ār ol tālim süčig ičürgän “He is a man who frequently gives people wine to drink (*yasqī*).” 0



:: BUV 'IT 'L KAYIK'NY 'ADARK'N bu it ol käyikni eđärgän “This is a dog who eđärgän habitually chases after (*min 'adatıhi ıılāb*) game.” Also used to describe a man who always seeks revenge (*yaıtlubu hıqdahu dā'imān*). 0

:: BUV 'R' 'L 'YŞİΓ 'AWURK'N TAWURKA'N bu är ol işiy äwürgän täwürgän “This is äwürgän a man who wheels and deals (*huwwal li-lumür wa-quıllab*).”

:: BUV 'R' 'L TAQM' N'NK NY 'UDURK'N bu är ol tägmä nänni üdürgän “This üdürgän  
[I. 139/157] 90

is a man who always chooses (*yuxayıru*) among things.”

:: BUV 'R' 'L KVZIY 'UŞAR'KA'N bu är ol közi üşärgän “This is a man who is always üşärgän bleary-eyed (*yataıayyaru ıarfuhu*) (from hunger or the like).” 0

'KURKA'N ügürgän A grain plant. It is eaten by the Qarluq Turkmän. 0 ügürgän

:: BUV 'AŞL'R 'L TALIM YİB' 'AKİR'K'N<sup>1</sup> bu ešlär ol tälim yip ägürgän “This is a ägürgän woman who spins much (*katıra al-ıazl*).” 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'L 'TILK'N SAYILΓ'N bu är ol itilgän sapilyän “This is a man who is a itilgän bustler, one who goes in and out among affairs (*xarūj walūj fi l-umūr*).” 0

'TILK'N itilgän [Glanders?] A disease affecting horses. It consists of boils which are lanced (*ıudad yušaıqu 'anhā*) so that the horse recovers. It is called *xunām* in Persian. 0

:: MANK 'IYŞIM 'ADKUV LKUN 'ATILK'N 'UL mänig işim ädgülükün etilgän ol “My etilgän business always prospers (*yanşalııu*) with goodness.” 0

:: BV YŞİİΓ 'UL 'UZULK'N bu yişiy ol üzülgän “This is a rope which always snaps (*yan- üzülgän qaıı'u*).” 0

:: BUV 'R' 'L 'UB'KA'N 'URULK'N bu är ol öpkän ürülgän “This is a man who is ürülgän always swollen (*yantafıxu*) with anger (like a wineskin).” 0

:: BUV YİB 'UL 'AŞILKA'N<sup>2</sup> bu yip ol äsilgän “This is a rope that is always stretched äsilgän out (*yamtaddu*).”

:: BV QAYIR' 'L 'AŞILK'N bu qayir ol äsilgän “This is sand that is always pouring out äsilgän (*yanhālu*).”

90 1. *Sukün* (·) (brown) altered from original U (black).  
2. Three dots of Š in brown ink.

:: BUV BUTAQ 'L 'AKILKA'N bu butaq ol ägilgän “This is a branch that is always ägilgän bending (*yataıāyalu*).” 0

:: BUV NA'NK 'L TUTJY 'UKUILKA'N bu nän ol tutçi ükülgän “This is something that ükülgän is always piled up (*yatakawıwamu*).”

Another Type

D

'URUM'DA'Y' urumdäy A stone used as an antidote to poison. 0 urumdäy

Chapter: *af'alal*

'R'SALIQ arsalıq “Hermaphroditic (*xunıā*),” of an animal. Oıuz dialect. arsalıq

D

With *Ḍamma* on First Radical

J

'USKBJ üskäbäç “Raisins (*zabıb*).” üskäbäç

K

'UK'RAYUK ögräyüik “Custom (*'āda*).” [Verse] describing Time in the elegy of King ögräyüik Afrāsiyāb: 0

'K'RAY'KY MUNDAΓ 'UQ  
MUNDA' 'DIN TILDAΓ<sup>3</sup> 'UQ  
'ATSA' 'AŽUN 'UΓRAB' 'UQ  
TAΓLAR BAŞIY KAR'TILUVR

ögräyüiki munday oq  
munda adın tıday oq  
atsa aıun uırap oq  
taylar başı kärtılür

V

“Thus is the custom (of Time); any other (of death's causes) is a mere pretext; for were Time to shoot an arrow toward the mountain tops, they would break apart.”

Chapter: *fu'älil*

Q

[I. 141/ 160]

'USA'YUQ 'R' osäyüiq är “A negligent (*ıāfil*) man.” osäyüiq

Another Type: Defective

3. L altered to K by later hand (upper stroke in brown ink).

Q

'YAD'SILIQ 'R' **uyadsiliq (?) är** "A man who is overcome with shame (*yalaba 'alayhi l- uyadsiliq hayā*)."

Another Type

H

'VHY **ūhi** "Owl (*būm*)."<sup>91</sup> Most of the Turks call it: 'UVKĪY **ūgi** with *kāf*, and this is more correct, since there is no *hā* in Turkic. **ūhi D**

Nasal

J

'UTKUNJ **ötgünč** "Imitation or recounting (*hikāya*)."<sup>92</sup> Thus :: 'UTKUNJ 'UTKUN'DIY **ötgünč** **ötgünč ötgündi** "He gave an imitation or a recounting."

Chapter: *fa'ā'il*

Nasal

R

'LA'NKIR **alānir** One of the rat (*jirdān*) genus, namely "the gerboa (*yarbū*)."<sup>93</sup> The Turkman eat it. **alānir**

Q

'UNKA'MUQ 'AR' **oṅāmuq är** "A right-handed (*ayman*)<sup>1</sup> man." **oṅāmuq**

K

'UNKA'YUK NA'NK **öṅāyüq nāṅ** "Something which is peculiar (*xāṣṣ*) to a thing." And "anything by which a man is distinguished from others (*xuṣṣa bihi*)" is to him an: 'UNKA'YUK **öṅāyüq**.

Another Type

Q

'UTUNKLUQ **otuṅluq** "Woodshed (*muḥtaṭib*)."<sup>94</sup> **otuṅluq**

91 1. MS. *aysar* "left-handed." Cf. 244 **solāmuq**.

End of the Book of Vowel-Initial (*hamz*) Nouns

Praise be to God

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

Book of Verbs

Chapter of Biliterals 0

Know that in the verbal section of every book we shall mention the preterite, the aorist, and the infinitive. We shall also explain the usage of the preterite, but not bother with the aorist or infinitive, since this would be unnecessary. [They will be mentioned] however, since the form of the aorist and the manner of its vocalization cannot be predicted. The same holds true for the infinitive. One would not be able to distinguish the *rakīk* from the *mušba'* or the *mumāl* from the *mufaxxam* [i.e., whether the infinitive will be with **-māk** or **-māq**] unless it was mentioned. **G**

The rule for all verbs is that if the infinitive has *kāf* [i.e. **-māk**] then the preterite and aorist will contain *imāla* or *rikka* [i.e., palatalization, or front vowels]. 0 The infinitive with *qāf* [i.e. **-māq**] requires that the stem have *qāf* or *išbā'* [i.e., velarization, or back vowels] or *ḡayn*. The one with *kāf* requires the word to have *kāf* or *imāla* [or] *rikka*. This is the basic rule with regard to all verbs and infinitives.

B

[I. 143/163]

:: 'UL MANIY 'UB'DIY **ol māni öpdi** "He kissed (*qabbala*) me." 'UBA'R' 'UBMA'K **öpär öpmāk**. Proverb: TA'SIṬI 'IS'RUVMASA' 'UBMIŠ KRA'K **tāšiy isrūmasa öpmiš kārāk** "One who cannot bite a stone should kiss it." This is coined to advise someone to be gentle in a manner in order to attain his goal. 0 **öp-P**

:: MUVN' 'UB'DY **mün öpdi** "He sipped (*ḥasā*) the soup (or other)." 'UBA'R' 'UBMA'K **öpär öpmāk**.

J

:: QBUṬ 'AJ'DIY **qapuṭ ačdi** "He opened (*fataḥa*) the door (or other)." 'AJA'R' 'AJM'Q **ačār ačmāq**. 0 **ač-**

:: QUŠ 'UJ'DIY **quš učdi** "The bird flew (*ṭāra*)."<sup>95</sup> :: 'ANIK QUTIY 'UJ'DIY **anig quti učdi** "His luck flew away (*dahabat*)."<sup>96</sup> :: 'AR' 'AT'<sup>1</sup> QUDIY 'UJ'DIY **är attin qođi učdi** "The man fell down (*saqāṭa*) off the horse." 'UJA'R' 'UJM'Q **učār učmāq**, for all of these. **uč-**

92 1. Gloss: D'N above line in a later hand (black ink).

:: 'UVT' 'UJ'DIY **ōt** **ōēdi** "The (flame of) the fire died down (*sakana*)."  
 :: 'R'NINK 'UBK'SIY 'UJ'DY **ärniņ** **ōpkāsi** **ōēdi** "The man's anger died down (*sakana*)."  
 :: 'AR' TIYNY 'UJ'DIY **är** **tīni** **ōēdi** "The man's breath was cut off (*inqaṭa'a*)."  
 'UJA'R 'UJM'Q [sic] **ōčār** **ōčmāk**, for all of these. 0

:: 'AR' SUVV<sup>2</sup> 'UJ'DY **är** **sūw** **iēdi** "The man drank (*šariba*) the water (or other)."  
 For anything that "drinks (*šariba*)" a thing or "absorbs liquid (*našifa*)" one says: 'IJ'DIY **iēdi**.  
 'UJA'R<sup>3</sup> 'UJMA'K<sup>3</sup> **ičār** **ičmāk**

R

:: 'L 'NDAΓ 'AR'DY **ol** **anday** **är** **är** **är** "He was (*kāna*) thus."  
 'ARUVR' 'AR'MA'K **ärür** **ärmāk**. 0

:: 'L 'UVT' 'UR'DY **ol** **ōt** **ür** **ür** **ür** "He blew on (*nafaxa*) the fire (or other)."  
 :: 'IT' 'UR'DIY **it** **ür** **ür** "The dog barked (*nabaḥa*)."  
 'URA'R' 'URMA'K **ürär** **ürmāk**.

:: 'L'KINDA'KY NA'NKNY YYRDA' 'UVR'DIY<sup>4</sup> **älgindāki** **nāṅni** **yērdā** **ür** **ür** **ür** "He put (*waḍa'a*) the thing which was in his hand on the ground."  
 Proverb: K MUŠ KUNKA' 'URSA' 'ALTUN 'DA'QIN KALIYR' **kümüš** **künkä** **ursa** **altun** **aḍāqin** **kālir** 0 "When dirhams [lit. silver] are put out in the sun, gold comes walking to it."  
 This is coined to advise someone to spend a dirham in order to satisfy his need. 'L QULIN 'UVR'DIY **ol** **qulin** **ür** **ür** "He struck (*ḍaraba*) his slave (or other)."  
 'URUVR' 'UR'MA'Q **urür** **urmāq**. 0

:: 'UL YYR'NY 'ZDIY **ol** **yēni** **ez** **ez** **ez** "He [scratched] the earth," or he "scratched (*xadaša*)" the skin, or the like.  
 'UIZA'R<sup>5</sup> 'UIZMA'K<sup>5</sup> **ezār** **ezmāk**. 0

::

[I. 145/165]

'UL YIB' 'UZDIY **ol** **yip** **üz** **üz** **üz** "He cut or snapped (*qaṭa'a*) the rope or string (or other)."  
 'UZA'R' 'UZMA'K **üzār** **üz** **māk**.

S<sup>1</sup>

:: 'L YŠIIΓ 'AŠ'DIY<sup>2</sup> **ol** **yišiy** **äs** **äs** **äs** "He stretched (*madda*) the rope (or other)."  
 'AŠ'M'K<sup>2</sup> **äsār** **äsmāk**.

2. W altered from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).
3. U crossed out in brown ink.
4. U (brown) altered from A (black).
5. Hamza over *alif* in black; I in red; U in brown.

93

1. MS. Š.
2. Three dots of Š in a later hand (black).

:: 'AŠIN 'AS'DIY **äsin** **äs** **äs** **äs** "The breeze blew (*tanassama*)."<sup>3</sup>  
 :: TARIΓ 'AS'DIY **tariy** **äs** **äs** **äs** "He winnowed (*nasafa*) the wheat (or other)."  
 The same for wind that "blows up (*nasafat*)" dust. Transitive or intransitive.

:: 'AR' 'US'DY **är** **us** **us** **us** "The man was thirsty (*aṭiša*)."  
 'USAR' 'USMA'Q **usar** **usmāk**. us-

iē-  
 :: MAN 'AY'LA' 'US'DUM **män** **ayla** **us** **us** **us** "I thought (*zanantu*) so."  
 Oğuz dialect. [Aorist and] infinitive the same [as above]. D

Š

är-  
 :: 'L QAYIR'NY 'AŠ'DIY **ol** **qayirni** **äs** **äs** **äs** "He poured out (*ahāla*) the sand."  
 The same for pouring flour into a sack, or other. :: 'ATLJ' 'AŠ'DIY **atliy** **äs** **äs** **äs** "The horseman trotted, galloped (*xabba, rakaḍa*)."  
 :: 'ŠJ QAY'NA' 'Š'DY<sup>4</sup> **ešič** **qayna** **äs** **äs** "The kettle boiled over (*aḡlat . . . ḡalayān<sup>an</sup>*)."  
 'AŠ'R' 'AŠM'K **äsār** **äsmāk**. 0

ür-  
 :: 'UL 'UQ 'UŠDY **ol** **oq** **üş** **üş** **üş** "He bored a hole (*taqaba . . . bi-l-miṭqab*) in the arrow (or other)."  
 :: 'ATM'KA' TALIM KŠY 'UŠ'DY **ätmāk** **kä** **tälim** **kiši** **üş** **üş** **üş** "Many people crowded (*izdahama*) around the bread (or other)."  
 'UŠ'R' 'UŠM'K **üşār** **üşmāk**. üš-

W

uw-  
 :: 'L 'TM'K 'UF'DIY **ol** **ätmāk** **uw** **uw** **uw** "He crumbled (*fatta*) the bread (or other)."  
 'UW'R' 'UWM'K-Q<sup>5</sup> **uwār** **uwmāk**. 0

aw-  
 :: KURNJK' KIŠY 'AWDIY **körünčkä** **kiši** **aw** **aw** **aw** "The people surrounded a thing (*ḥaffa . . . ḥawla šay'*) to look at it."  
 'AIWA'R' 'AWM'K [sic] **awār** **awmāk**.

:: 'R' 'WDIY **ar** **ew** **ew** **ew** "The man hurried (*ajila*)."  
 Verse:

ew-

93

'UDV BA'RIB' 'KUŠ 'WDIM  
 TLIM YUVRIB' KUJY KA'WDIM  
 'ATIM BIR'LA' TKUV 'IWDIM  
 MINY KVRUB<sup>6</sup> YASIIY<sup>7</sup> 'AΓ'DIY

**uḍu** **bārip** **üküš** **ewdim**  
**tälim** **yōrip** **küči** **kāwdim**  
**atim** **birlä** **tägü** **awdim**  
**mini** **körüp** **tüsi**<sup>8</sup> **aydi**

V

3. MS. *yunassamu*.  
 4. QAY'NA' is crossed out and QYN'R put in margin by a later hand (black ink) as belonging before 'ŠJ.

5. K is original; Q is added by later hand (brown ink).

6. Altered from KRUB.

7. Two dots of first Y in brown ink.

8. The reading *yēni* is also possible (cf. 116 *ürpār-*) and was adopted by Brockelmann (Volks-oesie I,6) and subsequently; but 91 *āḡ-* means "change color" and 535 *tü* means "hair" or "color" (specifically of an animal's coat).

Describing a wolf: “I hurried while chasing him, I weakened his strength through much running, until I overtook him with my horse; when he saw me his skin shuddered.” ’IṬW’R ’IṬWM’K ewār ewmāk.

## Q

:: SUṬW ’AQDY sūw aqdi “The water (or other) flowed (*sāla*).” :: YAṬY ’AQDIY aq-  
yaṭi aqdi “The enemy (squadrons) advanced (*jā’at*).” ’AQAR AQM’Q aqār aqmāq.

:: ’UL ’AR ’IYŠIN ’UQDIY ol ār išin uqdi “That man understood (*faṭina*) his business.”  
’UQR UQM’Q uqār uqmāq.

## K

::

[I. 147/168]

’L TRṬ ’AKDIY ol tariṭ ākdi “He sowed (*baḍara*) the seed.” The same for “spreading  
(*darra*)” powder or medicine over a thing. ’AK’R ’AKM’K ākār ākmāk. 0

:: ’L YRM’Q ’UKDY ol yarmaq ükdi “He piled up (*kawwama*) dirhams (or other).”  
’UK’R ’UKM’K ükār ükmāk. 0

:: ’L BUTQ ’AKDIY ol butaq ägdi “He bent (*aṭafa*) the branch (or other).” ’AK’R  
’AKM’K ägār ägmāk.

## L

:: ’L ’LMIN ’ALDIY ol alimin aldi “He collected (*qabaḍa*) his debt.” :: BAK ’YL  
’ALDIY beg ēl aldi “The emir captured (*axaḍa*) the province.” ’ALIR ’ALM’Q alir almāq. 0

:: ’AT BIŠIB ’ULDIY ät bišip oldi “The meat was cooked to shreds (*tubixa* . . . *ḥattā*  
*taharra’a min aṭ-ṭabx*).” The same for a garment that “is shabby or worn out (*uxliqa*, *baliya*)”  
from long use. ’ULUR ’ULM’Q olur olmāq. 0

:: TK’N TVNUṬ ’ILDY tikān tōnuṭ ildi “The thorn caught on (*jadaba*) the garment (or  
other).” :: ’R TAṬ’Ṭ’ḌAN QUDIY ’ILDIY ār tāyḍin qoḍi ildi “The man came down (*nazala*) from  
the mountain (or other).” ’ILAR ilār – with *naṣb* of the *lām* for the thorn [and] the garment; but  
for “coming down” with *ḍamm* of the *lām*: ’ILUR ilur. ’LM’Q ilmāq – the infinitive has *qāf* for  
“coming down”; for “catching on” it is: ’ILM’K ilmāk with *kāf*.

## M

:: KNJ ’AN’SIN ’AMDY känē anāsin ämdi “The baby sucked the breast (*raḍi’a*) of its  
mother.” The same for any animal that sucks the breast. ’AMA’R ’MA’K ämār ämmāk. 0

:: ’L MNDN N’NK ’UMDY ol mändin nāṅ umdi “He coveted (*ṭami’a*) something from  
me.” ’UMA’R ’UMA’Q umār ummāq.

## N

’UT ’UNDY ot öndi “The plant<sup>1</sup> grew (*nabata*).” :: ’L ’WK’ ’UNDY ol äwkä öndi “He  
went (*ḍahaba*) home” – Uighur dialect. ’UN’R ’UNM’K önär önmāk. 0

:: ’L T’ḌDN QUDY ’INDY ol tāyḍin qoḍi endi “He came down (*ruzala*) from the moun-  
tain (or other).” The *nūn* is an alternant of *lām* [i.e. *il-*] as in Arabic: *raḍul ṣaṭn al-aṣābi’ wa-*  
*ṣaṭluhu* (“a man with rough fingers”), or: *kabn ad-dalw wa-kabluhu* (“fold of a leathern bucket”).

Doubled

## T

::

[I. 149/170]

’AR’ ’UQ ’AṬIY ar oq atti “The man shot (*ramā*) the arrow (or other).” :: TANK ’AṬIY  
taṅ atti “Dawn broke (*inbalaja*).” ’UL ’AṬIY N’NKNY :: ol atti nāṅni “He threw away (*ṭaraḥa*)  
the thing.” ’AT’R ’ATM’Q atār atmāq.

:: ’UL ’ANY ’UṬY ol ani utti “He defeated (*qamara*) him (in the game, or other).”  
’UT’R ’UTM’Q utār utmāq.

Verse:

QIŠ YA’Y BILA’ TUQŠ’TY  
QINKR KVZUN BAQŠ’TY  
TUTŠ’QALY YQŠTY  
’UTṬA’LIMAT’ ’UṬRAŠUVR

qiš yāy bilä toqišti  
qinir kōzün baqišti  
tutuṣqali yaqišti  
utṭālimat uṭrašūr

V

“Winter debated and quarreled with summer, each looked askance [at the other], each drew near  
the other to capture him; each desires to defeat (*yaḡliba*, *yaqmara*) the other.”

:: ’UQ KAYIKTAN’ ’UṬY oq kāyiktān ötti “The arrow pierced (*nafaḍa*) the deer (or  
other).” The same for anything that “pierces or passes through (*nafaḍa*) something. :: QARIYN’  
’UṬY qarīn ötti “He moved his bowels (*aṭlaqa l-baṭn wa-maṣā*).” ’UT’R ’UTM’K ötār ötmāk. 0

:: ’UL BA’ŠĠ ’UṬY ol bāšiḡ ütti “He singed the hair (*aṣāṭa ṣa’r*, *aḥraqa*) of the head (or  
other).” ’UT’R ’UTM’K ütār ütmāk. 0

:: ’L ’NY ’ITY ol ani itti “He pushed him down (*ṣadama wa-dafa’a* . . . *ḥattā asqaṭa*) to  
the ground with his hand or foot.” ’IT’R ’ITM’K itār itmāk. 0

TNKRY MANIK ’YŠM ’IYṬY tāṅri mänig išim ētti “God made my business prosper  
(*aṣlaḥa*).” :: ’L YUKNJ ’YṬY ol yūkünč ētti “He performed the prayer (*ṣallā*)” – Oḡuz dialect.

ēt-  
D94 1. MS. *nayt*, read *nabt*.

Anything that they “do (*fa'alū*)” they express with the word for “do well (*ṣalāḥ*)”: 'IYT̄Y ētti. The Turks say: QILDY qildi for “do (*amila*)” [277]. The latter word, however, is used [among the Oğuz] for copulation; for this reason they [i.e. the Oğuz] avoid this word and use the other instead, in order not to embarrass the ladies. 'IYT'R 'IYTM'K ētār ētmāk. 0 This word may also be found in the Initial-Weak<sup>1</sup> Chapter.

## Defective

B<sup>2</sup>

:: 'AR' SUVW 'UVB'DY är sūw ōpdi “The man gulped down (*abba*) the water (or other).” 'UVBA'R 'UVBM'Q ōpār ōpmāq.

J

:: 'AR' 'AJ'TIY<sup>3</sup> är ācti “The man (or other) was hungry (*jā'a*).” 'AJA'R<sup>3</sup> 'A'J'-MA'Q<sup>4</sup> ācār ācmāq.

[I. 150/172]

R

:: 'AR' 'Ā'ARDIY är ārdi “The man (or other) was tired (*ayya*).” :: 'UL 'Ā'ĀR'DIY ol[ānī]ārđi “He deceived (*γarra*) him.” 'ĀRA'R' 'ARMA'Q ārār armāq. 0

:: 'UL SAJ 'UVR'DY ol sač ōrdi “He plaited (*rammala, nasaja*) the hair (or other).” 'UVRA'R' 'VR' MA'K ōrār ōrmāk.

:: 'UL 'UT' 'UVR'DIY ol ot ōrdi “He cut (*qata'a*) the grass.” The same for “mowing (*ḥaṣada*)” a field, or other. 'UVRA'R' 'UVR'MA'Q ōrār ōrmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'IYR'DY är ērdi “The man was lonely (*istawḥaṣa*)” – this is from lack of company. :: 'L T'M 'IYRDY ol tām ērdi “He made a breach in (*ṭalama*) the wall (or other).” 'IYR'R 'IYRMA'K ērār ērmāk. 0

:: BULT 'UVR'DY bulit ōrdi “The cloud rose up (*naša'at*).” :: QU<sub>U</sub>VY 'UVR'DY qōy ōrdi “The sheep got up (*naḥadat*) from their pen and were driven out to pasture.” The same if they “pasture at night (*nafaṣat taḥt al-layl*).” :: 'L SFDJ 'VR'DY ol sawdič ōrdi “He wove (*rammala*) the basket.” The same for any material that is woven by hand, such as thread or palm leaves. 'UVRA'R' 'VR'MA'Q [sic] ōrār ōrmāk.

95

1. I.e. with *y* as first radical after *hamza*; cf. section headings at 68, 73, 74.
2. MS. R.
3. First *alif* (') added by a later hand (black ink).
4. Second *alif* (') added by a later hand (black ink).

Z

:: 'L YU<sub>U</sub>VL 'AZDY<sup>1</sup> ol yōl āzdi “(The man) lost (*dalla*) the way.” 'A'ZA'R<sup>1</sup> 'AZ-MA'Q<sup>1</sup> azār azmāq.

:: 'NIK 'ATY 'UVZ'DY anig ati ōzdi “His horse ran ahead (*sabaqa*).” The same for a person who runs ahead of another. 'UVZ'R 'UVZMA'Q ōzār ōzmāq.

S

:: 'L 'AT' 'AS'DY ol āt āsdi “He hung (*allaqa*) the meat (or other, on a peg).” The same for a man who is “hung or crucified (*ṣuliba*).” 'ASA'R<sup>1</sup> 'AS'MA'Q asār asmāq.

Š

:: 'L TA'Γ 'AŠDY<sup>1</sup> ol tāy āšdi “He crossed over (*jāwaza*) the mountain (or other).” 'AŠ'R 'AŠM'Q<sup>1</sup> āšār āšmāq.

Γ

'L TA'Γ Q' 'AΓDY ol tāyqa āydi “He climbed (*ša'ada*) the mountain (or other).” 'AΓ'R 'AΓM'Q āyār aymāq. :: BULIT 'AIDY bulit āydi “The cloud rose up (*naša'at*).” :: 'NIK YVZIY 'AΓDY anig yūzi āydi “His color changed (*taḡayyara lawnuhu*).”

W

:: 'NKAR KŠY 'AW'DIY<sup>1</sup> anar kiši āwđi “The people crowded (*izdahama*) upon him.” 'AW'R<sup>1</sup> 'AWM'Q<sup>1</sup> āwār āwmāq.

K

:: 'UL MANIY 'UVK'DIY ol māni ōgđi

[I. 152/174]

“He praised (*madaha*) me.” 'UVK'R 'UVKM'K ōgār ōgmāk.

## Final Weak

:: 'L MANK' SUVZ 'AY'DY ol maṇa sōz ayđi “He spoke (*qāla . . . kalām<sup>an</sup>*) to me.” 'AYUVR 'AY'M'Q ayūr aymāq. 0

96

1. First *alif* (') added by a later hand (black ink).

'UL Q'UVVN 'UVY'DY ol qāyūn ōydi “He scooped out (*qawwara*) the melon (or other).” 'UVYA'R 'UVY'M'Q ōyār ōymāq. 0

:: 'L 'VNUF 'UY'DIY ol ūnuḡ uydi “He pressed (*ḡayāṭa*) the flour (or other) [in the sack]” so that it remained firm and wholesome. 'UYA'R 'UY'M'Q uyār uymāq.

Nasal

K

:: 'AR' 'ANKDIY ār āndi “The man was bewildered (*tahayyara*).” 'ANK'R 'ANKM'K āṅār āṅmāk.

:: 'L YAF'J 'UNKDY ol yīḡāč ūṅdi “He bored a hole (*naqaba*) in the wood (or other).” The same for “sapping (*naqaba*)” the foundation of a wall, or other. 'UNK'R 'UNKM'K ūṅār ūṅmāk.

:: BARJIN' BUDVGY 'UNKDIY barčīn bodūḡi oṅdi “The color of the brocade (or other) faded (*inṭamasa*, *dahaba*).” 'UNK'R 'UNKM'Q oṅār oṅmāq. You may also say: 'UNKUQ'TY oṅuḡti [116].

Rule. The imperative in this chapter is biliteral, as in: YARMA'Q 'AL yarmāq al “Take the dirham”; 'AṬIN 'IL attin il “Dismount from the horse.” 0 Then you should know that the verbal system in this language turns on the imperative. The form that is fixed in the imperative is the stem upon which the derivational suffixes turn. 0 The negative of all verbs is formed by adding *mīm* and *alif* after this stem, for example: 'AL'MA' alma “Do not take”; 'IL'MA' ilma “Do not come down.” All the grammatical rules will be thoroughly discussed in the Book of Sound Words [279ff.], God willing.

End of the Biliteral Chapters

Chapter of Triliterals

Chapter: *fa'al*, vowelled second radical, in its various vocalizations

R

:: 'L MANK' SUVT' 'UBUR'DY ol maṅṡ sūt ōpürdi “He gave me milk<sup>1</sup> (or other) to sip (*aḡsā*).” 'BRUR' 'BUR'MA'K ōprür ōpürmāk.

:: 'L SIBUZ'UVV<sup>2</sup> 'TURDIY ol sibizḡu ötürdi “He sounded (*ṡayyaḡa*) the flute (or other).” 'UTRUVR' 'UTUR'MA'K ötrür ötürmāk.

- 97 1. MS. “soup”; possibly *sūt* is in error for *mūn*.  
2. First U (brown) changed from A (black) (?).

:: 'UL SAJ 'UTUR'DIY ol sač oturdi

[I. 154/176]

“He trimmed (*qaṡṡa*) the hair (or the garment, or the like).” 'UTRUR' 'UTR'MA'Q otrur oturmāq. 0

:: 'L TA'M 'UTURDY ol tām ötürdi “He pierced (*taqaba*) the wall (or other).” 'UTRR' 'UTRMA'K ötrür ötürmāk. 0

:: 'UL QUŠ 'UJURDY ol quš učurdi “He made the bird fly (*aṭāra*).” :: 'UL 'ANY 'AṬIN 'UJURDY ol ani attin učurdi “He made him fall (*asqaṭa*) off the horse (or other).” 'UJRUR' 'JURMA'Q učurur učurmāq. 0

:: 'UL 'UTUF' 'UJURDY ol otuḡ öčürdi “He put out (*aṭfa'a*) the (flame of) the fire.” :: 'ANIK 'UBK'SIN 'JURDIY anig öpkāsīn öčürdi “He calmed (*askana*) his anger.” :: 'UL 'ANİY 'RUB TIYNIY 'UJURDY ol ani urup tīni öčürdi “He beat him until he silenced him with death (*askata na'matahu*).” 'UJRUR' 'UJR'MA'K öčürür öčürmāk. Proverb: 'VTUF' 'DUFUJ BIR'LA' 'UJR'MA'S' ötuḡ oḡḡuč birlā öčürmās “You cannot put out a fire with a firebrand.” This means that one civil disturbance cannot be calmed down by means of another like it, but only by peace. 0

:: 'UL 'ANKAR SUVV 'IJURDY ol aṅar sūw ičürdi “He gave him water (or other) to drink (*aṡraba*).” 'IJ'RUR' 'IJURMA'K ičürür ičürmāk. 0

:: 'L 'DKVNY YAW'LA'Q'TAN 'AḌIRD<sup>2</sup> ol äḡūni yawlāqtan aḡirdi “He chose, discriminated (*ixtāra*, *mayyaza*) good from evil.” 'AḌIRUR<sup>2</sup> 'AḌIR'MA'K<sup>2</sup> [sic] aḡirur aḡirmāq. Proverb: 'AT'LY TIRNG'Q'LY<sup>1</sup> 'AḌIRMA'S' ätli tirṅāqli aḡirmās “You cannot separate (*lā yufarraqu*) the fingernail from the flesh.” This is coined about kinship; the meaning is, “There is no more separation between kin than between the fingernail and the flesh.”

:: 'L 'AḌIR'DIY<sup>2</sup> NA'NKNY ol üdürdi nāṅni “He chose or preferred (*ixtāra*)<sup>3</sup> the thing. 'AḌIRUR<sup>2</sup> 'AḌIRMA'K<sup>2</sup> üdrür üdürmāk. 0

:: MN 'ANY 'AḌAR'DIM män ani eḡärdim “I followed in his tracks (*iqtafaytuhu wataba'tu aṭarahu*).” 'AḌA'RUR MN 'AḌAR'MA'K eḡärür män, eḡärmāk. 0

'AR' 'ASUR:DY ar asurdi “The man sneezed (*aṭīsa*).” 'ASURUR<sup>4</sup> 'ASUR'MA'Q asrur asurmāq. 0

- 98 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.  
2. First A and I apparently by a later hand (black ink).  
3. MS. *ixtiyār*.  
4. First U (brown) changed from *sukūn* (·) (black).

:: 'AR' 'USRDY ar osurdi "The man farted (*radama*)."' 'US'RUR 'USR'MA'Q osur osurmāq. 0

:: 'IT' 'ISIR'DY it isirdi "The dog (or other) bit (*aḍḍa*)."  
Proverb: 'IT' 'SIR'MA'S 'AT TAB'M'S TIYMA' it isirmās at tāpmās tēmā "Don't say that the dog won't bite (*ya'qiru*) and the horse won't kick" – since that is what they are likely to do. 'IS'RUR 'ISIR'MA'Q isrur isirmāq. 0

::

[I. 156/178]

'ANIK KVZY 'UŠARDY anig kōzi üšardi "His eye was dazzled, bleary (*sadirat, irmadat*)<sup>1</sup> from looking closely or from hunger." 'UŠ'RUR 'UŠAR'MA'K üšārür üšarmāk. 0

:: 'AR' SUNKK 'UḠURDY ar sinük oγurdi "The man disjointed (*ṭabbaqa, fašala*) the bone." 'UḠ'RUR 'UḠUR'MA'Q oγurur oγurmāq. 0

:: 'L MĀNY YVLDIN 'AWURDY ol māni yöldin äwürdi "He turned me away (*šarafa*) from the road." :: 'L 'L [sic] 'AY'Q 'AWURDY ol ayāq äwürdi "He turned over (*qalaba*) the bowl (or other)." 'WR'R 'WRMA'K äwrār äwürmāk.

:: BAK KĀND 'KIRDIY beg känd ägirdi "The emir besieged (*ḥāšara*) the city." :: 'URA'ḠUT YIYB 'AKIRDIY urāγut yīp ägirdi "The woman spun (*γazalat*) the yarn." :: SUVW KAMIYNY 'AKIRDIY sūw kemīni ägirdi "The water turned the boat around (*adāra*)."  
'AKIR'R 'AKIRMA'K ägirār ägirmāk. :: 'L MNY 'YŠQ' 'KRDIY ol māni išqa ägirdi "He directed (*alāša*) me to the thing."

:: TLQ' 'LRDY talqa alardi "The sour grapes (or other fruit) were varicolored (*talawwana*)."  
:: KŠY YIYNIY 'ALAR'DIY kiši yēni alardi "The person's body (or other) was leprous (*bariša*)."  
:: 'ANIK KVZY 'ALAR'DIY anig kōzi alardi "His eyes were dazzled (*bariqa*)."  
'ALA'RUR 'ALAR'MA'Q alārur alarmāq. 0

:: MANIK KVZUMA' NA'NK 'ILAR'DIY mānig kōzümā nān ilardi "The thing appeared in outline (*taxayyala*) to my eye (in the distance or in the dark)." Verse [= 407 qaḡ]:

QAQ'L'R QAMḠ KUL'RDY	qaqlār qamuγ kōlardi
TAḠLA'R BAŠY 'ILARDY	taγlār baši ilardi
'AŽUN TINIY YILIR'DY	ažun tini yilirdi
TV TV JAJAK JARKAŠVR	tü tü čečāk čärgäšür

V

"The ponds filled with water, and the mountain tops appeared in outline [i.e. silhouetted]; the breath of the world became warm; (the trees blossomed and the calyxes split open so that) flowers of every variety were lined up in ranks."

R

'URA'ḠT 'UḠLINK' SUVT 'AMUZDY urāγut oγliḡa sūt ämüzdi "The woman suckled (*arḍa'at*) her son with milk." 'AMUZR 'MUZMA'K ämziür ämüzümāk.

Š

:: 'L MANIK BR'L' 'BUŠDY ol mānig birlä öpüšdi "He kissed (*qabbala*) me and I kissed him." 'UBŠUR 'UBŠM'K öpšür öpüşümāk.

99

:: 'UL MANIK BRL' 'UQ 'ATIŠDY ol mānig birlä oq atišdi "He vied with me in shooting arrows (*bārānī fi r-ramy*)."  
The same for "throwing (*ṭarḥ*)" anything. 'ATIŠUR 'ATIŠM'Q atišur atišümāk.

:: 'UL 'NIK BIRL' YARMA'Q 'UTUŠDY ol anig birlä yarmāq utušdi "He made a wager with him (*qāmarahu wa-xāṭarahu*)"

[I. 157/180]

for a dirham (or other)." 'UTŠUR 'UTŠM'Q utšur utušümāk.

:: 'L 'NIK BRLA' 'ITIŠDY ol anig birlä itišdi "He pushed him mutually (*dāfa'a ma'ahu*)."  
'ITIŠVR 'ITIŠMA'K itišür itišümāk. The same for helping or competing in pushing something. 'ITIŠVR 'ITIŠM'K itišür itišümāk. 0

:: 'AL MANK' QABUḠ 'AJIŠDY ol maḡa qapuγ ačišdi "He helped me in opening (*fath*) the door." The same for competing. 'AJIŠVR 'AJIŠM'Q ačišür ačišümāk.

:: 'UZUM 'AJIŠDY üzüm ačišdi "The grapes were thoroughly sour (*ḥamuḍa . . . ba'duhu fi ba'd*)."  
'AJIŠVR 'AJIŠM'Q ačišür ačišümāk.

:: 'L MANIK BIRLA' 'UJAŠDY ol mānig birlä öčäšdi "He competed (*bārā*) with me in something." 'UJAŠVR 'JAŠM'K öčäšür öčäšümāk.

:: 'L MANK BIRL' SUVT 'IJIŠDY ol mānig birlä sūt ičišdi "He vied with me in drinking (*šurb*) the milk (or other)." 'IJIŠUVR 'IJIŠMA'K ičišür ičišümāk. The same for helping. 0

This very pattern has two usages. One is to make the verbal stem mutually transitive, like the Arabic pattern *mufā'ala*, or else to give the sense of helping to accomplish the verbal action or of competing in it. 0 The other is to make the verbal stem intransitive but extending to all parts of the subject, as in: SIRKA' 'AJIŠDY sirkä ačišdi "The vinegar was thoroughly sour (*ḥamuḍa . . . ba'duhu fi ba'd*)"; or in: TUVN TAR'NY 'IJIŠDY tōn tārni ičišdi "The garment totally absorbed (*našafa . . . fi ajzā'ih*) the sweat." There are many verbs of this type.

:: 'AR' 'ADA'QY 'ADIŠDY ar adāqi adišdi "The man straddled (*faḥija*) his legs." 'ADŠVR 'DŠM'Q adišür adišümāk. The same for any pair of which one is separated (*infaraja*) from the other. 'ADIŠVR 'ADIŠM'Q adišur adišmaḡ.

G

adiš-

:: 'L MANIK BRL' 'UḌUIŠDIY ol mänig birlä uḏišdi "He vied with me in sleeping (*nawm*) (to see which of us could sleep more)." :: 'ADA'Q' 'UḌIŠDY aḏaq uḏišdi "The foot was asleep or numb (*xadarat*)." YUḌRUT 'UḌIŠDY yoḡrut uḏišdi "The milk curdled (*tarawwaba, xaṭara*)." 'UḌIŠVR 'UḌIŠM'Q uḏišür uḏišmäq.

:: 'UL MANK' 'ARTUT 'IDIŠDY ol maḡa ärtüt idišdi "He exchanged gifts with me (*ahdānī wa-innī ayḏān ahdāyṭuhu šay*)." Also of anything

[I. 159/182]

that you vie with someone in sending or releasing (*iṭlāq*). 'IDŠUVR 'IDIŠM'Q idišür idišmäq. 0

:: 'ULA'R 'IKY 'ÄRIŠDY<sup>1</sup> olār ekki arišdi "Each of them deceived (*ḡarra*) the other." 'ÄRIŠVR<sup>1</sup> 'ÄRIŠM'Q<sup>1</sup> arišür arišmäq. 0

:: YA'Γ 'ARUIŠDY yāḡ ärišdi "The butter (or other) melted completely (*taḏāwaba*)." 'ARUIŠUVR 'ARUIŠM'K ärišür ärišmäk.

:: 'NIK BRLA' 'URUŠDY anig birlä urušdi "They quarrelled with each other (*tašājarā*)."  
Also for two emirs, or others, who do battle (*taḡārabā*). 'URUŠUVR 'URUŠM'Q uršür urušmäq.  
Proverb: 'ALB' LA'R' BIR'LA' 'URUŠM' BAKL'R' BĪRL' TÜRÜŠMA' alplār birlä urušma,  
beglār birlä turušma "Do not battle with brave warriors, do not stand opposed to emirs."

Verse [= 181 qilič]:<sup>2</sup>

'ARAN' 'ALBY 'UQIŠ'TIYLA'R  
QINIKR' KUVZUIN BAQIŠ'TIYLA'R  
QAMUḡ TULMUN TUQIŠ'TIYLA'R  
QILJ QIN'Q' KUJN SIḏDY

ärän alpi oqištīlār  
qinir köziün baqištīlār  
qamuḡ tulumun toqištīlār  
qilič qinqa kücün siḡdi

"The warriors called out to [i.e. challenged] one another, they looked [at one another] askance, they did battle with all their weapons, until the swords could [hardly] fit into their scabbards (because of the great amount of dried blood on them)." 0

:: 'L MANK' 'UVT 'URUŠDIY ol maḡa ot ürišdi "He helped me blow (*nafx*) on the fire." The same for competing. 'URŠVR 'URUŠM'K ürišür ürišmäk.

:: 'L MANK' YŠIḒ 'URUŠDIY ol maḡa yisiḡ örišdi "He helped me in plaiting (*tawḏin*) the rope." The same for vying in weaving (*raml*) anything. 'URUŠVR 'URUŠM'K örišür örišmäk. 0

uḏiš-

idiš-

101

ariš-

äriš-

uruš-

P

V

ürüš-

örüš-

101 1. *Madda* over *alif* (') in brown ink.2. Either this is meant to illustrate 103 *oqiš-* and is out of place here, or else *toqištīlār* is in error here for *uruštīlār*.

When one wishes to distinguish helping from competing, this is done according to the accompanying adverbial (*ḡarf aš-šila*). When the verb is accompanied by MANKA' maḡa, a particle meaning "to or for me (*li*)," the intention is "helping"; when it is accompanied by MANIK BĪR'LA' mänig birlä, a particle meaning "with me (*ma'i*)," the intention is "competing." This is a root-principle for all reciprocal verbs. For the third person one says 'ANKAR' anar – a particle meaning "to or for him (*lahu*)" – if the intention is "helping"; or if the intention is "competing or contesting (*mubārāt, musājala*)" one says

[I. 160/184]

'ANIK BĪRLA' anig birlä meaning "with him (*ma'ahu*)."<sup>1</sup> This should be memorized! 0

:: 'L MANK' 'UZM 'UZŠDY ol maḡa üziüm üziüşdi "He helped me in picking (*qaṭf*) the grapes." The same for breaking (*ḡaḏq*) a rope, or other; also for competing. 'UZŠVR 'UZŠM'K üziüşür üziüşmäk. 0

:: 'UL MANIK BIRLA' 'AT' 'UZUŠDY ol mänig birlä at ozušdi "He competed with me in racing (*sibāq*) horses." The same for helping. 'UZUŠVR 'UZŠM'K [sic] ozušür ozušmäq.

:: 'UL MANK' 'AT' 'ASIŠDY ol maḡa ät asišdi "He helped me hang (*ta'liq*) the meat (on a peg)." 'ASIŠVR 'ASIŠMA'Q asišür asišmäq.

:: 'L MANK' YIB 'ASIŠDIY<sup>1</sup> ol maḡa yip äsišdi "He helped me stretch (*madd*) the rope." The same for competing. 'ASIŠUVR<sup>1</sup> 'ASIŠM'K<sup>1</sup> äsišür äsišmäk. 0

:: 'ISIŠDY NA'NK isišdi nāḡ "The thing became hot (*ḡarra*) – i.e. the heat extended throughout (*ta'addā l-ḡarāra fi ajzā'ihī*)."<sup>2</sup> 'ISIŠVR 'ISIŠM'K isišür isišmäk. 0

:: 'L MANK' TUBRA'Q 'AŠIŠDY ol maḡa topṛāq äšišdi "He helped me in pouring out (*ihāla*) the earth." The same for competing. 'AŠIŠVR 'AŠIŠM'K äšišür äšišmäk. 0

:: 'L MANIK BRL' T'ΓQA' 'AḒIŠDY ol mänig birlä tāḡqa aḡišdi "He vied with me in climbing (*ṣu'ūd*) the mountain (or other)." 'AḒIŠVR 'AḒIŠM'Q aḡišür aḡišmäq. 0

:: 'L MANIK BĪRLA' BĪYR' 'ALTUVNDĀ'<sup>2</sup> 'AḒIŠDY ol mänig birlä bīr altūnda aḡišdi "He raised the price by one dinar (*ḡālā fī s-si'r bi-dīnār*)."<sup>2</sup> :: BAKL'R BĪYR 'KINDY BRL' 'AḒIŠDY beglār bīr ekindi birlä aḡišdi "The emirs dashed (*tadaffa'at*) against one another." 0

:: 'L MANK' 'ATM'K 'UWUŠDY ol maḡa ätmāk uwušdi "He helped me in crumbling (*fatt*) the bread (or other)." The same for competing. 'UWŠVR 'UWŠM'Q uwušür uwušmäq. 0

:: KŠYL'R 'IYŠQA' 'AWIŠDY kišilār iṣqa ewišdi "The people were hasty (*ajila*) in the matter." 'IYWIŠUVR 'IYWŠM'K ewišür ewišmäk. 0

102 1. Three dots in brown ink faintly visible over the S.

2. Final A: another A in brown ink (indicates nunation, thus: -dan).



awb).” :: SUWL'R 'AQIŠDY suwlār aqišdi “The waters flowed together (*tasāyalat . . . min kull Verse:*)”

QA'R' BUVZ QMΓ' ARUŠDY	qār büz qamuy arišdi
TIL'R SUWY 'AQIŠDY	taylār suwi aqišdi
KUKŠIN BULT' 'URUŠ'DIY	kökšın bulit örišdi
QAYFUQ' BLUB 'KRŠVR	qayγuq bolup ügrišür

Describing summer: “The snow and ice have melted, and the [mountain] streams have flowed together;

[I. 162/186]

a green cloud has risen up and sways (in the air) as a boat rocks (in the water).” 0

:: 'ULA'R BUV 'IYŠIF 'UQUŠTIYLA'R olār bu īsiy uquštīlār “They have understood (*faṭimū*) this matter.” 'UQUŠVR L'R 'UQUŠM'Q uqušūrlār uqušmāq. 0

:: 'ULA'R' BYR' 'KINDY BRL' 'UQIŠTIYLA'R olār bīr ekindi birlā oqištīlār “They called (*da'ā*) one another.” 'UQIŠUVR 'UQIŠM'Q oqišūr oqišmāq. 0

:: 'L MANIK BRL' BİTIK 'UQIŠDY ol mänig birlā bitig oqišdi “He competed with me in reading (*qirā'a*) the book.” The same for helping. 0

:: 'L MANK' TRIΓ' 'AKIŠDY ol maṇa tariy ākišdi “He helped me sow (*baḍr*) the grain.” The same for competing. 'AKIŠVR 'KIŠM'K akišūr akišmāk. 0

:: 'L MANK' JUK'N 'AKIŠDY ol maṇa čögān āgišdi “He helped me bend (*'atf*) the polo stick (or other).” The same for competing. 'AKIŠVR 'KIŠM'K āgišūr āgišmāk.

:: 'IĶY 'RAN 'UKUŠDY ekki ārān ögüšdi “The two men praised each other (*tamā-daha*).” 'UKUŠVR 'KUSM'K ögüšūr ögüšmāk.

:: 'L MANK' TARIΓ 'U'UKŠDY ol maṇa tariy ögišdi “He helped me grind (*ṭahn*) the wheat (or other).” 'U'UKŠVR<sup>1</sup> 'U'UKŠM'K<sup>1</sup> ögišūr ögišmāk. 0 The same for competing.

:: KIŠYLA'R 'IYŠTA' BİYR BİYRIK' 'IKAŠ'DIYLA'R kišīlār īšta bīr bīrkā igāšdīlār “The people depended (*ittakala*) upon one another in the matter.” 'IKAŠVR 'IKAŠMA'K igāšūr igāšmāk. 0

:: 'L MANK' TAMUR 'IKAŠDIY ol maṇa tāmür egāšdi “He helped me file (*saḥl*) the iron (or other).” 'IKAŠVR 'IKAŠM'K egāšūr egāšmāk.

aqiš-

V

103

uquš-

oqiš-

ākiš-

āgiš-

ögüš-

ögiš-

igāš-

egāš-

:: 'IĶY BUΓ'RA' 'IKAŠDIY ekki buγra egāšdi “The two [camel-] stallions pushed and bit one another (*tašādama, ta'āḍā*).” Proverb [=409 kökägün]; 'IĶY BUΓRA' 'IKAŠUVR 'UTRA' KUKA'KUVN; YANJILUVR' ekki buγra egāšūr otra kökägün yančilūr 0 “Two stallions clash (*yatašādamu*) and a blue fly is crushed in between.” 0 This is coined about two emirs who do battle with the result that between them the weak are killed.

:: 'L MANK' 'ALIM 'ALIŠDY ol maṇa alim ališdi “He helped me to collect (*qabḍ*) my debt (or other).” 'ALIŠUVR 'ALIŠMA'Q ališūr ališmāq.

:: 'IĶY NA'NK BIRLA' 'ILIŠDY ekki nāṇ birlā ilišdi “The two things were caught on or stuck to (*ta'allāqa*) one another.” 'ILIŠUVR' 'ILIŠMA'K ilišūr ilišmāk.

:: QAN'JIQ' 'ILIŠDY qančiq ilišdi “The dog's penis was stuck inside the bitch.” 0

:: 'AD'ΓIR 'ILIŠDY aḍγir ilišdi “The two horse- (or camel-) stallions bit each other (*ta'āḍā*).”

[I. 164/188]

:: BURY BARJA' 'ULIŠDY böri barēa ulišdi “The wolves (or other) howled (*'awat*).” Verse:

'ULŠIB 'ARN BUVRLYV	ulšip ārān bōrläyü
YRTN YQ' 'UVR'LAYV	yirtip yaqa örlayu
SIQRIP 'VNY YVR'LAYV	siqrip ūni yūrlayu
SIΓTAB KVZY 'UR'TULVR	siγtap kōzi örtülür

V

“The men howl like wolves (in grief over Afrāsiyāb), they tear the collar with wailing, they warble like a singer, and cry until the eye is covered (with tears).” 'ULIŠUR 'ULIŠMA'Q ulišur ulišmāq.

:: 'ULA'R 'ĶY TW'RIN 'ULAŠDY olār ekki tawārin ülāšdi “Each of the two divided (*mayyaza*) his property and took his share (*axaḍa ḥiṣṣa*).” 'ULAŠUVR 'ULAŠMA'K ülāšūr ülāšmāk.

:: BYR N'NK BİYRK' 'ULAŠDY bīr nāṇ bīrkā ulašdi “One thing was joined (*ittašala*) to another.” 'ULAŠVR 'ULAŠM'Q ulašūr ulašmāq.

:: 'ULIŠ'DY NA'NK ölišdi nāṇ “The thing was soaking wet (*ibtalla, nafaḍat al-ruṭūba fi ajzā'ihī*).” 'ULIŠUVR' 'ULIŠMA'K ölišūr ölišmāk.

:: 'L MANIK BRL' TA'ΓDIN QUḌIY 'ILIŠDY ol mänig birlā täyḍin qoḍi ilišdi “He competed with me in coming down (*nuzül*) from the mountain.” 'ILIŠVR 'ILIŠM'Q ilišūr ilišmāq. 0

:: 'UL MANIK BRL' TUBIQ 'ILIŠDY ol mänig birlā topiq ilišdi “He competed with me in catching (*ta'līq*) the ball; he had a contest with me to see which of us was the better catcher (*a'laq*).” 'ILIŠUR 'ILIŠMA'K ilišūr ilišmāk. 0

'AMŠDIY 'AR' **amušdi är** "The man (or other) hung his head in silence due to being blamed or rebuked (*sakata* . . . *muṭriqan min 'itāb aw lā'ima*)."' 'AMUŠUVR 'AMIŠMA'Q **amušūr amušmāq.** 0

:: BUV 'IYSIΓ 'ULA'R QMΓ 'UNASŠ<sup>1</sup> DIYL'R ' **bu işiy olār qamuγ unašdīlār** "They came to terms (*tarāḍaw*) over this matter (or other)."' 'UN'ŠUVR L'R 'UNASMA'Q **unašūrlār unašmāq.** 0

:: 'UL MANIK BRL' TA'ΓDIN 'INIŠDY **ol mänig birlä tāγdin enišdi** "He competed with me in coming down (*nuzūl*) from the mountain." 'INIŠUVR 'NIŠM'Q **enišūr enišmāq.**

Q

:: 'AR' 'AJIQ'TY **ar ačiqti** "The man was convulsed with hunger (*taḍawwara* . . . *min al-jū'*)."' 'AJIQA'R 'AJIQM'Q **ačiqār ačiqmāq.** 0

:: 'YŠ 'UJUQTY **iš učuqti** "The matter came to an end (*balaya* . . . *āxirahu*)."' 'UJU-QA'R 'UJQM'Q **učuqār učuqmāq.** 0

:: 'AR' 'USUQ'TY **är usuqti** "The man was thirsty (*aṭiša*)."' 'USUQ'R 'USUQM'Q **usuqār usuqmāq.** Proverb: 'SUQMİŠ'Q' SA'QIΓ QAMΓ SUVF KURNVR **usuqmīšqa sāqiy qamuγ sūw körnūr** "The thirsty one sees every mirage as water." This is coined about a man in need, who sees in every

[I. 166/191]

thing the fulfillment of his need. 0

:: 'L 'WK' 'AŠUQ'TY **ol äwkä ašuqti** "The man longed (*ištāqa*) for home." The same for anyone who craves or longs for (*mūla'*, *muštāq*) something. 'AŠUQ'R 'AŠUQM'Q **ašuqār ašuqmāq.** 0

:: 'AR' 'AΓUQ'TY **är aγuqti** "The man was poisoned (*summa*)."' This is intransitive, as [Arabic] *ḥumma r-rajul* ("The man was feverish") from *al-ḥummā* ("fever"). 'AΓUQ'R 'AΓUQM'Q **aγuqār aγuqmāq.** 0

:: 'AR' 'ALIQTY **är eliqti** "The man was vile or corrupt (*la'uma*)."' :: BA'Š 'AİLİQ'TY **bāš eliqti** "The wound festered (*tanaffaṭa, fasada*)."' The same for anything that becomes spoiled (*fasada*) from the glance of a menstruating woman, a confined woman, or one polluted. 'AİLİ-QA'R 'AİLİQMA'Q **eliqār eliqmāq.** 0 Verse:

BA'ŠIY 'ANIK 'İLİQTY<sup>1</sup>  
Q'NY YUZUB TURQTY

**bāši anig eliqti**  
**qāni yüzüp turuqti**

V

104 1. DIY L'R added in brown ink.

105 1. A (brown) altered from original U (black).

BA'LIΓ BULUB TAΓIQ'TIY  
'M'DY 'NY KYM YAT'R

**bāliy bolup tayiqti**  
**amdi ani kīm yetār**

Describing a wounded man whose blood went cold: "His wound festered (*tanaffaṭa*) but he climbed the mountain, though the blood in the wound was swollen and thick; who can reach him now?"

K

:: 'UΓL'N 'ATIKTY **oγlān ätikti** "The baby put on flesh (*tarabbala, kabura*)."' 'ATIK'R 'AṬIKMA'K **ätikār ätikmāk.** 0

:: 'AR' 'IJKTY **är ičikti** "The man capitulated and went over to the other side (*istas-lama* . . . *fī l-ḥarb wa-daxala ilā l-ḥarb al-āxar ṭāyi'an*)."' 'IJK'R 'IJKM'K **ičikār ičikmāk.** 0

:: 'AR TIYNY U'UJKTY **är tīni öčükti** "The man's voice was still (*xafata*) (in battle), or his breath was cut off (*inqaṭa'a*) (from cold water being poured over him or from a severe blow)."' 'UJUK'R 'UJKM'K **öčükār öčükmāk.**

L

:: SUVT' U'UBLDY **sūt öpüldi** "The milk<sup>2</sup> (or other) was sipped (*ḥusiyat*). This is a root-principle, namely that when you add *lām* to the preterite the verb becomes passive. U'UBLUR 'U'UBLMA'K **öplür öpülmāk.** 0

:: 'UQ 'ATILDİY **oq atildi** "The arrow was shot (*rumiya*)."' 'AṬILUR 'AṬILM'Q **atilur atilmāq.**

:: JAJ'K 'AIZIY 'AṬILDY **čečäk aγzi atildi** "The calyx split open (*tafaṭṭarat al-jamā'a*)."' The same for any flower or blossom; also anything that splits open without leaving a gap (*infaraja min γayr baynūna*). 0

:: 'UL BUV 'IYŠ'TA' 'UTALDY **ol bu išta ötäldi** "He exerted himself, went to great pains (*ta'annā, mārāsa š-šidda*) in this matter." 'UTALUR 'TALM'K **ötälür ötälmāk.** 0

[I. 168/193]

:: TARIΓ 'UTALDY<sup>1</sup> **tariγ otaldi** "The superfluous leaves of the crop were cut off (*quti'a*)" – i.e., any [part of the] plant which one destroys in order not to let it spoil.<sup>2</sup> 'UTALUR<sup>1</sup> 'UTALM'Q<sup>1</sup> **otalur otalmāq.**

2. MS. "soup" – see 97, n.1.

106 1. A altered to U in brown ink.

2. MS. *fa-yufsiduhu*, amend to *kay-lā yufsidahu*, cf. 555:6.

:: QUVY BAŞIY 'UTULDY qōy başi ütildi “The head of the sheep (or other) was singed (*uḥriqa ša'r*).” U'UTLUR U'UTLM'K ütülür ütülümāk. 0

:: 'ATILDIY NA'NK itildi nāñ “The thing was pushed (*dufi'a*).” :: 'UFL'N 'AITILDY oγlān itildi “The baby pushed himself forward, crawled (*tara'ra'a, tazahḥafa*).” 'AITILVR' 'AITILMA'K itülür itilmāk.

:: KVK 'AJILDY kōk açildi “(The thing opened [*infataḥa*]; or) the sky cleared (*taqaš-ša'at*).” :: KUNKUL 'AJILDY kōñül açildi “The breast dilated with joy (*inšaraḥa*).” The same for anything that opens (*infataḥa*). 'AJILUVR 'AJILM'Q açilür açilmāq.

:: SUVF 'IJILDIY sūw içildi “The water (or other) was drunk (*šuriba*).” 'IJL'UR 'IJLM'K içilür içilmāk. 0

:: 'AS'RUK 'ADILDIY<sup>3</sup> äsrük açildi “The drunken man (or the man who fainted) came to his senses (*afāqa*).” 'AD'LUR<sup>4</sup> 'ADILM'Q<sup>3</sup> açilür açilmāq.

:: TUTIVN 'IDILDIY<sup>3</sup> tutγün idildi “The captive (or the bound man, or other) was released (*uṭliqa*).” 'ID'LR 'IDLM'Q idilür idilmāq.

:: 'AR' 'URULDY är uruldi “The man (or other) was struck (*ḍuriba*).” 'URLVR' 'URULM'Q urlür urulmāq.

:: TIRKY 'URULDY tergi uruldi “The table was set (*wuḍi'at*).” :: TUVI'URULDY tūγ uruldi “The sentry drums were beat (*duriḥat*).” 0

:: TARIF'URULDY tariγ oruldi “The grain was reaped (*ḥuṣida*).” Verse:

QUR·VIY JUVAJ QURLDY	qarvi ḥuvaē quruldi
TUVγUM TIKIB 'URULDY <sup>5</sup>	tūγum tikip uruldi
SUVSIY 'TN [sic] 'RULDY	sūsi anin oruldi
QANJUQ QAJ'R 'UL TUT'R	qanē-oq qačār ol tutār

Describing a battle: “When the royal canopy was unfurled in it” – i.e. the canopy made of silk for the kings of the Turks under which they seek shade in the summer heat and protection from rain and snow – “when my banners of war [were set up and] the drums beat, there the enemy troops were mowed like grain; now how can the greatest of them [i.e. Tutār] flee from me?” 0

:: 'URK'N 'URULDIY örgān örüldi “The thong of the camel's girth (or other) was plaited (*rummīla*).” 'URLUR 'URLM'Q [sic] örlür örülmāk. 0

:: 'AR' 'UWK'SINDA' 'URULDY ar öwkāsindā ürüldi “The man was puffed up (*intafaxa*)

3. D altered from D by later hand (dot in brown ink).

4. Amended from 'AD'LR.

5. Originally 'UZLDY, dot of Z altered to U in brown ink.

[I. 169/195]

107

in anger.” :: Q'B 'URULDY qāp ürüldi “The wineskin was blown up (*nufixa fī*).” :: 'UVT 'URULDY ot uruldi “The fire was blown (*nufixat*).” It is transitive or not transitive. Proverb: YALNKUQ<sup>1</sup> 'URULMIŞ QA'B' 'UL 'AFZIY YAZ'LB' 'ALQINVR yalñuq urulmiş qāp ol, aγzi yazlup alqinür “Man is (like) an inflated (*manfūx fīhi*) wineskin; when the mouth opens the wind goes out [he expires].” 0

:: 'AR' 'IRILDY<sup>2</sup> SARILDY är erildi sarildi “The man was shaken with grief and remorse (*ih tazza . . . min γamm wa-lāma nafsahu fīhi*).” 'IRILUR<sup>2</sup> 'RILM'K erilür erilmāk. 0

:: 'ANIK 'ATY 'IZULDY anig äti ezildi “His flesh was scratched (*xudiša*).” Also of anything that is scratched lengthwise (*xudiša ṭūlan*). 'IZLUR 'ZLM'K ezilür ezilmāk. 0

:: YUVL 'AZILDIY yōl azildi “The way was lost (*ḍulla*).” 'AZILUR 'AZILM'Q azilür azilmāq. 0

:: 'AR' 'UZALDY är özäldi “The man suffered and persisted in a matter without finding speedy relief (*ta'ayya, baqiya fī amr la yanfariju 'anhu sari<sup>an</sup>*).” Hence :: 'IK'LIK 'UZALDY iglig özäldi “The sick man was tenacious in giving up the ghost, as though he were too strong for death to be decreed against him (*'asura 'alā l-mariḍ naz' ar-rūḥ ka-annahu lā yuqḍā 'alayhi min aš-sidda*).” 'UZA'LUR 'UZALM'K özälür özälmāk. 0

'UZLDY NA'NK üzüldi nāñ “The thing was cut or broke (*inqaṭa'a*).” 'UZALUR 'UZALM'K üzlür üzülmak. 0

:: YAŞIF 'ASILDY yişiγ äsildi “The rope (or other) stretched (*imtadda*).” Also if it is stretched by someone (*mudda*). 'AS'LUR 'ASILM'K äslür äsilmāk.

:: BYR NA'NK BYRK' 'ASILDY bür nāñ birkä asildi “One thing was hung on or stuck to (*ta'allaqa*) another.” 'AS'LUR 'ASILM'Q aslur asilmāq. 0

:: 'TM'K 'UŞALDY ätmāk uşaldi “The bread (or other) crumbled (*tafattata*).” 'UŞ'LUR 'UŞALM'Q uşalür uşalmāq.

:: 'NIK 'UZA' YUFUR'QA'N 'AŞULDY anig üzä yoγurqān äşüldi “He was covered (*duṭṭira*) with a coverlet.” The same when a thing is put as a cover (*γuṭṭiya*) over something. 'AŞULUR 'AŞULMA'K äşülür äşülmāk.

:: QUM 'AŞILDY qum äsildi “The sand (or other) was poured out (*inhāla*).” 'AŞ'LUR 'ŞILM'K äslür äsilmāk. 0

:: 'NIK 'LKY 'IYŞQ' 'IŞILDY anig älgi işqa işildi “His hand became accustomed (*marinat*) to the job (or other).” 'AŞLUR 'IŞLM'K işlür işilmāk. 0

107 1. Q altered from V by later hand (brown ink).

2. First I in Red ink.

<p>:: 'NIK 'WY 'UŠALDY <b>anig äwi üšaldi</b> “His house was searched (<i>buḥiṭa</i>).” The same for anything that you search. 'UŠ'LUR 'UŠLM'K <b>üšälür üšalmāk.</b> 0</p> <p>U'UWLDY NA'NK <b>uwuldi nān</b> [I. 171/197]</p> <p>“The thing was crumbled (<i>futta</i>).” 'UWLUR 'UWLM'Q <b>uwlur uwulmāq.</b> 0</p> <p>:: BV SUVZ 'UQULDY <b>bu sōz uquldi</b> “These words were understood (<i>urifa</i>).” 'UQLUR 'UQLM'Q <b>uqlur uqulmāq.</b> 0</p> <p>:: BTIK 'UQILDY <b>bitig oqildi</b> “The book was read (<i>quri'a</i>).” 'UQILUR 'UQILM'Q <b>oqilur oqilmāq.</b></p> <p>:: TARIḠ 'IKILDY <b>tariḡ äkildi</b> “The grain was sown (<i>zuri'a</i>).” The same for anything that is spread (<i>durra</i>) over a thing. 'AKIḠLUR 'AKILM'K <b>äkilür äkilmāk.</b> 0</p> <p>:: YI'J 'AKILDY <b>yīḡäc ägildi</b> “The branch (or other) bent down (<i>māla</i>).” 'AKILUR 'AKILM'K <b>agilür agilmāk.</b> Proverb [cf. 539 ya]: QURḠ YI'J 'AKILM'S QUR'MIŠ KIRŠ TU-KULM'S <b>quruḡ yīḡäc ägilmās, qurmiš kiriš tügülmās</b> 0 “Dry wood cannot bend (<i>yan'aṭifu</i>), a strung bowstring cannot be tied.” 0 This is coined about anything that has passed beyond the limit of its usefulness and cannot return to its original state even if one wishes it to.</p> <p>:: TUBR'Q 'UKULDY <b>toprāq üküldi</b> “The earth (or other) was piled up (<i>takawwama</i>).” 'UKULUR 'UKLM'K <b>üklür ükülümāk.</b></p> <p>:: 'AR' 'UKULDY <b>är ögüldi</b> “The man was praised (<i>mudiḥa</i>).” 'UKULUR 'UKLM'K <b>öglür ögülmāk.</b></p> <p>:: MANDIN 'UBAN'DY <b>māndin opindi</b> “He hid (<i>ixtafā</i>) from me.” 'UBANUVR 'UBANM'Q <b>opinür opinmāq.</b></p> <p>:: 'UL MUVN 'UBUN'DY <b>ol mūn öpüdi</b> “He pretended to sip (<i>yaḥsū</i>) the soup.” 'UBNUVR 'UBUNM'K <b>öpnür öpünmāk.</b> 0</p> <p>Some verbs formed with the <i>nūn</i> suffix have this meaning, namely that the subject pretends to do the action but does not really do it; or else that he is independent in doing the action and requires no help from anyone else. 0</p> <p>:: 'UL N'RUV 'AITNDY <b>ol nāru itindi</b> “He crawled (<i>tazaḥḥafa</i>) to the other side.” The same if something rolls (<i>tadaḥraja</i>) due to the force of something else. 'AITNUVR 'AITNM'K <b>itnür itinmāk.</b> 0</p> <p>:: 'UL 'UQ 'ATINDY <b>ol oq atindi</b> “He pretended to shoot (<i>yarmī</i>) the arrow.” 'ATINUVR 'TINM'Q <b>atinür atinmāq.</b></p> <p>:: 'UL MANDIN 'UTAN'DY <b>ol māndin utandi</b> “He was embarrassed in front of me (<i>istahyā minnī</i>).” 'UTANUVR 'UTANM'Q <b>utanür utanmāq.</b> Oḡuz dialect.</p>	<p>üšäl-</p> <p>uwal-</p> <p>108</p> <p>uqul-</p> <p>oqil-</p> <p>äkil-</p> <p>ägil- P</p> <p>ükül-</p> <p>ögül-</p> <p>opin-</p> <p>öpün-</p> <p>G</p> <p>itin-</p> <p>atin-</p> <p>utan- D</p>
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<p>:: 'UL XA'N_QA' 'UTUK 'UTUN'DY <b>ol xānqa ötüg ötüdi</b> “He addressed a petition (<i>rafa'a qiṣṣatahu</i>) to the king (or other).” Its root-form is: 'UTKUN'DY <b>ötgüdi</b> meaning “He mimicked or narrated as he had heard (<i>ḥakā kamā sami'a</i>).” U'UTNUVR 'UTUNM'K <b>ötnür ötünmāk.</b> 0</p> <p>:: BAK 'ARIN 'AJINDY <b>beg ärin ačindi</b> “The emir [I. 173/199]</p> <p>entertained, favored (<i>akrama, na'ama</i>) his troops (or other).” :: 'AR' 'ATIN 'JNDY <b>är atin ačindi</b> “The man favored (<i>aḥsana</i>) his horse (with fine barley or fodder).” 0 :: 'AR' QU'VYN 'AJINDY <b>är qōyin ačindi</b> “The man pretended to open (<i>yaftahu</i>) his blouse.” The same for a sick man or a baby in the cradle who throws off (<i>kašafa</i>) the coverlet. 'AJ'INUR<sup>1</sup> 'AJNM'Q <b>ačnur ačinmaq.</b></p> <p>:: 'AR' 'DUNDY <b>är odundi</b> “The man woke up (<i>istayqaṣa . . . min manāmihi</i>).” 'UDNUR 'UDNM'Q <b>odnur odunmāq.</b> 0</p> <p>:: 'UVT' 'UDNDY <b>öt uđindi</b> “The fire was extinguished (<i>xumidat, tuḥi'at</i>).” :: YULA' U'UDNDY <b>yula uđindi</b> “The lamp (or other) was extinguished (<i>tuḥi'a</i>).” 'UDNUR 'UDNMA'Q <b>uđnur uđinmāq.</b></p> <p>:: 'NIK QUTY U'UDNDY <b>anig quti uđindi</b> “His luck was extinguished (<i>tuḥi'a</i>).” Verse:</p> <table border="0" style="margin-left: auto; margin-right: auto;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">'AM'DY 'UVDN 'UDNDY</td> <td style="text-align: center;"><b>amdi üdin odundi</b></td> <td style="text-align: right;">odun- V</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">KIYDIN TALM 'KUNDY</td> <td style="text-align: center;"><b>kēdin tālim öküdi</b></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">'YL BULḠA'LI 'IKANDY</td> <td style="text-align: center;"><b>ēl bolḡali igādi</b></td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">'ANDAḠ 'RIK KYM 'UTA'R</td> <td style="text-align: center;"><b>anday ärig kīm utār</b></td> <td></td> </tr> </table> <p>“Now (the enemy) woke up from his sleep; then he repented<sup>2</sup> much, since he had balked at making peace; who can overcome the likes of that man (except I)?” 0</p> <p>:: 'AR' 'ARINDY <b>är arindi</b> “The man wiped himself, washed (<i>istaṭāba, iṭtasala</i>).” :: 'AR' 'ARINDY <b>är arindi</b> “The man applied depilatory and shaved his pubes (<i>nawwara . . . wa-sta'āna idā ḥalaqa 'ānatahu</i>).” 'ARINUVR 'ARINM'Q <b>arinür arinmāq.</b></p> <p>:: 'UL 'UVZIN U'URNDY <b>ol özin urundi</b> “He struck (<i>ḍaraba</i>) himself in repentance over a matter.” The same for pretending to strike. :: 'AR' SUWLQ 'RUNDY <b>är suwluq urundi</b> “The man wrapped his turban (<i>ta'ammama</i>).” :: 'URA'ḠUT BURNJUK U'URNDY <b>urāyut bürinčük urundi</b> “The woman put on a veil (<i>ixtamarat</i>).” 'URNUR 'URNM'Q <b>urnur urunmāq.</b> 0</p> <p>'AR' SKY 'URNDY <b>är siki örüdi</b> “The man's penis was erect (<i>na'aṣa</i>).” 'URNUR 'URNM'K <b>örnür örünmāk.</b></p>	'AM'DY 'UVDN 'UDNDY	<b>amdi üdin odundi</b>	odun- V	KIYDIN TALM 'KUNDY	<b>kēdin tālim öküdi</b>		'YL BULḠA'LI 'IKANDY	<b>ēl bolḡali igādi</b>		'ANDAḠ 'RIK KYM 'UTA'R	<b>anday ärig kīm utār</b>		<p>ötün-</p> <p>ačin-</p> <p>109</p> <p>odun-</p> <p>uđin-</p> <p>ödin- V</p> <p>arin-</p> <p>urun-</p> <p>örün-</p>
'AM'DY 'UVDN 'UDNDY	<b>amdi üdin odundi</b>	odun- V											
KIYDIN TALM 'KUNDY	<b>kēdin tālim öküdi</b>												
'YL BULḠA'LI 'IKANDY	<b>ēl bolḡali igādi</b>												
'ANDAḠ 'RIK KYM 'UTA'R	<b>anday ärig kīm utār</b>												

- 109 1. Original *sukūn* (') crossed out in brown ink and replaced by I.  
2. MS. *nađima*, read *nadima*.

:: 'AR' 'IYŠQA' 'IRNDY **är iſqa erindi** “The man was indolent in the matter out of boredom (*takāsala . . . mustawḥišan*).” 'AİR̄NUR 'AİR̄INM'K **ernür erinmāk**. **erin-**

:: 'AT' 'SNDY **at äsindi** “The horse stretched (*madda*) the rope to escape and nearly broke it (*kāda an yaqṭa'a*).” **äsin-**

:: MAN 'ANK'R' 'ISNDIM **men aṅār isindim** “I loved (*aḥbaltu*) him.” :: 'UL 'UVT'Q' 'ISINDY **ol öṭqa isindi** “He warmed himself (*iſṭalā*) at the fire.” :: 'UL KUVN [sic] 'ISINDY **ol künkä isindi** **isin-**

[I. 175/202] **110**

“He basked (*tašarraqa*) in the sun.” 'ISINUVR 'ISINM'K **isnür isinmāk**.

:: 'UL MANK' 'IŠAN'DY **ol maṅa išan̄di** “He depended (*ittakala, i'tamada*) upon me in the matter.” 'IŠANUR 'IŠAN'M'K **išan̄ür išan̄māk**. **išan-**

:: 'UL MANDIN 'AŠUNDIY **ol mändin ašundi** “He went ahead (*sabaqa*) of me.” 'AŠUNUR 'AŠUNMA'Q **ašunur ašunmāq**. **ašun-**

:: 'UL MANK' 'AWINDIY **ol maṅa awindi** “He was friendly (*ista'nasa*) to me.” 'AWINUR 'AWINMA'Q **awinur awinmāq**. **awin-**

:: 'UL 'UVZINK' 'ATM'K 'UWUNDY **ol öziṅä ätmāk uwundi** “The man crumbled (*fatt*) the bread for himself.” 'UWNUR 'WUNMA'Q **uwnur uwunmāq**. **uwun-**

:: 'UL 'ALKIN 'UWUNDY **ol älg̃in uwundi** “(That man) wrung (*farraka*) his hands (because of a misfortune that befell him or bad news or pain).”

:: BTIK 'UQIN'DIY **bitig oq̃indi** “The book was read (*quri'a*).” :: 'UL BTIK 'UQIN'DY **ol bitig oq̃indi** “He pretended to read the book.” 'UQINUR 'UQINMA'Q **oq̃inur oq̃inmāq**. The *nūn* is an alternant of *lām* [i.e. **oq̃il-**]. **oq̃in-**

:: 'UL 'UVZINK' TARIḤ 'AKINDY **ol öziṅä tariḥ äkindi** “He sowed the ground (*zirā'a, baḍr al-arḍ*) by and for himself.” 'AKINUR 'AKINM'K **äkinür äkinmāk**. **äkin-**

:: 'UL YA'ZUQINK' 'KUNDIY **ol yāzuqiṅa ökündi** “He regretted, repented for (*taḥas-sara 'alā, nadīma*) his sin.” The same for any repentance (*nadāma*). 'UKNUR 'KUNM'K **ökñür ökün̄māk**. **ökün-**

:: 'UL 'UVZIN 'UKUNDY **ol özin ög̃ündi** “He praised (*madaḥa*) himself.” 'UKNUR 'KUNMA'K **ögnür ög̃ün̄māk**. Proverb: 'UKUNKUVJY 'UMINDA' 'ARTA'TUR **ög̃üng̃üci üminda artātur** **ög̃ün-**

0 “The self-praiser (*mādiḥ an-nafs*) may ruin his trousers” – meaning that when he is put to the test he may not be able to prove his boast and then will be so embarrassed that he defecates in his trousers. This is coined to advise someone to stop praising himself. **P**

:: 'AT 'IKANDY **at ig̃ändi** “The horse (or other) was refractory (*ḥarana*).” 'IKANUR 'IKANM'K **ig̃änür ig̃än̄māk**. **ig̃än-**

:: QISRA'Q 'IKANDY [sic] **qisrāq alindi** “The mare conceived (*ḥamalat . . . fuluwwan wa-'aliqat*).” Also :: 'UL 'ALMIN 'ALINDY **ol almin alindi** “He collected (*qabḍ*) his debt alone, without anyone's help.” 'ALINUR 'ALINMA'Q **alinur alinmāq**. **alin-**

:: 'ULANDY NA'NK **ulandi nāṅ** “One thing was joined to (*ittašala*) another.” 'ULA'NUR 'ULAN'MA'Q **ulanur ulanmāq**. **ulan-**

[I. 172/204] **111**

:: 'ULNDY NA'NK **ulindi nāṅ** “The thing twisted and turned (*iltawā, dāra*)” – such as a rope around a tree; or as a snake writhes and twists (*tarta'iṣu, taltawī*).” :: YUVL 'ULUNDY **yol ulindi** “The road twisted (*iltawā*).” 'ULNUR 'ULNM'Q **ulnur ulinmāq**. **0 ulin-**

:: MAN BU'V 'YŠTA' 'ULIN'DIM **mān bu išta olindim** “I was weary (*malaltu*) of this matter and all that I suffered because of it.” 'ULINUR MAN 'ULINM'Q **olinur mān, olinmāq**. **0 olin-**

:: 'L 'NK'R' 'IALIAN'DIY<sup>1</sup> **ol aṅar iländi** “He reproached (*'ayyara*) him (after he had depended on his judgment in a certain matter and it now appeared that it would have been better to do the opposite).” From this comes the word for “reproach (*malāma*)”: 'ILANJ **ilān̄č**. 'ILA'NUR 'ILANM'K **ilān̄ür ilān̄māk**. **ilān-**

:: TIK'N TVN Q' 'ILINDY **tikān tōnqa ilindi** “The thorn caught on (*ta'allaqa*) the garment.” 'ILINUR 'ILINMA'K **ilnür ilinmāk**. Verse: **ilin-**

? BDUV MANK' 'AILIN'DY	<b>yabdu<sup>2</sup> (?) maṅa ilindi</b>	V
'M'K'K KURV 'ULINDY	<b>āmgāk kōrū olindi</b>	
QILMŠINK' 'ILANDY	<b>qilmišīṅa iländi</b>	
TUTḠUN BULB 'UL QAT'R	<b>tutḡun bolup ol qatār</b>	

“The enemy [i.e. Yabdu] fell prisoner (*usira*) in my hand, and suffered hardships until he was weary with life (*sa'ima l-ḥayāt*), then he repented and reproached himself for what he had done; now [as a captive] he has become hardened after being soft.” **0**

:: 'AR' YAḠY QA' 'AILINDY<sup>3</sup> **ar yaḡiqa ilindi** “The man was taken prisoner (*usira*) by the enemy.” :: KYK TUZAQ' QA' 'ILINDIY **käyik tuzaqqa ilindi** “The game was caught (*ta'allaqa*) in the snare.” The same [aorist and infinitive as above].

:: MAN TNKRY DIN 'UMUNDUM **mān tänr̄idin umundum** “I put my hope (*rajawtu*) in God (may He be exalted).” 'UMNUR 'UMNM'Q **umnur umunmāq**. **umun-**

**111** 1. Second A by a later hand (dark black, thin pen).

2. The first letter could be b, t, n or y. Brockelmann (Volks poesie I,15) suggested Yabdu; Atalay (I, 205) Tapdu; also conceivable are Baydu and Taydu. Though translated “the enemy” it must be a proper name.

3. First I by a later hand (dark black, thin pen).

:: 'UL YA'ΓY Q' 'ANUN'DIY ol yāyīqa anundi “(The man) prepared (*ista'adda*) for the enemy (or other).” 'ANUNUR 'ANUNM'Q annur anummāq. **anun-**

:: MAN 'NK'R 'INAN'DIM män anār inandim “I trusted (*i'tamadtu*) in him.” 'INA'NUR 'INANM'K-Q<sup>4</sup> inānur inanmāq. Hence “a trusted emir” is called: 'INANJ BAK inanč beg. **inan-**

Doubled

B

:: 'UL 'UZIN MANDIN 'UBAṬIY ol özin mändin opitti “He hid (*katama*) himself from me.” The same for concealing or hiding (*satara, katama*) anything. 'ABITUR<sup>5</sup> 'ABITM'Q<sup>5</sup> opitur opitmāq. **opit-**

T

:: TA'Y 'ATİTY tāy atitti “The colt was reckoned to be a horse (*tafarrasa . . . ay 'udda min al-fursān*).” This is like the Arabic: *futtiyat al-jāriya ay 'uddat min al-fatayāt* (“The girl was reckoned to be a young woman”). **atit-**

[I. 178/206]

Proverb: TA'Y 'ATAIT'SA<sup>1</sup> 'AT TINUVR 'UṬVL 'ARAḌSA<sup>2</sup> 'ATA' TINUVR tāy atitsa at tinūr, oγūl ārāḌsa ata tinūr “When the colt is reckoned a horse, the horse rests (meaning the stallion rests from being mounted); when the boy is counted among the men, the father rests (since he can free him from want).” Verse [=514 tāy]:

TAKUR MANIK SA'WMNY BLK'LKA' ĀY  
TINUR QALY 'ATAIT'SA<sup>1</sup> QISRAQ SANY TA'Y  
tägür mänig sāwimni bilgālākā āy  
tinur qali atitsa qisraq sani tāy

“Convey my words and say to the wise ones, that the mare rests when her colt is counted among the horses.” 0

:: 'UL 'ANY 'ATAṬY ol ani ötätti “He caused him to suffer hardship (*awqa'ahu fi muqāsāt al-miḥna*).” 'AT'TUR 'TTM'K ötätür ötätmāk. **ötät-**

4. K original (black); Q by later hand (brown); circle in red.  
5. A smudged, reading doubtful.

- 112 1. Two dots below second T in brown ink.  
2. Ḍ altered from D by later hand (dot in brown ink).

J

:: 'UL SIR'K' 'AJİTY ol sirkä ačitti “He soured (*ḥammaḍa*) the vinegar (or other).” :: 'UL 'NIK KVNK'LIN 'AJİṬIY ol anig kōḡlin ačitti “He pained his heart with misfortune (*amaḍḍa . . . bi-fajī'a*).” 'AJITUR 'AJIT'M'Q ačitur ačitmāq. 0 **ačit-**

Ḍ

:: 'UL MINY 'UḌİTY ol mini uḍitti “He put me to sleep (*anāma*).” 'UḌITUR 'UḌIT-M'Q uḍitur uḍitmāq. **uḍit-**

:: 'UL YUṬRUT 'UḌİTY ol yoṡrut uḍitti “He curdled (*rawwaba*) the yoghurt.” :: 'UL 'UḌITM' 'UḌİTY ol uḍitma uḍitti “He curdled (*jabhana*) the cheese.” :: 'UL 'UT 'UḌİTY ol ot uḍitti “He put out (*aṭfa'a*) the fire.” The same [aorist and infinitive as above]. 0

R

:: 'UL TARIṬ 'ARİTY ol tariy aritti “He cleaned (*naqqā*) the wheat (or other).” 'ARITUR 'ARITM'Q aritur aritmāq. **arit-**

:: 'UL QUVZIY 'ARİTY ol qozi aritti “He gelded (*mza'a xuṡya*) the ram (or other).” The same for circumcising (*xattana*) a boy. The same [aorist and infinitive as above]. 0

:: 'UṬLA'N 'ARAṬY oylan ārätti “The boy was reckoned a man (*'udda . . . min ar-rijāl*).” Its root-form is: 'AIRD'TIY ārāḍti and [the dentals] assimilated, as one says [in Arabic] *muḍḍakir* (“one who remembers”) from *aḍ-dikr* (“remembering”). 'ARADUVR 'ARAD'MA'K ārādür ārāḍmāk. **ārät- (āräd-)**

:: 'UL YA'Γ 'ARUIṬY ol yāy arütti “He melted (*aḍāba*) the butter (or other).” 'ARUITUR 'ARUITM'K ärütür ärütümāk. **ärüt-**

Z

:: 'UL 'ANKA'R YUVL 'AZİTY ol anār yöl azitti “He made him lose (*aḍalla*) the way.” 'AZITUR 'AZITM'Q azitur azitmāq. **azit-**

:: 'UL 'UṬLA'N QULA'QIN' 'AZİTY ol oylān qulāqin ezitti “He slit (*aṡraṡa*) the boy's ear.” The same **ezit-**

[I. 180/209]

for anything that one scratches lengthwise (*xadaṡa<sup>1</sup> wa-ṡaraṡa ṡawīlan*). 'AZITUR 'AZITM'K ezitür ezitmāk.

113 1. MS. *xadṡin*.

:: 'UL YŠΓ 'UZATĪY ol yišiy uzatti “He stretched (*madda*) the rope (or other).” :: 'L 'YŠΓ 'UZATĪY ol īšiy uzatti “He prolonged, postponed (*ṭawwala, sawwafa, maṭala*) the matter.” 'UZA'TUR 'UZATM'Q uzātūr uzatmāq.

:: 'UL 'ANIK QUL'QIN 'UZITĪY ol anig qulāqin üzitti “He deafened (*ṭaqqala sam', ašamma*) him (from talking too much).” :: SIR'K' KUB'NĪY 'UZTĪY sirkā küpni üzitti “The vinegar (or other) caused the vat to sweat (*raššaḥa*) (because of its acidity).” 'UZITUR 'UZITM'K üzitūr üzitmāk.

S

:: 'UL 'URUQ'NĪY 'ASITĪY<sup>2</sup> ol uruqni äsitti “He had the rope (or other) stretched (*amadda*).” 'ASTUR<sup>2</sup> 'ASTM'K äsitūr äsitmāk. 0

:: TUVZLUΓ 'AT MINY 'USITĪY tūzluγ ät mini usitti “The salted meat made me thirsty (*aṭṭaša*).” 'USITUR 'USITM'Q usitūr usitmāq. 0

:: 'UL MUVN 'ISITĪY ol mūn isitti “He warmed (*saxxana*) the soup.” The same for heating (*aḥmā*) iron, or other. :: 'AR' 'ISITĪY är isitti “The man had a fever (*ḥumma*).” The latter is intransitive, the former transitive. 'SITUR 'SITM'K istūr isitmāk.

Š

:: 'UL MANK' 'AŠ 'AŠAĪY ol maṇa aš ašatti “He fed (*aṭ'ama*) me the food.” Most of the Turks use this word for the food of kings and nobles, but the Oγuz use it for everyone. 'AŠATUR 'AŠATM'Q ašatur ašatmāq. The Oγuz follow the rule [in this matter]. 0

:: 'UL MANK' YUΓURQA'N 'AŠUTĪY ol maṇa yoyurqān äšütti “He ordered someone to cover (*daṭṭara*) me with a coverlet.” The same for anyone who orders someone else to conceal (*satr*) a thing. 'AŠUITR 'AŠITM'K-Q<sup>3</sup> äšütūr äšitmāk. Verse:

'IDUV BYRB' BUŠTUM	ıdu bērip bošuttum	V
TAW'R' YUVLUΓ TAŠUTUM	tawār yūluγ tašuttum	
'RAN 'AŠIN 'STM	ärän äsin äšüttüm	
YUKN BARJA' 'UZY JGDY	yükin barča özi çiydi	

Describing a captive: “I let him go free; (he ransomed himself for something, and) I had the ransom conveyed to its place; I ordered the men’s corpses to be concealed (*satr*) (underground); their chief tied his load with his own hand, (not finding anyone to help him).”

:: 'UL MINY TUMLIΓ QA' 'UŠITĪY ol mini tumliγqa üšitti “He put me out in the cold (*awjadani l-qurr*).” :: 'UL SUJUK 'UŠITĪY ol sücüg üšitti

2. Three dots in brown ink faintly visible over the S.

3. K black; Q brown (? – not clear).

[I. 182/211]

114

“He put the sweet juice out to be cooled (*waḍa'a . . . li-l-bard ḥattā wajada l-qurr*)” – this is a type of drink. 'UŠUTUR 'UŠTM'K üšitūr üšitmāk.

:: 'UL 'ATMA'K 'UŠAĪY ol ätmāk ušatti “He crumbled (*fatta*) the bread (or other).” The same for crushing or crumbling (*raḍḍa, fatta*) anything. 'UŠATUR 'UŠATM'Q ušatur ušatmāq.

:: 'UL 'NIK 'VIN 'AUŠAĪY<sup>1</sup> ol anig ävin üšätti “He (the man) ordered someone else to search (*baḥṭ*) his house.” The same for searching anything. 'AUŠAITUR<sup>1</sup> 'UŠAITMA'K<sup>1</sup> üšätūr üšätmāk.

Proverb: QULA'Q 'AŠITSA' KVNKVL BĪLYR KVZ KVRSA' 'UDIK KLYR qulāq eštisā köñül bilīr, köz körsä üdig kälīr 0 “When the ear hears (*sami'a*) (the words) the heart knows (it), when the eye sees (its beloved) desire is aroused.”

Γ

:: 'UL 'ANY TA'Γ QA' 'AΓITĪY ol ani tāyqa ayitti “He made him climb (*aš'ada*) the mountain (or other).” :: TANKRIY BULIT 'AΓITĪY tānri bulit ayitti “God raised up (*anša'a*) the cloud.” 'AΓITUR 'ΓITM'Q ayitūr ayitmāq.

Q

:: TANKRIY 'AQIN 'AQITĪY tānri aqin aqitti “God caused the flood to flow (*ašāla*).” :: 'UL SUVW 'AQITĪY ol sūw aqitti “He made the water flow (*ajrā*).” :: BAK 'AQINJY 'AQITĪY beg aqinçi aqitti “The emir sent (*ba'aṭa*) a raiding party against an enemy.” 'AQITUR 'AQITM'Q aqitūr aqitmāq. 0

:: 'L MANK' BTK 'UQITĪY ol maṇa bitig oqitti “He had me read (*aqra'a*) the book (or other).” 'UQITUR 'UQTM'Q oqitūr oqitmāq.

K

:: UL TARIΓ 'AKITĪY ol tariy äkitti “He had the seed sown (*abdara*).” The same for a powder that one spreads (*darra*). 'AKITUR 'KITM'K äkitūr äkitmāk.

:: 'L TARIΓ 'UKITĪY ol tariy ögitti “He had the wheat (or other) ground (*aḥhana*).” 'UKITUR<sup>2</sup> 'UKITM'K<sup>2</sup> ögitūr ögitmāk.

:: 'UL 'ANY 'IKITĪY ol ani igitti “He reared (*rabbā*) him.” Its root-form is: 'AKIDTIY igidti – the *ḍal* assimilated to the *tā*'. 'IKIDUR 'IKIDMA'K igidūr igidmāk.

114 1. First A and first I in a later hand (black ink, thin pen) – confusion with ešit-, of which the entry is missing except for the proverb.

2. First U in red ink.

## L

:: 'UL YIB' 'UVLAṬĪY **ol yip ūlatti** “He had him attach (*awṣala*) the rope to him.” **ūlat-**  
'UVLATUR 'ULATM'Q **ūlatur ulatmāq.** 0

:: 'UL 'ANY 'RUB 'UVLIṬĪY **ol ani urup ūlitti** “He beat him until he made him howl (*a'wā*) (like a wolf).” 'UVLITUR 'ULITM'Q **ūlitur ulitmāq.** **ūlit-**

:: 'UL 'ANIK BUY'NIN 'UVLĪṬY **ol anig boynin ūlitti** “He twisted (*alwā*) his neck (or other).” The same for anything. 'UVLITUR 'ULITMA'Q **ūlitur ulitmāq.**

:: 'UL TUVN 'ULIṬĪY **ol tōn ōlitti**

[I.184/213]

“He moistened (*balla*) the garment (or other).” 'ULITUR 'ULITM'K **ōlitur ōlitmāk.**

:: 'UL QA'ṬUVN 'AWK' 'ILATY **ol qāyūn āwkā elātti** “He brought (*dahaba bi-*) the melon (or other) home.” 'ILATUR 'LATM'K **elātūr elātmāk.** **elāt-**

:: 'UL JIḠA'Y QA' YARMA'Q 'ULAIṬY **ol ēiyāyqa yarmāq ūlatti** “He ordered that the dirhams be distributed (*tawzi', tafriq*) among the poor.” 'ULATUR 'ULATM'K **ūlātūr ūlātmāk.** **ūlat-**

## M

:: TA'M' 'AMITĪY **tām āmitti** “The wall (or other) was leaning so as to fall (*māla . . . li-yasqūṭa*).” :: KUNKLUM 'ANKAR 'AMITĪY **kōṅlūm aṅar āmitti** “My heart inclined (*māla*)<sup>1</sup> to him.” 'AMITUR 'AMITM'K **āmitūr āmitmāk.** Verse:

QULA'N TUKA'L QUMṬY  
'AR'QA'R SUQAQ YUMIṬY  
YAYL'Ṭ TAB' 'AMITĪY  
TZKQ [sic] TRUB SAKRIŠUVR

qulān tūkāl qomitti  
arqār suqaq yomitti  
yaylāy tapa āmitti  
tizgin turup sekrišūr

## V

Describing spring: “(Spring) has roused the wild ass<sup>2</sup> and the mountain goat<sup>3</sup> and female and male antelope have come together; they inclined (*mālat*) toward the summer pasture, and stood in rows, leaping (with joy).”

## N

:: 'UL YAḠY'Q' TULUM 'ANUṬĪY **ol yayiqa tulum anutti** “He prepared (*a'adda*) the weapon for the enemy.” The same for anything that is prepared. 'ANUṬIVR' 'ANUTM'Q **anut-**

115

1. MS. *amāla*.
2. MS. 'nr, read 'ayr.
3. Sic (*wa'l*); therefore **tūkāl** (“all”) is perhaps an error for **tākā**.

**anutūr anutmāq.** Proverb: TULUIM 'ANUTSA' QULUIN BULVR TULUM 'UNUTSA' BULUN BULVR **tulum anutsa qulun bulūr, tulum anutsa bulun bolūr** 0 “One who prepares his weapon (for the enemy) finds a colt, one who forgets (to prepare) [his weapon] becomes a captive.” [This is coined] to advise preparedness. 0 **P**

:: MAN 'UNA'MA'S 'AR'DIM 'UL MINY 'UNAṬĪY **mān unāmās ārdim ol mini unatti** “I was displeased (*abi*) with this but he made me pleased with it (*arḡānī fihi*).” 'UNA'TUR 'UNATM'Q **unātūr unatmāq.** **unat-**

:: 'L SUVZIN 'UNṬY **ol sōzin unitti** “He forgot (*nasiya*) his words (or other).” 'UNITUR 'UNITM'Q **unitur unitmāq.** 0 **unit-**

:: 'UL QUVYIN 'IYNATĪY **ol qōyin ēnātti** “He ordered his sheep to be earmarked (*i'lām* [defined]).” 'INATUR 'INATMA'K **enātūr enātmāk.** **ēnāt-**

## Defective

:: 'UL MANK' SUVZ 'YṬY **ol maṅa sōz ayitti** “He asked for (*sa'ala*) some words from me.” The Oḡuz say: MAN 'ANK'R' SUVZ' 'AYITĪM **mān aṅar sōz ayittim** meaning “I talked to him (*takallamtu ma'ahu wa-qultu lahu kalāman*)” – this is not according to rule. 'AY'TUVR 'AYITM'Q **aytūr ayitmāq.** **ayit-**  
D

:: 'UL MINDIN 'UYATĪY **ol mindin uyatti** “He was ashamed before me (*istaḡyā minnī*).” Its root-form is: 'UYA'D'TIY **uyādṭi** – it was assimilated. 'UYA'DUR' 'UYA'D'MA'Q' **uyādur uyadmāq.** 0 **uyād-**  
(**uyād-**)

[I. 185/216]

116

## Final Week

## B

:: 'UL 'ANY KŠIYDIN 'ABIYDĪY [sic] **ol ani kišidin opīdi** “He concealed (*satara, axfā*) it from the person.” The same for anything that you hide (*wārayta*) from someone else. 'ABITUR' 'ABITM'Q [sic] **opīr opīmāq.** **opi-**

## Nasal

:: 'AR' YUVZIY 'UNKUQTIY **ār yūzi oṅuqti** “The man's face was drawn (*sahuma*).” **oṅuq-**  
:: BARJIN 'UNKUQTIY **barēin oṅuqti** “The brocade (or the like) lost its sheen (*dahabat ṭarā-wa*).” 'UNKUQ'R' 'UNKUQM'Q **oṅuqār oṅuqmāq.**

## L

:: SUKAL 'UNKUL'TY **sökāl oṅulti** “The sick man recovered (*indamala*).” :: 'IYŠ 'UNKUL'TIY **iš oṅulti** “The matter was set right (*istaqāma*) (that had been muddled).”<sup>1</sup> 'UNKLVR' 'NKULM'Q **oṅlūr oṅulmāq.** **oṅul-**



## End of the Trilateral Chapters

## Chapters of Quadrilaterals

Chapter: *fa'laldī*, unvowelled second and fourth radicals, in its various vocalizations

R

:: 'AR' 'URBAR' DIY **ar ürpärđi** “The man bristled (*tanaffaša*,<sup>2</sup> *izba'arra*) (with anger, or for a fight).” :: TAQ'ŪVN [sic] 'URBAR' DIY **taqāyu ürpärđi** “The cock bristled (*taqazza'a*) for the fight.” :: 'ANIK TIYNIY [sic] 'URBAR' DIY **anig yēni ürpärđi** “He had gooseflesh (*iqša'arra jilduhu*).” 'UR'BARUR 'URBAR' MA'K **ürpäür ürpärmāk**.

:: 'ANY 'UBTURDIY **ani öptürđi** “He ordered him to kiss (*qabbala*) someone else.” 'UBTURR 'UBTURMA'K **öptürür öptürmāk**. 0

:: 'UL 'UQ 'AŤUR' DIY **ol oq atturđi** “He ordered the arrow to be shot (*ramy*).” The same for having something thrown (*aṭraḥa*). 'AŤURR 'AŤURMA'Q **atturur atturmāq**. 0

:: SIBUZŪV 'UŤURDY **sibizyu öttürđi** “He sounded (*şayyaḥa*)<sup>3</sup> the flute.” The same for anything which brings forth a sound by your action (*ḥadaṭa minhu ş-şiyāḥi bi-fi'lika*). 'UŤRUR 'UŤURMA'K **öttürür öttürmāk**. 0

:: 'UL MANIK 'IYŞIM 'IYŤUR' DIY **ol mänig işim ettürđi** “He ordered my affair to be settled (*işlah*).” :: 'L 'TUK 'YŤRDY **ol ätük ettürđi** “He ordered his boot to be repaired (*işlah*).” The same for other things. 'YŤURR 'YŤURMA'K **ettürür ettürmāk**.

:: 'UL QABUŪ 'AJ'TURDIY **ol qapuy açturđi** “He ordered the door to be opened (*fath*).” The same for anything that one orders to be opened. 'AJ'TURR 'AJ'TURMA'Q **açturur açturmāq**.

:: 'UL MANK' SUVF 'IJ'TURDIY **ol maṇa sūw içtürđi** “He made me drink (*aşraba*) the water (or other).” 'IJ'TURUR 'IJ'TURMA'K **içtürür içtürmāk**. One may say: 'IJUR' DIY **içürđi** [98] with this meaning.

[I. 187/218]

Proverb: SUVF 'IJUR' MA'S' K' SUVT' BIYR' **sūw içürmāskä sūt bēr** 0 “To one who does not give you water, give him milk to drink” – meaning, requite with good one who harms you. 0

- 116 1. MS. *msws*, read *muşawwaş*.  
2. MS. *tanaffasa*.  
3. MS. *şannaḥa*.

The root-principle of these verbs is that they are doubly transitive, one of the agents ordering the action to be performed, the other carrying out the action directly by his order. These verbs consist of biliteral roots plus a suffix of two letters [i.e. *t* and *r*] giving this meaning. This type could not be known by the rule, and therefore I mention it here. 0

G

:: 'AR' TA'ŞIŪ 'AX'TAR' DIY **är täşiḡ axtardi** “The man turned over (*qallaba*) the stone.” :: TUBIY YIŪA'JIŪ 'AX'TAR' DIY **tüpi yiḡāciḡ axtardi** “The wind felled (*asqaṭat*) the tree.” The same for anything that turns over (*qalaba*) something. The *xā*' is an alternant of *ḡayn* [i.e. **aytar-**], as one says [in Arabic] *xattār* or *ḡaddār* (“traitor”), *xumār an-nās wa-ḡumāruhum* (“crowd of people”). :: 'UL YYR' 'AXTAR' DIY **ol yēr axtardi** “He turned over (*azaqa, karaba*) the soil.” 'AXTARUR 'AXTARMA'Q **axtarur axtarmāq**. 0

axtar-

aytar-

:: 'UVN YARMA'Q 'UZA' BIYR' 'AR'TUR' DIY **ön yarmāq üzä bīr arturđi** “He added (*zāda*) one dirham to ten.” 0 :: 'AR' 'AR'TUR' DIY **är arturđi** “The man exceeded his proper limit (*adā . . . ṭawrahu*).” 'ARTURVR 'AR'TURMA'Q **arturür arturmāq**. Verse:

artur-

KALDY BARUV 'AR'TURV  
BYR' DIY 'IYLIN 'AR'TURV  
MUBDA' QAILB' 'ULTURV  
BUKRIY BLB 'UN BUT'R

**käldi bāri arturu**  
**bērđi ēlin ärtürü**  
**munda qalip olturu**  
**bükri bolup ün bütär**

V

Describing a captured emir: “He came to me (with an enormous army) boasting and overstepping his bounds (*yaşlıfu wa-ya'dū ṭawrahu*); then he presented to us his realm, and stayed sitting among us with humped back and subdued voice.” 0

:: 'NIK YA'ZUQIN 'AR'TURDIY **anig yāzuqin ärtürđi** “He pardoned (*şafaḥa 'an*) his sin.” :: 'NIK 'YŞIN 'AR'TURDIY **anig işin ärtürđi** “He permitted (*ajāza*) his affair” – meaning that he accepted (*qabila*) it. The same for anyone who lets a thing pass from a place (*jāwaza şay' 'an mawđi'*). 'RTURR 'RTURMA'K **ärtürür ärtürmāk**.

ärtür-

:: 'UL 'UFLY QULA'QIN 'AZTURDIY **ol oyli qulāqin eztürđi** “He slit (*aşraṭa*) his son's ear.” The same for any lengthwise scratch

eztür-

[I. 189/220]

118

or line on the skin or the ground (*kull xadş aw xaṭṭ fi l-jild wa-l-arḍ ṭawīlan*). 'AZTURR 'AZTURMA'K **eztürür eztürmāk**. 0

:: 'UL YB' 'UZTURDIY **ol yip üztürđi** “He had the rope (or other) broken (*aḥḍaqa*).” 'UZTURR 'UZTURMA'K **üztürür üztürmāk**.

üztür-

:: 'UL 'AR' 'AS'TURDY **ol är asturđi** “He had the man (or other) hung or crucified (*şalb*).” :: 'UL 'AT' 'AS'TURDY **ol at asturđi** “He ordered the meat (or other) to be hung (*ta'līq*) (on the peg).” 'AS'TURR 'ASTRMA'Q **asturur asturmāq**.

astur-

:: 'URUQ 'AS'TURDIY<sup>1</sup> **uruq ästürđi** “He had the rope (or other) stretched (*amad-da*).”<sup>2</sup> :: 'UL QAWIQ 'US'TURDY **ol qawiq ästürđi** “He ordered the bran to be winnowed (*nasf, tanḡiya*) out of the millet.” The same for winnowing (*nasf*) anything. 'US'TURR 'USTURMA'K **ästürür ästürmāk**. 0

ästür-

:: 'UL MANKA' 'USTARDIY ol maḡa üstardı "He opposed (*mārā*) me in a certain matter." :: 'UL QILMIŞ 'YŞIN 'USTARDIY ol qılmiş işin üstardı "He denied (*jaḡada*) what he had done." The same for any denial (*inkār, juḡūd*). 'USTARR 'USTARMA'K üstärür üstärmāk. Proverb [=209 *tüzün*]: TVZUN BRL' 'URŞ 'VTUVN BRL' 'UŞ'TAR'MA' tüzün birlä uruş, ütün birlä üstärmä "Quarrel with the gentle one (for he will put up with you), do not oppose (*lā tumāri*) the shameless one (for he will be vulgar and insulting)." 0

:: 'UL MANK' 'DKV SUVZ 'AIŞTURDIY ol maḡa ädgü söz eştürdi "He let me hear (*asma'a*) good words." Its root-form is: 'ŞITURDIY eştürdi, with doubled *tā*'. 'İŞTURR 'İŞTURMA'K eştürür eştürmāk. 0

:: 'UL QUM 'AŞTURDIY ol qum äştürdi "He ordered the earth to be poured out (*ihāla*)." The same for ordering flour to be poured into a sack. 'ŞTURR 'ŞTURMA'K äştürür äştürmāk. 0

:: 'UL 'UQ 'UŞTURDIY ol oq üştürdi "He ordered the socket of the arrow to be bored (*taqb ru'z*)." The same for any boring of a narrow hole (*taqb ḡayyiq*). 'UŞTURR 'UŞTRMA'K üştürür üştürmāk.

:: 'UL SUVV 'AQTURDIY ol sūw aqturdi "He ordered that the water be made to flow (*tasyīl, isāla*)." 'AQTURR 'AQTURMA'Q aqturur aqturnmāk. Verse [=452 *yulaq*]:

'QTURR KVZUM YULA'Q	aqturur kōzüm yulāq	V
TUŞLANUR 'UR'DAK YUḡA'Q	tüşlänür ördäk yuḡāq	

"My eye flows (*tasīlu*) springs of water, (such that there gather) and alight in them ducks and other such water birds."

:: 'UL MANK' 'NIK SUVZIN 'UQTURDIY ol maḡa anig sözin uqturdi "He made me understand (*afhama*) his words

[I. 190/233]

(or other)." 'UQTURR 'UQTURMA'Q uqturur uqturnmāk.

:: 'UL TARIH' 'AKTURDIY ol tariḡ äktürdi "He had the seed sown (*abḡara*)." The same for a powder that one orders to be spread (*ḡarr*). 'AKTURR 'KTURMA'K äktürür äktürmāk. 0

:: 'UL JUKA'N' 'AKTURDIY ol čögān ägtürdi "He ordered the polo stick to be bent (*'atf*)." The same for bending (*imāla*) anything. 'AKTURR 'AKTURMA'K ägtürür ägtürmāk. 0

:: 'UL MINY 'UKTURDIY ol mini ögtürdi "He had someone praise (*yamdaḡa*) me." 'UKTURR 'KTURMA'K ögtürür ögtürmāk. 0

üstär-

P

eştür-

äştür-

üştür-

aqtur-

V

uqtur-

119

äktür-

ägtür-

ögtür-

:: 'UL MINK YARMA'Q 'ANKAR 'UKTURDIY ol miḡ yarmāq aḡar üktürdi "He appointed him to pile up (*takwīm*) [a thousand] dirhams (or other)." 'UKTURR 'KTURMA'K üktürür üktürmāk. 0

:: MAN 'NDAN YARMA'Q 'ALTURDUM män andan yarmāq alturdum "I ordered the dirham to be taken (*axḡ*) from him." 'ALTURR MAN 'LTURMA'Q alturur män, alturmāq. 0

:: 'L 'ŞIJ 'IJRA' 'AT' 'ULTURDY ol eşič ičrā ät olturdi "He overcooked (*harrā*) the meat in the pot." The same for wearing out (*ablā*) a garment, or other. 'ULTUR [sic] 'ULTURMA'Q olturur olturmāq. 0

:: 'UL 'AR' 'ULTURDIY ol är olturdi "The man (or other) sat down (*jalasa*)." 'ULTURR 'LTURMA'Q olturur olturmāq. Proverb: BUTVN 'UVM LK QANJA' QULSA' 'ULTURR bütün ümlüg qanča qolsa olturur 0 "One whose trousers are sound sits as he wishes." This is coined about one who is sure of his own chastity (*ma'mūn al-izār*) and does not worry about suspicion.

:: 'L MANK' KAYIK' 'ILTURDY ol maḡa kāyik iltürdi "He ordered me to catch (*ta'līq*) the game (in the snare)." The same for catching (*ta'līq*) anything. 'ILTURR 'ILTURMA'K iltürür iltürmāk. 0

:: 'UL 'UḡRIY NY 'ULDURDIY ol oḡrini öldürdi "He killed (*qatala, amāta*) the thief (or other)." 'ULDURUR 'ULDURMA'K öldürür öldürmāk. 0

:: 'UL 'ANY TA'ḡDIN 'ILDURDIY ol ani tāyḡdin ildurdi "He brought him down (*anzala*) from the mountain (or other)." 'ILDURUR 'ILDURMA'K-Q ildurur ildurmāq. There is also a variant with *nūn*: 'IN'DURDIY endürdi. 0

:: TANKRY 'UVT 'UVNDUR'DIY täḡri öt öndürdi "God caused the plants (or other) to grow (*anbata*)." :: 'UL 'ANY 'AWKA' 'UNDURDIY ol ani äwkä öndürdi "He sent him off (*aşxaşa*) home." The latter is Uighur dialect – the Oḡuz do not know it.<sup>1</sup> 'UNDURUR 'NDURMA'K öndürür öndürmāk. 0

:: 'L MINY 'AT'ḡARDIY ol mini atḡardi "He helped me mount (*a'āna . . . 'alā rukūb, arkaba*) the horse (or other)." 'AT'ḡARUR 'ATḡARMA'Q atḡarur atḡarmāq. 0

[I. 192/225]

:: 'AT' 'UTḡARDIY [o]at oḡyardi "He grazed (*ra'ā*) the horse (or other)." 'UTḡARUR 'UTḡARMA'Q oḡyarur oḡyarmāq.

:: 'UL MINY 'UDḡUR'DIY ol mini oḡyurdi "He woke me up (*ayqaḡa . . . min manām*)." 'UDḡURR 'UDḡURMA'Q oḡyurur oḡyurmāq. 0

üktür-

altur-

oltur-

P

iltür-

öldür-

ildur-

(endür-)

öndür-

D

atḡar-

120

oḡyar-

oḡyur-

118 1. Three dots faintly visible over S.  
2. MS. *madda*.

119 1. *lā ta'rifuhā* – written above the line in a later hand.

:: 'UL 'ANY KIY·DIN 'UDĠURDIY **ol ani kēdin ođyardi** “He recognized him after thinking a while (*'arafahu<sup>1</sup> ba'da tafakkur wa-mudda*).” 'UDĠARUR 'UDĠARMA'Q **ođyarur ođyarmāq.** 0

:: 'UL 'ATIN 'ARĠURDY **ol atin aryardi** “He jaded (*a'yā*) his horse.” 'ARĠURUR **arȳur-ARĠURMA'Q arȳurur arȳurmāq.** Verse:

KUNK·LUM 'ANKAR QAYNAYV	<b>kōnġlūm aṅar qaynayu</b>	V
'IJ·TIN 'NKAR 'UYNAYV	<b>iĉtin aṅar oynayu</b>	
KALDY MANK' BUYNAYV	<b>kāldi maṅa boynayu</b>	
'UYNAB MINY 'ARĠURVR	<b>oynap mini arȳurūr</b>	

“My heart welled up toward (my beloved) when I played with him within the house; he came to me with haughtiness and arrogance, and played with me until he exhausted (*a'yā*) me.” The same for an animal that you work to exhaustion (*a'yayta*). 0

:: 'UL 'ANIY 'ANĠAR·DIY **ol ani anyardi** “He made him swear an oath (*ħallaḡa*).” **anȳar-** Its root-form is: 'ANDĠAR·DIY **andyardi** – the *dāl* is dropped for lightening. This is as in the (andȳar-) words of God [Q. 56:65]: *fa-zaltum tafakkahūna* (“and you would remain bitterly jesting”) – its root-form is: *fa-zalaltum*, but [one of the l's] was dropped for lightening. 'ANĠARVR 'ANDĠAR·MA'Q **andȳarūr andȳarmāq.** 0

:: 'L 'NIK YVZING' 'ALWIRDIY **ol anig yūzinā alwirdi** (?) “He snapped back at him (lit. jumped in his face with words) as though he wanted a quarrel (*waṭaba fī wajhihi fī kalām ka-annahu yurīdu mušājaratahu*).” 'ALWIRA'RĠ 'ALWIRMA'K-Q **alwirār alwirmāq, alwirmāk.**

:: 'UTRUM QARIN 'UTKURDIY **ōtrūm qarīn oṡgūrđi** “The laxative loosened (*aṭlaqa*) the bowels.” :: 'UL 'AWK' BITK 'UTKARDY “(The man) got a letter through (*anfada*) to his home.” The same for anyone who passes something through (*anfada* . . . *an*) a thing. 'UTKRUR 'UTKURMA'K **ōṡgūrūr oṡgūrmāk.**

:: 'UL 'ATIN 'AWK' 'IJKARDIY **ol atin āwkā iĉgārđi** “He made his horse (or other) enter (*adxala*) the house.” 'IJKARUR 'IJKARMA'K **iĉgārūr iĉgārmāk.**

:: 'UL 'ANY BAKKA' 'IJKAR·DIY **ol ani begkā iĉgārđi** “He slandered (*wašā bi-*) him to the emir (or other).”

:: 'UL KIJK SUVZUK 'DKAR·DIY **ol kiĉig sōziġ ādgārđi** “He heard some trivial words but considered them important and acted accordingly (*kabbarahu wa'amila bihi*).” This word is usually used in the negative, thus:

[I. 194/227]

'NK SUVZIN 'ADKARMADY **anig sōzin ādgārmāđi** “He paid no heed (*mā ḡtafala bi-, mā bālā*) to his words.” :: 'UL YAWUZ NA'NKNY 'ADKARDY **ol yawuz nāṅni ādgārđi** “He improved (*ašlahā*) the thing which was bad.” 'ADKARUR 'ADKARMA'K **ādgārūr ādgārmāk.**

120 1. MS. 'arrafahu.

:: 'UL YA'Ġ 'ARKURDIY **ol yāṅ ārgūrđi** “He melted (*aḡāba*) the butter (or other).” 'ARKRUR 'RKURMA'K **ārgūrūr ārgūrmāk.**

:: 'AŠ·QA' 'AURKURDY<sup>1</sup> (ol) **ašqa ārgūrđi** “He got to (*adraka*) the food before it was gone.” The same for anyone who gets to something before it is gone (*adraka šay'an qabla an yanfalita*). 'AUR·KURUR<sup>1</sup> 'AURKURM'K<sup>1</sup> **ārgūrūr ārgūrmāk.**

:: TUVN 'AS·KIRDIY **tōn āskirdi** “The garment wore out (*axlaqa*) (or other).” 'AS·KIRUR 'ASKIRMA'K **āskirūr āskirmāk.** 0

:: 'UL 'ITIF KAYIĠA' 'UŠKURDIY<sup>2</sup> **ol itiy kāyikkā uškirdi** “He incited (*aṅrā*) the dog against the game.” The same for inciting a man against something. :: YILA'N 'UŠ·KURDY<sup>2</sup> **yilān uškirdi** “The snake hissed (*naḡaxat* . . . *bi-fihā*).” The same for a person who whistles (*šafara bi-fihī*); also of a vulture that shrieks (*šafara*). Proverb: 'US' 'UŠKURSA' 'ULUVR **ūs uškirsā oġūr** 0 “When the vulture shrieks (in a man's face, it is a sign that) he (it?) will die.” They draw a bad omen from this. 'UŠKIRUR 'UŠKUR·MA'K **uškirūr uškirmāk.** 0

:: 'L 'UNĠMŠ SUVZUK 'UŠ·KURDIY **ol unitmiš sōziġ uškūrđi** “He remembered (*taḡakkara*) the words which he had forgotten (or other).” 'UŠ·KURUR 'UŠKURMA'K **uškūrūr uškūrmāk.**

When you wish to transitivize the intransitive verbs of this chapter, or to make one doubly transitive, change the preterite marker *dāl* into a doubled *tā'* – one is the *dāl*, which is assimilated, and the other is the *tā'* of transitivity. For example, you say SUVZ 'UŠKUR·DIY **sōz uškūrđi** to mean “He remembered the words.” To transitivize this verb, you say: 'UŠKURĠIY **uškūrđti** meaning “He brought someone to remember what he had forgotten.” 0 Example of the doubly transitive verb: 'ANIK 'ATIN 'ARĠURĠIY **anig atin arȳurđti** “He had someone jade his horse.” Another way is to say: 'ARĠUR·TUR·DIY **arȳurđurđi** meaning “He ordered the jading”;

[I. 195/229]

'UŠKIRTUR·DIY **uškirtūrđi** “He caused the inciting” – but the first way is more elegant and more correct.

š

:: 'RAN 'UR·BAŠTIY **ārān ūrpāšđi** “The warriors (or others) bristled (*taša'ata/taša'aba, izba'arrū*) (with anger).” 'URIYAŠVR [sic] 'URYAŠMA'K **ūrpāšūr ūrpāšmāk.** Verse:

'RAN 'ARIF 'URBAŠUR	<b>ārān ariy ūrpāšūr</b>	V
'UVJIN KAKIN 'IR·TAŠUR	<b>ōĉin kākin irtāšūr</b>	
SAQAL TUTUB TARTIŠUR	<b>saqal tutup tartišūr</b>	
KUK·SIY 'AR' 'UVT TUTA'R	<b>kōġsi ara oṡt tūtār</b>	

121 1. A in a later hand (dark black, thin pen).  
2. U's in black but apparently the same hand as the brown of previous pages.

“The warriors look at one another askance with rage (*yanzuru . . . bi-a'yun šazr ḥanaq<sup>an</sup>*); they seek to take revenge upon one another; (the warriors) have caught hold of their beards (in the intense heat of battle; it is as though) the fire of rage smoldered in their breasts.”

:: 'ULA'R· BUV SUZUK 'IR·TAIŠTIYLA'R **olār bu sözüg irtäštīlār** “They inquired into (*tafahḥaṣū*) this (matter or) word (or the like).” 'IR·TAŠUVR 'IR·TAŠMA'K **irtäšür irtäšmāk.** 0

:: YAL·NIKUQ 'IJIN· 'AR·TAŠ·DIY **yalnuq için artašdi** “The people were corrupted by each other's example (*fasada . . . ba'ḍuhu bi-ru'ya ba'd*).” The same for anything of a large amount that becomes thoroughly corrupted (*fasada ba'ḍuhu fī ba'd*). 'AR·TAŠUVR 'ARTIŠ·MA'Q **artašür artašmāq.**

:: 'ULA'R BUV 'IYŠIF 'UR·TUŠDIY **olār bu işiy örtüšdi** “They conspired to conceal (*tawāṭa'ū 'alā satr*) this matter.” The same for anyone who helps someone else cover or conceal (*taṭṭiya, satr*) a thing. 'UR·TUŠUVR· 'UR·TUŠMA'K **örtüšür örtüšmāk.**

:: BUV·DUN BIYR· 'AKINDIYNIK 'AWLA'RIN 'UR·TAŠ·DIY **bōdun bīr ekindinīg äwlärin örtäšdi** “The people burned (*aḥraqa*) each other's houses.” Likewise for other things; the same for cooperating or competing. 'UR·TAŠUVR 'UR·TAŠMA'K **örtäšür örtäšmāk.** 0

:: 'UL MANIK BRL· 'ARS·L'N· DAN 'AR·TIŠTIY **ol mänig birlä arslāndan ärtišti** “He vied with me in getting past (*muḡawaza 'an*) the lion (or anything frightening).” 'ARTIŠUR 'ARTIŠMA'K **ärtišür ärtišmāk.** 0

:: 'UL MANK· 'ARJY 'AR·TIŠDIY **ol maḡa arci artišdi** “He helped me load (*ilqā', ḥaml*) the saddlebag (on the animal).” 'ARTIŠUR 'AR·TIŠMA'Q **artišur artišmāq.** The same for competing.

:: 'L 'ANIK BRL· 'UQTAŠ·TIY **ol anig birlä oqtašti** “He had a shooting contest with him (*rāmāhu<sup>1</sup> bi-s-sahm*).” The same for drawing lots (*qāra'ahu*). 'UQTAŠUR 'UQTAŠMA'Q **oqtašur oqtašmāq.**

:: 'UL 'ANIK BIRL· 'UNDAŠ·DIY **ol anig birlä ündäšdi** “They called to one another (*tanādayā*).” U·V·N·DAŠUVR<sup>2</sup>

[I. 197/231]

'UNDAŠMA'K **ündäšür ündäšmāk.**

:: TUVN LA'R UBRAŠ·TIY **tōnlār oprāšti** “The garments (or other) began to wear out (*axadat . . . fī l-bilā*).” 'UBRAŠUVR 'UBRAŠMA'Q **oprašür oprāšmāq.** Proverb [cf. 601 **keḡ**]: KANK'Š LYK BLYK 'UDRAŠUVR KNK'Š SYZ BLYK 'UBRAŠVR **keḡāslig bilig üdrāšür, keḡāš-siz bilig oprāšür** [“Knowledge with counsel bears fruit, knowledge without counsel wears out.”]

122

1. MS. *ramāhu*.

2. Original first U crossed out and second U written to right of the *alif* (').

“Management of affairs, when it is fertilized with counsel, daily grows better, but when it is without counsel, daily grows worse (*yablā*).”

:: 'UL MANK· MUVN U·UBRŠDY **ol maḡa mün öprüšdi** “He helped me sip (*ḥasw*) the soup (or other).” 'UBRŠUVR 'UBRŠM'K **öprüšür öprüšmāk.** The same for competing. 0

:: 'ULA'R· BIYR· BYR·KA· BITK 'UTRUŠDY **olār bīr bīrkā bitig ötrüšdi** “Each of them got a letter (or other) through (*anfaḍa*) to the other.” 'UTRUŠUR 'UTRUŠMA'K **ötrüšür ötrüšmāk.** 0 Its root-form is: U·V·TUK·RUIŠDIY<sup>1</sup> **ötgürüšdi.** The same for helping or competing in carrying through (*tanfid*) anything. 0

:: 'UL 'NKAR 'UTUR·ŠDIY **ol aḡar utrušdi** “He opposed (*qāwama*) him in a certain matter.” :: 'UL MANK· 'UTRUŠDY **ol maḡa utrušdi** “He faced (*wājaha*) me.” 'UTRŠVR 'UTRŠ·MA'Q **utrušür utrušmāq.** 0

:: 'L MANK· KS·MA· U·V·T·RUŠ·DY<sup>1</sup> **ol maḡa käsmä otrüšdi** “He helped clip (*jazz*) the forelock.” The same for anything of which the excess is cut off (*yuḡṭa'u ziyādatuhu*) with scissors. U·V·TRUŠVR 'UTRŠMA'Q **otrušür otrüšmāq.** 0

:: 'UVL MANK· QUŠ 'UJRUŠDY **ol maḡa quš učrušdi** “He helped me fly (*iṭāra*) the bird.” The same for helping or competing. 'UJRUŠVR 'UJRUŠM'Q **učrušür učrušmāq.** 0

:: 'UL 'ANIK 'UBK'SIN MANIK BRL· U·UJRUŠDY **ol anig öpkāsin mänig birlä öčrüšdi** “He helped me quiet (*taskīm*) his anger.” The same for helping to extinguish (*iṭfā'*) the flame of a fire. 'UJRUŠVR 'UJRUŠMA'K **öčrüšür öčrüšmāk.** 0

:: 'UL MANK· SUVF 'IJRUŠDY **ol maḡa sūw ičrüšdi** “He helped me give water to drink (*saqy*).” The same for competing. 'IJRUŠUVR· 'IJRUŠMA'K **ičrüšür ičrüšmāk.** 0

:: 'ULA'R 'IYKY 'ADRIVŠDIY<sup>2</sup> **olār ēki adrišdi** “The two (companions) separated (*tafāraqa, tazāyalā*).” 'AD·RIVŠUVR· 'V·DRIVŠMA'Q **adrišür adrišmāq.** Verse:

TUM'N JAIJAK TIZILDIY  
BUKUNDAN 'UL YAZILDIY  
'KUŠ YATIB· 'UZAL·DIY  
YYR·DA' QUB· 'ADRIŠVR

tümän çeçäk tizildi  
tügündän ol yazildi  
üküş yatip özäldi  
yērdä qopa adrišür

V

Describing summer: “There are lined up varieties

[I. 199/234]

of blossoms and flowers; the calyxes have split open; how long they have endured under the ground; now they rise up out of the ground and separate (*yanfariju*) one from the other.”

123

1. Second (original first) U changed to *sukūn* (? – unclear).

2. *Sukūn* (') changed from U (confusion with 124 **üdrüš-**); A added by a later hand.

124

“The warriors look at one another askance with rage (*yanzuru . . . bi-a'yun sazr ḥanaq<sup>an</sup>*); they seek to take revenge upon one another; (the warriors) have caught hold of their beards (in the intense heat of battle; it is as though) the fire of rage smoldered in their breasts.”

:: 'ULA'R· BUV SUZUK 'IR·TAIŠTIYLA'R **olār bu sözüg irtäštīlār** “They inquired into (tafahḥaṣū) this (matter or) word (or the like).” 'IR·TAŠUVR 'IR·TAŠMA'K irtäšūr irtäšmāk. 0 **irtäš-**

:: YAL·NIKUQ 'IJIN· 'AR·TAŠ·DIY **yalnuq için artašdi** “The people were corrupted by each other's example (*fasada . . . ba'duhu bi-ru'ya ba'd*).” The same for anything of a large amount that becomes thoroughly corrupted (*fasada ba'duhu fi ba'd*). 'AR·TAŠUVR 'ARTAŠ·MA'Q artašūr artašmāq. **artaš-**

:: 'ULA'R BUV 'IYŠIḞ 'UR·TUŠDIY **olār bu iṣiy örtüšdi** “They conspired to conceal (*tawāḥa'u 'alā satr*) this matter.” The same for anyone who helps someone else cover or conceal (*taḡṭiya, satr*) a thing. 'UR·TUŠUVR 'UR·TUŠMA'K örtüšūr örtüšmāk. **örtüš-**

:: BUVḌUN BIYR· 'AKINDIYNIK 'AWLA'RIN 'UR·TAŠ·DIY **bōdun bīr ekindīnig äwlārīn örtäšdi** “The people burned (*aḥraqa*) each other's houses.” Likewise for other things; the same for cooperating or competing. 'UR·TAŠUVR 'UR·TAŠMA'K örtäšūr örtäšmāk. 0 **örtäš-**

:: 'UL MANIK BRL· 'ARS·L'N· DAN 'AR·TIŠTIY **ol mänig birlä arslāndan ärtišti** “He vied with me in getting past (*muḡawaza 'an*) the lion (or anything frightening).” 'ARTIŠUR 'ARTIŠMA'K ärtišūr ärtišmāk. 0 **ärtiš-**

:: 'UL MANK· 'ARJY 'AR·TIŠDIY **ol maḡa arci artišdi** “He helped me load (*ilqā', ḥaml*) the saddlebag (on the animal).” 'ARTIŠUR 'AR·TIŠMA'Q artišūr artišmāq. The same for competing. **artiš-**

:: 'L 'ANIK BRL· 'UQTAŠ·TIY **ol anig birlä oqtašti** “He had a shooting contest with him (*rāmāhu<sup>1</sup> bi-s-sahm*).” The same for drawing lots (*qāra'ahu*). 'UQTAŠUR 'UQTAŠMA'Q oqtašūr oqtašmāq. **oqtaš-**

:: 'UL 'ANIK BIRL· 'UNDAŠ·DIY **ol anig birlä ündäšdi** “They called to one another (*tanādayā*).” U'ḶN·DAŠUVR<sup>2</sup> **ündäš-**

[I. 197/231]

123

'UNDAŠMA'K ündäšūr ündäšmāk.

:: TUVN LA'R UBRAŠ·TIY **tōnlār oprāšti** “The garments (or other) began to wear out (*axaḍat . . . fi l-bilā*).” 'UBRAŠUVR 'UBRAŠMA'Q oprāšūr oprāšmāq. Proverb [cf. 601 **keḡ**]: KANK'Š LYK BLYK 'UḌRAŠUVR KNK'Š SYZ BLYK 'UBRAŠVR **keḡāšlig bilig üḍrāšūr, keḡāš-siz bilig oprāšūr** [“Knowledge with counsel bears fruit, knowledge without counsel wears out.”] **opraš-**  
P

122 1. MS. *ramāhu*.

2. Original first U crossed out and second U written to right of the *alif* (').

“Management of affairs, when it is fertilized with counsel, daily grows better, but when it is without counsel, daily grows worse (*yablā*).”

:: 'UL MANK· MUVN U'UBRŠDY **ol maḡa mūn öprüšdi** “He helped me sip (*ḥasw*) the soup (or other).” 'UBRŠUVR 'UBRŠM'K öprüšūr öprüšmāk. The same for competing. 0 **öprüš-**

:: 'ULA'R· BIYR· BYR·KA· BITK 'UTRUŠDY **olār bīr bīrkā bitig ötrüšdi** “Each of them got a letter (or other) through (*anfaḍa*) to the other.” 'UTRUŠUR 'UTRUŠMA'K ötrüšūr ötrüšmāk. 0 Its root-form is: U'Ḷ·TUK·RUIŠDIY<sup>1</sup> **ötgürüšdi**. The same for helping or competing in carrying through (*tanfid*) anything. 0 **ötrüš-**

:: 'UL 'NKAR 'UTUR·ŠDIY **ol aḡar utrušdi** “He opposed (*qāwama*) him in a certain matter.” :: 'UL MANK· 'UTRUŠDY **ol maḡa utrušdi** “He faced (*wājaha*) me.” 'UTRŠVR 'UTRŠ·MA'Q utrušūr utrušmāq. 0 **utruš-**

:: 'L MANK· KS·MA· U'Ḷ·TRUŠDY<sup>1</sup> **ol maḡa käsmä otrüšdi** “He helped clip (*jazz*) the forelock.” The same for anything of which the excess is cut off (*yuḡṭa'u ziyādatuhu*) with scissors. U'Ḷ·TRUŠVR 'UTRŠMA'Q otrüšūr otrüšmāq. 0 **otruš-**

:: 'UVL MANK· QUŠ 'UJRUŠDY **ol maḡa quš uḗrušdi** “He helped me fly (*iṭāra*) the bird.” The same for helping or competing. 'UJRUŠVR 'UJRUŠM'Q uḗrušūr uḗrušmāq. 0 **uḗruš-**

:: 'UL 'ANIK 'UBK'SIN MANIK BRL· U'UJRUŠDY **ol anig öpkāsin mänig birlä öçrüšdi** “He helped me quiet (*taskīn*) his anger.” The same for helping to extinguish (*iṭfā'*) the flame of a fire. 'UJRUŠVR 'UJRUŠMA'K öçrüšūr öçrüšmāk. 0 **öçrüš-**

:: 'UL MANK· SUVF 'IJRUŠDY **ol maḡa sūw iḗrüšdi** “He helped me give water to drink (*saḡy*).” The same for competing. 'IJRUŠUVR 'IJRUŠMA'K iḗrüšūr iḗrüšmāk. 0 **iḗrüš-**

:: 'ULA'R 'IYKY 'ADRIḶŠDIY<sup>2</sup> **olār ēki adrišdi** “The two (companions) separated (*tafāraqa, tazāyala*).” 'AD·RIḶŠUVR· 'ḶDRIḶŠMA'Q adrišūr adrišmāq. Verse: **adriš-**

TUM'N JAIJAK TIZILDIY  
BUKUNDAN 'UL YAZILDIY  
'KUŠ YATIB· 'UZAL·DIY  
YYR·DA· QUB· 'ADRIŠVR

tümān çeçäk tizildi  
tügündän ol yazildi  
üküš yatip özäldi  
yērdä qopa adrišür

V

Describing summer: “There are lined up varieties

[I. 199/234]

of blossoms and flowers; the calyxes have split open; how long they have endured under the ground; now they rise up out of the ground and separate (*yanfariju*) one from the other.”

124

123 1. Second (original first) U changed to *sukūn* (? – unclear).

2. *Sukūn* (') changed from U (confusion with 124 **üḍrüš-**); A added by a later hand.

:: 'UL MANK' TVA'R 'UDURUŠDY ol maḡa tavār üdrüšdi "He helped me choose (*taxyir*) the goods (or other)." U'DRUŠUVR<sup>1</sup> 'UDRUŠMA'K üdrüšür üdrüšmāk. The same for competing. üdrüš-

:: 'IKY 'ADĠIR' BRL' 'ISRIŠTIY ekki adḡir birlä isrišti "The two stallions (or other) bit each other (*ta'adḡa*)." 'ISRIŠUVR 'ISRIŠMA'Q isrišür isrišmāq. The same for helping or competing. 0 isriš-

:: 'IKY 'AR' 'ASRUŠDIY ekki ār asrušdi "The two men sneezed at each other (*ta'ā-tasa*) to see who could sneeze more." 'ASRUŠUR 'ASRUŠMA'Q asrušür asrušmāq. 0 asruš-

:: 'ULA'R 'IKY 'USRUŠDY olār ekki osrušdi "The two of them competed in farting (*rudām*)." 'USRUŠUR 'USRUŠMA'Q osrušür osrušmāq. 0 osruš-

:: 'IKY YAḠY 'UİRAŠDIY ekki yaḡi uḡrašdi "The two enemies (or other) headed toward (*qaşada*) each other." U'İRAŠUR<sup>1</sup> 'UİRAŠM'Q uḡrašür uḡrašmāq. uḡraš-

:: 'ULA'R BV 'YSQ' 'AḠRIŠTIY LA'R olār bu işqa aḡrištilār "They commiserated (*tawajja'ū*) over this matter." 'AḠRIŠVR 'AḠRIŠM'Q aḡrišür aḡrišmāq. aḡriš-

:: 'L MANK' SUNKUVK 'UİRUŠTY ol maḡa süñük oḡrušti "He helped me to disjoint (*taḡbīq, faşl*) the bone." The same for competing. 'UİRŠUR 'UİRŠM'Q oḡrušür oḡrušmāq. 0 oḡruš-

:: 'NIK BRL' TALM 'WRŠTY anig birlä tālim āwrišti "He often tried his strength (*mārasa*) with him." :: 'UL 'ANIK QJMYS 'ATİḠ 'AWRIŠTIY ol anig qačmiš atiy āwrišti "He helped him turn back (*radd wajh . . . ilayhi*) the horse after it bolted." :: 'UL MANK' TAV'R' 'AWRIŠTIY ol maḡa tavār āwrišti "He helped me turn the commodity (or other) upside down (*taqlīb* [defined])." 'AWRIŠUVR 'AWRUŠM'K āwrišür, āwrišür āwrišmāk. āwriš-

:: YUN'D QAMUḠ 'UQRAŞDY yond qamuḡ oqrašdi "The horses whinnied together (*taḡamḡamat*) (for fodder, or other)." U'QRAŞVR 'UQRŠM'Q oqrašür oqrašmāq. Verse: oqraš-

YAŞIN 'TB YAŞ'NADY  
TUM'N TVRB TUŞ'NADY  
'ADĠIR QSIR' KIŞNADY  
'KUR 'ALIB 'UQRŠVR

yaşin atip yaşnadi  
tumān türup tüšnadi  
adḡir qisir kişnadi  
ögür alip oqrašür

V

Describing spring: "The cloud lightened; the mist was stirred up; the stallions and mares (saw

[I. 201/236]

125

the traces of spring and) neighed; they whinnied together (for joy) and each stallion took his mares as a herd."

:: 'UL BAKK' KAND<sup>1</sup> 'AKIRIŠTY ol begkā känd āgrišti "He helped the emir to besiege (*muḡāşara*) the fortress." :: QIZ 'NA'SIY BİRLA' YİB' 'AKRIŠTY qiz anāsi birlä yip āgrišti "The girl competed with her mother in spinning (*ḡazl*)." The same for helping. 'KRIŠVR 'KRIŠM'K āgrišür āgrišmāk. 0 āgriš-

:: 'UL 'ANKAR BAŞIK U'KRIŠTIY<sup>2</sup> ol anar bēşik ügrišti "He helped him rock (*taḡriḡ*) the cradle." 'UKRIŠUVR 'UKRIŠMA'K ügrišür ügrišmāk. 0 ügriš-

:: 'ATIM BAR'JA' 'AMRIŠTY atim barča āmrišti "My flesh itched (*iḡtakka*) (from mange, or other)." 'AMRIŠUVR 'MRŠM'K āmrišür āmrišmāk. 0 āmriš-

:: QA'M' LA'R' QAMUḠ 'ARWAŞDY qāmlār qamuḡ arwašdi "The diviners murmured magical phrases (*haynamat . . . bi-kaḡām*)." The same for pronouncing a spell against demonic possession (*raqaw min sa'fa*), or the like. 'ARWAŞUR 'ARWAŞMA'Q arwašür arwašmāq. 0 arwaš-

:: 'UL 'ANIK BIRL' YUK 'ARQAŞTIY ol anig birlä yük arqašti "They lent each other their backs to carry the load (*ḡamala . . . muḡāhara<sup>tan</sup>*)[defined]." 'ARQAŞVR 'ARQAŞMA'Q arqašür arqašmāq. arqaš-

:: BUVY' 'IKY BILA' 'ALQIŠTY bōy (bīr) ekki bilä alqisti "The people destroyed each other (*tafānā*)." The same for competing in destroying (*ifnā*) something. 'ALQIŠUVR 'ALQIŠMA'Q alqišür alqišmāq. alqiš-

:: 'UL MANIK BRL' 'ALQIŠ 'ALQAŞDIY ol mänig birlä alqiš alqašdi "He competed with me in eulogizing (*madḡ, tanā*)." 'ALQAIŠUVR 'ALQAIŠMA'Q alqašür alqašmāq. The same for helping. Verse: alqaš-

'LB LA'R 'ARİḠ 'ALQIŠUR'  
KUJ BYR QLIB 'ARQAŞUR'  
BYR BYR 'VZA' 'ALQAŞUR'  
'ADKARMAḌİB' 'UQ 'TA'R

alplār ariy alqišur  
küč bīr qilip arqašur  
bīr bīr üzā alqašur  
āḡgärmäḍip oq atār

V

Describing a battle: "The braves are destroying one another (*tufnī ba'ḡuhum ba'ḡan*); they have united their strength, lending one another their backs (*muḡāhirīn*); they cooperate in eulogizing one another (*yutnī ba'ḡuhum 'alā ba'ḡ b-t-ta'āwun*); each shoots his arrow, paying no heed to death."

:: 'UL MANK' TAV'R 'IRKIŠTY ol maḡa tavār irkišti "He helped me collect (*jam*) property (or other)." The same for competing. 'IRKIŠVR 'IRKIŠMA'K irkišür irkišmāk. 0 irkiš-

:: 'UL 'ANKAR 'UVN 'ALKAŞTY ol anar ün algāšti "He aided him in sifting (*naxl*) the flour." The same for competing. 'ALKAŞUR 'ALKAŞMA'K algāšür algāšmāk. 0 algāš-

125 1. Brown ink resumes here. Originally KNDA', A altered to *sukūn* (') and *alif* (') crossed out in brown ink; read *kāndā*?

2. *Sukūn* (') (brown) altered from U (black).

:: BUV 'YŠ TA' BUVY\_ 'AM'KAŠ'TIY bu išta böy ämgäšti “The people tired

[I. 202/238]

each other out (*ta'iba . . . ba'ḍuhum bi-sabab ba'd*) in this matter.” 'AM'KŠUR 'AM'KŠMA'K ämgäšür ämgäšmāk. 0

BUVDUN 'IKN'DIY TAW'RIYN 'UBLAŠDY bodun (bīr) ekindi tawārīn üplāšdi “The people raided (*aḡāra*) each other's property.” 'UBLAŠUR 'UBLAŠMA'K üplāšür üplāšmāk.

:: 'UT\_LAŠ\_DY NA'NK ütläšdi nāḡ “The things were pierced (*intaqabat*).” 'UTLŠVR 'UTLSMA'K ütläšür ütläšmāk. 0

This is used for plundering (*nahb*).<sup>1</sup>

:: 'AL'B\_ LA'R 'UT\_LAŠDIY<sup>2</sup> aplār ätlāšdi “The warriors fought closely (*talāḡamat, tajāladū*).” 'UTLAŠUVR<sup>2</sup> 'UTLAŠMA'K<sup>2</sup> ätlāšür ätlāšmāk.

:: 'ITLIŠDY NA'NK itlišdi nāḡ “The things were pushed together (*indafa'at*).” 'ITLŠVR 'ITLŠMA'K itlišür itlišmāk. 0

:: QABUFLA'R 'AJ\_LIŠ\_DIY qapuylār ačlišdi “The doors opened (*infataḡat*).” The same for things that are locked. 'AJ\_LIŠUR 'AJ\_LIŠMA'Q ačlišür ačlišmāq.

:: 'ULA'R BYR 'IKINDYNIY 'ADLAŠDIY olār bīr ekindīni ädlāšdi “The two of them sought to honor (*tafaqqada . . . ḡurma*) each other.” 'ADLAŠUR 'DLAŠM'K ädlāšür ädlāšmāk. 0

:: 'IWIQ BIYR BIYR\_KA' 'UDLAŠ\_DIY iwiq bīr bīrkā uđlašdi “The she-antelopes walked one behind the other (*mašat . . . xalifatan*).” 'UDLAŠUVR 'UDLAŠMA'Q uđlašür uđlašmāq.

:: 'ULA'R 'IKY 'AR\_LAŠDIY olār ekki ärlāšdi “The two of them vied in manliness (*tabārayā fi-r-ruḡūliyya*).” 'ARLAŠVR 'ARLAŠMA'K ärlāšür ärlāšmāk.

:: BVDUN QMUḡ 'UR\_LAŠDIY bōdun qamuy orlašdi “The people raised a cry (*ḡāḡa, jalabū*).” 'UR\_LAŠVR 'UR\_LAŠMA'Q orlašür orlašmāq. Its root-form is: 'URIYLAŠ'TIY orīlašti.

:: 'UZ\_LUŠDIY NA'NK üzlüšdi nāḡ “The thing was cut or snapped (*inqaṡa'a*).” :: BAKY KIŠY 'UZLŠDY begi kiši üzlüšdi “The marriage between husband and wife was dissolved (*inqaṡa'at az-zawḡiyya*).”<sup>3</sup> :: 'ALIM\_LIḡ BYRIM\_LIK\_DIN 'UZLUŠDY alimliy bērimligdin üzlüšdi

ämgäš-

126

üplāš-

ütläš-

ätlāš-

itliš-

ačliš-

ädlāš-

uđlaš-

ärlāš-

orlaš-

üzlüš-

“The debt was dissolved between the creditor and the debtor (*infaṡala d-dā'in min al-madyūn*).” 'UVZLUŠUVR 'UZLUŠMA'K üzlüšür üzlüšmāk.

:: 'UL MANIK BIR\_LA' 'IŠLAŠ\_DIY ol mänig birlä išläšdi “He vied with me in the work (*bārānī fi l'amal*).” The same for helping. 'IŠLAŠUVR 'IŠLAŠMA'K išläšür išläšmāk. 0

:: 'UFLA'N 'IF\_LAŠTY oylān iylašti “The babies cried (*bakat*).” A variant of the form with *yā* [i.e. *yiylaš*]. 'IF\_LAŠUR 'IF\_LAŠMA'Q iylašür iylašmāq.

:: KIŠY 'AWLAŠDY kiši awläšdi “The people crowded (*izdahama*) about the thing.” 'AWLAŠUVR 'AWLAŠMA'Q awläšür awläšmāq.

:: BAK BRL' 'AWLAŠTY 'UY'NA'B' beg (anig) birlä äwläšti oynāp “The emir played with him putting a house as the stake (*waja'ala baynahumā l-xaṡar baytan*).” This is a root-principle, namely

[I. 204/240]

that anything that is placed as the stake in gambling is mentioned along with the suffix: KŠTY [sic] 'lašti. 'AWLAŠVR 'AWLAŠMA'Q [sic] äwläšür äwläšmāk. 0

:: BYR NA'NK BYR 'UZA' 'UK\_LUŠDY bīr nāḡ bīr üzä üklüšdi “One thing was heaped up (*inkataba*) on another” – of such things as sand, a swarm of locusts on reeds, a crowd of people. 'UKULŠVR 'UKULŠMA'K üklüšür üklüšmāk.

:: TKM' YANKA'Q\_TIN' BUVDUN 'AQ\_LIŠDIY tägmä yaḡāḡtin bōdun aqlišdi “The people crowded together (*izdahama*) from every side.” Also of waters that flow together (*tasāyalat*) from every ravine. 'AQLIŠUVR 'AQLIŠMA'Q aqlišür aqlišmāq. 0

:: 'ULA'R QAMUḡ 'DAQ' 'AK\_LAŠDY LA'R olār qamuy aḡaq iklāšdilār This is an expression for “mutual trampling (*tawāṡu*)” upon a thing or for a group of people “agreeing (*muwāfaqa*)” upon a matter; also, “They helped each other trample (*waṡa*) with the foot.” 'AKLAŠUR 'AK\_LŠMA'K iklāšür iklāšmāk.

:: YLQY 'ARIḡ' 'IKLAŠDIY yilqi ariy igläšdi “The cattle (or other) were sick (*maridat*).” 'IKLAŠUR 'IKLAŠMA'K igläšür igläšmāk.

:: BA'LIḡ LA'R 'AMLAŠDIY LA'R bāliylār ämlāšdilār “The wounded treated each other (*ta'ālat*).” 'AMLAŠUVR LA'R 'AM\_LAŠM'K ämlāšürilār ämlāšmāk.

:: 'UL 'ANIK BIRL' JUK'N 'UR\_DIY 'UM\_LAŠV ol anig birlä čögān urdi ümläšü “He had a polo contest with him with trousers as the stake (*alā xiṡār as-sarāwīl*).” 'UMLAŠUVR 'UMLAŠMA'K ümlāšür ümlāšmāk.

:: 'UL 'ANIK BL' 'ALKIN 'IM\_LAŠDY ol anig bilä älgīn imläšdi “He pointed (*ašāra*) to him with his hand and the other did likewise.” 'AIM\_LAŠUR<sup>1</sup> 'AIM\_LAŠMA'K<sup>1</sup> imläšür imläšmāk. 0

127 1. A crossed out in brown ink.

- 126 1. This sentence apparently refers to the previous entry (üplāš-).  
2. U (brown) altered from A (black).  
3. *w* restored in brown ink above *j*.

## Q

:: 'L YARMA'Q 'UT-SUQ'TY **ol yarmāq utsuqti** “Some dirhams were wagered (*qūmira darāhim* [i.e. he lost them]) in the game.” The same for other things. 'UTSUQA'R 'UTSUQMA'Q **utsuqār utsuqmāq**. Proverb: SIN'MASA' 'AR'SIQA'R SAQIN'MASA' 'UTSUQA'R **sināmasa arsiqār saqinmasa utsuqār** “When something is not tested one is deceived by it, when thought is not taken (at the outset of a matter) one is overcome (*yuḡlabu*).” This is coined [to advise] testing and caution.

:: 'AR' 'AR'SIQ'TIY **ār arsiqti** “The man was deceived (*ḡurra*).” 'AR'SIQA'R 'AR'SIQ-M'Q **arsiqār arsiqmāq**.

:: 'AR' 'URSUQ'TY **ār ursuqti** “The man underwent a beating (*ḡuliba*<sup>2</sup> . . . *fī ḡ-ḡarb wa-ṣāra maḡrūban*). 'UR'SUQA'R<sup>3</sup> 'URSUQM'Q **ursuqār ursuqmāq**.

:: 'UL TAW'RIN 'AL'SIQ'TY **ol tawārin alsiqti** “He was plundered, deprived (*ḡuriba, suliba*) of his property.” 'AL'SIQA'R 'AL'SIQ'MA'Q **alsiqār alsiqmāq**.

::

[I. 206/243]

128

'AR 'AN'DIQTIY **ār andiqti** “The man swore an oath (*ḡalafa*).” AN'DIQA'R 'AN'DIQ-MA'Q **andiqār andiqmāq**. Verse [=450 yuluḡ]:

QUY'FAŠIB YTS' 'NIK YVZYNK'	qoyḡašip yatsa anig yūzīḡā	V
'ALSQAR 'VKIN 'NIK SUVZYNK'	alsiqar oḡin anig sōzīḡā	(alsiq-)
MINK KŠY YULUḡY BVLB 'VZYNK'	miḡ kiši yuluḡi bōlup oziḡā	
BYR'KA' LAR 'UḡIN [sic] 'NIK KVZYNK'	bēḡālār özin anig kōziḡā	

“One who lies with him and sees his face loses his mind (*suliba 'aqluhu*) over his (song and his charming) speech; a thousand souls are ransomed for his beauty; [they will give their souls for his eyes].

## K

:: 'R 'INJKTIY **ār ençikti** “The man lost consciousness, shook, and shriveled up (*ḡahabat ḡāssa* . . . *ka-annahu muḡmā 'alayhi wa-rta'ada wa-taqaḡaṣa*) (from cold water being poured over him).” 'INJKA'R 'INJIKM'K **ençikār ençikmāk**. 0

:: 'L BV 'YŠ Q' 'USTUIKTY **ol bu iṣqa östikti** “He coveted, longed for (*ḡariṣa 'alā, iṣṡāqa*) this thing.” 'USTK'R 'STKM'K **östikār östikmāk**. Its root-form is: 'VZ TIKTY **öz tikti**.

2. MS. *ḡulibat*.3. *Sukūn* (·) (brown) changed from A (black).

## [L]

:: Yḡ'J 'IRBALDY **yiyāç irpāldi** “The wood was sawn (*nuṣira* . . . *bi-l-minšār*).” 'IR-BALUR 'IRBALMA'K **irpālür irpālmāk**. Proverb: 'NK'KAY-[sic] 'IRBALDY 'YŠ **onçali irpāldi iṣ** 0 “The matter was meant to be made right but was sawn” – i.e. ruined (*urīda l-amr bi-l-iṣlāḡ fa-nuṣira ya'nī ufsida*). 0

:: 'AR' 'AT' 'UVZA' 'AR'TIL'DY **ār at üzä artildi** “The man threw himself on the horse in a straddled position (*alqā* . . . *nafsahu* . . . *wahwa an yakūna niṣf al-badan min jānib wa-l-āxar min jānib*).” :: TAḡ'R 'AŠYA'K 'UVZA' 'ARTILDY **taḡār äšyāk üzä artildi** “The sack (or other) was loaded (*ḡumilat*) on the ass.” 'ARTILVR 'ARTILM'Q **artilür artilmāq**. 0

:: 'YŠ 'AR 'UVZ' 'RTILDY **iṣ är üzä örtüldi** “The matter was obscure (*ubhima*) to the man.” :: KVK 'URTULDIY **kök örtüldi** “The sky was overcast (*taḡayyamat*).” Its root-meaning is anything that is concealed (*sutira*) under a thing. U'ṢRTULVR<sup>1</sup> 'URTULMA'K **örtülür örtül-māk**.

:: BUK 'URTALDY **bük örtäldi** “The thicket (or other) was burned (*uḡriqat*).” 'URT-LVR 'URTLM'K **örtälür örtälmāk**. 0

:: 'IRTALDIY 'N'NK **irtäldi nāḡ** “The thing was inquired into, sought after (*fuḡiṣa 'an, ṡuliba*).” 'IRTLVR 'IRTLM'K **irtälür irtälmāk**. Verse:

KNKLM 'IJN 'URTADY	könçlüm için örtädi	V
YTYMŠ YŠḡ [sic] QARTADY	bütmiṣ baṣiḡ qartadi	
KJMYŠ 'ḡUK 'IRTADY	käcmiṣ öḡüḡ irtädi	
TUN KUN KJB 'IRTALUVR	tün kün käçip irtälür	

Describing the one he is eulogizing: “My heart burned [inwardly]

[I. 208/245]

129

(at the pain of loss); the wound [which had healed] opened; he sought after bygone days; but Time caught up with him, while he was ever searching for (*yatafaḡḡaṣu*<sup>1</sup> 'an) it [lit.: while day and night pass it is sought].” 0

:: MUVN 'UBRUḡLDY **mün öprüldi** “The soup (or other) was sipped (*ḡusiyat*).” 'UBR-LUR 'UBRLM'K **öprülür öprülmāk**. 0

:: SVW 'USTALDIY **sūw üstäldi** “The water increased (*zāda*) or was added to (*ziḡda fihi*).” The same for other things. 'USTALUR 'USTALM'K **üstälür üstälmāk**. 0

128 1. Second (original first) U crossed out in brown ink.

129 1. MS. *yatafaḡḡaṣu*.



:: 'IS'TALDY NA'NK <b>istäldi nāñ</b> “The thing was desired, sought after ( <i>ṭuliba, fuḥiṣa</i> ).” 'ISTALUR 'ISTALM'K <b>istälür istälmäk.</b> 0	<b>istäl-</b>
:: BV SUVZ 'AŠTILDİY <b>bu söz eštildi</b> “These words (or other) were heard ( <i>sumi'a</i> ).” 'ASTILUR 'STILM'K <b>eštilür eštilmäk.</b> 0	<b>eštil-</b>
:: 'AR 'AΓTILDY <b>är aytildi</b> “The man was knocked down ( <i>ṣuri'a</i> ).” Its root-form is: 'AΓ TARILDY <b>aytarildi.</b> 'AΓTILR 'ΓTILM'Q <b>aytilur aytilmāq.</b> 0	<b>aytil-</b>
:: 'WDILDY NA'NK <b>äwdildi nāñ</b> “The thing was picked up ( <i>ultuqiṭa</i> ).” 'AWDILUR 'WDILM'K <b>äwdilür äwdilmäk.</b> 0	<b>äwdil-</b>
:: 'UFL 'IK'DILDY <b>oγul igdildi</b> “The boy (or other) was reared ( <i>rubbā</i> ).” 'IKDILUR 'IKDLM'K <b>igdilür igdilmäk.</b> 0	<b>igdil-</b>
:: SBIZΓUV <sup>2</sup> 'UTRLDY <b>sibizγu ötrüldi</b> “The flute (or other) was sounded ( <i>ṣuyyiḥa bi-</i> ).” 'UTRLUR 'UTRLM'K <b>ötrilür ötrilmäk.</b>	<b>ötrül-</b>
:: SAJ 'U'UTRLDY <b>sač otruldi</b> “The hair (or other) was trimmed ( <i>quṣṣa</i> ).” 'UTRLR 'UTRLM'Q <b>otrulur otrulmāq.</b>	<b>otrul-</b>
:: YVL 'ADRILDİY <b>yöl adrildi</b> “The two roads diverged ( <i>tafarraqa</i> ).” The same for two companions, or two teeth of which one is separated ( <i>tazāyala</i> ) from the other. 'ADRILUR 'AD- RIL'MA'Q <b>adrilur adrlmāq.</b>	<b>adril-</b>
:: 'UDRULDY NA'NK <b>üdrüldi nāñ</b> “The thing was chosen, set apart ( <i>xuyyira, muy- yiza</i> ).” The same for a party of men who are set apart ( <i>inḥāzat . . . jāniban</i> ): :: 'NIK 'ARA'NIY 'UD'RULDY <b>anig ärāni üdrüldi</b> “His men were set apart ( <i>imtāza . . . jāniban</i> ).” 'UD'RULUR 'UDRULM'K <b>üdrilür üdrilmäk.</b>	<b>üdrül-</b>
:: 'ATM'K 'IS'RILDY <b>ätmāk isildi</b> “The bread (or other) was bitten ( <i>uḍḍa</i> ).” 'IYS- RILUR 'IS'RULM'Q <b>isrilur isrulmāq.</b>	<b>isril-</b>
:: YUK 'AR'TIN 'ŠRULDY <b>yük arttin ašruldi</b> “The load was brought across ( <i>uḗiza</i> ) via the pass (or other).” 'AŠRULUR 'ŠRULM'Q <b>ašrulur ašrulmāq.</b> 0	<b>ašrul-</b>
:: 'UL YIYR'KA' 'UFRALDY <b>ol yērka uγraldi</b> “It was intended to go ( <i>quṣidat</i> ) to those regions (or other).” 'UFRALUR <sup>3</sup> 'AΓRULM'Q <b>uγralur uγralmāq.</b>	<b>uγral-</b>
:: SUNKVK 'UFRULDY <b>sünük oγruldi</b> “The bone was disjointed ( <i>fuṣila, ṭubbiqa</i> ).” 'UFRULUR 'UFRULM'Q <b>oγrulur oγrulmāq.</b> Verse:	<b>oγrul-</b>

2. Three dots faintly visible over S.

3. First U (brown) changed from A (black); A (brown) changed from U (black).

BLJQ BALQ YUFRULVR JIG'Y YWR YIFRILVR 'RNKAK LARIY 'UFRULVR 'ADGJ BL' 'WRŠVR	<b>balçiq baliq yoγrulür çiγāy yawuz yiγrilür ärñäkläri oγrulür oḍγuč bilä äwrišür</b>	V
[I. 210/248]		130
In the debate between Summer and Winter: “Clay and mud pile up; the wretched poor one crouches hunched up; his fingers split ( <i>yanfaṣilu</i> ) (from the severe cold), and he comforts himself with a firebrand.” 0		
:: 'AR' 'AWRILDY <b>är äwrüldi</b> “The man turned away ( <i>raja'a . . . min wajḥi</i> ) from his course.” The same for anyone who turns away ( <i>inṣarafa 'an wijḥa</i> ) from his course. 'AWRULUR 'AWRULM'K <b>äwrilür äwrilmäk.</b>		<b>äwrül-</b>
:: KAND 'AKRIL'DIY <b>känd ägrildi</b> “The city was besieged ( <i>ḥūṣirat</i> ).” :: YIB' 'AKRIL- DIY <b>yip ägrildi</b> “The yarn was spun ( <i>γuzila</i> ).” 'AKRILUR 'KRLM'K <b>ägrilur ägrilmäk.</b>		<b>ägril-</b>
:: BYŠIK 'UKRILDY <b>bēşik ügrildi</b> “The baby’s cradle was rocked ( <i>ḥurrika</i> ).” 'UKRLUR 'UKRLM'K <b>ügrilür ügrilmäk.</b>		<b>ügril-</b>
:: QAY'NA'R 'AŠJ 'AMRUL'DIY <b>qaynār ešiē amruldi</b> “The boiling pot subsided ( <i>sakana</i> ) (because cold water was poured over it).” :: 'AR' TIYNIY 'AMRUL'DY <b>är tīni amruldi</b> “The man’s breath was still ( <i>sakana</i> ) (and he died).” Also of anything that subsides or is still after being stirred up. 'AMRULUR 'MRULM'Q <b>amrulur amrulmāq.</b>		<b>amrul-</b>
:: YIΓA'J 'IR'ΓAL'DIY <b>yiγāč iryaldi</b> “The tree was shaken ( <i>nufidat</i> ).” The same for anything that is shaken ( <i>huzza</i> ). 'IRΓALUR 'IRΓALM'Q <b>iryalur iryalmāq.</b>		<b>iryal-</b>
:: 'AR'QIŠ [sic] 'ARWALDY <b>arwiš arwaldi</b> “The spell was spoken ( <i>ruqiyat</i> ).” 'AR- WALR 'ARWALM'Q <b>arwalur arwalmāq.</b>		<b>arwal-</b>
:: BAK'KA' 'AL'QIS 'AL'QAL'DIY <b>begkā alqis alqaldi</b> “The emir was eulogized ( <i>uḗ- niya</i> ) and his virtues enumerated.” 'ALQALUR 'ALQALM'Q <b>alqalur alqalmāq.</b>		<b>alqal-</b>
:: SUV TALIM' 'IR'KIL'DY <b>sü tālim irkildi</b> “The great army gathered ( <i>ijṭama'a</i> ).” The same for anything which gathers until it becomes many, or which is gathered by someone; transi- tive or not transitive [i.e., passive or middle]. 'IRKILUR 'IRKILM'K <b>irkilür irkilmäk.</b>		<b>irkil-</b>
:: 'URKNJ BULUB 'UR'KULDY <b>ürkünč bolup ürküldi</b> “Panic broke out causing the people to flee ( <i>hazāhiz . . . nufira</i> ).” 'URKULUR 'RKULM'K <b>ürkülür ürkülmäk.</b>		<b>ürkül-</b>
:: 'UVN 'ALKALDY <b>ün älgäldi</b> “The flour (or other) was sifted ( <i>nuxila</i> ).” 'ALKALUR 'ALKALM'K <b>älgälür älgälmäk.</b>		<b>älgäl-</b>

:: 'AR 'ARJISIN 'ARTINDIY *är arčisin artindi* “[The man] loaded (*hamala*) his saddlebag (on the pack animal).” The same for other things. 'ARTINUR 'AR'TIN'M'Q *artinur artinmāq*.

:: 'URA'ΓUT YVZIN 'URTUNDIY *urāyut yūzin örtüندی* “The woman unveiled<sup>1</sup> her face; or else she veiled (*satarat*) it.” 'URTUNUR 'URTUNM'K *örtünür örtünmāk*.

:: 'URTANDY NA'NK *örtändi nān* “The thing blazed up (*ihtaraqa*).” 'URTANUR [I. 212/251] *örtän*

'URTAN'M'K *örtanür örtänmāk*. :: BULIT 'URTANDY *bulit örtändi* “The clouds reddened (*iħmarrat*) (after sunset).” The Turks regard this as a good omen; hence the proverb: TUNL' BULIT' 'URTANSA' 'AWLUK 'URIJ KALDURMIŞJA' BULVR TANKDA' BULT 'URTANSA' 'AWKA' YAĞY KIRMIŞJA' BULVR *tünlä bulit örtänsä äwliük uri kældürmişcä bolür, tañda bulit örtänsä äwkä yağı kirmişcä bolür* “When the clouds redden at night it is as though the wife gave birth to a male son; when they burn (*ihtaraqat*) in the dawn (and the morning) it is as though the (raiding) enemy entered the house.” The second is a bad omen.

:: 'UVZINKA' YAMIYŞ 'AWDIN'DIY *öziñä yemiş äwdindi* “He picked (*iltaqata*) the fruit (or other) for himself.” 'AWDIN'MA'K *äwdinmāk*.

:: 'L MANK' U'UTRNDIY *ol maña utrundi* “He opposed (*qāwama*) me.” :: YYL YIĞA'J'Q' 'UTRUNDIY *yēl yiğäcqa utrundi* “The wind blew against (*istaqbalat*) the tree.” 'UTR-NUR 'UTRNM'Q *utrurun utrunmāq*.

:: 'AR' 'IS'RIND'DY *är isrindi* “The man clenched his teeth in anger (*ikla'azza γa-ḍab<sup>an</sup>*),” Its root-meaning is for a cauliflower, or the like, when it is cooked and before it is done, water is poured over it so that it remains as if raw and does not cook any more. It is also used of a person with an easy manner who becomes severe (*istadda*). 'IS'RINUR 'IS'RIN'MA'Q *isrinur isrinmāq*.

:: BA'LI' 'AΓRIN'DIY *bāliγ ayrindi* “The wounded man (or other) was in pain (*tawaj-ja'a*) (from his wounds).” 'AΓRINUR 'AΓRIN'MA'Q *ayrinur ayrimāq*.

:: 'UL BILIK 'UKRAN'DY *ol bilig ögrändi* “He learned (*ta'allama*) knowledge and wisdom (or other).” 'UKRANUR 'UKRAN'M'K *ögränür ögränmāk*. Verse:

'AR'DAM TILA' 'UKRANYN [sic] BULM' KUW'Z  
'AR'DM SIZN 'KUNSA' 'NKMVD' 'NK'R  
*ärdäm tilä ögränibän bolma küwāz  
ärdämsizin ögünsä änmägüdä äñär*

“Seek wisdom and knowledge and learn it and do not be too proud to learn; he who claims wisdom and education without learning will be bewildered when put to the test.” 0

130 1. Sic (*safarat*) – this meaning is out of place here.

:: 'AR' 'UZLUQ 'UKRAN'DY *är uzluq ögrändi* “The man learned a craft<sup>1</sup> (or other).”

:: 'URA'ΓUT YIB' 'AG'RINDIY *urāyut yip ägrindi* “The woman spun (*γazalat*) the yarn for herself; or else she pretended to do it but did not really.” 'AKRINUR 'KRINM'K *ägrinür agrinmāk*.

:: 'UL QILMIŞ 'YŞNK' 'UXSIN'DIY *ol qilmiş işiña oxsindi* “He regretted (*nadima*) what he had done.” 'UXSINUR 'UXSINM'Q *oxsinür oxsinmāq*.

:: 'UFL 'AR'SIN'DY *oγul ärsindi* “The boy showed manliness (*abdā<sup>2</sup> . . . min nafsihi rujülüyya*),” 'ARSINUR 'AR'SINM'K *ärsinür ärsinmāk*.

[I. 214/253] *132*

:: 'UL BUV 'AWNY 'AWSINDY *ol bu äwni äwsindi* “He reckoned this house as one of his own houses (*buyüt*) and stayed in it.” 'AWSINUR 'AWSINM'K *äwsinür äwsinmāk*.

:: 'L QUŞNY 'ALIKDN 'IJ'QIN'DY [sic] *ol quşni äligdin ičyindi* “He let the bird go (*aflata*) from his hand.” Proverb [=578 *yağya*]: YAQ'DA'QIY YALGA'ΓALIY 'ALIKDA'KIY 'IJ'ΓINUR *yaqādaqi yağyāyali äligdäki ičyinür* 0 “One who licks (the food that falls)<sup>1</sup> on his collar lets go (*yaflitu aw yanfalitu*) (the bowl, or other) that is in his hand.” This is coined to advise a person to hold on to what he has if he cannot get what he wants. :: 'AR' 'IJ'ΓINDY *är ičyindi* “The man broke wind (*radama*) in a party of people and was ashamed of it but could not hold it back.” 'IJ'ΓINUR 'J'ΓINM'Q *ičyinür ičyinmāq*.

:: YIĞA'J 'IR'ΓANDIY *yiğäc iryandi* “The tree shook and swayed (*ihtazzat, taħarrakat*).” Also for anything else. 'IRΓANUR 'IRΓANM'Q *iryanür iryanmāq*.

:: TA'S 'AŞΓINDY *tāš aşyindi* “The rock was worn away or crushed (*insaħaqa*).” Also of anything that is worn away or crushed. 'AŞΓINUR 'AŞΓINM'Q *aşyinür aşyinmāq*.

:: 'AL'QINDIY NA'NK *alqindi nān* “The thing was completely used up (*nafada . . . birummatihi*).” :: 'AR' 'ALQINDY *är alqindi* “The man died, perished (*māta, funiya*).” 'AL'QINUR 'ALQINM'Q *alqinur alqinmāq*.

:: 'UL MANK' 'UT'KUNDY *ol maña ötgündi* “He vied (*ħakā, bārā*) with me in something.” 'UTKNUVR 'UTKNM'K *ötgünür ötgünmāk*. Proverb: QARΓA' QA'ZGA' 'UTKUNSA' BUTIY SINUR *qarγa qāzγa ötgünsä buti sinür* “When the crow vies with (*ħakā*) the goose (in strength and flying) his foot breaks.” This is coined to advise a person not to exceed his limit.

:: 'UL 'UVZINKA' NANK 'IRKINDIY *ol öziñä nān irkindi* “He accumulated (*jama'a*) wealth (or other) for himself.” 'IRKINUR 'RKINM'K *irkinür irkinmāk*.

131 1. MS. *xirfa*, read *ħirfa*.

2. MS. *abda'a*.

132 1. MS. *bifāḍa*, read *nufāḍa*.

:: 'AT 'UT 'IUSKANDY at ot iskāndi “The horse cropped (*natafa* . . . *qalīl<sup>an</sup>*)<sup>2</sup> the grass.” Also of someone who pulls out (*natafa*) hair or short grass. 'IS'KANUR 'IS'KNM'K iskānūr iskānmāk.

:: 'URA'ΓUT 'UVN 'ALKANDIY urāyut ūn ālgāndi “The woman sifted (*naxalat*) the flour for herself.” 'ALKNUR 'ALKNM'K ālgānūr ālgānmāk.

:: 'L BUṼ 'IYŠTA' TALIM 'AM'KANDY ol bu īšta tālim āmgāndi “He was overcome with fatigue (*ta'ayyā*) in this matter.” Hence :: XĀ'N QAR:ŠIYQA' 'AM'KAINDY xān qaršīqa āmgāndi “The king alighted (*nazala*)

[I. 215/255]

at the palace.” It means that fatigue (*ta'ab*) overcame him on his journey and he alighted. This is said of emirs and nobles out of extreme respect. 'AMKANUR 'AMKANM'K āmgānūr āmgānmāk. The Oγuz do not know this form. 0

:: 'ANIK TAW'RIY 'UBLANDY anig tawāri üplāndi “His goods were plundered (*nuhiba*) or he was raided (*uγīra<sup>1</sup>* ‘*alayhi*).” 'UBLANUR 'UBLANM'K üplānūr üplānmāk.

:: 'AR' 'ATLANDY ār atlandi “The man mounted (*rakiba*).” :: 'UL TA'IQA' 'ATLANDIY ol tāyqa atlandi “He climbed (*ša'ida*) the mountain.” Oγuz dialect. The same for climbing anything. 'ATLANUR 'ATLANM'Q atlanur atlanmāq.

:: 'ΓUL 'ATLANDIY oγul ātlāndi “The baby took on flesh (*tarabbala*).”<sup>2</sup> Also of anything which becomes fat (*samina*) after being lean. 'ATLANUR 'ATLANM'K ātlānūr ātlānmāk.

:: TA'Š 'ITLINDY tāš itlindi “The rock (or other) was pushed (*indafa'a*).” Also of a baby when he crawls (*tazaḥḥafa*). Hence, in anger :: MANIK YVZDN 'TLN mänig yūzdin itlin meaning “Depart (*uγrub*) from me.” 'TLNUR 'TLNM'K itlinūr itlinmāk.

:: QABUΓ 'AJLINDIY qapuy açlindi “The door (or other) opened (*infataḥa*).” A variant of: 'AJILDY açildi [106]. 'AJLNUR 'AJLNM'Q açlinur açlinmāq.

:: 'UJ'LANDIY NA'NK üclāndi nān “The thing became three (*šāra* . . . *talāṭa*).” :: 'IKY QA'Z 'UJ'LANDIY ekki qāz üclāndi “The two geese (or other) became three (*taṭallaṭa*).” 'UJLANUR 'UJLANM'K üclānūr üclānmāk. 0

:: TARIΓ 'IJ'LANDIY tariγ iclāndi “The seeds of the crop swelled (*in'aqada ḥabbāt*).” Also of anything whose center (*wasat*) is eaten when it becomes edible. 'IJLANUR 'IJLANM'K iclānūr iclānmāk.

2. There is a second *qalīlan* above the line.

1. MS. *γīra*.  
2. MS. *tarayyala*.

:: 'UJLANDIY NA'NK uclāndi nān “The thing became pointed (*dū aṭrāf*).” 'UJLNUR 'UJLANM'Q uclānūr uclānmāq.

:: 'DLANDY NA'NK ädlāndi nān “The thing was made into goods and not left neglected (*uttuxida 'araḍ<sup>an3</sup>* *wa-lam yutrak muḥmalan*),” as a fur is made from a skin, or a boot from felt. 'ADLANUR 'ADLANMA'K ädlānūr ädlānmāk.

:: YLQY 'UḌ'LAN'DIY yilqi üḍlāndi “The mares were in heat (*ḍaba'at, ištahat al-fuḥūla*).” 'UḌLANUR 'UḌLANM'K üḍlānūr üḍlānmāk.

:: 'URA'ΓUT 'AR'LANDIY urāyut ärlandi “The woman married (*tazawwajat*).” 'AR'LANUR 'AR'LANM'K ärlānūr ärlānmāk.

:: BULIT 'UR'LANDIY bulit örlāndi “The clouds rose up (*naša'at*).” 'URLANUR 'URLANM'K örlānūr örlānmāk. It is better to say: 'UVR'DY ördi [96]. Verse:

'AY' QABUB 'AWLANB	ay qopup äwlanüp	V
'AQ BULT 'URLANUB	aq bulit örlanüp	
BİR BİR 'UVZA' 'UKLNUB	bir bir üzä üklänüp	
SAJLB SUWY 'NKRAŠUVR	saçlup suwi anrašür	

0

[I. 217/258]

“When the moon rises with its halo surrounding it, then the rain clouds rise up (*yartaḥi'u*) and accumulate, until they scatter water (over the face of the earth and it flows) with a noise and a murmur.” They augur rain when the moon has a halo.

:: 'URQ 'UVZ'LUNDIY uruq üzlündi “The rope (or other) broke (*inqaṭa'a*).” 'UZLNUR 'UZLNM'K üzlünūr üzlünmāk.

:: 'AŠAIJ' 'UZLANDY ešič üzlāndi “The grease in the pot rose to the top (*irtafa'a dasam*).” 'UZLNUR 'ZLNM'K üzlānūr üzlānmāk.

:: 'ASLINDY NA'NK aslindi nān “The thing was hung (*ta'allaqa*) on another thing.” 'AS'LINUR 'ASLINM'Q aslinur aslinmāk.

:: 'AY' 'AWLAN'DIY ay äwlandi “The moon acquired a halo (*dāra*).” :: 'L BUṼ 'AWNY 'AWLANDIY ol bu äwni äwlandi “He acquired this house as a dwelling (*maskan*) and counted himself as one of its residents.” 'AWLNUR 'AWLNM'K äwlanūr äwlanmāk.

:: 'ARUQ<sup>1</sup> 'AR' 'UKLANDY aruq är öglāndi “The weary man rested (*ajamma*).” 'UKLNUR 'UKLANM'K öglānūr öglānmāk. Also when someone understands (*faṭina*) something after not knowing it. Its root-form is: 'UVK'LANDIY öglāndi.

3. MS. *γaraḍ<sup>an</sup>*.

:: 'URA'ΓUT 'IK\_LANDIY urāyut iglāndi “The woman went into labor (*talq*).” Also of a man who is slightly ill (*marīḏa qalīlan*).<sup>2</sup> iglān-

:: 'AR 'AMLAN'DY ār ämlāndi “The man applied medicine (*ālaja*) to himself.” 'AM\_LANUR 'AMLANM'K ämlānür ämlānmāk. ämlān-

Doubled

[B]

:: 'AR BAŠIN 'URBATY ār bašin ürpätti “The man ruffled (*sa'aṭa*) the hair of his head (or other).” 'URBATUR 'URBATM'Q [sic] ürpätür ürpätmāk. ürpät-

:: 'UL YF'J 'RBATY ol yiṗāč irpätti “He ordered the wood (or other) to be sawn (*našr . . . bi-l-minšār*).” 'IRBATUR 'IRBATM'K irpätür irpätmāk. irpät-

T

:: 'UL 'ARTATY ol artatti (nāṗni) “He corrupted (*afsada*) the thing.” 'ARTATVR 'ARTATM'Q artatür artatmāk. 0 artat-

:: 'UL 'ANY 'R'TATY ol ani irtätti “He had it searched for (*fahḥaša 'an, aṭlaba*).” 'IRTATUR 'IRTATM'K irtätür irtätmāk. irtät-

:: 'L BAK 'URTATY ol bük örtätti “He had the thicket (or other) burnt (*taḥriq*).” 'URTATUR 'RTATM'K örtätür örtätmāk. örtät-

:: MAN 'ANY 'ISTATIM män ani istättim “I sent after him to be looked for (*ba'attu fi atarihi li-yuṭlaba*).”<sup>3</sup> 'IS'TATUR 'IS'TATM'K istätür istätmāk. istät-

:: BAK 'ANIY 'UQTATY beg ani oqtatti “The emir had him shoot an arrow (*armāhu bi-n-nabl*).” 'UQTATUR 'UQTATMA'Q oqtatur oqtatmāk. oqtat-

X<sup>4</sup>

:: 'UL MANIY 'ULXUTY ol mäni olxutti “He seated (*ajlasa*) me.” 'ULXUTUR 'ULXUTM'Q olxutur olxutmāk. olxut-

134 1. R altered to Z by later hand (dot in brown ink).

2. There is a second *qalīlan* over the first.

3. Altered to *yaṭluba*.

4. MS. J.

[I. 219/260]

135

Its root-form is with *ḡayn*: 'UL:ΓUTYIY olḡutti since the verb is never made transitive with *xā'* but with *ḡayn*; for example, in: 'UDΓURDY odḡurdi “He awakened him,” TUDΓURDY todḡurdi “He filled him to satiety,” the verbs are made transitive with *ḡayn*.

R

:: 'UL TVNIN 'UB:RATY ol tōnin opratti “He wore out (*ablā*) his garment (or other).” 'UBRTUR 'UBRATM'Q opratur opratmāk. 0 oprat-

:: 'UL TAW'RIF 'UD:RATYIY ol tawāriḡ üdrätti “He made his wealth yield gain (*tammara, nammā*).” 'UDRATUR 'UDRATM'K üdrätür üdrätmāk. üdrät-

:: 'UL 'ANY 'AΓRIṬIY ol ani aḡritti “He hurt (*awja'a*) him.” 'AΓRITUR 'AΓRITM'Q aḡritur aḡritmāk. 0 aḡrit-

:: 'UL MANIY 'IYŠQ' 'UF:RATY ol mäni išqa uḡratti “He directed (*aqšada*) me into a matter.” 'UFRATUR 'UFRATM'Q uḡratur uḡratmāk. uḡrat-

:: 'UL MANK' BLIK 'UKRATYIY ol maṇa bilig ögrätti “He taught (*allama*) me good manners and wisdom (or other).” 'UKRATVR 'UKRATM'K ögrätür ögrätmāk. 0 ögrät-

'L 'NK'R BIŠK U'UKRIṬY<sup>1</sup> ol aṇār beşik ügritti “He had him rock (*taḥriḡ*) the baby's cradle.” 'UKRITUR 'UKRITM'K ügritür ügritmāk. 0 ügrit-

:: QAŠINMA'Q MANIK YAYNIM 'AM:RIṬIY qašinmāk mänig yēnim ämritti “The irritation made my flesh itch (*aḥakka*).” As when something itches in a man's armpit or neck and the flesh tickles (*yaḥtakku*) making him laugh. 'AMRITUR 'AMRITM'K ämritür ämritmāk. ämrit-

S

:: 'UL MNY 'AT:SAṬY ol mäni ätsätti “He made me desire meat (*aqramani<sup>2</sup> ilā l-laḥm wa-šahhāni*).” 'ATSATUR 'ATSATM'K ätsätür ätsätmāk. ätsät-

:: 'UL 'ANY 'AX:SAṬIY ol ani axsatti “He crippled (*arraja*) him.” 'AXSATUR 'AXSATM'Q axsatur axsatmāk. axsat-

:: 'UL 'ANIY 'AŠ:SAṬY ol ani ašsatti “He made him desire the food (*mannāhu<sup>3</sup> ṭ-ṭa'am*).” 'AŠSATUR 'AŠSATM'Q ašsatur ašsatmāk. ašsat-

:: 'UΓLUM MANIY 'AW:SAṬY oḡlum mäni äwsätti “My child made me homesick (*mannāni wa-šawwaqani ilā l-bayt*).” 'AWSATUR 'AWSATM'K äwsätür äwsätmāk. äwsät-

135 1. Second (original first) U crossed out in brown ink.

2. Another *-manī* added by later hand in margin.

3. MS. *mannāni* (“He made me desire”); possibly *ani* is in error for *māni*.

## Š

:: 'UL MAṆIY 'ATA'MA' 'UX:ŠAṬĪY ol māni atāma oxšatti "He likened (*šabbaha*) me to my father." 'UXŠATUR 'UXŠATM'Q oxšatur oxšatmāq. 0

:: 'UL 'ATMA'K 'UW:ŠAṬĪY ol ätmāk uwšatti "He crumbled (*fatta*) the bread (or other)." 'UWŠATUR 'UWŠATM'Q uwšatur uwšatmāq. This is the correct form; there is also: 'UŠAṬĪY ušatti [114].

:: 'UL 'NY 'LŠAṬĪY ol ani ölsätti "He made him so hungry that he became dizzy (*aḡā'a . . . ismadarra ṭarf*)." 'LŠATUR 'LŠATM'K ölsätür ölsätmāk.

## Γ

:: 'L YIΓA'J 'R:IAṬĪY ol yiyāc iryatti iryat-

[I. 221/263] 136

"He had the tree (or other) shaken (*anfaḡa*)." Verse:

YKTLARIK 'IŠLATUV	yigitlārig išlatu	V
YI'J YMŠ 'IRΓATUV	yiyāc yemiš iryatu	
QUL'N KAYK 'AWLATUV	qulān kāyik awlatu	
BADRAM QILB 'AWNALIM	badram qilip awnalim	

Describing a festival: "We'll put the youths to work; we'll have them shake trees and fruits; we'll have them hunt the wild ass and other wild beasts; while we occupy ourselves with merrymaking for a few days." 0

:: 'UPL'N 'ULΓAṬĪY oylān ulyatti "The baby grew (*kabura*)." Its root-form is: 'ULΓA'D'TIY ulyāḡti, assimilated. 'ULΓATUR 'LΓATM'Q ulyatur ulyatmāq. ulyat- (ulyād-)

## K

:: 'L QVY 'URKUṬĪY ol qōy ürkütti "He startled (*naffara*) the sheep (or other)." 'URKUṬURR [sic] 'URKUṬM'K ürkütür ürkütümāk. ürküt-

:: 'L 'ANY 'AMKṬĪY ol ani ämgätti "He wearied (*a'yā*) him." 'AMKTUR 'AMKTM'K ämgätür ämgätümāk. ämgät-

:: 'L 'VN 'ALKṬĪY ol ün älgätti "He had the flour sifted (*anxala*)." 'ALKTUR 'ALKTM'K älgätür älgätümāk. älgät-

## L

:: 'L 'NIK TAW'RIN 'UBLAṬĪY ol anig tawārin üplätti "He had his property plundered (*anhaba*)." 'UBLATUR 'UBLATMA'K üplätür üplätümāk. üplät-

:: 'L QVY 'AT:LAṬĪY ol qōy ätlätti "He had the sheep made into meat (*lahm*)." 'ATLATUR 'ATLATM'K ätlätür ätlätümāk. ätlät-

:: 'L NA'NKNY 'UKLUṬĪY ol nānṇi üklitti "He increased (*kaṭṭara, ṭammara*) his wealth." 'UKLITUR 'UKLITM'K üklitür üklitümāk. üklit-

:: 'L TAV'RIN 'ADLAṬĪY ol tavārin äḡlätti "He ordered that good use be made (*išlāḡ*) of that part of his goods which had been neglected." 'ADLATUR 'DLTM'K äḡlätür äḡlätümāk. äḡlät-

:: 'L 'UFLIN 'UḌLAṬĪY ol oylin uḡlatti "He made his child follow (*aṭba'a*) behind him."<sup>1</sup> Also for other things. 'UḌLATUR 'UḌLTM'Q uḡlatur uḡlatmāq. uḡlat-

:: 'L 'NKAR 'YŠ 'IŠLAṬĪY ol aṇar iš išlätti "He made him do (*ista'mala*) the job." 'IŠLATUR 'IŠLATM'K išlätür išlätümāk. 0 išlät-

:: 'L 'Y'Q 'AŠLAṬĪY ol ayāq ašlatti "He had the vessel or bowl repaired (*ar'aba*)." 'AŠLATUR 'AŠLTM'Q ašlatur ašlatmāq. ašlat-

:: 'L KIŠYNIY 'AIΓLAṬĪY ol kišini aylatti "He sent the people away (*ab'ada*) from him so that what he wanted would be exclusively his." 'AIΓLATUR 'AIΓLTM'Q aylatur aylatmāq. 0 aylat-

:: 'L TAV'RIN 'UFLIṬĪY ol tavārin uylitti "He increased (*ṭammara, kaṭṭara*) his wealth." 'UFLTUR 'UFLTMT'Q uylitur uylitümāk. 0 uylit-

:: 'L MANK' 'IWQ 'AWLAṬĪY ol maṇa iwiq awlatti "He had me hunt (*ašāda*) the female gazelle (or other)." 'AWLATUR 'AWLTM'Q awlatur awlatmāq. awlat-

::

[I. 223/265] 137

:: 'L 'ANKAR YAṬYR 'IKLṬĪY ol aṇar yēr iklätti "He made him trample (*awṭa'a*) the ground (or other)." 'KLTR 'KLTMT'K iklätür iklätümāk. iklät-

:: BUV YAṬYR 'ANY 'IKLṬĪY bu yēr ani iglätti "This place made him ill (*amraḡat*) (because it did not agree with him)." 'IKLATUR 'IKLTM'K iglätür iglätümāk. iglät-

:: MAN 'ANY 'AMLAṬĪM män ani ämlättim "I had him treated with medicine (*'ilāḡ*)." 'AMLATUR 'AMLTM'K ämlätür ämlätümāk. ämlät-

:: MAN 'ANY 'IMLAṬĪM män ani imlättim "I ordered someone to gesture (*ašāra*) to him by the hand or a wink of the eye." 'IMLATUR MAN 'MLATM'K imlätür män, imlätümāk. imlät-

N

:: 'AR' 'AD'NAṬY *är adnatti* “The man changed (*taḡayyara*) from what he was.” The same for anything that changes from what it was. 'ADNATUR 'ADNATM'Q *adnatur adnatmāq*.

:: MAN NA'NK 'UR'NAṬM *mān nān ornattim* “I put the thing in its place (*waḡa'tu . . . mawḡi'ahu*).” 'URNATUR MAN 'URNATM'Q *ornatur mān, ornatmāq*. 0

:: TANKRIY 'ASIN 'AS'NAṬY *tānri āsin āsnātti* “God made the breeze blow (*nas-sama*).” :: YA'K 'NY 'IS'NAṬIY *yāk ani āsnātti* “The devil made him yawn (*awqa'ahu fi t-tu'abā*).” 'ASNATUR 'SNATM'K *āsnātūr āsnātṡmāk*.

:: MN 'ANKAR 'US'NAṬUM *mān anar osnattim* “I likened (*šabbahṡu*) him to him and suspected (*zanantu*) that it was he.” 'US'NATUR 'US'NATM'Q *osnatur osnatmāq*.

:: 'L 'TIN TUBRA'QA' 'AḠ'NAṬY *ol atin topṡāqqa aḡnatti* “He let his horse roll (*marraḡa*) in the dust (or other).” :: YAḠA'Q 'ANIK TIYLIN 'AḠ'NAṬIY *yaḡāq anig tīlin aḡnatti* “(Eating) walnuts made his tongue so heavy (*taqqala*) that it seemed as though he had a speech defect (*araṡṡa*).” 'AḠNATUR 'AḠNATM'Q *aḡnatur aḡnatmāq*. 0

:: 'UL 'UQIN 'ULNAṬIY *ol oqinulnatti* “He had the shaft of his arrow repaired in such a way that the notch and head were reversed (*iṡlāḡ qadh . . . hattā ju'ila niksān*).” 'ULNATUR 'ULNATM'Q *ulnatur ulnatmāq*. 0

Another Type; Defective

:: 'L MANK' SUVZ 'UVTURDIY *ol maḡa sōz ṡtūrḡi* “He reminded (*ḡakkara*) me of the words (or other).” 'UVTRUR 'UVTRMA'K *ṡtūrūr ṡtūrṡmāk*.

:: 'L 'NKAR BILK 'YTURDY *ol anar bilik ṡttūrḡi* (?) “He had him twist (*aftala*) the wick.” 'YTURR 'YTURMA'K *ṡttūrūr ṡttūrṡmāk*. Also of anything that is twisted.

R

:: 'L 'ANY 'IJUR'DY [sic] *ol ani āčurḡi* “He made him hungry (*asḡaba*) for it.” 'JURR 'JURMA'Q *ačurur ačurṡmāq*.

Š

:: 'ULA'R 'IKY QA'TUVN 'UYUŠDY *olār ekki qāḡūn oyušḡi* “The two of them vied in hollowing out (*taqwīr*) the melon.” Also for helping. 'UYŠUR 'UŠM'Q *oyušur oyušṡmāq*.

[I. 225/268]

:: 'UL 'ANKAR QA'B'Q' 'UVN 'UYŠDIY *ol anar qāḡṡa ūn uyušḡi* “He helped him press (*šadd*) the flour into the sack (or other).” 'UYŠUR 'UYŠM'Q *uyušur uyušṡmāq*.

K

:: 'ANIK 'ADA'QIY QUM'DA' 'UYK'TIY *anig adāqi qumda ūyūkti* “His foot sank (*sāxat*) in the quicksand.” :: 'INIK 'ADA'QIY 'UYKTY *anig adāqi ūyūkti* “His foot was injured by a stone (*laṡamat al-ḡijāra riḡlahu wa-ḡafā*).” 'UYKA'R 'UYKM'K *ūykār ūyūkmāk*.

L

:: 'NKAR SUVZ 'AYILDIY *anar sōz ayildi* “The words were said (*qīla*) to him.” 'AYILUR 'AYILM'Q *aylur ayilmāq*.

:: YR 'UYULDY *yēr oyulḡi* “The ground collapsed (*ḡārat, xasafat*).” :: KUTV 'UYULDY *kütü oyulḡi* “The roof was pierced (*intaḡaba*) by the falling rain.” 'UYLVR' 'UYLM'Q *oylūr oyulṡmāq*.

N

:: 'L MANDIN 'UYALDIY *ol māndin uyaldi* “He was ashamed (*istaḡyā*) before me in the matter and refrained from pursuing it.” 'UYALUR 'UYALM'Q *uyalur uyalmāq*.

:: 'L 'AR 'IYNI'DIY (ol) *ār iyindi* “The man strained at stool (*ajhada ṡabi'atahu fi ixrāj al-barāz*).” 'IYINUR 'IYINM'Q *iynur iyinmāq*.

Quadrilateral

R

:: 'L MANK' SUVZ 'YTRDY *ol maḡa sōz ayturḡi* “He made me speak (*takallum*) to him.” 'AYTRUR 'AYTURMA'Q *ayturur ayturṡmāq*. 0

:: 'L MANK' QA'TUVN 'UYTURDY *ol maḡa qāḡūn oyturḡi* “He made me scoop out (*taqwīr*) the melon (or other).” 'UYTRR 'UYTURMA'Q *oyturur oyturṡmāq*.

:: 'UL 'UVN 'UYTURDY *ol ūn uyturḡi* “He had the flour pressed (*šadd, ḡaḡṡ*) into the sack (or other).” 'UYTURR 'YTURMA'Q *uyturur uyturṡmāq*.

:: 'L MAṠIY 'UYḡURDIY *ol māni oyḡurḡi* “He woke (*ayqaza*) me.” A variant of the form with *ḡāl* [i.e. 120 *oḡḡur*]. 'UYḡURR 'UYḡURMA'Q *oyḡurur oyḡurṡmāq*.

Š

:: 'UYA'R 'IKY 'AYIŠDIY *olār ekki ayrišḡi* “The two of them parted (*tazāyalā, tafarraḡā*).” 'AYIŠVR 'YRIŠMA'Q *ayrišur ayrišṡmāq*. A variant of the form with *ḡāl* [i.e. 123 *adris*].

L

:: SUVZ 'AYTILDY *sōz aytildi* “He was asked (*su'ila*) about the statement (or other).” 'AYTILUR 'YTILM'Q *aytilur aytilṡmāq*.

## N

:: 'L SUVZ 'AIYTINDY ol sōz aytindi “He took it upon himself to question (*su āl*) the statement.” 'AIYTINUR 'AIYTINM'Q aytinur aytinmāq. 0

:: 'L MANDIN BUUV 'IYŠ'TA' 'AY'MANDIY ol mändin bu īšta äymändi “He was ashamed (*istahyā*) before me and did not dare to pursue this

[I. 227/270]

139

matter.” 'AYMANUR 'AYMANM'K äymänür äymänmāk.

## L

:: TA'M 'IYRILDY tām ērildi “The wall (or other) was breached (*inṭalama*).” 'IYRILUR 'IYRILM'K ērilür ērilmāk. Hence :: 'AY' 'AIYRLDY ay ērildi “The moon began to wane (*axada . . . fi n-nuqṣān*) (toward the end of the month).” 0

:: 'IY'SIL'DY N'NK äysildi nāṅ “The thing diminished (*naqāṣa*).” 'IY'SILR 'IYSILM'K äysilür äysilmāk.

:: 'IYŠ'Q' 'IYWILDY īšqa ēwildi “There was a hurrying (*ujila*) to the affair.” 'YWILUR 'IYWILM'K ēwilür ēwilmāk.

Doubled

:: 'UL 'ANY 'UY'NATĪY ol ani oynatti “He let him play (*al'aba*) with it.” 'UYNATUR 'UYNATM'Q oynatur oynatmāq.

Another Type

:: 'L TVNIN 'AYA'DIY ol tōnin ayādi “He took good care of (*ṣāna*) his garment (or other)” :: XA'N 'ANKAR 'AYA'Γ' 'AYA'DIY xān anqar ayāy ayādi “The king gave him an honorific title (*laqqaba*).” 'YA'R 'YA'MA'Q ayār ayāmāq.

Triliteral, Final Weak

## B

:: 'L YΓ'U 'IRBA'DIY ol yiγāč irpādi “He sawed (*našara*) the wood (or other).” :: 'L 'YŠIF' 'RBA'DIY ol īšiγ irpādi “He spoiled (*afsada*) the matter when he wanted to improve it.” 'RBA'R 'RBA'MA'K irpār irpāmāk.

## T

:: 'ARTA'DIY NA'NK artādi nāṅ “The thing became spoiled (*fasada*).” 'ARTA'R 'ARTA'MA'Q artār artāmāq. 0

:: 'UL 'UTNK 'URTA'DIY ol otuṅ örtādi “He burned (*aḥraqa*) the firewood (or other).” 'URTA'R 'URTA'MA'K örtār örtāmāk. 0

:: 'R 'YŠΓ' 'IRTA'DY ār īšiγ irtādi “The man sought after (*ṭalaba, tabi'a*) the matter.” 'IRTA'R 'IRTA'MA'K irtār irtāmāk.<sup>1</sup>

'IS'TA'DIY istādi is like: 'IRTADY irtādi. 'IS'TA'R 'IS'TA'MA'K istār istāmāk. Verse: istā-

YIΓLAB 'DUV 'IRTADIM	yiγlap udu irtādim	V
BAΓRIM BAŠIN QARTADIM	baγrim bašin qartādim	
QJMYŠ QTUΓ 'IRTADM [sic] <sup>2</sup>	qačmīš qutuγ istādim	
YΓMUR KUNY [sic] QA'N SAJA'R	yaγmur kepi <sup>3</sup> qān sačār 0	

“I cried after (*xalfa*) my beloved, and I broke open the sore on my liver (after it had healed); I followed after (*tabi'tu aṭar*) fleeing Fortune;<sup>4</sup> (my eye) rains [blood like] rain.” 0

:: 'L MANY 'UNDA'DIY ol māni ündādi “He called (*da'ā, nādā*) me.” 'UNDA'R 'UNDA'MA'K ündār ündāmāk. 0

:: 'L YNJV 'AWDIYDIY ol yinčü äwdīdi “He picked up (*laqaṭa*) the pearls.” Also for [picking] any kind of fruit. 'AWDIYR 'AWDIYMA'K äwdīr äwdīmāk.

:: 'UL YA'ΓIYNIY 'ALDA'DIY ol yāγīni aldādi “He deceived (*xada'a*) the enemy with cunning and stratagem.” 'ALDA'R' 'LDA'M'Q aldār aldāmāq.

:: 'AT' 'ULDIYDIY at oldīdi oldi-

[I. 229/273]

140

“The horse (or other) was unshod (*ḥafiya*).” 'ULDIYR 'ULDYMA'Q oldīr oldīmāq.

## R

:: TUVN 'UBRA'DIY tōn oprādi “The garment (or other) was worn out (*baliya*).” 'UBRA'R 'UBRA'MA'Q oprār oprāmāq. opr-

:: 'UDRA'DIY NA'NK üdrādi nāṅ “The thing had an abundant yield (*kaṭura ray'*).” 'UDRA'R 'UDRA'MA'K üdrār üdrāmāk. üdr-

139 1. The word “Verse,” crossed out here, is written in by a later hand (black ink) above the next line before the verse.

2. One of the two irtādim's must be an error for istādim.

3. The text reads küni “the day (of rain).”

4. MS. *jidd* (vowel in brown ink), read *jadd*.

:: 'AΓRUVDY NA'NK *ayrūdi nān* “The thing was heavy (*taqula*).” :: 'IKLK 'AΓRUVDIY *iglig ayrūdi* “The sick man became seriously ill (*taqula, danifa*).” 'AΓRUVR 'AΓRVMA'Q *ayrūr ayrūmāq*.

:: 'NIK BASIY 'AΓRIYDIY *anig basi ayrīdi* “He had a headache (*suddi'a ra'suhu*).” Also for the aching (*waj'*) of wounds and limbs whatever they may be. 'AΓRIYR 'AΓRIYMA'Q *ayrir ayrīmaq*. The same for other aches and pains. Proverb: BYR' TUYIN BASY 'AΓRIYSA' QAMΓ TUYIN BASIY 'AΓRIYMA'S *bir toyin basi ayrīsa qamuγ toyin basi ayrīmas* “If one of the imams of the infidels has a headache, not all of them do.” This is coined about a man who refuses a thing while his companions desire it and eat it and accept it.

:: BAK 'NKR 'UΓRA'DIY *beg aṅar uγrādi* “The emir (or other) came toward (*qaṣada*) him.” 'UΓRA'R 'UΓRA'MA'Q *uγrār uγrāmāq*. The same for any going somewhere (*qaṣd*). Verse:

QUL'SA' QALY 'UΓRAYIḂ<sup>1</sup> BIR·KIL TAQY 'AZUQLUQ  
QARΓIŠ QILUR 'UMA'LA'R YUNJΓ KRUB QUNQLUQ

*qolsa qali uγraban bergil taqi azuqluq  
qarγiš qilur ümālār yunēry körüp qonuqluq*

“When the guest asks you for provisions and comes to you for it give it to him; the guest will curse if his reception is bad.” 0

:: 'AT' 'UQRA'DIY *at oqrādi* “The horse whinnied to be fed (*ḥamḥama . . . isti'lāfan*).” 'UQRA'R 'UQRA'MA'Q *oqrār oqrāmāq*.

:: 'URA'TUT BIŠIK U'UKRIYDY *urāyut beşik ügrīdi* “The woman rocked (*ḥarraka*) the cradle.” Also of someone who intrigues through flattery (*dassa l-makr fī tamalluq*). :: 'UL 'ANIY 'UKRIYDIY *ol ani ügrīdi* “He ‘rocked his cradle’ as though he were a baby.” 'UKRYR 'KRIYMA'K *ügrir ügrīmāk*.

:: MANIK YIYNIM 'AM'RIYDIY *mānig yēnim āmrīdi* “My flesh itched (*iḥtakka*).” 'AM'RIYR 'AM'RIYMA'K *āmrir āmrīmāk*.

:: 'UL SUVZNIY 'ANKAR 'AWR'DIY [sic] *ol sōzni aṅar āwzādi* “He slandered [someone] to him (*wašā ilayhi*) with these words.” 'AWRA'R 'AWRA'MA'K *āwzār āwzāmāk*.

S

:: MAN 'ANY 'UBSA'DIM *mān ani öpsādim* “I wanted to kiss (*taqbīl*) him.” 'UBSA'R MAN 'UBSA'MA'K *öpsār mān, öpsāmāk*.

[I. 231/275]

:: 'AR' 'AT'SA'DIY *ār ätsādi* “The man desired meat (*qarima l-laḥm*).” 'AT'SA'R 'ATSA'MA'K *ätsār ätsāmāk*. 0

140 1. Y originally B (one dot in brown ink).

:: 'UL' 'UQ 'AITSA'DY *ol oq atsādi* “The man wanted to shoot (*ramy*) the arrow (or other).” 'AITSA'R 'AITSA'MA'K-Q *atsār atsāmāq*. 0

:: 'L 'UVTIN' 'UTUSA'DIY *ol üttin ötsādi* “He wanted to get out (*yaxruja*) of the hole.” 'UTUSA'R 'UTUSA'MA'K *ötsār ötsāmāk*. Also for piercing (*nufūd*) anything.

:: 'UL TA'ŠIF' 'AITSA'DIY *ol täširy itsādi* “He wanted to roll (*yudaḥrija*) the stone (or other).” 'AITSA'R 'AITSA'MA'K *itsār itsāmāk*.

:: 'AR' QABUΓ 'AIJ'SA'DIY *ār qapuy ačsādi* “The man wanted to open (*yafṭaḥa*) the door.” The same for opening anything. 'AIJ'SA'R 'AIJ'SA'MA'Q *ačsār ačsāmāq*. 0

:: 'UL SUVW 'IJISA'DIY *ol süw ičsādi* “He wanted to drink (*šurb*) the water (or other).” 'IJISA'R 'IJISA'MA'K *ičsār ičsāmāk*.

:: 'AT 'AX'SA'DIY *at axsādi* “The horse (or other) was lame (*'arija*).” 'AX'SA'R 'AX'SA'MA'Q *axsār axsāmāq*. 0

:: 'UL QULIN MANK' 'IDISA'DIY *ol qulin maṅa idsādi* “He wanted to send (*yab'aṭa*) his slave to me.” 'IDISA'R 'IDISA'MA'Q *idsār idsāmāq*.

:: 'UL 'ANY 'URUSA'DIY *ol ani ursādi* “He desired and intended to strike (*yadriba*) him.” 'URUSA'R 'URUSA'MA'Q *ursār ursāmāq*. 0

:: 'L YŠΓ 'UZSA'DIY *ol yiširy üzsādi* “He desired and intended to cut (*yahdiqa*) the rope.” 'UZUSA'R 'UZUSA'MA'K *üzsār üzsāmāk*. 0

:: 'UL 'AR'T AŠISA'DIY *ol art ašsādi* “He desired and intended to cross (*mujāwaza*) the mountain pass.” Also when one desires food (*ištahā ṭ-ṭa'am*). 'AŠ'SA'R 'AŠ'SA'M'Q *ašsār ašsāmāq*.

:: 'L TA'Γ'QA' 'AΓISA'DIY *ol tāγqa aγsādi* “He wanted to climb (*ṣu'ūd*) the mountain (or other).” 'AΓISA'R 'AΓISA'MA'Q *aγsār aγsamāq*.

:: 'AR' 'AW'SA'DIY *ār äwsādi* “The man longed for home (*ištāqa ilā baytihi wa-tamannā*).” 'AW'SA'R 'AW'SA'MA'K *äwsār äwsāmāk*.

:: 'AR' 'IWSA'DIY *ār ewsādi* “The man wanted to hurry (*'ajala*).” 'IAWSA'R 'IAWSA'MA'K *ewsār ewsāmāk*. 0

:: 'AR' SUVZUK' U'UQ'SA'DIY *ār sōzüg uqsādi* “The man wanted to understand (*yaf-ṭina*) the words.” 'UQUSA'R 'UQUSA'MA'Q *uqsār uqsāmāq*.

:: MAN BUTUQ 'AKISA'DIM *mān butaq ägsādim* “I desired and intended to bend (*imāla*) the branch (or other).” 'AKISA'R MAN 'AKISA'MA'K *ägsār mān, ägsāmāk*. 0

:: 'UL MANY U'UKSA'DIY *ol māni ögsādi* “He intended to praise (*yamdaha*) me.” 'UKUSA'R 'UKUSA'MA'K *ögsār ögsāmāk*. 0

atsa-

ötsä-

itsä-

ačsa-

ičsä-

axsa-

idsä-

ursa-

üzsä-

ašsa-

aγsa-

äwsä-

ewsä-

uqsa-

ägsä-

ögsä-



:: 'AKSUVDY NANK\_ ägsüdi nāḡ

[I. 233/278]

“The thing decreased (*naqasha*).” 'AKSUVR\_ 'AK\_SUVMA'K ägsür ägsümāk. 0

:: 'UL TUBR'Q U'UK'SA'DIY ol topraq üksädi “He intended to pile up (*takwīm*) (the wheat or) the earth (or other).” 'UKUSA'R 'UKUSA'MA'K üksār üksāmāk. 0

:: 'UL 'AT' 'ALISA'DIY ol at alsädi “He desired and intended to buy (*yaštariya*) the horse (or other).” 'ALISA'R 'ALISA'MA'Q alsār alsāmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'ULUSA'DY är ölsädi “The man intended and desired to die (*mawt*).” 'ULUSA'R 'ULUSA'MA'K ölsār ölsāmāk. 0

:: 'AR TA'FDIN 'ILISA'DIY är tāyḡin ilsädi “The man intended to come down (*yanzila*) the mountain (or other).” 'ILISA'R 'ILISA'MA'Q ilsār ilsāmāq.

:: KANJ 'AN'SIN' 'AMISA'DY kәнә anāsīn ämsädi “The baby wanted and intended to suck (*yurđi'a*) its mother.” 'AMISA'R 'AMISA'MA'K ämsār ämsāmāk.

:: 'AR' KTUVDIN 'ANISA'DY ar kütüdin ensädi “The man desired and intended to come down (*yanzila*) from the roof (or other).” 'ANSA'R 'ANISA'MA'K ensār ensāmāk. The *nūn* is an alternant of *lām* [i.e. *ilsa-*].

Rule

Know that the *sīn* and *alif* are suffixed to bi- and trilateral nouns and verbs with the meaning that the agent desires and intends to perform that action but has not yet done it. The rule also holds for nouns and verbs beyond the bi- and trilateral but is seldom applied. 0

Examples of biliteral nouns. :: 'AR' 'AT'SA'DIY är ätsädi “The man desired meat”; “meat” is: 'AT' ät a biliteral, and when *sīn* and *alif* are suffixed to it they create in it the meaning of intending and desiring. :: 'AR' 'AW'SA'DIY är äwsädi “The man desired and intended his house”; “house” is: 'AW' äw a biliteral, and when these two letters are suffixed to it they give the meaning of desire and intention. 0

Examples of trilateral nouns. The word for “sour” or “bitter” is: 'AJIḡ ačiy and to say “The man desired something sour” :: 'AR 'AJIḡ'S'DIY är ačiyäsädi. The word for “a sweet taste” is: TATIḡ tatiy and to say “The man desired something sweet” :: 'AR TATIḡ'SA'DY är tatiyäsädi.

[I. 235/280]

Examples of words with augments. 'AR QA'ḡUVNSA'DY är qāyūnsädi “The man desired the melon.” :: 'AR' JNŠTURKSA'DY är čāništürüksädi “The man desired the well-known fruit” — it is the early fruit, like hazelnuts, *Šīnī* (?). The rule applies generally, but we indicate some and you may derive the rest. 0

ägsü-

142

üksä-

alsa-

ölsä-

ilsa-

ämsä-

ensä-

G

143

Examples of biliteral verbs. :: 'AR' QIYZIN 'UB'SA'DY<sup>1</sup> är qīzin öpsädi “The man desired to kiss his daughter.” 0 :: 'UL YA' 'ATIḡSA'DY ol ya atsädi “He wanted to shoot the arrow.” The roots are: 'UBDIY öpdi “He kissed,” 'ATIḡY atti “He shot.” 0

Trilateral verbs. :: 'AR' YUK KUḡURSA'DIY är yük kötürsädi “The man wished to carry the load.” 0 :: 'UL QUŠ 'UJURUSA'DIY ol quš uçursädi “He wanted to let the bird fly.” 0

With augments. :: 'L TNKRYK' KIḡRḡTKIN'SA'DIY ol tānḡrikä kērtḡünsädi “He intended to acknowledge the unity of God Most High.”

This rule sometimes differs with stems ending in *rā'*. In that case a *ḡayn* is added to those with *išbā'* letters and a *kāf* otherwise. Thus :: 'L 'AWKA' BARIḡ'SA'DY ol äwkä bariyäsädi “He intended and desired to go home.” :: MAḡ SANIY KURUK'SA'DIM mān sāni köriḡsādim “I wished to meet you.” It is permissible to say BARIḡSA'DIY barsädi instead of BARIḡSA'DIY bariyäsädi, and KURUSA'DY körsädi instead of KURUK'SA'DIY köriḡsādi; however, the form used is that which I have mentioned. The roots are BAR'DIY bardi and KUR'DIY kördi. 0 The same if the stem ends in *lām*. Thus :: 'UL 'ANDIN YAR'MA'Q 'ALIḡSA'DIY ol andin yar-māq aliḡyäsädi “He intended to take the dirham from him.”

The meaning of these two letters is derived from the word: SA'DIY NA'NKNIY sādi nāḡni meaning “He counted the thing” 0 — as though the agent in respect to these descriptive words “counts” [them] among the things he intends and desires. 0 Thus :: 'AR SUW'SA'DY är suwsädi “The man was thirsty” — meaning that he counted water

[I. 236/282]

among his desires.

When the *alif* in these words is changed to *yā'*, it then means that the object named is altered from its original state and takes on the nature of what is connected with it. Example :: SUJK SUWSIYDIY süčig suwsädi “The wine became watery” 0 'USM 'AJIḡSIYDY üzüm ačiyäsädi “The grapes became sour and the sourness overcame (lit. broke the essence of) the sweetness.” This rule only holds for fluids and other things which alter from state to state. The meaning in these verbs is derived from the word: SIYDIY NA'NKNIY sīdi nāḡni meaning “He broke the thing” — as though wateriness broke the essence of the wine, and sourness broke the essence of sweetness.

Other examples may be drawn by analogy with these. It is a consistent rule in all the Turkic dialects.

Š

143 1. *Sukūn* (·) altered to U by later hand (brown ink).

:: MAN 'ANY 'UXŠ'DIM *mān ani oxšādīm* "I soothed and caressed (*lāṭaftu, lā'abtu*) him." Also of a woman who speaks tenderly (*tunāyī*) to her child. Proverb [=409 *saqaq*]: SA-QA'Q BIJA'R SAQ'L 'UXŠA'R *saqāq bičār saqāl oxšār* "He cuts the chin (in secret) while he caresses the beard." 0 This is only coined about someone who intrigues treacherously while flattering. :: BYR NA'NK BYRK' 'UXŠ'DIY *bīr nāṅ bīrkā oxšādi* "One thing resembled (*sābaha*) the other.

:: 'AT' 'AXŠA'DIY *at uxšādi* (?) "The horses slept (*nāma*)." This expression is particular to horses and is not used of anything else. Dialect of Yemāk, Yabāqu, and most of the nomads. 'UXŠA'R 'UXŠA'MA'Q *uxšār uxšāmāq*. 0

:: 'AR' 'AJIB 'LŠ'DIY *ār ačip ölsādi* "The man was so hungry that he became dizzy and almost fainted from hunger (*ismadarra ṭarfuhu wa-kāda an yuṣṣā 'alayhi min šidda al-jū'*)." Čigil dialect. 'LŠ'R 'LŠ'MA'K *ölsār ölsāmāk*.

## Γ

:: 'L YIΓA'J 'IRGA'DIY *ol yiṅāč irṅādi* "He shook (*hazza, nafaḍa*) the tree (to make its fruit fall)." Also for other things. 'IRGA'R 'IRGA'MA'Q *irṅār irṅāmāq*.

## W

:: QA'M' 'ARWA'Š<sup>1</sup> 'ARWA'DIY *qām arwiš arwādi* "The diviner prepared a spell (*raqā... ruqya*)." 'ARWA'R' 'ARWA'MA'Q *arwār arwāmāq*.

## Q

:: 'UL 'ANIK

[I. 238/283]

'AWIN 'ARQA'DIY *ol anig äwin arqādi* "He examined (*baḥaṭa*) what was in his house and investigated (*ṭalaba*) it and searched (*faḥaṣa*) for what he thought was in it." Oṅuz dialect.

:: 'UL 'ANY QARΓA'DIY 'ARQA'DY<sup>1</sup> *ol ani qarṅādi arqādi* "He cursed him and mentioned his evil deeds (*la'ana wa-ḍakara masa'āt*)." This is only used as a paired expression, never alone. It is derived from their word for "praise (*ṭanā*)": 'ALQIŠ *alqiš*. From the frequent use in the paired expression, 'ALQA'DIY *alqādi* became used also for evil, even though its root-meaning was for good. Then the *rā*' is an alternant of the *lām*; just as in the words of the Exalted: *ka-annahum bunyān<sup>un</sup> maršūš* (Q. 61:4 "as though they were a building well compacted"), *mašūš* is a variant reading. 'ARQA'R' 'ARQA'MA'Q *arqār arqāmāq*.

## K

144 1. U crossed out in brown ink.

145 1. Q altered from (or to?) Γ.

:: 'L YUVNK 'IṾSK'DIY<sup>2</sup> *ol yūṅ iskādi* "He plucked (*natafa*) the hair [i.e., wool] (or other)." 'SKA'R 'ASK'MA'K *iskār iskāmāk*.

:: 'L 'VN 'ALKA'DIY *ol ūn älgādi* "He sifted (*naxala*) the flour (or other)." 'ALKA'R 'ALKA'MA'K *älgār älgāmāk*.

:: 'AR' 'AMK'DIY *ār ämgādi* "The man suffered trials and hardship (*imtaḥana wa-qāsā l-miḥna*)." 'AMK'R 'AMK'MA'K *ämgār ämgāmāk*. 0

:: 'L 'NIK TAW'RIN 'UBLA'DY *ol anig tawārin üplādi* "He plundered (*nahaba*)<sup>3</sup> his property." 'UBLA'R 'UBLA'MA'K *üplār üplāmāk*. 0

:: 'L QVYΓ 'ATLA'DIY *ol qōyiy ätlādi* "He made the sheep into meat (*lahm*)." 'ATLA'R 'ATLA'RMA'K [sic] *ätlār ätlāmāk*.

:: 'AT' 'UTLA'DIY *at otlādi* "The horse (or other) fed on fodder (*i'talafa*)." 'UTLA'R 'UTLA'MA'Q *otlār otlāmāq*.

## N

:: 'UL 'AT 'ATLA'NDY [sic] *ol at atlādi* "He mounted (*rakiba*) the horse." 'ATLANUR 'ATLANM'Q [sic] *atlār atlāmāq*.<sup>4</sup> Verse:

YLQY YRIN 'TLNVR	yilqi yazin etlänür	V
'UTLAB 'ANIN 'TLNUVR	otlap anin ätlänür	
BAKLAR SAMUZ 'ATLANVR	beglār sāmüz atlanür	
SAFNUB 'UKUR 'SRIŠVR	sāwnüp ögür isrišür	

0 Describing spring: "The animals thrive in it [i.e., in springtime]; they [graze and] put on flesh at that time; then the emirs find fat horses to mount; the herd rejoices (at the first signs of spring) and bite one another (from joy)." 0

:: 'UL 'ANY 'ITL'DY *ol ani itlādi* "He reviled and scorned him and considered him a dog (*min jumla al-kilāb*)." 'ITL'R 'ITLA'MA'Q *itlār itlāmāq*.

:: 'L<sup>5</sup> TVNUΓ 'IJL'DY *ol tōnuy ičlādi* "He made a lining (*biṭāna*) for the garment." 'IJLA'R 'IJLA'MA'K *ičlār ičlāmāk*. 0

:: 'UL 'ADLA'DIY NA'NKIN *ol ädlādi nāṅin*

2. U crossed out in brown ink.

3. MS. *anhaba*.

4. Cf. 133 *atlan-*; the verse illustrates *atlan-*.

5. Added in red ink.

[I. 240/286]

“He manufactured the thing as goods (*šana'a 'arq<sup>an</sup>*),” ’DL’R ’DL’MA’K *ädlār ädlāmāk*. 0

:: ’UL ’UVNUΓ ’UZ’LA’DIY *ol ünuy özlādi* “He baked the dough in the ashes (*mal-lala*),” ’UZL’R ’UZLA’MA’K *özlār özlāmāk*. 0

:: ’UL ’S’L’DY NA’NKY *ol uslādi nāni* “He discriminated (*faṭana, mayyaza*) between good and evil.” Oğuz dialect. ’S’L’R ’S’L’MA’K [sic] *uslār uslāmāq*.

:: ’L ’Y’Q ’AŞLA’DIY *ol ayāq aşlādi* “He repaired (*ra’aba*) the bowl (or other),” ’ŞL’R ’AŞLA’MA’Q *aşlār aşlāmāq*.

:: ’AR’ ’IŞL’DIY *är işlādi* “The man (or other) worked (*‘amila*),” ’IŞL’R ’IŞLA’MA’K *işlār işlāmāk*.

Γ

:: ’UΓL’N ’IΓΓ’LA’DIY<sup>1</sup> *oγlān iγlādi* “The baby cried (*bakā*),” A variant of: YIΓ’LA’DIY *yīyladi*. ’IΓL’R ’IΓL’MA’Q<sup>1</sup> *iγlār iγlāmāq*.

W

:: BAK ’AW ’AWL’DIY *beg aw awlādi* “The emir went hunting (*şāda ş-şayd*),” :: ’ANK’R KŞY ’AWLA’DIY *aṅār kişi awlādi* “The people crowded (*izdahama*) around him.” ’WLA’R ’WLA’MA’Q *awlār awlāmāq*.

K

:: ’UK’LIYDY NA’NK *üklīdi nāṅ* “The thing grew (*zāda, namā*),” ’UK’LAIR ’UKLY-MA’K *üklir üklīmāk*.

:: ’L YYRIK ’KL’DY *ol yērig iklādi* “He trampled (*waṭi’a*) the ground (or other),” ’KL’R ’KLA’MA’K *iklār iklāmāk*. 0

:: ’AR’ ’IK’L’DY *är iglādi* “The man (or other) became sick (*marīḍa*),” ’IKLA’R ’IKLA’MA’K *iglār iglāmāk*.

L

:: MAN ’ANY ’AM’LA’DIM *mān ani āmlādim* “I treated him with medicine (*‘alajtu, dawaytu*),” ’AM’LA’R MAN ’AM’LA’MA’K *āmlār mān, āmlāmāk*. 0

146

özlä-

usla-  
D

aşla-

işlä-

iγla-  
D

awla-

ükli-

iklä-

iglä-

āmlä-

:: MAN ’ANK’R ’IM’L’DIM *mān aṅār imlādim* “I winked (*γamaztu*) to him (with my eye) or pointed (*aşartu*) to him (with my hand).” ’IM’LA’R MAN ’IM’L’M’K *imlār mān, imlāmāk*. Proverb [=54 āy]: ’AY’ TULVN BULSA’ LKIN ’IM’LA’MA’S *ay tolün bolsa älgin imlāmās* “When the moon is full one does not point to it with the hand.” This is coined about any matter that is obvious.

N

:: YIYR’ ’ADNA’DIY *yēr adnādi* “The land (or other) changed (*taγayyarat*),” ’AD-NA’R ’ADNA’MA’Q *adnār adnāmāq*.

:: MAN BUV YYR’DA’ ’UR’NA’DIM *mān bu yērdā ornādim* “I settled (*tawaṭtantu*) in this place.” :: ’R’NA’DIY NA’NK *ornādi nāṅ* “The thing was placed and stayed firm (*tamak-kana mawḍi’an wa-staqarra*),” :: KUVN ’UR’NA’DIY *kün ornādi* “The sun set (*γābat*),” ’UR-NA’R ’UR’NA’MA’Q *ornār ornāmāq*.

:: ’UIUL ’AT’QA’ ’UZ’NA’DIY *oγul atāqa öznādi* “The son was disobedient (*‘atā, lam yanqad li-amr*) to his father.” Also for others. ’UZNA’R ’UZNA’MA’K *öznār öznāmāk*.

:: ’ASIN ’AS’NA’DIY *äsin äsnādi* “The breeze blew (*tanassama*),”

[I. 242/288]

:: ’AR’ ’IAS’NA’DIY *är äsnādi* “The man (or other) yawned (*taṭāwaba*),” ’IAS’NA’R ’IAS’NA’MA’K *äsnār äsnāmāk*.

:: BYR NA’NK BYR NA’NKKA’ ’US’NA’DIY *bīr nāṅ bīr nāṅkā ösnādi* “One thing resembled (*şābaha*) the other.” ’UVS’NA’R ’US’NA’MA’K *ösnār ösnāmāk*. 0

:: ’AT ’AΓ’NA’DY *at aynādi* “The horse rolled (*tamarraḡa*) (in the dust, or other).” :: ’AR’ ’AΓ’NA’DIY *är aynādi* “The man was tongue-tied (*tata’ta’a lisān ar-rajul wa-n’aqada ‘alay-hi*),” ’AΓNA’R ’AΓNA’MA’Q *aynār aynāmāq*. Its root-meaning is “talking through the nose (*al-γunna*),”

Nasal

R

:: ’URNKARDIY NA’NK *ürnārđi nāṅ* “The thing became white (*ibyaḍḍa*),” ’URN-KARUR ’URNKAR’M’K *ürnārür ürnärmāk*.

:: ’AR’ ’AŞKRDY [sic] *är osṅardi* (?) “The man suddenly stopped work and sat down (*ḡaruna<sup>1</sup> min al-‘amal wa-jalasa*),” ’SNKRA’R [sic] ’SNKRMA’Q *osṅarür osṅarmāq*.

imlä-

P

adna-

orna-

öznä-

äsnä-

147

ösnä-

ayna-

ürnār-

osṅar-?

## Ş

:: 'UFLA'N 'ANKRAŞ'DIY oγlān anraşdi "The babies (or other) were in pain (*adiyat*)." **anraş-**  
'ANKRAŞVR 'ANKRŠM'Q anraşūr anrašmāq.

:: 'IN'K'N 'INK'RAN'DIY ingān inrandi "The she-camel (or other) moaned (*ḥannat*)." **inran-**  
'INKRNVR 'INKRNM'Q inranūr inranmāq.

:: 'UZM 'UNKINDY [sic] üzüm öñlāndi "The grapes took on color (*talawwana*)." Also **öñlān-**  
of a man when he takes on color after an illness. 'UNKLNVR 'UNKLNM'K öñlānūr öñlānmāk.

:: 'AR'NIY 'ANK'TURDY ārni äntürdi "He confused (*ḥayyara, adhaša*) the man in the **äntür-**  
matter." 'ANKTARUR 'ANKTRMA'K äntürür äntürmāk.

:: 'L 'NKR YΓ'U 'UNKTURDY ol anar yiyāc üntürdi "He had him pierce a hole (*aṭqaba*) **üntür-**  
in the wood." 'UNKTURUR 'UNKTURMA'K üntürür üntürmāk.

## Another Type

:: 'UL SUVZUK 'ANKLA'DIY ol söziüg aqlādi "He understood (*fahima*) the words (or **aqla-**  
other)." 'ANKLA'R 'NKLA'MA'Q aqlār aqlāmāq. Oγuz dialect. D

## End of the Quadriliteral Chapters

## Chapters of Quinquiliterals

## R

:: 'L MANY 'UFUTΓAR'DIY ol māni uwutyardi "He made me feel ashamed (*alja'anī ilā uwutyar-*  
*l-ḥayā' ḥattā ḥayītu*)." 'UWUTΓARUR 'UWUTΓARMA'Q uwutyarur uwutyarmāq.

## K

:: 'ANIK BAŠIY 'ISIR'KNDY anig baši isirgāndi "His head broke out in heat rash (*buṭūr isirgān-*  
*bi-ḥarāra*) (because he had not shaved it for a long while)." 'ISIR'KANUVR 'ISIR'KANM'K isir-  
gānūr isirgānmāk. 0

:: 'AR TAWA'RINKA' 'ASIR'KAN'DY är tawāriḡa äsirgāngi "The man regretted the **äsirgān-**  
loss (*ta'assafa 'alā dahāb*) of his wealth." 'ASIR'KANVR 'ASIR'KANM'K äsirgānūr äsirgānmāk.

## N

::

[I. 244/291]

148

'AR 'UWUT\_LAN'DIY är uwutlandi "The man was ashamed (*istaḥyā*)." The Oγuz say: 'UTAN- **uwutlan-**  
DIY utandi dropping some letters. 'UWUT\_LANUR 'UWUT\_LAN\_MA'Q uwutlanur uwutlanmāq. D  
0

:: QYZ 'AKAT\_LANDY qiz egätlāndi "The bride acquired a maidservant (*xādima*) who **egätlān-**  
was sent with her." 'AKAT\_LANUR 'AKAT\_LANM'K egätlānūr egätlānmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'ŠIJLAN'DY är ešičlāndi "The man acquired a pot (*qidr*)." 'ŠIJLANUR 'ŠIJ- **ešičlān-**  
LANM'K ešičlānūr ešičlānmāk. 0

:: 'NIK KVZY 'ANUJLANDY anig kōzi änüclāndi "His eye acquired a cataract (*zafara*)." **änüclān-**  
'ANUJLANUR 'ANUJLANM'K änüclānūr änüclānmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'AFIRLNDY är ayirlandi "The man was honored (*ukrima*)." The *nūn* is an **ayirlan-**  
alternant of *tām* [i.e. *ayirlal*]. :: 'UL BUV 'AT'NIY 'AFIR\_LAN'DIY ol bu atni ayirlandi "He  
considered this horse expensive (*γālī*)." 'AFIR\_LANUR 'AFIR\_LANM'Q ayirlanur ayirlanmāq.  
Also for considering a thing heavy (*taqīl*).

:: 'UΓURLAN'DY NA'NK uγurlandi nāḡ "The right time came (*ḥāna waqt*) for the **uγurlan-**  
thing." :: YUVL 'UΓURLANDY yöl uγurlandi "The journey became propitious (*mubārak*)."   
:: 'AT' 'UΓURLANDIY at uγurlandi "A recompense was given (*uwwiḡa*)<sup>1</sup> for the horse (which  
had been given as a gift)" – Oγuz dialect. 'UΓURLANUR 'UΓURLANM'Q uγurlanur uγurlanmāq. 0 D

:: YUN'D 'UKR'LANDY yond ögürlāndi "The horses formed a herd with a stallion **ögürlān-**  
(*šārat dāt faḥl ra'ilan*)." 'KURLANUR 'UKURLANM'K ögürlānūr ögürlānmāk. The same for any  
kind of animals when they form flocks (*quṭ'an*). 0

:: YYR' 'ATUIZLANDY yēr atizlandi "The land was made a watershed (*mušārāt*)." **atizlan-**  
'ATUIZLNUR 'ATUIZLANMAK-Q atizlanur atizlanmāq. 0

:: BUV NA'NKNY 'UJUZZAN'DIY bu nāḡni uēuzlandi "He considered this thing cheap **uēuzlan-**  
(*raxīš*)." 'UJUZZANUR 'UJUZZANM'Q uēuzlanur uēuzlanmāq.

'L TAΓ'NY 'ADIZLANDY ol tāḡni ädizlāndi "He considered the mountain to be a long **ädizlān-**  
barrier (*māni' tawīl*)." 'ADIZLANUR 'DIZLANM'K ädizlānūr ädizlānmāk. 0

:: 'UFLA'N 'ISIZ'LANDY oγlān esizlāndi "The baby was naughty (*aruma*)." 'ISIZ- **esizlān-**  
LANUR 'AISIZLANM'K esizlānūr esizlānmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'UΓUZLAN'DIY är oγuzlandi "The man put on the dress of the Oγuz." 'UΓUZ- **oγuzlan-**  
LANUR 'UΓUZLANM'Q oγuzlanur oγuzlanmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'UKUZLANDY är öküzlāndi "The man became owner of an ox (*tawr*)." 'UKUZ- **öküzlān-**  
LANUR 'KUZLANM'K öküzlānūr öküzlānmāk. 0

[I. 246/293]

149

:: 'AR' 'UΓUŠLANDIY är oγušlandi "The man acquired a party and kinsmen (*taḥazzaba oγušlan-*  
*wa-šāra dū ahl wa-'ašira*)." 'UΓUŠLANUR 'UΓUŠLANM'Q oγušlanur oγušlanmāq. 0

:: TARIḠ 'URUḠ-LANDIY **tariḡ uruḡlandi** “The grain seeds swelled (*in‘aqada ḡabba*).” **uruḡlan-**  
 :: KBA'Z 'URUḠLANDY **kābāz uruḡlandi** “The cotton formed seed (*in‘aqada*).” 0 Also for  
 any kind of fruit. 'URUḠLANUR 'URUḠLANM'Q **uruḡlanur uruḡlanmāq.** 0

:: 'AW' 'UJUAQLAN'DY **āw očaqlandi** “The house acquired a stove or fireplace **očaqlan-**  
 (*kānūn*).” 'UJUAQLANUR 'UJUQLANM'Q **očaqlanur očaqlanmāq.** 0

:: 'DAQLANDY NA'NK **aḡaqlandi nāḡ** “The thing acquired a foot (*riḡl*).” Proverb: **aḡaqlan-**  
 'ALIM KIYJ QAL'SA' 'AḡAQLANUR **alim kēč qalsa aḡaqlanur** 0 “When the debt remains P  
 (upon the debtor) for a long time it gets a foot” – that is, his creditor sends him a request. 'A-  
 DA'Q'LANUR 'AḡAQLANM'Q **aḡaqlanur aḡaqlanmāq.** 0

:: SUVW 'ARIQ'LANDY **sūw ariqlandi** “The water was canalized (*inṭa‘aba*).”<sup>1</sup> Also **ariqlan-**  
 of land when it is characterized by eroded channels like canals (*anhār*). 'ARIQLANUR 'ARIQ-  
 LANM'Q **ariqlanur ariqlanmāq.** 0

:: 'AR' 'AZUQLANDY **ār azuqlandi** “The man obtained provisions (*zād*).” 'AZUQ- **azuqlan-**  
 LANUR 'AZUQLANM'Q **azuqlanur azuqlanmāq.**

:: TUVN 'ATAK'LA'NDY **tōn ātäklāndi** “The garment was given a skirt (*ḡayl*).” **ātäklān-**  
 'ATAK'LANUR 'ATAK'LANM'K **ātäklānūr ātäklānmāk.** 0

:: 'AR' 'ATUK'LANDY **ār ātüklāndi** “The man obtained a boot (*xuff*).” 'ATUK'LNUR **ātüklān-**  
 'ATUKLANM'K **ātüklānūr ātüklānmāk.** 0

:: YḠA'J' 'ARUK'LANDY **yiyāč ārüklāndi** “The trees produced peaches, apricots, or **ärüklān-**  
 plums (*xawx, mišmiš, aḡāš*).” 'ARUK'LANUR 'ARUKLANM'K **ärüklānūr ärüklānmāk.** 0

:: 'L BUV 'UTUR'DA' YARMA'Q' QA' 'ISIK'LAN'DY **ol bu uḡurda barmāqqa isigländi**  
 “(The man) considered the time too hot (*ḡārr*) to go.” 'ISIK'LANUR 'ISIK'LANM'K **isiglänūr**  
**isiglänmāk.**

:: 'IT' 'ANUK'LAN'DIY **it ānüklāndi** “The bitch bore a puppy (*ḡirā*).” A NUK'LANUR **ānüklān-**  
 'ANK'LANM'K **ānüklānūr ānüklānmāk.**

:: 'AR' 'ATANLANDY **ār atanlandi** “The man obtained a gelded camel (*ba‘īr xaṣī*).” **atanlan-**  
 'ATANLANUR 'ATANLANM'Q **atanlanur atanlanmāq.**

:: BAḊIJ 'UZUM'LANDY **baḡič üzümlāndi** “The trellis became covered with grapes **üzümlān-**  
 (*inab*).” 'UZUM'LANUR 'UZUMLANM'K **üzümlānūr üzümlānmāk.**

Doubled, Irregular<sup>2</sup>

149 1. Also pointed *inba‘ata*.

2. This section is out of place here; it belongs rather with the doubled section of the quadri-  
 literals (134-137).

:: 'AR' TAWA'RĪY 'UB'LAL'DY **ār tawāri üplāldi** “The man’s property was plundered **üplāl-**  
 (*nuhiba*).” 'UBLALUVR 'UBLALMA'K **üplālūr üplālmāk.**

[I. 248/295]

:: QUVY 'AT'LAL'DY **qōy ätlāldi** “The sheep was made into meat (*lahm*).” Also for **ätlāl-**  
 other things. 'ATLALUVR 'ATLALM'K **ätlālūr ätiālmāk.**

:: 'AD'LAL'DIY NA'NK **äḡlāldi nāḡ** “The thing was put to good use (*uṣḡiḡa*).”<sup>1</sup> 'AD'- **äḡlāl-**  
 LALUR 'AD'LALMA'K **äḡlālūr äḡlālmāk.** Also of something that is taken good care of (*uftuḡida*).

:: 'AYA'Q 'AŠ'LALDY **ayāq ašlāldi** “The vessel was repaired (*ru‘iba*).” 'AŠLALUR **ašlal-**  
 'AŠLALMA'Q **ašlalur ašlalmāq.** 0

:: 'YŠ 'IŠLALDY **īš išlāldi** “The deed was done (*‘umila*).” 'IŠLALUR 'IŠLALM'K **išlāl-**  
**išlālūr išlālmāk.** 0

:: KYIK 'AWLAL'DY **käyik awlāldi** “The wild beast was hunted (*ṣīda*).” 'AWLALUR **awlal-**  
 'AWLALM'Q **awlalur awlalmāq.** Verse:

'AWLALUR 'UVZUM 'ANIK TVZNK' **awlalur özüml anig tūziḡa**  
 'AM'LALUR KUVZUM 'ANIK TVZNK' **āmlālūr közüml anig tōziḡa**

V

Describing his beloved: “My soul is hunted by his charm; my eye is treated (for blariness) by the  
 dust of his (foot).”

:: TKM' TURLK 'YK 'IK'LAL'DIY **tāḡmā türlüḡ ḡ iglāldi** “He was taken ill (*muriḡa*) **iglāl-**  
 with every kind of illness.” 'IK'LALUR 'IKLALM'K **iglālūr iglālmāk.** 0

:: 'IK'LIK 'AM'LAL'DIY **iglig ämlāldi** “The sick person was treated (*‘ulija*).” 'AM'LA- **ämlāl-**  
 LUR 'AM'LALM'K **ämlālūr ämlālmāk.** 0

:: KIŠY 'IM'LALDY **kiši imlāldi** “The man was gestured to (*uṣīra*) (by winking<sup>2</sup> the eye, **imlāl-**  
 or the like).” 'IMLALUR 'IM'LALM'K **imlālūr imlālmāk.**

Quinquiliteral, Defective

T

:: 'AT' 'AR'BALAN'DIY **at arpalāndi** “The horse got some barley (*ṣa‘īr*).” Also for **arpalan-**  
 others. 'ARBA'LANUR 'ARBALANM'Q **arpalanur arpalanmāq.**

150 1. MS. *ašlaḡa*.

2. MS. *ḡmr*, read *ḡamz*.

## D

:: BAK BYR YYRK 'RDVLANDY beg bīr yērig ordūlandi “The emir took a place as ordūlan- his personal residence (*qaṣaba*).” 'URDUVLANUR 'URDUVLANM'Q ordūlanur ordūlanmāq.

:: 'UL 'ANKAR 'UTRUVLAN'DY ol aṅar utrūlandi “He stood opposite (*wājaha*) utrūlan- him.” 'UTRLANUR 'UTRLANM'Q utrulanur utrulanmāq.

## Q

:: 'L MNV 'ARQALAN'DY ol māni arqalandi “He took me as a backer or helper (*ḡa- arqalan- hīr*).” :: 'L TA'Γ'NY 'ARQALAN'DY ol tā'yni arqalandi “He leaned (*istanada*) on the moun- tain.” 'ARQALANUR 'ARQALANM'Q arqalanur arqalanmāq.

## M

:: YΓ'J 'UŽUM'LANDY [sic] yiḡāč ūzmālāndi “The tree grew mulberries (*tūt*).”<sup>3</sup> ūzmālān- 'UŽUM'LANUR 'UŽUMLANM'K ūzmālānūr ūzmālānmāk.

## Another Type

## T

:: 'AT' 'VT'LANDY at ōtlandi “The horse galloped like fire (*iltahaba jaryan*).” Also :: ōtlan- 'AR'

[I. 250/297]

151

'UVT'LANDY är ōtlandi “The man flared up in anger (*iltahaba ḡaḡaban*).” 'UVT'LANUR 'VTLANM'Q ōtlanur ōtlanmāq.

## Z

:: 'UL BUV YARMA'QIΓ' 'ZLANDY ol bu yarmāḡiqy āzlandi “He considered the dir- hams to be few (*qalīl*).” Also for other things. 'ZLANVR 'AZLANM'Q āzlanūr āzlanmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'UVZLANDY är ūzlandi “The man displayed good craftsmanship (*abdā fī ūzlan- ṣan'atīhi ḡusn 'amal wa-ḡaḡāfa*).”<sup>1</sup> 'UVZ'LANUVR 'VZ'LANM'Q ūzlanūr ūzlanmāq.

## Š

:: 'AR 'IYŠLANDY är išlandi “The man pretended to be working (*ya'malu*).” :: 'AW išlan- 'IYŠLANDY<sup>2</sup> äw išlandi “The smoke adhered to the house and it became blackened (*laziqa d-*

3. MS. *tūt*.151 1. MS. *aḡḡāfa*.2. Later hand (brown ink) has changed the three dots of Š to *sukūn*(<sup>˙</sup>) and placed three dots below.

*duxān, iswadda*).” The same for clothes, or other. 'IYŠLANUR<sup>2</sup> 'IYŠLANMK-Q<sup>2</sup> išlanur išlan- māq (išlanmāk).

## K

:: 'AR 'VZINK' 'AWLANDY är ōziḡā āwlandi “The man hunted (*iṣṭiyād*) by and for āwlan- himself.” 'AWLANUR 'WLANM'Q āwlanur āwlanmāq.

## W

:: 'ARUQ' 'AR' 'VK'LANDY aruq är ōḡlāndi “The tired man (or other) recovered from ōḡlān- his fatigue (*ajamma*).” Also used of a baby when he grows (*kabura*). 'UVKLANUR 'VK'LANM'K ōḡlānūr ōḡlānmāk.

## Final Weak

## T

:: 'AR YRMA'Q 'ADUTLA'DY är yarmāḡ adūtlādi “The man scooped up the dirhems adūtlā- with his palm (*ḡafana . . . bi-kaff*).” Also for scooping up water with one's hand (*ḡarafa . . . bi- yad*). 'ADUTLA'R 'ADUTL'MA'Q adūtlār adūtlāmāq. 0

:: 'L 'ANY 'UZTLA'DIY ol ani ōzūtlādi “He considered him a miser (*baxxala, nasaba ōzūtlā- ilā l-buxl*).” 'UZTL'R 'UZTLA'M'K ōzūtlār ōzūtlāmāk.

:: 'L 'UFLIN 'KUTLA'DIY ol oḡlin ōḡūtlādi “He counseled (*wa'aḡa*) his son (or other).” ōḡūtlā- 'UKUTL'R 'KUTLA'MA'K ōḡūtlār ōḡūtlāmāk. 0

:: 'UL QIYZIN 'AKATLA'DIY ol qīzin egātūlādi “He sent a maidservant (*xādima*) with egātūlā- his daughter to her husband's house.” 'AKATLA'R 'AKATLA'MA'K egātūlār egātūlāmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'ULUTL'DY är ōlūtlādi “The man quarreled and almost started a fight (*jādala ōlūtlā- ḡattā kāda yūqi'u l-muḡātala*).”<sup>3</sup> 'ULUTLA'R 'ULUTLA'MA'K ōlūtlār ōlūtlāmāk. 0

## J

:: 'AR QUŠUΓ' 'AMAJLA'DY är quṣuḡ amačlādi “The man made the bird a target amačlā- (*ḡaraḡ*).” 'AMAJLA'R 'AMAJLA'MA'K-Q amačlār amačlāmāq.

:: 'UTA'JY KVZUK 'ANUJLA'DIY otāči kōzūḡ ānūčlādi “The doctor treated the eye ānūčlā- for cataracts (*ḡafara*).” 'ANUJL'R 'NUJLA'MA'K ānūčlār ānūčlāmāk.

[I. 252/300]

152

## R

3. MS. *muḡātāla*.

:: 'AT 'AḌARLA'DY (är) at äḍärlädi "The man saddled (*asraja*) the horse (or other)." 'AḌARL'R 'ḌARL'M'K äḍärlär äḍärlämāk.

:: TNKRY MANIY 'ABIR'LA'DIY täñri mäni ayirlädi "God Most High honored (*akrama*) me." 'AḠIRLA'R 'AḠIR'LA'MA'Q ayirlär ayirlämāq. Also of anyone who honors another person.

:: 'AR 'YŠIN 'UḠURLA'DY är išin uḡurlädi "The man put off the matter and did it in its proper time (*irtaqaba, fa'ala fi waqtihī wa-imkānihi*)." 'UḠURLA'R 'UḠUR'LA'MA'Q<sup>1</sup> uḡurlär uḡurlämāq. Hence :: 'AR TAVA'R 'UḠURLA'DIY är tavār oḡurlädi "The man stole (*saraqā*) the goods" – because he waited for the opportunity and the right time (*yartaqibu furṣatahu wa-waqtahu*). There is another explanation for this verb, namely that it is based on the noun: 'UḠRIY oḡri the word for "thief (*sāriq*)" and the *yā*' dropped from: 'UḠRIY oḡri through lightning. I prefer the latter explanation, but both are plausible. Verse:

BAKIM' 'UVZN 'UḠRLA'DY	begim özin oḡurlädi	V
YARḠ BYLB 'UḠRL'DY	yaraḡ bilip uḡurlädi	
'LḠ TNKRY 'AḠRL'DY	uluḡ täñri ayirlädi	
'NIN QUT QW TURY [sic] TUḠDY	anin quṭ qiw tozi toydi	

0 Describing the emir of the Tangut who prepared an ambush for the enemy: "My emir stole away from the army and lay in ambush, waiting for the right moment; God Most High honored him with victory, and thus arose the dust of Luck and Fortune."

Z

:: 'AR YYRIN 'ATIZL'DY är yērin atizladi "The man put dams and watersheds (*dibār, musannāt*) in the land (for sowing)" 'ATIZLA'R ATIZLA'M'Q atizlär atizlāmāq.

:: BAK 'ANY 'UJUZZLA'DY beg ani uḷuzlādi "The emir treated him with scorn (*ahāna*)." 'UJZL'R 'UJZL'M'Q uḷuzlär uḷuzlāmāq. 0

:: 'UL 'ANY 'UḌUZL'DY ol ani uḷuzlādi "He treated him for mange (*jarab*)." 'UḌUZL'R 'UḌUZLA'MA'K [sic] uḷuzlär uḷuzlāmāq. 0

:: 'UL 'ARIQNY 'AḠIZLA'DIY ol ariqni ayizlādi "He made a mouth (*fūha*) for the canal." :: 'L QULIN 'AḠIZLA'DIY ol qulin ayizlādi "He struck his slave (or other) on the mouth (*fam*)." 'AḠIZL'R 'AḠIZL'MA'Q ayizlär ayizlāmāq.

:: 'UL MANY 'UḠUZLA'DIY ol mäni oḡuzlādi "He considered me [I.253/302]

Oḡuz and related me to them." 'UḠZL'R 'UḠZL'M'Q oḡuzlär oḡuzlāmāq.

152 1. In MS. this form occurs on the next line after the translation of the following sentence.

S

:: 'UL BITK 'UQITISA'DIY ol bitig oqitsādi "He wanted to have the book read (*yuqri'a*)." Also when one wants to call (*yad'uwa*) a person. 'UQITISA'R 'UQITISA'M'Q oqitsār oqitsāmāq. 0

:: 'L TARIḠ 'UKITISA'DIY ol tariḡ ögitsādi "He wanted to have the wheat ground (*yaḥḥana*) by someone else." 'UKITISA'R 'UKITISA'MA'K ögitsār ögitsāmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'AKIR'SA'DIY är ägirsādi "The man wanted galingale (*wajj*) (to treat himself with it)" :: 'URAḠUT YİB 'AKIRISA'DIY urāyut yip ägirsādi "The woman desired and intended to spin (*taḡzil*)." :: BAK KAND 'AKIRISA'DY beg känd ägirsādi "The emir desired and intended to besiege (*yuḥāšira*) the fortress." 'AKIRISA'R 'KIRISA'MA'K ägirsār ägirsāmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'AJIḠ'SA'DY är aḷiḡsādi "The man desired something sour (*ḥumūḍa*)." AJIḠ'SA'R AJIḠ'SA'MA'Q aḷiḡsār aḷiḡsāmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'AṬA 'ULḠSA'DY är atta uluḡsādi "The man wanted the large one (*kabīr*) of the horses." The same for anything large. 'ULḠSA'R 'ULḠSA'M'Q uluḡsār uluḡsāmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'ARUKSA'DY är ärüksādi "The man wanted peaches (*xawx*) (or other)." 'ARUKSA'R 'ARUKSA'MA'K ärüksār ärüksāmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'ULUK'SA'DY är ölüḡsādi "The man wanted to be dead (*mayyit*)." 'ULUKSA'R 'ULUKSA'MA'K ölüḡsār ölüḡsāmāk.

Ş

:: 'AR TAV'RIN 'UKUŞL'DY är tavārin üküşlādi "The man considered his wealth to be much (*kaṭīr*)." 'UKUŞL'R 'KŞL'M'K üküşlär üküşlāmāk.

Ḡ

:: QUZY 'ARIḠL'DY qozi ariylādi "He gelded (*naza'a xuşya*) his lamb (or other)." :: 'L YARMA'QIḠ 'ARIḠL'DY ol yarmāqiy ariylādi "He picked out the best (*iḷḷaḡata jawda*) of the dirhems." The same for anything of which one chooses the best (*ixtāra nuqāwa*). 'ARIḠL'R 'ARIḠL'M'Q ariylär ariylāmāq.

:: 'UL KBA'Z ARIḠL'DY [sic] ol kābāz uruylādi "He removed the seed (*naza'a ḥabb*) from the cotton." Also when one extracts the pit (*axraja nawāt*) from a fruit. 'ARIḠL'R 'ARIḠL'M'Q uruylär uruylāmāq.

:: TUNKZ 'ATIḠ 'AZIḠL'DY toḡuz atiy aziylādi "The boar attacked the horse and wounded it with its fang (*nāb*)." [I. 255/304]

:: MAḠ TUNKZNY 'AZIḠL'DIḠ mǎn toḡuzni aziylādim "I struck the boar on its fang." Also of

any wild animal with fangs or canines (*nāb*) on both sides. 'AZIḤL'R AZIḤL'M'Q aziḥlār aziḥlāmāq.

:: TANKRY MANIY 'ULUḤL'DY tānri māni uluḥlādi “God Most High blessed me with glory (*razaqa al-kibriyā*).” :: BAK MANY 'ULUḤL'DY beg māni uluḥlādi “The emir considered me great (*kabīr*).” 'ULḤLA'R 'ULḤLA'M'Q uluḥlār uluḥlāmāq. Proverb: 'LḤNY 'LḤLA'SA' QUT BULUVR' uluḥni uluḥlāsa qut bulūr 0 “When one honors (*waqqara*) the elder (because of his age) one finds Fortune.”

Q

:: 'L 'NY 'ADAQL'DY ol ani aḍaqlādi “He hit him on his foot (*rijl*).” 'DAQL'R aḍaqla-'DAQL'M'Q aḍaqlār aḍaqlāmāq.

:: 'L 'NY 'AḌUQLA'DY ol ani aḍuqlādi “He considered it a rarity because it was unknown (*istaḥrafahu li-kawnihi majhūl*).” 'AḌUQL'R 'AḌUQL'MA'Q aḍuqlār aḍuqlāmāq.

:: BAK 'ARUQL'DY beg aruqlādi “The emir recovered from fatigue (*ajamma min at-ta'ab*).” This is an expression for sleep (*nawm*) in the Khāqānī dialects. Its root-meaning is “to rest from weariness (*istarāḥa min al-kalāla*).” 'ARUQL'R 'ARUQL'M'Q aruqlār aruqlāmāq.

:: 'L 'NY 'AŠUQLA'DIY ol ani ašuqlādi “He hit him on the anklebone (*ka'b*).” 'AŠUQL'R 'AŠUQL'M'Q ašuqlār ašuqlāmāq. 0

:: 'L 'NY 'AŠAQ'LA'DY ol ani ušaqlādi “He considered him small (*ṣaḡīr*).” Proverb: YAḤYNIY 'AŠAQ'LA'SA' BAŠQA' JQ'R yaḥini ušaqlāsa bašqa ṭiqār 0 “When one belittles the enemy it goes to the head.” The intention is that it destroys one's head, meaning one's determination, so do not belittle him. :: 'UL MANIK SUVZUM'NY 'UŠAQLA'DIY ol mānig sōzūmni ušaqlādi “He misrepresented and slandered (*qatta, wašā*) my words.” 'UŠAQL'R 'UŠAQL'M'Q ušaqlār ušaqlāmāq.

:: 'L 'ANUQL'DY NA'NKNY ol unuqlādi nānḥni “He found the thing to be ready (*ḥāḍir mu'add*) so he took it.” 'ANUQL'R 'ANUQLA'M'Q anuqlār anuqlāmāq.

K

:: 'L TVNUḤ 'IJUK'LA'DY ol tōnuḥ ičūklādi “He attached to his garment the fur (*farw*) (of a sable, squirrel, or other).” 'IJUKL'R 'IJUKL'M'K ičūklār ičūklāmāq. 0

:: TARİY 'ARUKL'DY tāri ārūklādi “He tanned (*dabaḡa*) the hide.” 'ARUKL'R ārūklā-'ARUKL'M'K ārūklār ārūklāmāq. 0

:: 'L QVY(N)UḤ 'UZAK'L'DIY<sup>1</sup> ol qōyuy özāklādi “He cut

154 1. A (brown) altered from U (black) (? – unclear).

[I. 257/306]

the sheep's spinal vein (*abhar*).” Also for striking it. 'UZUKL'R 'UZUK'L'M'K özāklār özāklāmāq. 0

:: 'R 'SIKL'DY ār isiglādi “The man went out in the heat (*ḥamāwa*) of summer or the midday sun.” 'SIKL'L'R 'SIKL'M'K<sup>1</sup> isiglār isiglāmāq. isiglā-

:: 'L KIRTLIK 'USKL'DY ol kiritlik ösiglādi (?) “He opened the lock without a key by a trick (*fataḥa . . . bi-ḥīla min ḡayr miftāḥ*).” 'SKL'R 'SKL'MK-Q ösiglār ösiglāmāq. Kāncāk D

:: 'L 'SIR'KA'DIY NA'NKNY ol äsirgādi nānḥni “He regretted the loss (*taḥassara 'alā fawt . . . wa-ta'assafa*) of the thing.” 'ÄSIRK'R 'ÄSIRK'M'K äsirgār äsirgāmāq. äsirgä-

:: 'L KYKNY 'UŠIKL'DY ol kāyikni üsiklādi “He captured the gazelle while it was restrained by the cold (*fī ḥaṣrihi wa-ḥāla wujūdihi l-bard*).” Also for other things. 'UŠIKL'R 'ŠKL'M'K üsiklār üsiklāmāq. üsiklä-

:: 'URA'ḤUTNY 'KAKL'DY urāḡutni äkākklādi “The man insulted the woman and called her a whore (*sabba . . . wa-nasaba ilā l-fujūr*).” 'ÄKAKL'R 'ÄKAK'L'M'K äkākklār äkākklāmāq. 0 äkākklä-

:: 'L T'MḤ 'UKAKL'DY ol tāmiḡ ükākklādi “He put towers (*burūj*) on the city walls.” Also for putting boxes (*ṣanāḍiq*) on a thing. 'UKAKL'R 'UKAKL'M'K ükākklār ükākklāmāq. 0 ükākklä-

:: 'UL 'ANY 'ÄLIḤK'L'DY<sup>2</sup> ol ani älüklādi “He derided him and mocked him (*hazi'a bihi wa-saxira minhu*).”<sup>3</sup> 'ÄLIḤK'L'R<sup>2</sup> 'ÄLIḤK'L'M'K<sup>2</sup> älüklār älüklāmāq. Verse: älüklä-

TANKUT SUVSIN 'UŠIKL'DY	taḡut sūsin üsiklādi	V
KIŠY 'YŠN 'ÄLIḤK'L'DY <sup>2</sup>	kiši išin älüklādi	
'ARIN 'ATIN BALIKLA'DY	ärin atin belāglādi	
BULUN BVLP BAŠY ṬḤDY	bulun bōlup baši ṭiḡdi	

“(The enemy) attacked the troops of Tangut (a realm or province near China) at night in the bitter cold (so that he would not gain victory); then he mocked them, until they presented to us their horses and men; he bowed his head from the hardships he suffered [lit.: he fell captive and hid his head].”

:: 'URA'ḤUTNY 'AMIK'L'DY uraḡūtni ämigglādi “The man struck the woman on her breast (*tady*).” 'AMIKL'R 'MIKL'M'K ämigglār ämigglāmāq. ämigglä-

155 1. An S is written through the final K (black ink).  
2. U (black) crossed out in brown.  
3. MS. *huzi'a bihi wa-suxira minhu*.



any wild animal with fangs or canines (*nāb*) on both sides. 'AZIḤL'R AZIḤL'M'Q aziḥlār aziḥlāmāq.

:: TANKRY MANIY 'ULUḤL'DY tānri māni uluḥlādi “God Most High blessed me with glory (*razaqa al-kibriyā*).” :: BAK MANY 'ULUḤL'DY beg māni uluḥlādi “The emir considered me great (*kabīr*).” 'ULḤLA'R 'ULḤLA'M'Q uluḥlār uluḥlāmāq. Proverb: 'LḤNY 'LḤLA'SA' QUT BULUVR' uluḥni uluḥlāsa qut bulūr 0 “When one honors (*waqqara*) the elder (because of his age) one finds Fortune.”

Q

:: 'L 'NY 'ADAQL'DY ol ani aḍaqlādi “He hit him on his foot (*rijl*).” 'DAQL'R aḍaqla-'DAQL'M'Q aḍaqlār aḍaqlāmāq.

:: 'L 'NY 'AḌUQLA'DY ol ani aḍuqlādi “He considered it a rarity because it was unknown (*istaḥrafahu li-kawnihi majhūl*).” 'AḌUQL'R 'AḌUQL'MA'Q aḍuqlār aḍuqlāmāq.

:: BAK 'ARUQL'DY beg aruqlādi “The emir recovered from fatigue (*ajamma min at-ta'ab*).” This is an expression for sleep (*nawm*) in the Khāqānī dialects. Its root-meaning is “to rest from weariness (*istarāḥa min al-kalāla*).” 'ARUQL'R 'ARUQL'M'Q aruqlār aruqlāmāq.

:: 'L 'NY 'AŠUQLA'DIY ol ani ašuqlādi “He hit him on the anklebone (*ka'b*).” 'AŠUQL'R 'AŠUQL'M'Q ašuqlār ašuqlāmāq. 0

:: 'L 'NY 'AŠAQLA'DY ol ani ušaqlādi “He considered him small (*šaḡīr*).” Proverb: YAḤYNIY 'AŠAQLA'SA' BAŠQA' JQ'R yaḡini ušaqlāsa bašqa ḥiqār 0 “When one belittles the enemy it goes to the head.” The intention is that it destroys one's head, meaning one's determination, so do not belittle him. :: 'UL MANIK SUVZUM'NY 'UŠAQLA'DIY ol mānig sōzūmni ušaqlādi “He misrepresented and slandered (*qatta, wašā*) my words.” 'UŠAQL'R 'UŠAQL'M'Q ušaqlār ušaqlāmāq.

:: 'L 'ANUQL'DY NA'NKNY ol unuqlādi nānḡni “He found the thing to be ready (*ḥāḍir mu'add*) so he took it.” 'ANUQL'R 'ANUQLA'M'Q anuqlār anuqlāmāq.

K

:: 'L TVNUḤ 'IJUKLA'DY ol tōnuḡ ičūklādi “He attached to his garment the fur (*farw*) (of a sable, squirrel, or other).” 'IJUKL'R 'IJUKL'M'K ičūklār ičūklāmāk. 0

:: TARİY 'ARUKL'DY tāri ārūklādi “He tanned (*dabaḡa*) the hide.” 'ARUKL'R ārūklā-'ARUKL'M'K ārūklār ārūklāmāk. 0

:: 'L QVY(N)UḤ 'UZAKL'DIY<sup>1</sup> ol qōyuy özāklādi “He cut

154 1. A (brown) altered from U (black) (? – unclear).

[I. 257/306]

the sheep's spinal vein (*abhar*).” Also for striking it. 'UZUKL'R 'UZUKL'M'K özāklār özāklāmāk. 0

:: 'R 'SIKL'DY ār isiglādi “The man went out in the heat (*ḥamāwa*) of summer or the midday sun.” 'SIKL'L'R 'SIKL'M'K<sup>1</sup> isiglār isiglāmāk. isiglā-

:: 'L KIRTLIK 'USKL'DY ol kiritlik ösiglādi (?) “He opened the lock without a key by a trick (*fataḥa . . . bi-ḥīla min ḡayr miftāḥ*).” 'SKL'R 'SKL'MK-Q ösiglār ösiglāmāk. Kāncāk D

:: 'L 'SIRKA'DIY NA'NKNY ol äsirḡādi nānḡni “He regretted the loss (*taḥassara 'alā fawt . . . wa-ta'assafa*) of the thing.” 'ÄSIRK'R 'ÄSIRK'M'K äsirḡār äsirḡāmāk. äsirḡä-

:: 'L KYKNY 'UŠIKL'DY ol kāyikni üšiklādi “He captured the gazelle while it was restrained by the cold (*fī ḥašrihi wa-ḥāla wujūdihi l-bard*).” Also for other things. 'UŠIKL'R 'ŠKL'M'K üšiklār üšiklāmāk. üšiklä-

:: 'URA'ḤUTNY 'KAKL'DY urāḡutni äkākklādi “The man insulted the woman and called her a whore (*sabba . . . wa-nasaba ilā l-fujūr*).” 'ÄKAKL'R 'ÄKAKL'M'K äkākklār äkākklāmāk. 0 äkākklä-

:: 'L T'MḤ 'UKAKL'DY ol tāmiḡ ükākklādi “He put towers (*burūj*) on the city walls.” Also for putting boxes (*šanādīq*) on a thing. 'UKAKL'R 'UKAKL'M'K ükākklār ükākklāmāk. 0 ükākklä-

:: 'UL 'ANY 'ÄLIḤK'L'DY<sup>2</sup> ol ani älüklādi “He derided him and mocked him (*hazi'a bihi wa-saxira minhu*).”<sup>3</sup> 'ÄLIḤK'L'R<sup>2</sup> 'ÄLIḤK'L'M'K<sup>2</sup> älüklār älüklāmāk. Verse: älüklä-

TANKUT SUVSIN 'UŠIKL'DY	taḡut sūsīn üšiklādi	V
KIŠY 'YŠN 'ÄLIḤK'L'DY <sup>2</sup>	kišī išin älüklādi	
'ARIN 'ATIN BALIKLA'DY	ärin atin belāḡlādi	
BULUN BVLP BAŠY TḤDY	bulun bōlup baši tiḡdi	

“(The enemy) attacked the troops of Tangut (a realm or province near China) at night in the bitter cold (so that he would not gain victory); then he mocked them, until they presented to us their horses and men; he bowed his head from the hardships he suffered [lit.: he fell captive and hid his head].”

:: 'URA'ḤUTNY 'AMIKL'DY uraḡūtni ämiglādi “The man struck the woman on her breast (*tady*).” 'AMIKL'R 'MIKL'M'K ämiglār ämiglāmāk. ämiglä-

155 1. An S is written through the final K (black ink).  
2. U (black) crossed out in brown.  
3. MS. *hazi'a bihi wa-suxira minhu*.

:: 'IT' 'ANUK·LA'DIY it **änüklādi** “The bitch bore a puppy (*ajrat*).” :: 'ARS·L'N **änüklā-**  
'ANUKL'DY arslān **änüklādi** “The lioness bore a cub (*ašbalat*).” 'ANUKL'R 'ANUK·LA'M'K **änük-**  
**lār änüklāmāk.**

:: 'L MANK' 'ASANL'DY ol maṇa **āsānlādi** “He greeted me and shook hands (*ḥayya, āsānlā-*  
*ṣafaḥa*).” 'ASANL'R 'SANLA'M'K **āsānlār āsānlāmāk.**

Another Type

D

[I. 259/308]

:: 'L 'NY 'UḌUḌVL'DY ol ani **uḏūlādi** “He followed (*ittaba'a, iqtafa*) him.” 'UḌUḌVL'R **uḏūla-**  
'UḌUḌVL'M'Q **uḏūlār uḏūlāmāq.**

R

:: 'L 'KY KIṢY 'UTRA' 'RA'LA'DY ol ekki kiṣi otra **arālādi** “He mediated (*ṣālaḥa*) **arāla-**  
between the two men.” Also for passing between (*jāwaza bayna*) them or between any two  
things. For “making peace (*ṣulḥ*)” you may say: 'ARIYLA'DIY **arīlādi** – this is the colloquial **arīla-**  
pronunciation; but the first is more correct. 'RA'LA'R' 'ARA'LA'MA'Q **arālār arālāmāq.**

:: 'AR' 'URIYLA'DIY **ār orīlādi** “The man shouted (*ṣāḥa, rafa'a 'aqīra*).” 'URIYL'R **orīla-**  
'URIYL'M'Q **orīlār orīlāmāq.**

:: 'R 'RYL'DY **ār orīlādi** “The man boasted and went beyond the limit (*ṣalafa, zāda 'an*  
*al-ḡāya*).” 'URYL'R 'RYL'M'K-Q **orīlār orīlāmāq.** 0 Verse:<sup>1</sup>

'UZN 'KNB 'RYL'DY	<b>özin ögnüp orīlādi</b>	V
YARIQ [sic] YYRK QRYL'DY	<b>yorip tērig qarīlādi</b>	
'TIḤ KMŠB 'URYL'DY	<b>atiḡ kāmšip orīlādi</b>	
'UFT BVLB TUBV 'ḤDY	<b>uwut bōlup tōpü aḡdi</b>	

Describing a warrior whom he attacked: “He was proud and boastful and puffed up with pride  
(*faxara wa-ṣalafa wa-naḡaxa amruhu*); he came measuring the ground in cubits; he spurred on his  
horse [and shouted]; (then he turned back) in shame, climbing up the hill.” 0

:: 'L QVNUḤ 'URUḌVL'DY ol qōnuḡ **örülādi** “He slaughtered the sheep as it was stand- **örülā-**  
ing.” 'URVLA'R 'URVLA'MA'K **örülār örülāmāk.**

Γ

:: 'L 'AŠIN 'AḤUḌVL'DY ol ašin aḡūlādi “He poisoned (*samma*) his food (or other).” **aḡūla-**  
'AḤUḌVL'R 'ḤVL'M'Q **aḡūlār aḡūlāmāq.**

156 1. In MS. the verse appears after the following entry.

W

:: 'NK TKR' KŠY 'AW'LA'DY **anig tāḡrā kiṣi awālādi** “The people surrounded (*ḥaffa awāla-*  
*ḥawla*) him.” 'AW'L'R 'AW'L'M'Q **awālār awālāmāq.** This is used especially in regard to civil  
strife (*fitna*); otherwise :: 'AW'DIY awdi [93]. 'AW'L'R 'W'L'M'Q **awālār awālāmāq.**

Q

:: 'L MANY 'AQIYL'DIY ol māni **aqīlādi** “He considered me to be generous (*jūd*).” **aqīla-**  
'AQIYL'R 'QYL'M'Q **aqīlār aqīlāmāq.**

K

:: 'L 'NY 'AKA'LA'DIY ol ani **ākālādi** “He called her an elder sister (*uxt kabīra*).” **ākālā-**  
'KA'L'R 'K'L'M'K **ākālār ākālāmāk.** 0

:: 'L 'NY 'UKA'LA'DIY ol ani **ögālādi** “He gave him the honorific title of 'UKA' **ögā-**  
**ogāla-** meaning ‘a chief among the people (*kabīr fi l-qawm*).’ 'UKA'LA'R 'UKA'L'M'K **ögālār ögālāmāk.**

N

:: 'L 'ANY 'NA'LA'DIY ol ani **anālādi** “He called her his mother (*umm*) **anāla-**

[I. 260/311]

and attributed motherhood to her.” 'AN'L'R 'AN'L'M'Q **anālār anālāmāq.**

Nasal

D

:: 'AWJY KAYIKNY 'ANKDIYDY awḥi **kayikni aḡḏīdi** “The hunter laid a snare (*iḥtāla*) **aḡḏi-**  
for the gazelle.” :: 'L 'ANY 'ANKDYDY ol ani **aḡḏīdi** “He laid a snare to catch (*iḥtāla li-ya'xuḡa*)  
him.” 'ANKDYR 'NKDYM'Q **aḡḏīr aḡḏīmāq.**

Another Type

:: 'ŠY'K 'ANKIYL'DY **äšyāk aḡīlādi** “The donkey brayed (*nahaqa*).” 'ANKIYL'R **aḡīla-**  
'NKYL'M'Q **aḡīlār aḡīlāmāq.**

Another Type

:: 'URA'ḤUT 'KKLNDY<sup>1</sup> **urāḡut öñiklādi** “The woman put on a pair of false earlocks **öñiklān-**  
(*waḡḏat . . . bi-ṣudḡayn muzawwirayn*).”<sup>2</sup> 'NKKLANUR 'NKKLIYMA'Q [sic] **öñiklānür öñiklān-**  
**māk.**

157 1. Sic; N added before first K by a later hand (black).

## Quinquiliteral

## N

:: 'AR' 'AΓRIQAN·DIY är ayriqandi “The man complained of pain (*šakā* . . . *min ayriqan-waja'ihī*).”<sup>3</sup> 'AΓRIQANUR 'AΓRIQAN·MA'Q ayriqanur ayriqanmāq.

## With Two Unvowelled Consonants

:: MAN 'NY 'AN·D·ΓAR·DIM män ani andyardim “I made him swear (*ħallaftu*).” andyar- 'AN·D·ΓARUR MAN 'AN·D·ΓARMA'Q andyarur män, andyarmāq.

## Sextiliteral

## T

:: YI'J 'AR·MUT·LAN·DIY yiyāč armutlandi “The tree gave forth pears (*kumatrā*).” armutlan- 'AR·MUTLANUR 'ARMUTLANM'Q armutlanur armutlanmāq.

## J

:: T'Γ 'AR·TUJLANDY tāγ artučlandi “There were many junipers (*ar'ar*) in the moun- artučlan- tains.” 'AR·TUJLANUR 'ARTUJLANMA'Q artučlanur artučlanmāq. 0

:: SUVF 'UR·KUJLANDY sūw ārkāčlandi “The water surged in waves (*māja*).” 'AR·- ārkāčlān- KAJLANUR 'AR·KJLANM'K ārkāčlānūr ārkāčlānmāk. 0

:: QYZ 'URKUJLAN·DIY qīz örgüčlandi “The girl acquired a braid (*qunza'a, dafīra*).” örgüčlān- 'URKUJLANUR 'URKUJLANM'K örgüčlānūr örgüčlānmāk.

:: 'ŠIJ 'URKUJLAN·DY ešič örgüčlandi “The pot acquired a trivet (*utfiyya*).” 'URKJ- LNUR 'URKJLANM'K örgüčlānūr örgüčlānmāk.

## R

:: TA'Y 'AD·ΓIRLAN·DIY tāy ađyirlandi “The colt acted like a stallion (*fahl*).” Also ađyirlan- of mares when they acquire a stallion. 'AD·ΓIR·LANUR 'AD·ΓIR·LANMA'Q ađyirlandur ađyir- lanmāq.

## Q

:: 'AR' 'UĐMAQLAN·DIY är uđmaqlandi “The man acquired followers and servants uđmaq- (*taba', šākiri*).” 'UĐMAQLANUR 'UĐMAQLNM'Q uđmaqlanur uđmaqlanmāq. 0 lan-

2. MS. *wđ'b . . . bšud γyr mrūr̄yn*; a later hand (black) through an addition in the margin has altered it to read *bi-šudγ min ša'r 'anz muzawwira<sup>tan</sup>* (“a false earlock made out of goat's hair”).

3. MS. *waja'ahu*; *min* above line.

:: 'AR' 'ARTUQLANDY är artuqlandi “The man went beyond his limit (*'adā ṭawr*).” artuqlan- 'ARTUQLNUR 'ARTUQLANM'Q artuqlanur artuqlanmāq. 0

::

[I. 263/313]

158

T'Z BAŠY 'IZMAQLANDY [sic] tāz baši aźmuqlandi “The scabiness (*qara'*) of the scabby-head aźmuqlan- became worse.” :: YIYR 'IŽMAQLANDY yēr aźmuqlandi “There was much alum (*šabb*) in the ground (or other).” 'AIŽMAQLANUR 'IŽMAQLANM'Q aźmuqlanur aźmuqlanmāq.

:: 'UL BUV 'YŠIΓ 'AΓRUQLANDY ol bu īšiγ ayruqlandi “He found this matter bur- ayruqlan- densome (*istaṭqala*).” Also of a load which one considers too heavy (*taqīl*). 'AΓRUQLANUR 'AΓRUQLANM'Q ayruqlanur ayruqlanmāq. 0

:: 'AR' 'UΓRAQLANDY är oγraqlandi “The man put on the dress of Oγrāq (a tribe of oγraqan- people).” 'UΓRAQLNUR 'UΓRQLANM'Q oγraqanur oγraqanmāq.

## K

:: 'AR' 'ATMAKLANDY är ätmäklāndi “The man had much bread (*xubz*)” – meaning, ätmäklān- he was rich (*aṭrā*). 'ATMAK·LANUR 'ATMKLANM'K ätmäklānūr ätmäklānmāk. 0

There are many verbs of this type, derived from nouns. The equivalent in Arabic is to say, for example, *albana r-rajul* (“The man was be-milked”) meaning that he had much milk, and *ašḥā* (“He was be-stripped”) meaning that he had many strips of paper. 0

:: 'AR' 'IJ·MAKLANDY är ičmäklāndi “[The man] put on a lambskin (*farw barqān*); ičmäklān- or else he became owner of one.” 'JMMLANUR 'JMMLNM'K ičmäklānūr ičmäklānmāk.

:: 'IŠ·LA'R 'AR·SAK·LAN·DIY ešlār ārsäklāndi “The woman passionately desired a man ārsäklān- (*ṭalabat ar-rajul li-šahwa bihā biṭā'an wa-ḥiṣ'an*).” 'AR·SAKLNUR 'RSAKLNM'K ārsäklānūr ārsäklānmāk.

:: 'URA'ΓUT 'K·MAKLANDY urāyut ügmäklāndi “The woman put on earrings (*tašanna- ügmäklān- fat, taqarraṭat*).” 'UK·MAKLNUR 'UKMAKLNM'K ügmäklānūr ügmäklānmāk.

## M

:: SUVW<sup>1</sup> 'AKRIM·LAN·DIY sūw ägrimlāndi “The water revolved in the swamps with ägrimlān- gushing and flowing (*istadāra fi l-manāqi' ma'a fawarān wa-jary*).” 'AKRIM·LNUR 'AKRIM·LAN- M'K ägrimlānūr ägrimlānmāk.

## N

158 1. W changed from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).

:: 'AR 'IŠTUNLAN'DIY **är iŝtonlandi** “The man put on trousers (*sarāwīl*).” Its root-**iŝtonlan-** form is: 'IJ'TUNLANDY **ičtonlandi** but the *jīm* changed to *šīm* because of the proximity of the (**ičtonlan-**) points of articulation. 'IŠTUNLNUR 'IŠTUNLNM'Q **iŝtonlanur iŝtonlanmāq.**

Doubled

Q

:: 'AR 'AR'QUQLANDY **är arquqlandi** “The man refused to obey the order (*'atā fī arquqlan-qabūl al-amr wa-ḥaruna*).” 'ARQUQLNUR 'ARQUQLANM'Q **arquqlanur arquqlanmāq.**

K

:: 'L BV 'YŠΓ 'AMKAKLNDY ol bu **iŝiγ ämgäkländi** “He considered this matter to be a **ämgäklän-** hardship (*miḥna*).”

[I. 264/315]

159

'AM'KAKLNUR 'AM'KKLNM'K **ämgäklänür ämgäklänmāk.** 0

:: 'AR 'AŠKAK'LANDY **är äšgäkländi** “The man became owner of a donkey (*ḥimār*).” **äšgäklän-** One of the two variants. 'AŠKAKLNUR 'AŠKAKLNM'K **äšgäklänür äšgäklänmāk.** 0

D

:: SUVW<sup>1</sup> 'AIR'KAKLANDY<sup>2</sup> **sūw ärkākländi** “The water was wavy (*māja*).” :: 'ANIK **ärkākälän-** YYNY<sup>3</sup> 'AIRKAKLANDIY<sup>2</sup> **anig yēni ärkākäländi** “His skin shuddered (*iqša'arra*).” 'IR'KKLNUR 'IR'KAKLNM'K **ärkākälänür ärkākälänmāk.** Also of a man when he pretends to be manly (*rujū-liyya*). 0

Final Weak

B

:: 'UL 'ATIN 'ARBA'LA'DIY ol **atin arpälädi** “He fed his horse barley (*ša'ir*).” 'ARBA'-**arpäla-** LA'R 'ARBA'LA'M'Q **arpälär arpälāmāq.**

T

:: 'AR YA'ŠIN 'URTVLA'DY **är yāšin ortülädi** “The man was middle-aged (*intaṣafa* **ortüla-** *min 'umrihi*).” 'URTVL'R 'URTVL'M'Q **ortülär ortülāmāq.** 0

:: 'AR 'YŠQ' 'RTA'L'DY **är iŝqa ertälädi** “The man rose early (*bakkara*) for work.” **ertälä-** 'RTA'LA'R 'RT'LA'MA'K-Q **ertälär ertälāmāk.**

- 159
1. W changed from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).
  2. First A by a later hand (?) (dark black, thin point).
  3. There are two dots in brown ink over the first Y (thus T).

R

:: 'L KIDIZNIY 'IS'RIYLA'DIY ol **kidizni esrīlādi** “He embroidered the felt with a leopard-skin pattern (*ka-lawn an-namir*).” 'AS'RIYLA'R 'ASRIYLA'M'K **esrīlär esrīlāmāk.** 0

esrīlä-

:: 'L NA'NK 'UİRIYL'DY ol **nān oγrīlādi** “He stole (*saraqa*) the thing.” The common people say it with no vowel on the *rā* [i.e., 152 *oγurla-*], but this is an error. 'UİRLA'R 'UİRLA'MA'Q **oγrīlär oγrīlāmāq.**

oγrīlä-

D

T

:: 'L QVY 'IK'TUVLA'DIY ol **qōy igtülädi** “He fed (*'alafa*) the sheep (or other).” 'IKTUVLA'R 'IK'TVL'M'K **igtülär igtülāmāk.**

igtülä-

Γ

:: 'L 'K̄Y KŠY 'ARA' 'ARΓVL'DIY ol **ekki kiŝi ara arγülädi** “He passed between (*marra bayna, šaqqā*) the two men.” 'ARΓVL'R 'ARΓVLA'MA'Q **arγülär arγülāmāq.**

arγüla-

:: 'L 'NKAR 'UBKAL'DIY ol **aṇar öpkälädi** “He struck him in the lungs (*ra'a* [defined]).” 'UBKALA'R 'UBKALA'MA'K **öpkälär öpkälāmāk.** 0

öpkälä-

:: 'UL 'ANDIN 'UBKIYL'DIY ol **andin öpkilädi** “He avoided him because he was angry (*γaḍiba*).” 'UBKIYLA'R 'UBKIYLA'MA'K **öpkilär öpkilāmāk.** 0

öpkilä-

The rules will be discussed in their place.

G

End of the Book of Vowel-Initial (*hamz*) Words

Praise be to God

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

Book of Nouns of Sound Words

[I. 267/318]

160

Chapter of Biliterals

B

TAB **tap** A particle meaning “enough (*ḥasbu*).” Thus :: BUV 'AŠ' MANK' TAB **bu aš maṇa tap** “This food is enough for me.” :: TAB BULDY **tap boldi** “It is sufficient (*kafa*).” 0

tap

TUB **töp** “Boiled wheat (*xaḍīma*) that is kneaded with a leavening made from barley, then wrapped in a felt cloth and left in a warm place to mature.” Then it is eaten. 0

töp

JAB' JAB' **čap čap** Onomatopoeic for whips cracking (*waq' as-siyāt*) or lips smacking (*šīb aš-šifāh*). Thus :: 'L 'ARUK JAB' JAB' YIYDIY ol **ärük čap čap yēdi** “He ate the peach smacking his lips.” 0

JUB **čöp** “Dregs (*durdī*)” of wine; also the “sediment (*'akar*)” of anything. 0 Hence “human rubbish (*ħuṭāla an-nās*)” is called: JUB' JAB' KIŠYLA'R **čöp čap kišilār**. 0

JIB' **čip** A “twig (*γusn laṭīf daqīq*).” This is shortened from: JIBIQ **čipiq**, just as “ball (*kura*)” is called TUWB' **töp** which is shortened from: TUBIQ' **topiq**. 0

JUB' **čöp** A “piece (*qit'a*) of Tutmāč.” :: BIYR' JUB' YIYKIL **bīr čöp yēgil** “Eat a piece of Tutmāč.” The same for pieces of noodles (*al-laṭīṭ wa-l-iṭriya*). 0

ZAB ZAB **zap zap** An onomatopoeic particle indicating “quickness of step (*sur'a naql al-qadam wa-l-mašy*).” Thus :: ZAB ZAB BAR'ΓIL **zap zap baryil** “Hurry! (*asri'*).”

“The trousseau (*jahāz*)” of a bride is called: SAB' **sāp**. It is her property. 0

SIB **sip** “A colt (*muhr*) that has reached the second year.” 0

ŠAB **šap** A particle of hastening, like the Arabic *hallā*. Thus :: ŠAB' KAL' **šap kāl** “Come quickly (*asri' fi l-majī*).” 0

QUB' **qop** A particle of exaggeration and emphasis. Thus :: 'UΓL QUB' BADUVDIY **oγul qop bādūdi** “The child grew a great deal (*γāyat<sup>an</sup>*).” :: QUB' 'AḌKV<sup>1</sup> NA'NK **qop ādgū nāṅ** “A very (*jidd<sup>an</sup>*) fine thing.” 0

KUIB' NA'NK **köp nāṅ** Anything that is “tangled and dense (*multaff kaṭir*).” Thus :: KUIB' SAJ' **köp sac** “Thick (*jaṭl*) hair.” Proverb: KUB' SUKUT'KA' QUŠ QUNA'R KRKLVG KIŠYK' SUVZ KALYR **köp sögütkä quš qonār, körklüg kišikā sōz kälir** 0 “Birds settle on the willow of tangled branches; (similarly) a message comes to the beautiful and charming woman.” 0 It is transmitted in another version:

[I. 268/319]

YΓ'J 'VJNK' YYL TKYR<sup>1</sup> KURKLG KŠYK' SUVZ KALYR **yiγāč učiṅa yēl tāgīr, körklüg kišikā sōz kälir** 0 “The tree branch cannot help being blown by the wind; the charming one cannot help receiving messages” – she, however, has to guard her chastity.

T

BAT' **bat** “Dregs of pressed dates (*ṭajīr*).” 0

160 1. Ḍ changed from D (dot in brown ink).

161 1. Above the line.

:: BAT' KAL' **bat kāl** like: ŠAB' KAL' **šap kāl**, for hastening (*isrā'*). For the sound of anything heavy that has fallen (*šay' ṭaqīl idā waqa'a*); BAT' TUŠDY **bat tüšdi**. 0

BIT' **bit** “Louse (*qaml*).” Hence “the worm (*dūd*) that infests wheat” is called: TARIΓ' BITIY **tariy biti**. 0

JAT JAT **čat čat** Sound of a blow (*waq'*). Thus :: JAT' JAT' 'URDY **čat čat urdi** “He struck with such a sound.” 0

JIT' **čit** “A hut (*xuṣṣ*) of reeds or thorns.”

ŠAT' **šat** “Courage (*jur'a*).” Thus :: 'NIK NA' ŠATIY BA'R **anig nā šati bār** “What courage does he have?” – implying the negative.

QAT' **qat** “Fold (*tiny*)” of anything. :: TUVN QATIY **tōn qati** “Fold of a garment.” From this comes the word: QAD'RA'Q' **qadrāq** for “mountain bends and folds (*ma'āṭif al-jibāl wa-maḥāniḥā*).” 0

QAT' **qat** Oγuz dialect. A particle corresponding to *'inda* (“at, near”). Thus :: BAK QATINDA' **beg qatinda** “At the emir's.” 0

QUT' **qut** “Fortune, luck (*dawla, jadd*).” From this comes the name: QUT'LUF **qutluγ**. Verse: N

QUT' QUWIF BIR'SA' 'IDIM QUVLINKA' **qut qiwiy bersā idim qūliṅa**  
KUNDA' 'IŠY YUKSABAN' YUVQ'R' 'AΓ'R **kündā iši yüksābān yōqār aγār**

0 “If God gives fortune to his slave his status rises daily.” 0

KUT **köt** “Posterior (*dubur*).” 0

MAT **mat** A particle meaning “thus” (*kaḏā*). :: 'ANDAΓ MAT **anday mat** “Thus so (*kaḏā huwa*).” 0

J

SJ **sač** “Hair (*šar*).” 0

SUJ **suč** Onomatopoeic for something “bouncing off (*nubūw*).” Thus :: QILJ SUJ QILDY **qilič suč qildi** “The sword glanced off (*nabā*).” :: 'AR SUJ QILDY **ār suč qildi** “The man refused to obey the order (*nabā . . . qabūl al-amr*).” 0

QAJ **qač** A particle of quantity meaning “how many? (*kam*).” :: QAJ YARMA'Q BIYRDIY **qač yarmāq bērdi** “How many dirhams did he give?” 0

QUJ **qoč** “Ram (*kabš*).” Oγuz dialect. Its root-form is: QUJNKA'R<sup>2</sup> **qočnār**. D

2. K changed to G by later hand (three dots in brown ink).

QAJ <b>qač</b> A particle meaning “time ( <i>marra</i> ).” Thus :: QAJ QATA’ ’AY·DIM <b>qač qat aydim</b> “How many times did I say?” 0	<b>qač</b>
KUJ <sub>˘</sub> <b>köč</b> “Moving camp [I. 270/321] or going on campaign ( <i>až-žā’n wa-l-irtiḥāl</i> ).” Hence :: SUV KUJTY sü <b>köčti</b> “The army set off ( <i>irtaḥala</i> ).” 0	<b>köč</b>
KUJ <b>köč</b> “Hour or while ( <i>sā’a</i> ).” Thus :: B <sub>1</sub> YR’ KUJ KUḌKIL <b>bīr köč küḍgil</b> “Stay a while ( <i>sā’atan</i> ).” 0	<b>162</b>
HJ HJ <b>häch häč</b> A word used to restrain horses when they wish to gallop at full speed. This expression corresponds exactly to the Arabic [i.e. <i>haj</i> ]. It goes against the rule, since it contains <i>hā’</i> . There is no <i>hā’</i> in the Turkic dialects.	<b>häch</b>
D KAD <sup>1</sup> <b>käd</b> (with <i>dāl</i> or <i>dāl</i> ) A particle of emphasis or exaggeration in the description of something. Thus :: KAD’ ĀAT’ <b>käd āt</b> “What a good horse! ( <i>nī’ma l-faras</i> ).” :: KAD’ NA’NK <b>käd nān</b> “What a good thing!” 0	<b>käd, käd</b>
R BIR’ <b>bīr</b> The number “one ( <i>wāḥid</i> ).” :: B <sub>1</sub> YR YARM’Q <b>bīr yarmāq</b> “One dirham.” It is permissible to include this in the defective chapter and say: B <sub>1</sub> YR <b>bīr</b> . There are many examples of this; but the more elegant and more correct usage in the Turkic dialects is the shorter pronunciation and the abrupt enunciation. 0	<b>bīr</b> G
:: ’R TR YLDY’ <b>är tär boldi</b> “The man was ashamed ( <i>xajila</i> ).” This is in place of saying: ’AR BULDY <b>ir boldi</b> . 0	<b>tär</b>
JAR <b>čär</b> Onomatopoeic for heaviness (illness) of the body ( <i>tiqal al-badan</i> ). Hence :: ’AR JRLAN’DY <b>är čärländi</b> “The man’s body was heavy ( <i>taqala badan</i> ).” Khāqānī dialect. 0	<b>čär</b> D
JAR <b>čär</b> “Time ( <i>waqt</i> ).” Oγuz dialect. Hence :: BUV JARLİK DA’ KAL <b>bu čärlikdä käl</b> “Come at this time.” 0	D
JAR’ <b>čär</b> “The opposite side ( <i>qubāla</i> )” of something. Oγuz dialect. Hence :: ’ANIK ’AWIY BUV JARLİK DA’ <b>anig äwi bu čärlikdä</b> “His house is opposite this.” From this comes the word: JARIK’ <b>čäriḡ</b> for “the two battle-lines ( <i>šaffay al-ḥarb</i> )” since they face one another ( <i>yata-qābalāni</i> ).	D

JIR’ <b>čir</b> Onomatopoeic for the tearing ( <i>mazq</i> ) of a garment, or other. Thus :: ’NIK TUVNIN JIR YIR’T <sub>1</sub> Y <b>anig tōnin čir yirtti</b> “He tore his garment with (such) a sound.” 0	<b>čir</b>
JUR’ <b>čür</b> “Profit ( <i>manfa’a</i> ).” Hence :: ’UL ’AN’DIN’ NA’NK’ JURLA’DIY ol <b>andin nān</b> čürlädi “He got some profit ( <i>nāla . . . manfa’a</i> ) out of it.” 0	<b>čür</b>
JUR’ JUR’ <b>čur čur</b> Onomatopoeic for milk falling from the udder into the pail. The same for any liquid when it makes (such) a sound. 0	<b>čur</b>
JIR’ <b>čir</b> “Grease ( <i>dasam</i> ).” :: ’AŠJ’TA’ JIR’ YUVQ’ <b>ešičtä čir yōq</b> “There is no grease in the pot.” Its root-meaning is “suet ( <i>as-simḥāq min aš-šahm</i> ).” Thus :: BUV ’A’TA’ JIR’ YUVQ’ <b>bu ättä čir yōq</b> [I. 272/323]	<b>čir</b> <b>163</b>
“There is no fat ( <i>šahm, samn</i> ) on this meat.” 0	
One says of the sound of the cricket: SIR’ SIR’ A’TY <b>sir sir etti</b> meaning “It made such a sound.” The word is also onomatopoeic for the “scratching ( <i>šarīr</i> )” of a pen, and the like. 0	<b>sir</b>
SIR’ <b>sir</b> [“lacquer”] A paste ( <i>luzūjāt tuttaxaḍu min al-γirā’</i> ) with which šīnī bowls are smeared, then painted upon. Hence :: SIR’ LIF’ ’AYA’Q’ <b>sirliḡ ayāq</b> “A bowl so smeared and painted” [A lacquered bowl]. 0	
ŠR ŠR’ <b>šar šur</b> Onomatopoeic for rain falling noisily and heavily. The same for any liquid when it makes (such) a sound. The <i>šin</i> is an alternant of <i>jīm</i> . :: ’UL JAR JUR YIYDY ol <b>čar čur yēdi</b> “He ate all he found, leaving nothing.” 0	<b>šar šur</b> <b>čar čur</b>
QAR’ QUR’ ’A’TY QARIN’ <b>qar qur etti qarın</b> “The belly growled ( <i>qarqara</i> ).” This corresponds to the Arabic in sound and sense. 0	<b>qar qur</b>
QUR’ <b>qur</b> “Rank ( <i>martaba</i> ).” Thus :: MANIK QRUM’ ’ULF’ <b>mänig qurum uluy</b> “My rank is high.” 0	<b>qur</b>
QUR’ <b>qur</b> “Belt ( <i>minṭaqa</i> ).” ’IJ’ QUR <b>ič qur</b> “Girdle ( <i>wašāḥ</i> ).” 0	
QIR’ YAFIY’ <b>qir yayi</b> “Secret ( <i>mukāših</i> ) enemy.” 0	<b>qir</b>
QIR’ ĀT’ <b>qir āt</b> “Dun ( <i>samand</i> ) horse.”	
QIR’ <b>qir</b> “Dam ( <i>’arim, musannāt</i> ).” 0	
QIR’ <b>qir</b> “Mountain formed of one mass of rock ( <i>al-ḥaḍba min al-jibāl</i> ).” 0	
KUR’ ’AR <b>kür är</b> “A man who is cool-headed ( <i>rābiṭ al-ja’s</i> ), strong-hearted ( <i>qawī al-qalb</i> ) and proud ( <i>šāmīx bi-l-anf</i> ).” Proverb: KIM’ KUR’ BULSA’ KUW’Z BULVR <b>kim kür bolsa küwāz bolūr</b> “Whoever is firm ( <i>jald</i> ) and strong-hearted may become proud ( <i>mutakabbir</i> ).” Verse:	<b>kür</b> P

'AR'TIŠ SUWY YIMA'KY  
 ŠIT' ĞAB' TUTAR BILA'KIY  
 KUR'MAT' 'ANIK' YURA'KIY  
 KAL'KA'LIMAT' 'IRKIŠUVR

är̄tiš suwi yemāki  
 sitʔap tutar bilāki  
 kürmät anig yürāki  
 kälğälimät irkišür

V

Yemāk is a tribe of Qifčāq. "This tribe [lit.: The Yemāk of the Ärtiš River] have rolled up their sleeves, their hearts strong and high-spirited (*qawiyya 'aliyya*),<sup>1</sup> and have now mustered to come to us." 0

Z

BIZ biz A particle meaning "we (*naħnu*)." :: BIZ KALDIYMYZ biz käl̄dimiz "We came."

TUZ tüz Anything "level (*mustawin*)." Thus :: TUZ' YIYR' tüz yēr "Level ground." 0

JUZ' čuz A red and black gilt Šinī brocade. 0

"The shaded side (*maqnuwa*) of mountains" is called:

[I. 273/325]

QUZ TA'Ġ quz tāγ. It is the side over which the sun rises only after noon; which remains to the left (*'an yasār*) of the sun; and which is always covered with cold and snow. Proverb:

QUZ'DA' QA'R' 'AK' SUVMA'S  
 QUUVY'D' YA'Ġ 'AKSUVMA'S'

quzda qār ägsümās  
 qöyda yāγ äg sümās

0

"The shaded side of mountains lacks not for snow; (similarly) sheep lack not for fat." 0

"Something dear or expensive (*γālī*)" is called: QIZ' NA'NK qiz nāñ. Thus :: BUV 'ĀT QIZ 'ALDIM bu āt qiz aldim "I bought this horse dear." 0

QIZ qiz "Girl (*jāriya*)." Thus :: QIZ QIRQIN' qiz qirqin "Girls (*jawāri*)." 0 QIZ qiz "Daughter (*bint*)." Thus :: MANIK QIZM mänig qizim "My daughter." 0 And "a virgin (*adrā*)" is called: 'AV' QIZIY äv qizi meaning "One secluded in the house (*muxaddara al-bayt*)." 0 YINJKA' QIZ yinčgā qiz "Concubine (*surriyya*)." 0 This word can refer either to a free girl (*ħurra fatiyya*) or to a slave girl (*jāriya mamlūka*). Its root-meaning is "virgin"; the others are by extension from that.

QIZ QUŠ qiz quš Name of a bird that confronts (*yatakāfaħu*) a man as if it wished to light on him. 0

QIZ KIŠIY qiz kiši "A miserly (*baxīl*) person." Ar̄yu dialect. Proverb: QIZ KIŠIY SA'WIY YUVRIFLIY BULM'S qiz kiši sāwi yōriyli bolmās "The report of a miser spreads not

D  
P

abroad" and he remains unknown. This is coined to advise a person to be generous in order to gain far-flung report and fine praise. 0

KAZ' káz "The notch (*fūq*) of an arrow." :: 'UQ KAZIY o q kazi. 0

káz

KAZ káz "Remainder of food in a pot (*al-qurāra*)." It is the remanant of milk or flour or the like that sticks to the bottom of a kettle and must be scraped off. :: 'AŠJ' KIZIY ešič kazi. 0

KAZ' káz Name of a type of Šinī brocade. 0

KUZ küz "Autumn (*xarīf*)." 0

küz

KIZ kiz "Scent-box (*atīda*); wardrobe (*taxt*); clothing-bag (*'ayba aṭ-ṭiyāb*)." The same for any case or cupborad (*šiwān*). :: KIZDA'KIY KIZ [siç] YIBA'R' kizdāki kin yipār "A musk-bag kept in a case (*nāfiya misk mašūna fi šiwān*)." This phrase is used only as a simile for the fragrant breath of maidens. 0

MIZ miz A particle meaning "we (*naħnu*)." The *mīm* is an alternant

-miz

[I. 275/327]

165

of *bā'*; *bā'* comes at the beginning of the word. Thus :: BIZ BAR'DIMIZ biz bardimiz "We went." :: KALDIMIZ käl̄dimiz "We came." This rule holds for both nouns and verbs. :: A'ĀTIMIZ ātimiz "Our horse."

S

BIS' bis "Dregs (*ṭufāla*) of a churn or wine-skin." It is something like tar (*qīr*). 0

bis

When the Oγuz wish to exaggerate the description of anything round they say: TAS' TAKIR'MA' tās tāgirmā. This goes against the rule. The rule about colors and exaggerating the description of things is to take the first letter of the word and join it to *bā'* in most of the Turkic dialects, but to *mīm* in Oγuz. 0 Example. One calls a "deep-gray (*aγbar mušabba'*)" color: KUB' KVK' köp kök, but in Oγuz you say: KUM KVK köm kök. 0 KVK kök means "dark gray (*akhab*)." The Turks take the first *kāf*, join it to *bā'*, and say: KUB' köp, which is the exaggerative particle; then they bring forward the color name and say: KVK kök. The Oγuz change the *bā'* to *mīm* and say: KUM KUVK köm kök for "deep gray." 0 One says for "yellow (*aşfar*)": SARIĠ sariγ. One says for "bright yellow (*aşfar fāqi*)": SAB' SARIĠ' sap sariγ. The *šin* is taken from: SARIĠ' sariγ, then joined to *bā'* to form the exaggerative, and then the color name is brought in after it. 0 "An open space (*faḍā*)" is called: YAZIY yazi. To exaggerate the description you say: YAB' YAZIY yap yazi meaning "wide open space (*faḍā' afyah*)." All exaggeratives are according to this rule. But there is no rule for changing *bā'* to *šin*.

TAS' tas Anything "bad (*radī*)." Oγuz dialect. :: BUV A'ĀT TAŞ TAKUL bu āt tas tāgöl "This horse is not bad."

tas  
D

TUS TUS **tos tos** Onomatopoeic for beating anything soft, as when one beats clothing or felt. Thus :: TUS<sup>1</sup> TUS<sup>1</sup> 'URDIY **tos tos urdi**

[I. 276/329]

“He beat with this sound.”

KAS<sup>1</sup> **käs** “A piece (*qit'a*)” of anything. :: BIYR<sup>1</sup> KAS<sup>1</sup> 'ATM<sup>1</sup> K **bir käs ätmäk** “A piece of bread.” 0

KAS<sup>1</sup> **käs** “A piece of dried clay (or other) used to wipe the anus (*nubla* [defined]).”

KIS<sup>1</sup> **kis** “Wife (*zawja*).” Thus :: 'ANIK KIŠIY<sup>1</sup> **anig kisi** “His wife.” Some use the word with the possessive suffix (*ma' al-iḍāfa*); :: 'UL KIŠIY<sup>2</sup> 'AL'DIY **ol kisi aldi** “He took a wife (*xaṭaba z-zawja*).”

Š

BUŠ YILQY **boš yilqi** “An animal that has been set free (*musayyaba*).” Hence :: 'UL 'IŠLA'R BUŠ<sup>1</sup> **ol ešlār boš (qildi)** “He divorced (*ṭallaqa*) the woman” – as though he “let her go free (*ahmala*).” :: 'UL QUL BUŠ QILDY **ol qul boš qildi** “He freed (*aṭaqa*) the slave.” 0 “A free man (*ḥurr*)” is called: BUŠ **boš**. Proverb: BUŠ NA'NK K' 'IDIY BULM'S' **boš nāṅkā idi bolmās** 0 “Something left free or neglected (*muhmal*) has no master.” This is coined to advise a person to hold on to his property. 0

TUŠ<sup>1</sup> **tüš** “Place or time of a halt (*manzil, waqt an-nuzūl*).” 0 Hence :: TUŠ<sup>1</sup> 'UVDIY **tüš ödi** “Time to halt.”

JAŠ **čäs** “Turquoise (*fayrūzaj*).”

Verse:

YARATY YAŠIL JAŠ	yaratti yašil čäs
SAWUR'DIY 'URNK QAŠ <sup>1</sup>	sawurdi ürün qaš
TIZIL'DIY <sup>3</sup> QARA' QUŠ	tizildi qara quš
TUN KUN 'UVZA' YURKANUVR <sup>4</sup>	tün kün üzä yörgänür

Describing the sky: “(God Most High) created a sky like turquoise in its greenness; He sowed therein the stars as though they were jade” - this is a white stone used to make seals; “He arranged from them Libra (*al-mīzān*)” - a constellation called in Turkic: QARA' QUŠ **qara quš**; “that night and day would turn on one another.” 0

165 1. U (brown) changed from A (black).

166 1. *Tašdid* (˘) in brown ink.

2. Three dots of Š in brown ink.

3. Z changed from R (dot in brown ink).

4. Two dots of Y in brown ink.

JIŠ JIŠ **čiš čiš** A word said by a woman to make her baby (or other) pee (*inda ibāla aṣ-ṣabi*); also by a horseman to make his horse stale after riding.

SIŠ<sup>1</sup> **siš** “Skewer (*sufūd*).” “The instrument for arranging Tutmāč (*minzām tutmāj*)” is also called: SIŠ<sup>1</sup> **siš**. 0

QUŠ<sup>1</sup> **quš** “Bird (*ṭayr*).” This is the generic term; then they are distinguished by special names, thus: 'URNK<sup>1</sup> QUŠ<sup>1</sup> **ürün quš** “White falcon (*bāzī abyad*)”; 0 QAR' QUŠ<sup>1</sup> **qara quš** “Eagle (*uqāb*)”; 0 TAWAY QUŠ<sup>1</sup> **tewe quš** “Ostrich (*na'am*)”; 0

[I. 278/331]

YUVN QUŠ<sup>1</sup> **yün quš** “Peacock (*ṭāwūs*)”; 0 'IYL QUŠ<sup>1</sup> **ēl quš** “Vulture (*raxama*).”

QAR' QUŠ<sup>1</sup> **qara quš** The planet “Jupiter (*muštarī*).” :: QAR' QUŠ TUI'DY **qara quš tuydi** “Jupiter has risen.” It rises, according to them, at dawn. 0

QAR' QUŠ **qara quš** “Tips of a camel's hoof (*aṭrāf axfāf al-ibil*).” Oγuz dialect. 0

QIZ QUŠ **qiz quš** Name of a bird resembling the finch (*abū barāqiš*) in color. 0

QIŠ **qiš** “Winter (*šitā*).” Proverb: QIŠ QUNUQY 'UVT<sup>1</sup> **qiš qonuqi öt** “Winter's guest is fire.” 0

[F]

TAF **tāw** “Deceit, trickery (*makr, ḥīla*).” Proverb [=43 **adiy**]: 'AWJY NAJ' A'ĀL BILSA' 'ADIF 'NJ' YUVL BILYR **awči nāčā āl<sup>1</sup> bilsā adiy anča yōl bilir** 0 “As many tricks as the hunter knows the bear knows ways of escape.” 0

JIF<sup>1</sup> **čiw** Onomatopoeic for the “boiling (*ḡalayān*)” of syrup in a vat, and the like.

QIW **qiw** “Luck, fortune (*baxt, dawla*).”

Q

TUQ KIŠY **toq kiši** “A satiated (*šab'an*) person.”

TUQ 'AR<sup>1</sup> **toq är** “A man without hair on his head,” as of the Turks (*allaḡī la ša'ar 'alā ra'sihi kamā li-t-turk*). :: TUQ YILQY **toq yilqi** “A hornless (*ajamm* [defined]) animal.”

TUQ TUQ 'TY **toq toq etti** “Something solid (*mušmat*) made a noise,” like one stone striking another. 0

167 1. Sic, in error for **tāw**.



'R KĪŠĪY<sup>2</sup> BIRLA' TUQ TUQ BULDIY är kisi birlä toq toq boldi “The man and woman had a falling-out (*waqa'at al-xušūna bayn ar-rajul wa-l-mar'a*).” 0

JAQ čaq A particle expressing “the essence and exact identity of a thing (*'ayn aš-šay' wa-nafsuhu*).” Thus :: JAQ 'UL 'AT'NIY TUTΓIL čaq ol atni tutγil “Hold that very horse!” :: JAQ 'UMAJNY 'URΓIL čaq amačni urγil “Hit the target on the nose!” 0

JAQ JUQ čaq čoq Sound of “breaking (*kasr*)” something like the breaking of wood or bone or nuts or the like. Thus :: JAQ JUQ 'ATY čaq čoq etti. 0

JAQ čiq Also onomatopoeic. 0 :: 'UL 'ANY 'UR'DIY JAQ 'AT'MADIY ol ani urdi, čiq etmädi “He hit him, but he felt no pain nor cried out (*mā ta'allama wa-mā šāḥa*).” 0

ZAQ ZQ zaq zaq A particle of incitement (*iγrā'*), used to incite rams to butt (*niṭāḥ*). 0

SAQ SAQ saq saq A particle used by a guard among the troops to order alertness (*tayaq-quz*) in keeping castles, fortresses or horses from the hands of the enemy. :: SAQ SAQ saq saq

[I. 279/333] 168

“Be alert! (*kūnū ayqāzan*).” Hence “a clever and alert (*faṭīm, mutayaqqiz*) man” is called: SAQ 'AR saq är. 0

SUQ YALNKVS 'AR suq yalḥūs är “Loner, a man without a friend or help (*al-waḥīd al-munfarid lā anīs lahu wa-lā mu'āwin*).” 0

K

BAK NA'NK bāk nāḡ “Anything firm (*muḥkam*).” 0

BUK bük “Thicket (*ajama*).” 0

BUK bük “Corner (*zāwiya*).” Arγu dialect. 0

TAK tāk A word meaning “without a purpose (*lā qašda*).” Thus :: TAK KAL'DIM tāk kälđim “I came, not for any reason (i.e. just, simply) (*bilā qašd li-šay'*).” 0

:: TAK TUR tāk tur “Be quiet! (*uskut*).” Oγuz dialect. 0

JAK<sup>1</sup> JUK<sup>1</sup> čäk čük “Rubbish, old furniture (*al-xurtī min al-matā'*).” 0

JUK JUK čök čök A word used to make camels kneel (*yunāxu bihā l-ba'īr*). 0

JIK JIK čik čik A phrase used for calling or driving kids (*du'ā' al-jady wa-kaḍālika idā sīqa*). 0

JIUK čik A particle used in playing knuckles (*al-ka'b*); when it falls on its underside (*idā waqa'a li-baṭnihi*) one says: JIUK TURDIY čik turdi. 0

:: DUK 'UR'DIY dük urdi “He struck a light blow with his fist (*ḍaraba bi-kaffihi ḍarban xafīfan majmū'an anāmihuhu*).” 0

DUK MINK dük miḡ “Thousands (*mā bayn al-ulūf*).” :: DUK MINK YARMA'Q dük miḡ yarmāq “Thousands of dirhams.” 0

If something is “set standing up (*qā'imān*)” one says: DIK TURDIY dik turdi. 0

SIK sik “The male member (*'ard ar-rajul*).” Maḥmūd [al-Kāšyarī] states: It shows good manners, and respect for the Book of God, for a Reader among crude Turks and their women to muffle his reading of the following verses: *wa-ātat kulla wāḥidatīn minhunna sikkīnān* (Q. 12:31 “then she gave to each one of them a knife”); and: *mā yaftaḥi llāhu li-n-nāsi min raḥmatīn fa-lā mumsika lahā wa-mā yumsik fa-lā mursila lahu min ba'dihi* (Q. 35:2 “Whatsoever mercy God opens to men, none can withhold and whatsoever He withholds, none can loose after Him”). He should muffle his reading of such verses among them, for they do not understand the meaning, but consider that the sounds of the words mean what they understand by them in their own language; so they commit a sin by laughing at them. Likewise, he should muffle his reading of the following verse: *in hādā illā xtilāq* (Q. 38:7 “this is surely an invention”) 0 because in their language TIL'Q tilāq is “vulva (*farj al-mar'a*).” Likewise, he should muffle among the Oγuz all phrases containing the interrogative *am*, as for example: *a'antum anzaltumūhu min al-muzni am naḥnu l-munzilūn* (Q. 56:69 “Did you send it down from the clouds, or did We send it?”), since 'AM am is “vulva (*farj al-mar'a*)” in Oγuz dialect.

[I. 281/335] 169

But there is no objection with regard to one who understands the meaning. 0

ŠUK šük A word of silencing. The Turks say: ŠUK TUR šük tur “Be quiet (*uskut*).” 0

:: 'UL MUK TURDIY ol mük turdi “He stood bent over (*qiyām ar-rāki'*).” 0

L

BUL 'ĀT bol āt “A white-legged (*muḥajjal*) horse.” One calls a horse “with a blaze and a white leg (*aγarr muḥajjal*)”: 'UΓR BUL oγar bol. 0

One calls “wheat that has been left for years so that the flavor has gone out”: BUL TARIΓ bül tariγ. The same if it has rotted due to rain or moisture. And anything “that has spoiled with time (*balīya min ḡul az-zamān*)” is called: BUL bül. This is close to Arabic in both sense and sound, since it is *balīya* in Arabic and BUL bül in Turkic. 0

2. *Tašdīd* (˜) in brown ink.

168 1. The stroke of the K has been scratched out so that it looks like L.

TIL **til** “Speech (*kalām*).” :: ’UL ’ANKAR TIL TAĶURDY ol anar til tagürdi “He did him harm (*aḍā*) with his tongue and his speech.” 0

TIL **til** “Tongue (*lisān*).” Proverb [=66 *ärdām*, 501 *tīl*]: ’ARḌAM BAŠĪY TĪL **ardām bašī til** “The head of the virtues is the tongue” – meaning thereby fine speech, as they say [in Arabic], *al-mar’ maxbū taḥta lisānihi* (“A man is hidden beneath his tongue”). 0

TIL **til** “Dialect (*luḡa*).” :: ’UǦZ TLY oḡuz tili “The dialect of Oḡuz.” :: YAḂA’QV TĪLĪY yabāqu tili “The dialect of Yabāqu.” This word corresponds to the Arabic in meaning, since *al-lisān* (“tongue”) in Arabic can be divided into “speech” (*kalām*), “language” (*luḡa*), and so on; as in the following verse:

*innī atatnī lisānun lā usarru bihā min ‘alwa lā ‘ajabun fiḥā wa-lā saxarū* 0

(“There has come to me a word [*lisān . . . arāda bihi l-kalīma*], at which I do not rejoice, from above; there is nought in it to be amazed at, nor to scoff at.”)<sup>1</sup>

One calls “an enemy captive (*al-axīd min al-‘adū*)”: TIL **til**. Thus :: TIL TUṬYM **til tuttīm** “I have taken one of the enemy” – to spy out the circumstances from him. 0

JIL **čil** “Trace of a blow on the skin (*aṭar aḍ-ḍarb fi l-jild*).” **čil**

“Someone maladroit (*axraq al-yad*)” is called: ŠAL ŠUL ’ALĪK\_LĪK\_ **šal šul ‘āliglig**. **šal šul**

QUL **qul** “Slave (*‘abd*).” Proverb: QUL YAǦY ’IT\_ BURIY **qul yaḡi, it bori** 0 “A slave (if he has power over his master’s property will take part of it, seizing the opportunity, and carry it away, like) an enemy; a dog is a wolf (in his own household, since he never guards anything edible once he has gotten hold of it.)” This is coined about the lack of a slave’s loyalty to his master. 0

QIL **qil** “A hair (*ša’ra*)” of a man, or other. 0 **qil**

QIL QUŠ **qil quš** “Wild swallow (*subad*).” It is a duck-like (*ka-l-iwazz*) bird which comes

[I. 282/337] **170**

in the beginning of spring and is given as a gift in that season by emirs to one another. It is also called QIL QUḌRUQ **qil quḍruq** meaning “Hairy-tail” (*aš‘ar aḍ-ḍanab*). 0

**169** 1. From an elegy by A’sā Bāhila. According to the editors of Tawḥīdī, *Kitāb al-Imṭā‘ wa-l-Mu’ānasa*, Vol. II, p. 199, *lisān* here means *risāla* (“message”); “from above” means from Upper Najd (citing *Khizānat al-Adab*); and the European edition of A’sā’s *Diwān* has *kaḍab* in place of *‘ajab*. See ed. R. Geyer (Gibb Memorial Series, 1928), p. 266 of text (line 4: *innī atānī lisānun lā usarru bihi / min ‘alwa lā kaḍibun minhu wa-lā suxuru*) and p. 251-2 of notes.

KUL **kül** “Ashes (*ramād*).” Proverb: KUL ’URKNJ’ KUVZ ’URSA’ YĪYK **kül ürginčä köz ürsä yēg** 0 “Blowing on burning coals is better than blowing on ashes.” 0 This is coined to advise someone to concern himself with important matters and leave alone insignificant ones.

M

TAM **tam** “Bolt (*lizāz*)” of a door. Hence :: QBUṬ TAMLTY **qapuy tamlatti** “He bolted the door.” 0 **tam**

TUM’ **tum** “Cold” (*al-bard*) in its root-meaning; but: TUMLIṬ **tumliṭ** is used for “cold (*al-bard*)” as well as for “any cold thing (*aš-šay’ al-barīd*).” 0 **tum**

TUM’ **tum** “Single-colored (*bahīm*),” of horses’ markings. Thus :: TUM QARA’ ’AT\_ **tum qara at** “All-black (*bahīm aḍḥam*)” horse. 0 :: TUM TURṬ ’T **tum toruy at** “All bay (*kumayt bahīm*)” horse. 0

JIM **čim** An exaggerative particle of dampness or rawness. Thus :: JIM’ YĪYK ’AT\_ **čim yīḡ ät** “Very raw (*niyy jiddan*) meat.” :: JIM’ ’UL TUṼN **čim öl tön** “A very damp (*raṭb jiddan*) garment.” 0 **čim**

JIM’ **čim** “Peat (*tīl*).” This is what is cut away from the ground and dried, then used as kindling, since it contains dense-rooted vegetation. :: JIM’ BIJTĪY **čim bičti** “He cut some peat.”

SUM’ SUJK NA’NK **süm sücig nāṅ** “Something very sweet (*ḥulw jiddan*).” Oḡuz dialect. 0 **süm D**

QUM’ **qum** “Sand (*raml*).” Čigil dialect; the Oḡuz do not know it. **qum D**

KAM’ **kām** “Sickness (*dā*).” Hence :: ’AT\_ KAM’ LAN\_ḌIY **at kāmlandı** “The horse (or other) took sick.” 0 **kām**

KUM **köm** Exaggerative particle for gray, in Oḡuz dialect. :: KUM’ KVK **köm kök** “Deep gray (*aḡbar jiddan*).” 0 **köm D**

KIM **kim** An interrogative particle meaning “who? (*man*).” :: BUV KĪYM **bu kīm** “Who is this?” It is used for singular or plural. The Oḡuz say: BUṼY KYM **bōy kīm** meaning, “Who are your clan? (*man al-qabīla*).” This is a collective noun. **kim D**

N

BAN **bän** A particle meaning “I” (*anā*). :: BAN BAR\_ḌIM **bän bardim** “I went.” Oḡuz dialect; the Turks say **MAN\_ män**. 0 **bän D**

TUN\_ **tün** “Night (*layla*).” Thus :: TUṼN’LA’ KAL\_ḌIM **tünlä kälḍim** “I came at night.” 0 **tün**

TIN\_ **tin** “Spirit, breath (*rūḥ, nafas*).” Thus :: ’ANIK TĪYNIY **kasılḍiy anig tīni käsildi** **tin**

“The man’s breath and spirit were cut off.”

TIN tin “Halter (*miqwad*).” Thus :: TIN TIZ\_KIN\_ tin tizgin “Halter and bridle.” 0

JIN\_ ċin “Truthfulness (*şidq*).” Thus :: JIN\_ SUVZLA’R ċin sözlär “He speaks truthfully (*yaşduqu l-kalām*).” :: JIN ’AY\_DINK ċin aydiñ “You told the truth.”

SAN\_ sän A particle meaning “you (*anta*).” The Turks use this word for children and servants, or anyone below the speaker in age or rank. For anyone of respect or rank they say: SIZ\_ siz, with *zāy*. The Oğuz turn the story around. They call older people SAN\_ sän, with *nūn*, and younger people SIZ\_ siz, with *zāy*. The latter is also used for the plural, and this is according to rule, since SIZ\_ siz is a collective. 0

QIN qin “Sheath (*jafn*)” of a sword or knife. :: QILJ QIYNIY qiliċ qīni “Sword-sheath.” 0

KAN\_ kän Any “city” in the Eastern regions (*kull balda fī diyār aš-şarq*). This is a lightened form of KAN\_D\_ känd.

KUN kün “Sun (*şams*).” :: KUN TUF\_DIY kün tuydi “The sun rose.” Proverb: KUN-  
KA’ BAQSA’ KVZ\_ QAMA’R\_ künkä baqsa kōz qamār “One who looks at the sun will daze his eyes.” 0

KUN\_ kün “Day (*yawm*).” :: BU\_V KUN BAR\_ΓIL bu kün baryil “Go today.” It is called this because daylight is due to the sun.

KIN YBA’R\_ kin yipār “Musk-bag (*nāfija misk*).” 0

MAN\_ män A particle meaning “I (*anā*).” Turk dialect. 0

MUN mün “Soup (*marāqa*).” Among the Yağma I heard them say: MUN KALDUR  
mün kældür meaning “Bring the soup” but they brought noodles (*işriya*), since that is what they meant.

In Turkic script or in this script it is permitted to insert the *līm* letter in these words; in the pronunciation, however, its presence in their dialects is as I have written. 0

End of Chapters of Sound Biliterals

Chapters of Triliterals

Chapter: *fa’l, fu’l, fi’l*, medial quiescent, in its various vocalizations

BART bart “A measuring vessel for wine (*nayṭal aš-şarāb*); a measuring-cup (*mikyāl*) of any liquid.” 0 bart

YART\_ bart “Jug (*kūz*) for drinking water.” Oğuz dialect. D

YART YURT TUṬY\_ bārt bürt tutti “He grasped it from every side at once (*min kull jānib faj’at’an*).” 0 bārt bürt

YUR\_T bürt “Nightmare (*jātūm*).” It may be called KTY BURT köti (?) bürt. bürt

BYRT [sic] bert “The tax (*ḡarība*) which a master (*mawlā*) receives annually from his slave (*‘abd*).” The better pronunciation is: BYRT bērt, with *yā*. 0 bert

:: ’ANIK TUṬVIN TIR\_T TIR\_T YIR\_ṬY\_ anig tōnin tirt tirt yirtti “He tore his clothes with this sound, carelessly (*min yayr mubālāt bihi*).” 0 tirt

TURT YARMA’Q tört yarmāq “Four (*arba’a*) dirhams.” Likewise, every “four” is: TÜVR\_T\_ tört. The better pronunciation is: TÜVRT\_ tört, with *vāv*. 0 tört

One calls the “crumbs (*duḡāq*)” or “fragments (*ruḡād*)” of anything: JAR\_T JUR\_T\_ cārt cürt cürt. Hence :: BZINIK ’ANDA’ BYR\_ JART ’ALṬUVMIZ BA’R biziñ anda bir cārt alṭūmiz bār cārt “He has a crumb (*kisra*) which belongs to us.” 0 cārt

If a man “spits through his teeth (*min xilāl asnānihi*)” one says: JIR\_T\_ SUVD\_TIY cirt cūḡti. 0 cirt

SAR\_T\_ sart “Merchant (*tājir*).” Proverb: SAR\_T ’AZUQY ’ARIF BULSA’ YULDA’  
YYR sart azuqi ariy bolsa yolda yēr. 0 We have already explained this above [45 azuq]. 0 sart

:: ’ANIK ’ADA’QIY SAR\_T SURT QILDY anig aḡāqi sart surt qildi “His foot made (such) a sound” – it is like the sound a foot makes in a loose-fitting slipper. 0 sart surt

SIR\_T sirt “Coarse hair (*hulb*).”<sup>1</sup> sirt

The Oğuz call every “stream (*tu’l’a*)” or “small valley (*wādī ṣayīr*)”: SIR\_T sirt. D

QAR\_T qart “Wound or sore (*qarḡ*).” Hence “an ill-tempered (*şakis al-xuluq*) man” is called: QART ’AR\_ qart är. 0 qart

QURT\_ qurt “Worm (*dūd*),” among all the Turks; and the Oğuz call “a wolf (*ḡi’b*)”: QUR\_T\_ qurt. 0 qurt

:: 'ALIK\_ QART\_ QURT 'AṬY älig qart qurt etti “His fingers cracked (*tafarqa'at al- qart qurt aṣābi'*).”

QIRT 'UT qirt ot “Short (*qaṣīr*) grass.” Similarly, “short hair” is called: QIRT SAJ qirt sač. 0 And “a man who is miserly and bad-tempered” (*baxīl, sayyi' al-xuluq*) is called: QIR\_Ṭ\_ KIŠY qirt kiši. 0

:: 'AT\_ 'AR\_ BA\_ NY KURT KURT YIYDIY\_ at arpāni kürt kürt yēdi “The horse ate kürt

[I. 287/343] 173

the barley crunching (*bi-xaḍd*).” The same for one who eats something, like a cucumber, and crunches it (*axḍada*).

KURT kürt *an-nab'*. It is a mountain tree used for making bows, whips and staffs.

J

:: 'AR\_ TURMUZNY QARJ QURJ YYDY är tarmuzni qarč Qurč yēdi “The man ate the qarč Qurč gherkins crunching (*bi-xaḍd*).” 0

One calls “steel (*ḥadīd ḍakar*)”: QUR\_Ṭ\_ ATAMUR Qurč tāmiür. This word is used as an epithet for strong (*jilād*) men, thus: QUR\_Ṭ\_ 'ARAN\_ Qurč ārān meaning “tough (*ṣilāb*) men.” The same for anything “solid and hard (*muṣmat ṣalb*).” 0

MUR\_Ṭ\_ murc “Pepper (*filfil*).” murč

[D]

KAN\_Ḍ\_ känd “City (*balad*).” Kāṣḡar is called: 'UR\_ḌUV KAND\_ ordu känd meaning “City of residence (*balad al-iqāma*), since Afrāsiyāb used to reside there because of its fine air; it is Lower Ṣīn. Verse:

KAL_NKIZLAYUV [sic] 'AQ_TIMZ	kälginlayü aqtimiz	V
KAND_LAR 'UZA' JIQTIMZ	kändlär üzä čiqtimiz	
FURXAN_ 'AWIN YQTIMZ	furxan äwin yiqtimiz	
BURXAN_ 'UZA' SIJTIMZ	burxan üzä siçtimiz	

Describing their raid on the Uighur: “We came down on them like a flood; we went out among their cities; we tore down the idol-temples; we shat on the idols' heads.” It is customary for the Muslims when they capture a country of infidels to defecate on the heads of their idols in order to profane them. 0

KND känd “Village (*qarya*)” (among the Oḡuz and those who associate with them); “town (*kūra*)” (among most of the Turks). The chief city (*qaṣaba*) of Farḡāna is called: 'UVZ\_ KAND öz känd meaning “City of our souls (*balad anfusina*).” SAMIZ\_ KAN\_Ḍ\_ sāmiz känd meaning “Fat city (*balda samīna*)” is called thus because of its great size; it is, in Persian, Samarqand. N

S

BAR\_Ṭ\_ bars “Leopard (*fahd*).” 0 BAR\_Ṭ\_ bars One of the twelve years in Turkic. bars

The Turks take the names of twelve different animals and brand twelve [successive] Calendar years by these names. Dates of births and battle are then reckoned according to the succession (*dawarān*) of these years. 0

The origin of this custom is that one of their kings once required information about a battle that had occurred some years before his reign, and they [his ministers?] were mistaken about the year

[I. 289/345]

174

in which that battle fell. 0

So he consulted with his people about it. He said: “Just as we were mistaken about this date, so will those who are after us be mistaken. Let us now therefore appoint a twelve-year cycle, corresponding to the number of the months and the number of the signs of the Zodiac, so that the reckoning[of years] from now on shall be according to their succession, and shall be an everlasting memorial.” They said: “Just as thou judgest.”

Then he went out hunting, and ordered that the wild beasts be driven toward the valley of the Īla, a great river. They hunted the beasts and drove them into the water. Twelve different ones crossed the river, and he put the name of each of them on a year. The first is: SIJ\_ḠA'\_N\_ siçyān “Mouse (*fāra*).” This was the first to cross, so he put it at the beginning of the cycle. The usage follows these names. :: SIJ\_ḠA'\_N\_ YILY siçyān yili “Year of the mouse”; 0 then: 'UVD YILY ūd yili “Year of the ox (*baqar*)”; then: BAR\_Ṭ\_ YILY bars yili “Year of the leopard”; then: TAWIŠḠA'\_N\_ YILY tawišyān yili “Year of the hare (*arnab*)”; then: N'K LVV<sup>1</sup> YILY nāg (lū) yili “Year of the crocodile (*timsāḥ*)”; 0 then: YIL\_Ḍ'\_N\_ YILY yilān yili “Year<sup>2</sup> of the snake (*ḥayya*)”; then: YUN\_Ḍ\_ YILY yond yili “Year of the horse (*faras*)”; 0 then: QUVY\_ YILY qōy yili “Year of the sheep (*ḡanam*)”; then: BIYJIN\_ YILY bēçin yili “Year of the monkey (*qird*)”; 0 then: TAQA\_ḠUV YILY taqāyū yili “Year of the hen (*dajāj*)”; then: 'IT\_ YILY it yili “Year of the dog (*kalb*)”; then: TUNKUZ YILY toñuz yili “Year of the pig (*xin-zīr*).”

When it reaches this: TUNKUZ toñuz, then the reckoning begins again with: SIJ\_ḠA'\_N\_ siçyān “Mouse.”

The year in which I wrote this book was: Muḡarram, 466, during which began the year of the snake or YIL\_Ḍ'\_N\_ YILY yilān yili. When this year ends, and the year '70<sup>3</sup> begins, then will begin the year of the horse or: YUND YLY yond yili.

174 1. Below the line (gloss by a later hand?).

2. MS. *sana wahya*, omit *wahya*.

3. Marginal note in brown ink: “Correction: the year '67.”

The reckoning of the cycle is thus, as I have shown you.

The Turks claim a piece of wisdom (*hikma*) for each of the years,

[I. 290/347]

and draw an omen from it. They say: “If it is: ’VD YILY ūḍ yili – i.e. the year of the ox – there will be many battles, because of the goring of oxen. 0 If it is the year of the hen there will be much food, but there will be strife among men, since the food of hens is grain, and they are constantly tossing about refuse [to find pieces of grain]. If it is the year of the snake, or the year of the crocodile, there will be rains and abundance of herbage, because the home of these animals is water. If it is the year of the pig there will be much cold and snow and discord.” Thus do they claim something for each year.

The Turks do not have names for the seven days, since the week became known [only] with Islam. Also, the names of the months, in the cities, are given in Arabic. The nomads<sup>1</sup> and the heathen infidels give them names according to four seasons: every three-month period has a name by which the passing of the year is known. For example, the beginning of spring, after Nayrūz, is called: ’UḞLA’Q ’AYI oylāq ay meaning “Month of the kid (*jady*)”; then: ’LUF ’UḞLA’Q ’AYI uluy oylāq ay meaning “Month of the large kid” – since the second month is longer; 0 then: ’LUF ’AY’ uluy ay meaning “Great month” – since it falls in mid-summer when milk is abundant and all the blessings of livestock and of earth appear. And so for the rest; but I will not mention them, since they are seldom used – so understand! 0

BAR’S bars Any “swelling (*waram*)” on the body, from the bite of a louse or flea, or from the eruption of pimples. :: ’NIK ’ATY BAR’S BULDY anig äti bars boldi “His skin swelled up (*tawarrama*) in that way.”

TAR’S tärs Anything “difficult (*ša’b*).” Thus :: TAR’S ’IYŠ tärs iš “A difficult matter.” 0

:: ’UL ’ANY JAR’S JAR’S ’URDIY’ ol ani čars čars urdi “He struck him on the skin with (such) a sound.” Similarly one says: TRS TRS ’URDY tars tars urdi meaning that “he struck him from all sides (*min kull jānib*).” 0

QARS qars “Robe (*kisā*) of camels-hair or sheeps-wool.” 0

[I. 291/348]

:: ’UL QAR’S QAR’S ’AYA’ YAB’TY ol qars qars aya yapti “He clapped his hands (*šaffaqa bi-yadayhi*).” This is onomatopoeic for the sound of clapping.

F

175 1. “The nomads” added in margin (original copyist).

:: TA’M’ KULF YQLDY tām külf yiqildi “The wall collapsed noisily and suddenly (*bi-šawt wa-sur’a*).” külf

Q

:: ’AW BAR’Q äw barq “House and home (*bayt wa-dār*).” One never uses: BAR’Q barq alone, but only paired. 0 barq

One calls the “length (*ḡul*)” of any body: TUR’Q’ turq. Thus :: BI’YR’ SUNKUḞ TUR’QY bīr sūḡu turqi “As long as a spear (*qadr ḡul al-qanāt*).” :: YI’YR’ ’IYNIY TURQIY yēr ēni turqi “The length and breadth of the land.” 0 turq

JULQ ’S’KURK [sic] čulq äsrük “Drunk, ‘potted’ (*sakrān ḡāfiḡ*).” 0 čulq

:: JALQ JULQ ?DR QILDY: čalq čulq badar qildi “He shoved him (*wakazahu*).” This is onomatopoeic for the sound of shoving. čalq čulq

QIAR’Q qirq The number “forty (*arba’in*).” Proverb: QIR’Q YILQA’<sup>1</sup> BA’Y’ JIḞA’Y TUZLIUNUVR’ qirq yilqa bāy čiyāy tüzlinūr 0 “The rich and the poor shall be equal in forty years” – meaning with death, or with the turning of Time. qirq P

K

BAR’K NANK bärk nāḡ “Something firm (*muḡkam*).” Its root-form is: BAK’ bāk; the rā’ is an augment. bärk

BUR’K börk “Cap (*qalansuwa*).” Proverb [=407 tat]: TA’T’SIYZ’ TURK’ BULM’S BA’Š’SIYZ’ BURK’ BULM’S tätsiz türk bolmās, bāšsiz börk bolmās 0 “A Turk is never without a Persian (just as) a cap is never without a head.” 0 börk P

TRK’ türk Name of a city in the country of the Turks. 0 türk N

:: TARK KAL tärk käl “Come quickly! (*asri’ fi l-ḡudūr*).” Also used in any command of hastening; :: TARK QIL tärk qil “Hurry! (*asri*).” 0 tärk

TURK türk Name of the son of Noah, God’s blessings be upon him. This is the name by which God called the sons of Turk son of Noah, just as “Man (*al-insān*)” is the name of Adam, peace be upon him, in the following verse: *hal atā ‘alā l-insāni ḡim<sup>un</sup> min ad-dahr* (Q. 76:1 “Has there come on man a while of time . . . ?”) – in this passage a general name (*ism*) is used for an individual (*wāḡid*); and in the following verse: *la-qad xalaqnā l-insāna fi aḡsani taqwīm<sup>in</sup> tumma radadnāhu asfala sāfilin illā llaḡina āmanū wa-‘amilū ḡ-šāliḡāt* (Q. 95:4-6 “We indeed created Man in the fairest stature then We restored him the lowest of the low – Save those who believe, and do righteous deeds . . .”) – it is a collective noun (*ism jam’*), since there is no one who can be excluded türk N

176 1. Marginal addition in a later hand (black ink): TKYN.

[I. 293/350]

from this singular. In the same way “Türk” is the name of the son of Noah, in the singular; but when it refers to his sons it is a collective – like the word “human (*al-bašar*),” it is used for singular or plural. Likewise, “Rūm” is the name of Rūm son of Esau son of Isaac, God’s blessings be upon him, and also his sons were called by that name.

I state that *at-Turk* is the name given by God. This is on the authority of the venerable Shaykh and Imam, al-Ḥusayn Ibn Khalaf al-Kāšgarī, who was told by Ibn al-Gharqī, who said: It was transmitted to us by the Shaykh, Abū Bakr al-Muḥīd al-Jarjarānī,<sup>1</sup> known as Ibn Abī-d-Dunyā, in his book *On the End of Time (al-mu'allaf fī āxir az-zamān)*, with his chain of transmission going back to the Prophet, God bless him and give him peace, who said: “God, exalted and mighty, says, ‘I have a host whom I have called *at-Turk* and whom I have set in the East; when I am wroth over any people I will make them sovereign above them.’” This is an excellence of theirs above the rest of created beings: that He the most high took it upon himself to name them; that He settled them in the most exalted spot and in the finest air on Earth; that He called them his own army. Not to mention their other virtues, such as beauty, elegance, refinement, politeness, reverence, respect for elders, loyalty, modesty, dignity and courage, all of which serve to justify their praises unnumbered.

QJAN KURSA' 'ANY TURK  
YUḌN 'A'ḤA' 'NIK 'AYDAJY  
MUNKAR TAKIR 'ULUḤLUQ  
MUNDA' NARUV KAS'LINUVR

qačan körsa ani türk  
(boḍun) ayğa anig aydaçi<sup>2</sup>  
muḥar tägir uluḥluq  
munda naru käslinür

V

Praising a man: “When the tribes of the Turks see him they will say, ‘Glory and pride befit this one, and after him will be cut off.’”

The singular is: TURKÜ türk as well as the plural. :: KIM SAN kim sän “Who are you?”; answer: TURK' MAN türk män “I am a Turk.” :: TURK SUVSIY 'ATLAN'DIY türk süsi atlandi “The troops of the Turks mounted.” 0

177 1. MS. Jarjarānī. The title given here is not found among the works of the famous Ibn Abī d-Dunyā, Abū Bakr 'Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Ubayd (d. 281/894). (Cf. GAL, S I, 247-8: “40. K. Āḥir az-zamān, zitiert al-Kāšgarī . . .”)

2. Possibly *boḍun* goes with the first line, and “tribes of the Turks” (*ṭawā'if at-turk*) translates türk *boḍun*. Omitting the word altogether both lines are metrically correct, and line two literally means: “a sayer of theirs will say.” This would translate the Arabic phrase *qāla qā'iluhā* (“one of them would say”) in a verse of al-Farazdaq on which this Turkic verse is based according to A.-Z. Validi [Togan], “Maḥmūd Kašgarī'ye ait notlar,” in *Atsız Mecmua* 17 (1932), p. 126. The Arabic verse in question is: *iḍā ra'athu qurayshun qāla qā'iluhā / ilā makārimi hādā yantahī l-karamu* (“When the Quraysh saw him, one of them would say: ‘Nobility reaches as far as this one’s noble qualities’”). Alternately line two must be amended to read: *boḍun anār aydaçi*, and the first two lines translated either “When the Turks see him, the people will say to him” (thus Brockelmann, “Volkspoesie,” I, p. 18) or “When they see that he is a Turk, the people will say” (thus Atalay, *Tercüme*, I, 352 n.).

177

[I. 294/353]

275

178

TURK türk A particle of time indicating “the mid-point of the ripening of a fruit (*wasat idrāk kull šay' min at-ṭamar*).” Thus :: TURK 'ZUM 'UVDIY türk üzüm ödi “The mid-time (*waqt tawassuṭ*) of ripening grapes.” :: TURK QUY'Š 'UVDY türk quyāš ödi “Mid-time (noon *waqt tawassuṭ [aš-šams?]*).” :: TURK YIKT' türk yigit “A young man at the prime of his youth (*šābb tawassaṭa šabābuhu*).” 0

SAR'K sārċ “Earthenware, potsherd (*al-xazaf wa-mā nkasara minhā*).” 0

türk

:: 'NIK 'ḌA'QY SUR'K BUVZ'<sup>1</sup> TAK anig aḍāqi sürk büz täg “His foot is cold as ice (*ka-l-jamd fi l-burūda*).” This word is used only in this context. 0

sürk

KUR'K kürċ “Fur (*farw*).” 0

kürċ

KUR'K körċ “Beauty (*ḥusn, jamāl*).” Hence :: KUR'K'LUK' körċlüg meaning “beautiful (*jamāl*).” 0

körċ

End of Chapters of Medial Quiescent Words

Chapters of Medial Vowelled Words

Chapter: *fa'al, fa'ul, fa'il*, medial vowelled, in its various vocalizations

B

KALAB' käläp A tender plant (*nabt nā'im*) which grows in the summer pasture of the Turks and fattens cattle quickly.

käläp

T

BASUT basut “Assistant, sympathetic helper (*zahīr, mu'āwin mušfiq*).” 0 BASUT' basut “Help (*i'āna*).” Thus :: 'UL MANK' BASUT' BIR'DIY ol maḥa basut berdi “He helped me.” These two are related. 0

basut

BULIT bulit “Cloud (*saḥāba*).” :: QAR' BULIT' qara bulit “Black cloud.” :: 'AQ' BULIT' aq bulit “Rain-cloud (*muzn*).” Proverb [cf. 540 tüpi]:

bulit

QAR' BULIT' YIYL 'AJA'R  
'URNJ BIL' 'IYL 'AJA'R

qara bulitiḡ yēl ačār  
urunč bilä ēl ačār

P

0 “When a black cloud covers the sky, the wind clears it away; similarly, a bribe opens the door of state.” This is coined to advise someone to spend money in order to attain his desire.

178 1. Z changed from R (dot in brown ink).

Black hair may be likened to it; thus :: BULIT' TAK SAJY bulit tæg saçi "His hair is like a cloud (in its abundance)." Verse:

'AǦDIY BULIT' KUKRAYUV	aǧdi bulit kökräyü	V
YAǦMUR TULY SAK'RIYUV	yaǧmur toli sekriyü	
QALIQ 'ANY 'UK'RAIYUV <sup>2</sup>	qaliq ani ügr ügr iyü	
QANJ' BARIYR BALKUVSUVZ	qanča barir bälgüsüz	

[I. 296/354]

"A cloud came up thundering, rain and hail leaping from it, the air blowing it about; it is unknown what direction it will take." 0

TUBÜT\_ tübüt A large tribe (*jil* . . . *kañir*) in the lands of the Turks. Among them is found the musk-deer whose navel or musk-bag is cut out. 0 They are the descendants of Tābit. He was a man from Yemen who committed a crime, then took fright and fled by sea to Şin. He found those regions to his liking and settled there. His children multiplied to such an extent that they took over 1500 parasangs from the lands (*arādī*) of the Turks. They are bordered on the East by Şin, on the West by Qişmīr, on the North by Uighur, and on the South by the Indian Sea. In their language one still finds some Arabic words, such as: 'UMA' uma "Mother (*umm*)" and: 'ABA' aba "Father (*ab*)." 0

TIKIT\_ tegit Plural of: TIKYN; tegin. Its root-meaning is "slave (*'abd*)"; then it became an honorific for the sons of the Khāqāniyya. It is an irregular plural. :: 'UKA' TIKIT\_ ögä tegit "The class comprising great commoners and small nobles (*al-kibār min as-sūqa wa-ş-şiyār min abnā' al-mulūk*)." This is used as a paired expression: 'UKA' TIKIT\_ ögä tegit. The origin of the appellation: 'UKA' ögä goes back to the time of Dū-l Qarnayn, when a skirmish took place between the vanguards of his army and of the Turks, before the truce [see 57 ögä]. 0

JUKUT\_ KIŞY čöküt kişi "A short (*qaşir*) man (or other)." 0

JIKIT\_ čigit "Cotton seed (*ħabb al-qutn*)." Arǧu dialect.

SIBUT\_ sicut "Coriander seed (*kuzbara*)." Kāşǧar dialect. 0

SUFUT\_ suǧut "Dried curds (*aqiṭ*)." Qarluǧ dialect. 0 SUFUT\_ suǧut "Gut-wurst (*al-am'ā*)" stuffed with spices, rice and meat, then cooked and eaten." 0

SIFIT\_ siyit "Weeping (*bukā*')." 0

SUKUT\_ söǧüt "Willow (*şajar al-xilāf*)." Proverb [=502 söl]: SUKUT\_ SUVLINK' QADINK\_ Q'SNK' söǧüt\_ sölinä, qadın\_ qāsina 0 "The moistness which is in the willow most properly belongs to it, and the bark-strap of the birch most properly belongs to the birch." [The

2. I in a later hand (black, thin point).

willow for its sap, the birch for its bark.] This is coined about anything which inclines toward its origin (*yamīlu ilā aşlihi*). 0

QAJUT\_ qačut "Pursuit (*ñirād*)" in battle, etc. 0

QARIT\_ qarit A word of abuse belonging to the Türkmān (*sabb li-t-turkmān*). I think it is borrowed from the Arabic *ǧarat* ("raid" ?). 0

QURT\_ qurut "Dried curds (*aqiṭ*)." 0

[I. 298/357]

QANAT\_ qanat "Wing (*janāħ*)." 0

QUNAT\_ qonat "Any group of people who stick together (*kull şirm min an-nās talab-bada ba'duħum bi-ba'd*)." Thus :: 'UL MANIK\_ QUN'TIM\_ 'UL ol mänig\_ qonātim\_ ol "He is one of those who stick with me." 0

KABIT\_ käbit "Shop (*ħānūt*)." 0

KUJAT\_ küčät A tribe (*jil*) of Turks, who have been settled (*uskinū*) in Khwārizm. 0 küčät N

KJUT\_ köčüt "Horse (*faras*)." 0

KADUT\_ kädüt "An item of clothing (*kull mā yulbasu min al-aṭwāb*)." This word is normally confined to weddings, when the relatives of the groom and bride put on a certain garment in their honor. One then says: KADUT\_ BIR'DIY\_ kädüt\_ berdi meaning, "He gave him a garment of honor (*libās al-karāma*)." 0

KIRIT\_ kirit "Key (*miftāħ*)." This word is close to the Arabic *iqḻid*; the *alif* was dropped, the *qāf* was changed to *kāf*, the *lām* to *rā*, and the *dāl* to *tā*. 0

KULUT\_ külüt "A laughing-stock (*duħka*) among the people."

J

BUQAJ\_ buqač "Earthen jar or kettle (*at-tawr aw al-qidr min xazaf*)." :: 'AŞJ\_ BUQAJ\_ eşič\_ buqač "Pots and pans (*qidr wa-tawr*)," used pleonastically. 0

BAKAJ\_ bākäč A princely honorific (*laqab li-t-takākīm*), as in: BAKAJ\_ 'ARS'LA'N' TIKIYN\_ bākäč\_ arslān\_ tegin.

If this word is pronounced with the thin *kāf* [i.e. *begäč*] it means "O little emir" (*yā umayyir*). It is a diminutive of "emir," used as a term of endearment. The word: BAK\_ beg "Emir" is with a thin *kāf*.

BULUJ\_ buluč A man's name.

TUQJ **toqač** “Flat-bread (*qurş*).” This is derived from the expression: TUQ ‘AR’ **toq är** meaning “a satiated man,” since it fills him up. 0

TIKUJ **tikiüç** “Pastry-cook’s prick (*minsaya*).” 0 **tikiüç**

JANJ **čanač** “One who is effeminate (*muxannaṭ*), cowardly (*jabān*), ungainly and awkward (*lā rifq lahu fī l-umūr wa-fīhi faṣal wa-futūr*).” **čanač**

“A red leather bag (*jirāb aḥmar*)” is called: SANJ KSIR·LUV **sanač** **sanač** 0

QAQAJ **qaqač** “Filth, pollution (*wasax, daran*).” Thus :: TUVN QAQAJ BULDY **tōn qaqač boldi** “The garment became soiled (*wasixa*).” 0 **qaqač**

QUILUJ **quluč** A man’s name. 0 **quluč N**

QULAJ **qulač** “Span of the outspread arms (fathom) (*bā’*).” Its root is the expression: QUL ‘A’J’ **qol āč** meaning “Open wide your arms (*iftaḥ al-bā’*).” Thus :: BYR QULJ·BAR·JIN **bīr qulač barčīn** “A span of brocade.” 0 **qulač**

QILIJ **qilič** “Sword (*sayf*).” Proverb: QUŠ QILJ QIN·QA’ SIFM’S **qoš qilič qinča siymās** 0 “Two swords cannot fit in one sheath.” **qilič P**

[I. 299/359]

This is coined about two men who are arguing over something or who are wooing the same woman. The Khāqāniyya use this word as an honorific, as in: QILJ XA’N **qilič xān** meaning “a king who executes his affairs and decisions like a sword.” Verse [=101 **uruš**]:

'RAN 'ALBY 'QIŠ·TIYLAR·	<b>arān alpi oqištīlar</b>	V
QINKR KVZIN BAQIŠ·TIYLAR·	<b>qinṛ kōzin baqištīlar</b>	
QAMUṬ TULMUN TUQIŠ·TIYLAR·	<b>qamuṭ tulumun toqištīlar</b>	
QILJ QINQA' KUJUN SIF·DIY	<b>qilič qinqa küčün siṛdi</b>	

Describing battles – “The warriors called out to each other; they looked at one another askance; they fought with all their weapons; (until) the sword could hardly fit in its sheath” – because of the large amount of blood that dried on it.

QAMIJ· **qamič** “Ladle (*miṛrafa*).” 0 **qamič**

To curse out a boy, one says: KUTIJ **kōtič** meaning “O stink-bum! (*yā muntin ka-ṣ-ṣumārā*).” This derives from the word for “posterior [i.e. 161 **kōt**].” 0 **kōtič**

KUZAJ **küzäč** “Jug, pot (*kūza*,<sup>1</sup> *bastūqa*).” This word corresponds to the Arabic except that the *hā'* became *jīm*. 0 **küzäč**

KUADAJ **küdäč** with *dāl* – also, “Jug (*kūza*)”; Arṣū dialect. One finds the same alternation of *dāl* and *zāy* in Arabic, for example: *zabara* and *dabara*<sup>2</sup> for “to write”; and: *mā' zu'āq wa-ḍu'āq* (“bitter water”). 0 **küdäč D**

KUMAJ· **kömäč** “Flat-bread (*qurş*) that is buried in the embers [for baking].” 0 **kömäč**

KUMUJ **kömüč** “Buried treasure (*kanz*).” :: 'UL KUMUJ BULDY **ol kömüč buldi** “He found buried treasure.” 0 **kömüč**

“Black grapes (*inab ṛirbīb*) are called: MAŠJ 'ZUM **mašič (?) üziüm**. **masič ?**

R

BUTR **botar (?)** “Cotton of rushes (*tūt al-bardī*).” **botar ?**

:: YDAR· YADAR YUKRDY **badar badar yügürdi** “He ran with a pattering sound (*'adā wa-sumi'a li-'adwihi ḥafīfan*).” 0 **badar**

BASR **basar** “Mountain garlic (*tūm al-jabal*).” 0 **basar**

BAḠIR **bayir** “Liver (*kabid*).” A man who obeys no one is called: BADUK BAḠIR·LIF **bädük bayirliṛ** meaning “Big-livered.” And “the middle (*kabid*) of a bow” is called: YA' BAḠIR·RIY **ya bayri**.

BAQIR· **baqir** “Copper (*nuḥās*).” Proverb: BA'R BAQIR· YUVQ 'ALTUVN· **bār baqir yōq altūn** 0 “What is present is (like) copper (one cares nought about it), what is missing is (like) gold (in its preciousness).” This is coined about one who is the object of scorn among his near ones but whom they grieve over sorely when they lose him. 0 BAQIR· **baqir** “Copper coins (*fulūs*)” in Šīn, with which they buy and sell. 0 BAQIR· SUQIM **baqir suqim** **baqir P D**

[I. 301/361]

“Mars (*mirriṛ*).” Its redness is likened to copper. 0 **182**

BUKUR· **bögür** “Kidney (*kulya*).” 0 **bögür**

BUKR **bögür** A fortress (*qal'a*) on a mountain-top between Kuča and Uighur. It is a frontier post (*ṭayr*). 0 **N**

TABAR· **tapar** The two sons of : 'INA'L· 'UVZ· **ināl öz**, one of the kings of Qifčāq. 0 **tapar N**

TATIR· YJR· **tatir yēr** “Steppe (*al-qarāḥ min al-arḍ*).” 0 **tatir**

TITIR· **titir** “Female camel (*nāqa*).” 0 **titir**



:: 'AT 'ADA'QIY TAQIR TAQIR 'AṬIY at adāqi taqir taqir etti “The horses’ hooves made (such) a sound.” Also: TIKIR' TIKIR' 'AṬIY tikir tikir etti, same meaning. 0

TAMUR **tāmür** “Iron (*ḥadīd*).” Proverb: KUVK TAMUR KRUV TURMA'S' **kōk tāmür kerü turmās** “The blue iron does not come to rest ineffectually (*lā yastaqirru min ḡayr 'amal*)” – that is, it causes a wound when it strikes something. 0 This has another meaning also. The Qırqız, Yabāqu, Qifcāq and others, when they enter into alliance with a person or become party to a contract with him, place an unsheathed sword crosswise before him and say the following: BUṬ KUVK' KIR'SUVN' QIZIL' JIQ'SUVN **bu kōk kirsün qizil çiqsün** meaning, “May this (iron) go in blue and come out red” – that is “bloody” – if I break this treaty. This means he will be killed by iron, in order that the iron be avenged upon him, since they regard iron as possessing great power (*yu'azḡimūna l-ḥadīd*). 0

TAMUR' **tamur** “Vein (*irq*) in the body.” The Oḡuz say: TAMAR' **tamar**, with *fath* of the *mīm*. They always prefer lightness, and *naṣb* (A) is the lightest of vowels, so they have recourse to it.

TAWAR' **tawar** “Property, animate or inanimate” (*as-sil'a ma ṣāta<sup>1</sup> wa-ṣamata*). The Oḡuz and other say: TAṬAVAR' **tavar**, with *vāv*. Verse:

TAWAR KIM'NIK UK'LISA'	<b>tawar kimnig üklisä</b>	V
BAKLIK 'ANKAR KARKAYUVR'	<b>beglik aṅar kargäyür</b>	
TAWARSIZIN QALIB' BAK	<b>tawarsizin qalip beg</b>	
'ARAN'SIZIN 'AM'KAYUVR'	<b>äränsizin ämgäyür</b>	

“Whoever has much wealth (*māl*) is more worthy of being emir than another; but if an emir is left emptyhanded he will tire himself in collecting men,” since they gather around him only out of a desire for wealth. 0

JUBUR **çöpür** “Goat’s-hair (*ṣa'r al-ma'z*).”

One calls “rubbish, old furniture” (*al-xurṭi min al-matā'*): JUBUR JABUR **çöpür çäpür**, pleonastically. 0

One calls “a bad-tempered (*sayyi' al-xuluq*) man”: JUTUR<sup>2</sup> KIṢY **çotur kiṣi**. 0

[I. 303/363]

JAFIR **çayir** “Juice (*aṣīr*).” 0 JAFIR **çayir** “Wine (*xamr*).” This word has two opposite meaning (*min al-aḡḡād*).

JAFIR **çiyir** “Narrow path (*zaqab* [defined]).” 0

JAQIR **çaqir** “Blue (*azraq*).” Proverb:

**taqir  
tikir**

**tāmür  
P**

**tamur  
D tamar**

**tawar  
D tavar**

V

**çöpür**

**çöpür  
çäpür**

**çotur**

183

**çayir**

**çiyir**

**çaqir**

'IT' JAQIRIY 'AT'QA' TAKIYR' **it çaqiri atqa tægir**  
'AT' JAQIRIY 'ITQA' TAK'MA'S' **at çaqiri itqa tægmas**

P

0 “A blue [-eyed] dog is worth a horse but a blue [-eyed] horse is not worth a dog” – since such a horse does not see well – coined as a warning against such a one.

JKIR JKIR **çikir çikir** Sound of teeth [chewing] bread that has grit (*qaḡīd*) in it so the teeth are set on edge (*yakillu*).

**çikir**

SUFUR **suḡur** “Weasel (*wabr*).” It is a small animal resembling the monitor lizard (*waral*); its skin is used to make raincoats. 0

**suḡur**

SḠIR **sayir** [Battue-shooting] A type of hunting (*ṣayd*) of kings with their subjects: the king scatters people among the thickets and plains to round up animals and drive them toward him while he stands there shooting, without tiring himself from seeking them out. 0

**sayir**

SIFIR **siyir** “Ox (*baqar*).” 0 SUVW SIFIRIY **sūw siyiri** “Water-buffalo (*al-jāmūs ay baqar al-mā'*).” 0

**siyir**

QATIR' **qatir** “Mule (*baḡl*).”

**qatir**

QADIR' NA'NK' **qadir nāṅ** “Something hard (*ṣa'b*).” Thus :: QADIR' YIYR' **qadir yer** “A hard place” – this refers to a place in the mountains that is very cold and snowy. 0 QADIR' QIṢ **qadir qiṣ** “Severe cold (*zamharīr*).” 0 QADIR' **qadir** “A tyrannical and harsh king (*al-jabbār aṣ-ṣa'b min al-mulūk*).” The Khāqāniya use this word as an honorific in: QADIR' XA'N' **qadir xān**. This usage corresponds to the Arabic, since tyranny (*tajabbur*) derives from power (*qudra*) and the tyrant (*jabbār*) is one who has power (*yaqdiru*) to act as he wishes. 0

**qadir**

D N

QISIR' **qisir** “Barren (*aqīm*),” of a woman or animal. :: QISR QISRA'Q **qisir qisraq** “A mare that has not yet foaled (*ḥā'il*).” 0

**qisir**

KALAR' **kälär** “Lizard (*ḡabb*).”

**kälär**

Z

BUḠUZ **boḡuz** “Throat (*ḡalq*).” 0

**boḡuz**

TABIṢ **täpiz** “Swamp or salt marsh (*sabxa*).” 0 TABIṢ KIṢY **täpiz kiṣi** “An envious (*ḡasūd*) man.”

**täpiz**

“A (pack-saddle or) load which the rider cannot settle comfortably (*allaḡi lā yastaqirru rākibuhu*)” is called: TUBZ YK **topuz (?) yük**. 0

**topuz ?**

TITIZ NINK **titiz nāṅ** “Anything bitter (*lahu ṭa'm 'afiṣ*),” such as the myrobalan nut, or the like. 0

**titiz**

TKUZ 'AT **tögüz (?) at** “Horse with a blaze on the forehead (*aqraḡ*).” 0

**tögüz ?**

182 1. MS. ṣā.

2. Under the T is a dot in red ink (indicates B).

SAGIZ **sayiz** “Resin (*ilk*).” 0 SAGIZ TUBRA'Q **sayiz toprāq** “Dry clay, pure clay (*şalşāl, t̄in hurr*).” 0

SAQIR **saqiz** Any “viscous substance (*luzūja*)” that sticks to clothing, such as rob, etc. 0

SAKYZ: **säkiz** The number “eight (*tamāniya*).” This is the lightened form of: SAĶYZ: **säkkiz**. 0

[I. 305/365]

SAMIZ: **sämiz** “Fat (*samīn*),” of an animal. This word corresponds to the Arabic except that they have changed the *nūn* to *zāy*, which is permitted in their language, as in: SAN **sān** meaning: “You (*anta*)”; and: SIZ: **siz** also meaning “You (*anta*).” *Zāy* alternates with *nūn*. 0

QUBUZ **qopuz** “Lute (*al-ūd alladī yuḍrabu bihi*).” 0

QUTUZ **qotuz** “Wild ox (*baqar al-waḥš*)” [i.e. “yak”].

QUTUZ 'IT **qutuz it** “Rabid (*kalib*) dog.” 0

QDZ **qaḍiz** “Bark (*liḥā*)” of a tree. 0

QDUZ **qoḍuz** “A woman left without a husband (*mar'a ṭayyib*).” 0

QIMIZ: **qimiz** “Koumiss (*al-āmiš*).” This is mares'-milk which is poured in skins, then fermented and drunk. QIMIZ: 'AL'MILA' **qimiz almila** “Sour apples resembling koumiss.” 0

KUKUZ **kögüz** “Breast (*şadr*).” 0

KIDIZ **kidiz** “Felt (*libd*).” 0

KWIZ **köwiz** “Carpet (*zarbiya*).” 0

KUWŽ **köwiž** – with *zay* between the two points of articulation – “The hollow part of a tree” (*waṣṭ kull šajara bāliya*), e.g., the decayed portion of a willow. :: KUWIŽ TUR'MA' **köwiž turma** “A rotten (*fāsid*) radish,” or other, that the taste has gone out of.

S

TARUS: **tarus** “Roof (*saqf al-bayt*).” 0

TALS **talas** “Goal-rope (*maqbaḍ* [defined])” in horse-racing or polo. 0

TALAS: **talas** The city known as Ṭarāz. There are two cities by this name. One is: 'LUF TLA'S **uluy talās** meaning “The great Talas”; the other, on the frontier of Islam, is: KAMIY TALA'S: **kümi (?) talās**. 0

One calls “a sad or mournful (*sāhim*) face”: TULAS YVZ **tulas yūz**.

Ş

BIJŠ **bičiš** Name for “a piece of brocade (*qit'a min ad-dībāj*)” given to guests at the feasts of nobles and at wedding feasts. 0

BURIŠ **huriš** “A wrinkle (*inziwā*)” in skin or clothing. 0

BAΓIŠ **bayiš** “Joints (*mafāšil*)” of fingers and other limbs; also “nodes (*anābīb*)” of reed, etc. 0

BAQIŠ **baqiš** “Looking (*al-munāzara bi-l-başar*).” 0

BILIŠ **biliš** “Acquaintance (*ma'rifa*).” It is here a descriptive word (*şifa*) and not a verbal noun (*maşdar*). 0

BULUŠ **buluš** “The profit (*manfa'a*) which one derives (*yajidu*) from something one does.” 0

BULUŠ **boluš** “Verbal aid (*al-i'āna bi-l-kalām*).” Thus :: 'UL MANKA' BULUŠ QILDIY **ol maṇa boluš qildi** “He aided me verbally.” 0

TABIŠ **tapiš** “Mutual trust (*muwākala*)” between two men, or other. 0

TUTUT: **tutuš** – pronounced more firmly<sup>1</sup> – “Quarrel (*mu'axaḍa*).” TTŠ: **tutuš** A man's name. 0

[I. 306/367]

TAWUŠ: **tawiš** “Sound and movement (*ḥiss wa ḥaraka*).”

TUQUŠ **toqiš** “Battle (*ḥarb*).”

Verse: **toqiš**

TUQIŠ 'IJRA' 'URŠTM  
'LUF BIR'LA' QARŠTM  
TUKUZ 'TIN YARŠTM  
'AYDM 'M'DY 'AL 'UTA'R

**toqiš iĉra urištım**  
**uluy birlä qarištım**  
**tögüz atın yarištım**  
**aydim amdi al utār**

V

“I fought in the thick of battle (*hayjā*) with a great hero, I vied with him on my blazed horse, (then shot him with an arrow) and said: ‘Take this, Utar!’”<sup>1</sup> – this is a man's name. 0

TUQIŠ **toqiš** A name. 0

N

184 1. *aşlab lafz<sup>an</sup> minhu* – perhaps this refers to **tutuš** as a proper name.

185 1. MS. *utā*.

sayiz

saqiz

säkiz

184

sämiz

G

qopuz

qotuz

qutuz

qaḍiz

qoḍuz

qimiz

kögüz

kidiz

köwiz

köwiž

tarus

talas

N

tulas

TAIKIŠ <sup>2</sup> tikiš “Mutual feeding ( <i>munāwala</i> [defined]).” 0	tikiš
TAKIŠ tāgiš “The extreme or limit ( <i>ḡāya, madā</i> )” of anything. 0	tāgiš
TAKIŠ tāgiš A man’s name. 0	N
JABIŠ čäpiš “Six-month old goat ( <i>min awlād al-ma’z idā atā ‘alayhi sitta ašhur</i> ).” 0	čäpiš
JAWUŠ čawuš “[The officer] who keeps the troops in battle order and holds them back from unwarranted violence ( <i>alladī yusawwī ṣ-ṣufuf fi l-ḡarb wa-yaza’u l-jund ‘an aḡ-zulm</i> ).” 0	čawuš
JIQIŠ čiqiš “Profit ( <i>manfa’a</i> ).” :: ’UL ’IYŠTA’ JIQIŠ YUWQ ol išta čiqiš yōq “There is no profit in that business.” 0	čiqiš
JALIŠ čališ “Wrestling ( <i>muṣāra’a</i> ).” 0	čališ
SURUŠ soruš Name for grains of wheat that are roasted on the ear before they harden, then picked off and eaten. 0	soruš
SIQIŠ siqiš “Crowding, colliding ( <i>zaḡma, taṣādum</i> ).” 0	siqiš
SUKUŠ sōküš “Cursing, mutual reviling ( <i>sabb, tasābb</i> ).” 0	sōküš
SUKUŠ sōgüš – with the thin <i>kāf</i> – “Kid or lamb fit for roasting ( <i>mā yaṣluḡu li-š-šiwā’ min al-jidā’ wa-l-ḡumlān</i> ).” 0	sōgüš
SIKIŠ sikiš “Coitus ( <i>muḡāma’a</i> ).” 0	sikiš
QABIŠ qapiš “Plundering ( <i>intihāb, ixtilās</i> ).” 0	qapiš
QABUŠ qapuš Name of a place ( <i>mawḡi’</i> ) in Arḡu. 0	qapuš N
QAJŠ qačiš “Panic and flight ( <i>al-munāfara wa-l-muḡārada bayn al-qawm</i> ).” Proverb: QJIŠ BULSA’ QYA’ KUR’MA’S qačiš bolsa qaya kōrmās 0 “When there is panic no one turns toward his fellow ( <i>ida waqa’a n-nifār wa-l-hazāhiz bayn al-qawm fa-lā yu’arriju aḡad ‘alā aḡad</i> ).” 0	qačiš P
QUJUŠ qučuš “Embrace ( <i>mu’ānaqa</i> ).” 0	qučuš
QDŠ qadaš “Kinsman ( <i>al-qarīb min al-ixwān</i> ).”	qadaš
QADIŠ qadiš “Leather strap ( <i>as-sayr alladī yuqaddu min julūd al-juzur</i> ).” 0	qadiš
QARIŠ qariš “Span ( <i>šibr</i> ).” :: BIYR QARIŠ bīr qariš “One span.” 0	qariš

2. A by a later hand (?).

QUFUŠ qoḡuš “Leather ( <i>jild al-juzur</i> ),” tanned or untanned. 0	qoḡuš
QUFUŠ qoḡuš “Water-course; drain ( <i>maḡ’ab, mīzāb</i> ).” :: QUGŠ qoḡuš “Millrace” ( <i>maḡ’ab aḡ-tāḡūn</i> ). :: TAKRMA’N QUGŠIY tāḡirmān qoḡuš. 0	
QUFUŠ qoḡuš “Arrow-straightener ( <i>ḡarīda an-nabbāl</i> ).”	
QAMIŠ qamiš “Reed ( <i>qaṣab</i> ).” 0	qamiš
[I. 308/369]	186
KAJIŠ kāčiš “Ford ( <i>ma’bar</i> )” of a canal or river. Proverb: ’UL KJŠNY SUVW ’ILAḡIY ol kāčišni sūw elātti “The flood has taken away that ford” – this is coined about something that is past and out of reach. 0	kāčiš P
KARIŠ kəriš “A mountain top that can be climbed ( <i>ra’s kull jabal yuṣ’adu ‘alayhi</i> ).” Oḡuz dialect.	kəriš D
KARIŠ kəriš “Withers ( <i>kāhil</i> ) of a horse.” Proverb: KARIŠ YAḡRY ’UḡUL’QA’ QALIYR kəriš yayri oḡulqa qalīr 0 “The sore of the withers remains (an inheritance) for the son” – since it is the place where the joints are gathered and does not heal quickly. This is coined as advice to protect that part of the body. 0	kəriš P
KARIŠ kəriš “Resistance in a quarrel ( <i>al-muḡāwama fi l-muḡādala</i> ).” 0	
KURUŠ kōriš “Looking ( <i>al-munāzara bi-l-alḡāz lā bi-l-alfāz</i> ).” 0	kōriš
KIRIŠ kiriš “Bowstring ( <i>watar al-qaws</i> ).” 0	kiriš
KIRIŠ kiriš “Income ( <i>daxl</i> ) – what comes in from one’s estate ( <i>ḡay’a</i> ).” 0	
KARIŠ kəriš “Quarrel ( <i>muḡādala</i> ).” :: NA’LIK KARŠ’TINK nālūk kərištiḡ “Why did you quarrel ( <i>lima ḡadalta</i> )?” 0	kəriš
One calls “coming and going ( <i>aḡ-ḡahāb wa-l-maḡī</i> )”: KALIŠ BARIŠ kälis bariš. From this comes the expression for “guest-house” ( <i>bayt aḡ-ḡifān</i> ): KALIŠ LIK BARIŠ LIḡ ’AW kälisliḡ barišliḡ āw, meaning “House of coming and going.” 0	kälis
KUMUŠ kümüs “Silver ( <i>fiḡḡa</i> ).” 0	Verse: kümüs
’LB’ ’RAN NY <sup>1</sup> ’UḡRDUM BUY’NIN ’ANIK QADIR’DIM ’ALTUN KMUŠ YUḡR’DUM SUVSIY QALIN KYM ’UTA’R	alp äränni aḡirdim boynin anig qaḡirdim altun kümüs yüḡürdü süsi qalin kim ötär

Describing a battle: “I divided the enemy troops, twisted the warrior’s necks, then loaded up the gold and silver of their treasuries; but I could hardly pass through the throng of soldiers.” 0  
 KUMUŠ: kümüš “Dirham (*dirham*),” since it contains silver. :: KMUŠ kümüš A slave-girl’s name.

Γ

BATIΓ\_ batiγ “Deep (*γamiq*),” of a canal, or other. 0

BAIJΓ\_ bičiy “Covenant, contract (*mīṭāq*, ‘*ahd*.’) :: ’UL MANIK BIR·L’ BIJΓIΓ QIYL·DIY ol mänig birlä bičiy qildi “He made a pact with me (*’ahada ma’i*).” 0

:: ’UL BARIΓ BRDY ol bariγ bardi “He went directly (*ḍahaba ḍahāban wa-lam yu’arrij ’alā šay*’).” 0

BAIRIΓ bariγ “Something stinking (*muntin*).” This word is used in the paired expression: SASIΓ BAIRIΓ sasiγ bariγ. 0

BASIΓ basiγ “Place of a night raid; taking by surprise (*maḥall at-tabyiṭ yuqālu* [sic] *wa-laxḍ ’alā γirra*’).”

[I. 310/372]

:: ’UL ’ANY BASIΓYNDAY TUṬIY ol ani basyinda tutti “He captured him during a night raid (*fī awānihi bayāt<sup>an</sup>*).” 0

BUSUΓ busuy “Ambush (*kamīn*’).” 0

BUŠUΓ bošuy “Permission to return (*al-iḍn . . . bi-l-qufūl*),” granted by a ruler to a messenger sent to him; also the “gift (*jā’iza*)” that he gives him. Compare the Arabic *sufra*, which originally meant the food given to a visitor, then came to mean the piece of hide on which the food was served. A similar shift is involved in this word. Also, when a relative comes from afar, before he can return he must give a party (*da’wa*) to which he invites his kinsmen, and others; then he receives permission to return after giving them gifts. This is called: BUŠUΓ ’AŠY bošuy aši meaning “Food of permission (*ṭa’ām al-iḍn*’).” 0

BIŠIΓ ’Š bisiy aš “Cooked (*maḥbūx*) food.” The same for anything cooked. Thus “baked bricks (*ājurr*)” are called: BIŠIΓ KRBJ bišiy kārpič, meaning “Cooked bricks” :: BIŠIΓ SUJVK bišiy süčüg “Mulled wine (*šarāb maḥbūx*’).” 0

BAQIΓ baqiy “Glance (*nažra*’).” Thus :: ’ANIK BAQIΓIY KUR anig baqiyi kör “Look at his glance.”

It is my intention in this book not to mention verbal nouns of this sort unless they are very commonly used. 0

:: BUŠUΓ BUŠDIY bušuy bušdi “He was intensely annoyed (*ḍajira ḍajr<sup>an</sup>*’).” 0

TABUΓ tapuy “Service (*xidma*’).” 0

N

batiγ

bičiy

bariy

basiγ

187

busuy

bošuy

bišiy

baqiy

G

bušuy

tapuy

TABUΓ tapuy “Obedience (*ṭā’a*’).” Thus :: TNKRY TABUΓY tānri tapuyi “Obedience to God (may He be exalted).”

TUTUΓ tutuy “Pledge or hostage (*rahn*’).” 0

tutuy

TUTUΓ tutuy “Demonic possession (*al-ixḍ wahwa s-sa’fa min al-jinn*’).” :: ’NK TUTUΓ BA’R anig tutuyi bār “He is possessed (*bihi sa’fa*’).”

TIDIΓ tiđiy “Restraint, prevention (*ḥažr*, *man’*)” from something. 0

tiđiy

TARIΓ tariγ The generic word for “cereal crops (*zar*’).” 0 TRΓ tariγ is “Wheat (*ḥinṭa*)” according to most of the Turks, but “millet (*duxn*)” according to the Oγuz. This latter is wrong. They [i.e., Oγuz] call “wheat”: ’AŠLIQ ašliq. 0

tariγ

D

TURUIΓ turiγ “Mountain stronghold (*wazar* [defined]).” 0

turiγ

TURUΓ\_ toruy A word used to designate “horses (*xayl*’).” :: BUV ’UΓL’NIG BIYR·TURUΓ\_QA’ ’ALDIM bu oγlāniy bīr toruyqa aldim “I bought this slave for a horse (*faras*’).” By extension it may also designate camels or cattle. :: TURIUΓ ’ĀT toruy āt “A bay (*kumayt*) horse.” 0

toruy

TURIΓ ’AR·T TIYZ turiγ art tēz Name of a summer pasture (*muşṭāf*) in Kāšγar. 0

turiγ N

JAWIΓ čawiy “Whip lash (*adaba as-sawṭ*’).” 0

čawiy

[I. 312/374]

188

SABIΓ sapiγ “Tent skirt (*kisr al-xibā*’).” 0

sapiγ

SATIΓ satiγ “Selling (*mubāya’a*’).” 0

satiγ

SIDIΓ siđiy “One of the two skirts of a robe, from the thighs up to the collar (*aḥad ḍaylay al-qabā’ ilā t-talbīb min al-jaṇbayn*’).” Thus :: SIDIΓ YABIYB·<sup>1</sup> ’UL·TURDIY siđiy yapip olturdi “He drew together the two skirts of his gown and sat down” — this act is indicative of good breeding. 0

siđiy

SIDIΓ siđiy “Tooth-gaps between the gums (*furaj al-asnān bayn al-liṭāt*’).” One says to a person whom one is asking to keep a secret: BUV SUVZ·NIY SIDIΓDIN·SIZIT·MA’ bu sōzni siđiydin sizitma 0 “Don’t let this word seep out between the gaps of your teeth” — i.e. don’t reveal it. 0

SARIΓ sariγ “Yellow (*aşfar*)” of anything. One calls “bright yellow (*aşfar fāqi*’): SAB·SARIΓ\_ sap sariγ. 0 “Yellow bile (*al-mirra al-şafra*’)” is called simply: SARIΓ\_ sariγ. SARIΓ SUVW sariγ sūw is “the yellow water that collects in the belly (*aş-şufār fī l-baṭn*’).” 0 :: SARIΓ SURIΓ sariγ suriy — a paired expression — “Yellow (*aşfar*’).” 0

sariγ

188 1. Dots of first B and second Y in brown ink.

SURUΓ soruγ “Seeking a stray (*nišdān aq-ḏālla*).” :: SURUΓ QIYL·DIY soruγ qildi  
“He sought a stray.” 0

JALIΓ čaliγ also means “Seeking a stray”; also, “the urgent news which one of the emirs  
sends out to the populace, both settled and nomadic, calling them to him (*yab‘atūna l-xabar . . .*  
*li-ya‘tūhu*).” 0

QABUΓ qapuγ “Door or gate (*bāb*).” 0

QATIΓ qatiγ “Hard (*šalb*)” of anything. 0

QADIIΓ qadiγ “Reinforced needlework (*xiyāta mu‘akkada*).”

QUḌUΓ quḏuγ “Well (*bi‘r*).” Proverb: QUḌUΓDA’ SUVW BA’R ‘IT· BURNY TKM’S  
quḏuγda sūw bār, it burni tāgmās 0 “There’s water in the well but the dog’s nose won’t reach  
it.” This is coined about one who wants something but cannot get it, or one who sees someone  
else’s food and desires it but cannot get at it. 0

QIDIΓ qidiγ The “shore or bank (*jānib*)” of a sea, canal, or river; also the “rim (*ḥitār*)”<sup>2</sup>  
of anything. :: ‘ARIQ QIDIΓY ariq qidiγi “The bank (*šatṭ*) of a canal.” :: ‘AYAQ QIDIΓY ayaq  
qidiγi “Rim (*šafīr*) of a bowl.” YA’R· QIDIΓY yār qidiγi “Brink (*šafā*) of a chasm.” 0

QURUΓ ‘AW quruγ äw “A house that is empty (*xālī*)” of people or of furniture. ::  
QURUΓ ‘UL·MA’ quruγ olma “A dry (*yābisa*) jar.” The root-meaning here is that any container  
that is “empty (*iḏa xalā ‘ammā fihi*)” is called: QURUΓ quruγ 0 QURUΓ quruγ “Dry (*yābis*)”  
of anything.

[I. 313/375]

The previous word goes back to this one.

QURIΓ qoriγ “The protected place or reserve (*ḥimā*)” of emirs or others. Any “enclosed  
place (*makān mahūz*)” is called: QURIΓ qoriγ.

QASIΓ qasiγ “Hollow of the mouth on either side (*šahr* [defined]).” 0

QISIΓ qisiγ “Confinement (*ḥabs, ḏīq*).” :: ‘UL BAK QISIΓIN·DA’ QAL·DIY ol beg  
qisiγinda qaldi “He remained in the emir’s custody (*ḥabs*) and claim (*muḏālabā*) over a matter.” 0

QUSIΓ qusiγ “Vomiting (*quyā*).” :: ‘ANY QUSIΓ TUṬIY ani qusiγ tutti “He had a  
fit of vomiting.” 0

QUŠUΓ qošuγ “Poem, ballad, ode (*ši‘r, rajaz, qašā‘id*).”

Verse:

soruγ

čaliγ

qapuγ

qatiγ

qadiγ

quḏuγ

P

qidiγ

quruγ

189

qoriγ

qasiγ

qisiγ

qusiγ

qošuγ

TARKAN· QATUN QUTIYNK’  
TAKUR MINDIN QUŠUΓ  
‘AY·ΓIL SIZINK TABUΓIY  
‘UTNUR YANKY TABUΓ

tärkän qatun quṭiṅa  
tägür mindin qošuγ  
ayγil siziṅ tapuγči  
ötnür yaṅj tapuγ

V

“Convey an ode from me to the Khātūn, the queen, and say: ‘Your servant presents you with a  
new act of service.’” 0

QAQIΓ qaqiγ “Anger, spite (*yaḏab, murāyama*).” Thus :: MAN ‘ANIK QAQIΓIN·DA’  
BUV ‘IYŠ QILDIM män anig qaqiγinda bu iš qildim “I did this to spite him (*raγmanlahu*).” 0

qaqiγ

QAMUΓ qamuγ A particle meaning “all” (*kull*). Thus :: QAMUΓ KIŠY TUṬVZ ‘AR·  
MA‘S· qamuγ kiši tüz ärmās “Not all men are equal.”

qamuγ

QANIΓ qaniγ “Joy (*aryaḥiyya*).”

Verse:

qaniγ

TUTJY YAĞAR· BULYTY  
‘AL·TUN TAMR· ‘ARIΓ  
‘QSA· ‘NINK ‘QYNY  
QANDIY MANIK QANIΓ

tutči yağar buliti  
altun tamar ariγ  
aqsa aniṅ aqini  
qandi mänig qaniγ

V

Describing the bounty of the queen: “The cloud of her (bounty) rains down pure gold; should  
her flood flow (upon me my happiness (*našāt*) would be perfect and) I would overflow with joy  
(*surūr*).”

Q

BUTIQ butiq “Branch (*γušn, šu‘ba*)” of anything. 0

butiq

BTIQ butiq “A small water-skin (*qirba šaγīra*)”; Kāšγar dialect. 0 BTUIQ<sup>1</sup> butiq  
“A container (*qirba*)” made from the skin of a horse’s leg, used to keep koumiss, etc. 0

D

BUTAIQ butaq “Branch (*γušn*),” also; in one variant. The vowel with the *tā*’ is either  
*našb* [a] or *kasr* [i].

butaq

Verse:

D

KIM· ‘AYIB· ‘IŠTUR QULA‘Q  
‘AY· ‘AWIY ‘AR·TUJ BUTA‘Q

kim ayip eštür qulāq  
ay äwi artuč butāq

V

“Which ear heard, and who

[I. 315/377]

190

said, that the house of the moon was a juniper branch?” He is describing a girl and compares her  
face to [the halo of] the moon and her stature to the branch [of the juniper]. 0

2. MS. *ḥiyāz*.

189 1. U (brown) changed from A (black).

BJUQ **bičuq** “Cut off (*maqṭū'*)” of anything. Thus “half (*niṣf*)” of anything is called: BJUQ **bičuq**. :: BJUQ YARMA'Q **bičuq yarmāq** “Half a dirham.” 0

BIDIQ **bidīq** “Mustache (*sabala*).” 0

BARAQ **baraq** “A shaggy dog (*kalb ahlab*).” The Turks claim that when the vulture grows old it lays two eggs, then hatches them; from one of them emerges this dog called: BARAQ **baraq**. It is the swiftest running of dogs and the most reliable in hunting. From the other emerges a chick, the last of its chicks. 0

YURIQ<sup>1</sup> **bariq** “Behavior, conduct with people (*as-sīra wa-l-iṣra ma'a n-nās*).” :: BAK YURIQY<sup>1</sup> NATK **beg bariqi nātāg** “How does the emir conduct himself?” 0

BIRUQ **biruq** Name for the one who specifies the stations of courtiers (*allaḍī yunzilu l-akābira fī marātibihim 'ind al-malik*). Its root-form is: BUY'RUQ **buyruq** which means “Command (*amr*),” since he commands them to do this. 0

BUZUQ 'AW' **bozuq āw** “Ruined (*munhadim*) house.” Likewise, anything “broken or ruined (*maksūr munhadim*)” is: BUZUQ **bozuq**.

BAŠAQ **bašaq** “Head (*naṣl*) of an arrow; point (*sinān*) of a spear.” 0

BAŠAQ **bašaq** “Slipper (*mik'ab*)”; Čigil dialect. The Oγuz and Qifčaq add *mīm* and say: BAŠ'MAQ' **bašmaq**. This type of augment is permitted also in Arabic; one says *tamadra'at al-mar'a* (“the woman put on a shift”) – its root is *tadarrā'at* from *ad-dir'* (“shift”). 0 One says *tamaskana r-rajul* (“the man became quiet”) – its root is *tasakkana* from *as-sukūn* (“quiet”). 0

BUŠAQ 'AR' **bušaq ār** “Annoyed (*ḍajūr*) man.” Dialect of Oγuz et al. 0

BIŠIQ 'AT' **bišiq āt** “Cooked (*maṭbūx*) meat (or other).” Yaγma dialect for: BAŠIQ [sic] **bišiq**. 0

BALIQ **balīq** “Fish (*samak*).” Proverb: BALIQ SUWDA' KVZIY TAŠ'TIN **balīq suwda kōzi taštīn** 0 “The fish is in the water but his eye is out.” This is coined about one who appears to be unaware of something while he is actually aware of it. 0

BALIQ **balīq** “Mud (*ṭīn*)”; Arγu dialect. Part of Oγuz and part of Arγu say: BA'L'IQ' **bālīq** with three unvowelled consonants in a row. In Turkic only two unvowelled consonants in a row are found; the Arγu slur their speech. 0

BALIQ **balīq** “Fortress (*ḥiṣn*), city (*madīna*),” in the dialect of the heathens (*al-jāhiliyya al-juhalā'*) and of Uighur. From this comes the name: BIYŠ BALIQ' **bēš balīq** – (the largest city of Uighur) – meaning:

190 1. One of two dots of Y in brown ink; U changed from A (? – unclear).

[I. 317/379]

“Five cities (*xams bilād*). Another city of theirs is called: YANKIY BALIQ **yañi balīq** meaning: “New city (*balda jadīda*).” 0

BULAQ 'AT' **bulaq at** “Broad-backed (*adakk*) horse.” 0 BULAQ **bulaq** A tribe (*ḡīl*) of the Turks. The Qifčaq took them captive, then God (may He be exalted) caused them to be released, and they came to be called: 'ALKA' BULA'Q **ālkā bulāq**. The vowel is long or short. 0

BAMUQ **bamuq** “Cotton (*quṭn*).” Oγuz dialect. 0

TUBIQ **topiq** “Ball (*kura*)” that is hit with a 'stick. :: TUBIQ SUNKVK **topiq sūṅūk** – “Meat bone (*al-kurdūs min aṭ-ṭa'ām*).” 0

TUTUQ **tutuq** “Gelding, eunuch (*xaṣī, majbūb*).” 0

TURUQ **turuq** “Emaciated (*mahzūl*)” of anything.

'ARUQ TURUQ **aruq turuq** Name of a pass (*'aqaba*) between Kāšγar and Farγāna. 0

TUZAQ **tuzaq** “Snare, trap (*faxx, ḥibāla*)” for hunting.

Verse: **tuzaq**

'IK'LADY MA'NIK 'DA'Q  
KURMAḌIB 'UḠRY TUZ'Q  
'IKLADIM 'ANDIN 'UZA'Q  
'AM'LAKIL 'AM'DY TUZA'Q

iklādi mānig aḍāq  
kōrmāḍip oγri tuzāq  
iglādim andin uzāq  
āmlāgil amdi tuzāq

V

“My foot accidentally trod upon a snare hidden in the ground, and it has been in agony a long time because of it; therefore heal me, my charming one (*malīḥa*)!”

TUZAQ **tuzaq** An utterance which a man uses in praising the charm (*istamlaḥa*) of his beloved; it is fixed with *yā'*: TUZAQIY **tuzaqi**. 0

TAŠAQ' **tašaq** “Testicle (*xuṣya*).” “The penis (*ḍakar*)” is also called: TAŠAQ **tašaq** because of the close connection between the two. 0

TUTUQ **tutuq** A man's name.

tutuq N

TANUQ **tanuq** “Witness (*šāhid*).”

tanuq

JABAQ **čapaq** Name of a type of fish. They are small and are found in the lake of the Turks. “A puny (*naḍl*) man” is likened to them and called: JABAQ 'AR' **čapaq ār**. 0

čapaq

JIBIQ **čipiq** “A tender branch (*qaḍīb raṭb*).” 0

čipiq

JUJUQ **čočuq** “Suckling pig (*xannūš*).”

čočuq

JARUQ **čaruq** “Sandal (*ḥiḍā'*).” Proverb: YD'Γ 'TY JARUQ KUVJY 'AZUQ **yaḍāγ ati čaruq kūči azuq** 0 “The footman's horse is a sandal, his strength is provisions.” Coined to

čaruq P

advise a person to outfit himself with these two things so that he does not go barefoot or become weak.

JARUQ **čaruq** A tribe of the Turks. They inhabit: BARJUQ **barčuq** the city of Afrāsi-yāb, in which he imprisoned: B̄TZAN [sic] **bīzan** son of Nebuchadnezzar. 0

JULUQ **čoluq** “One-armed (*aqṭa*).” 0

JULIQ **čuliq** A spotted water bird the size of a ring-dove. 0

JUMAQ **čomaq** “Stick or cudgel (*aṣā*).” 0 JUMAQ **čomaq** “Muslim (*muslim*)” – according to the Uighur and all the Infidels. :: JUMAQ 'ARIY **čomaq äri** “A man of the Muslims.”

[I. 319/381]

JANAQ **čanaq** “A turned piece of wood (*al-maxrūṭ min al-xaṣab*)” such as a salt-container, or the like. 0

JANAQ **čanaq** “Wooden bowl (*qaṣ'a*).” Oḡuz dialect.

SAJUVQ NA'NK **sačūq nāñ** “Something scattered (*manṭūr*).” 0

SUDUQ **suduq** “Spittle (*buzāq*).” 0

SIURUQ **siruq** “Tent pole (*ṣaqb* [defined]).”

SASIQ **sasiq** “Earthenware (*xazaf*).” Dialect of Uč and environs.

SUSI'QU **susaq** “Bucket (*dalw*).” In a certain dialect which I have heard. 0

QABAQ **qapaq** “Eyelid (*jafn al-'ayn*).” :: KUVZ QABAQIY **kōz qapaqi**. 0

QABAQ **qabaq** “Gourd (*dubbā*).” It is the squash (*qar'*) which is eaten when fresh.

0

QABQ **qapaq** “Virginity (*uḍra al-'aḍrā*).” :: QIYZ QABAQIY<sup>1</sup> SIYDIY **qiz qapaqi sīdi** “He deflowered the maiden (*iqtaḍḍa l-jāriya*).” 0

QATIQ **qatiq** “A condiment (*ṣibḡ*) that is added to Tutmāč,” such as vinegar or churned milk. 0 QATIQ **qatiq** “something mixed (*mizāj*)” in anything. 0

:: BIYR' QUJAQ BUVZ **bīr qučaq bōz** “A bundle (*iḍbāra*) of cloth (or other).” 0

QADIQ **qadiq** “A hollowed-out piece of wood (*naqīr al-xaṣab*).” Arḡu dialect. 0 **qadiq D**

QARAQ **qaraq** “Eyeball (*muqla*).” QAR' QARAQ **qara qaraq** “The black part of the eye (*sawād al-'ayn*).” 0 'RUNK QARAQ **ürünq qaraq** “The white of the eye (*bayāḍ al-'ayn*).” 'UVT' QARAQ **üt qaraq** “The pupil of the eye (*nāzir al-'ayn*).” 0 **qaraq**

QIRUQ 'AR' **qiruq är** “A disabled (*ašall*) man.” :: QIRUQ 'DAQ **qiruq aḍaq** “A lame (*a'sam*) foot.”<sup>2</sup> 0 **qiruq**

QAZUQ 'ARIQ **qazuq ariq** “A canal (or other) that is dug out (*maḥfūr*).” 0 **qazuq**

QASUQ **qasuq** A thing like a water-skin (*rāwiya*) made of horse-hide, used to keep milk or koumiss. **qasuq**

QASUQ **qasuq** “Bark (*liḥā*) of a tree.” Its root is QA'S' **qās** – the *qāf* is an augment. 0

QUSIQ **qusiq** “Hazel (*jillawz*).” This is used as a name for slave-girls. **qusiq N**

QAŠAQ **qašaq** “Alfa (*ḥalfā*).” 0 **qašaq**

QAŠUQ **qašuq** “Spoon (*mil'aqa*).” Proverb: QURUQ QAŠUQ 'AḠIZ'QA' YARAMA'S' QURUQ' SUVZ QULA'QA' YAQIŠMA'S' **quruq qašuq aḡizqa yaramās, quruq sōz qulāqqa yaqiš-mās** 0 “A dry spoon does not fit the mouth, vain speech does not approach the ear.” This is coined to advise someone to favor<sup>3</sup> the person who has what he needs. **qašuq P**

QAWAQ 'AR'T **qawaq art** Name of a pass (*'aqaba*) between Kāšḡar and Özjänd. 0 **qawaq N**

QUWUQ NA'NK **qowuq nāñ** “Anything hollow (*ajwaf*).” **qowuq**

QAWUQ **qawuq** “Bladder (*maṭāna*).” 0 **qawuq**

QAWIQ **qawiq** “Millet bran (*nuxāla al-jāwars wa-d-duxn*).” 0 **qawiq**

QALIQ **qaliq** “Air (*hawā*).” 0 **qaliq**

QULAQ **qulaq** “Ear (*uḍun*).” Some say: QUL'XA'Q **qulxāq**, and some say: QUL'QA'Q **qulqāq**, but the first is the most correct. 0 **qulaq D**

[I. 320/383]

QULAQ' TUVN **qulaq tōn** “A short-sleeved (*qāšir al-kummayn*) garment.” 0

QILIQ **qiliq** “Behavior, conduct with people (*as-sīra wa-l-'išra ma'a n-nās*).” The *lām* may be unvowelled, thus QIL'Q' **qilq**. **qiliq**

2. MS. *rajul*, read *rijl*; or else **qiruq aḍaqliq** “A lame man.”

3. MS. *an-nayl ilā*, read *al-mayl ilā* (?).

QUMQ **qumuq** Name of an emir with whom I associated for a time. 0 QUMQ **qumuq qumuq** N  
 “Dung (*rawt*),” especially of horses. 0

QANAQ **qanaq** “The pellicle on milk (*duwāya*.)” Dialect of Arḡu and Bulḡār. The *nūn* **qanaq** D  
 is changed from *yā*’ [i.e. 518 **qayaq**].

QUNUQ **qonuq** “Guest (*ḡayf*.)” Verse [=55 **oyuq**]: **qonuq**

BAR·DIY ’ARAN QUNQ BULB· QUT·QA’ SQ’R V  
 QALDY ’ALIF ’YUQ KRUB ’AW·NIY YIQA’R  
**bardi ārān qonuq bulup qutqa saqār**  
**qaldi aliy oyuq körüp āwni yiqār**

“Gone are those who reckoned a guest as good fortune; remaining are those who tear down the tents when they see a scarecrow (lest he wish to camp with them).” 0

QUNAQ **qonaq** “Coarse millet (*jāwars*.)” 0 Proverb: QUNAQ BAŠY SAD·RAKY **qonaq**  
 YYK **qonaq baši sādrāki yēg** “An ear of millet is better the fewer seeds it has” — since if the seeds  
 are few they are firm and large, while if they are many they are thin and small. This is coined  
 about one who prefers small company 0 so that he may attain his desire and authority.

## K

BITIK **bitig** “Book (*kitāb*.)” 0 BTIK **bitig** “Writing (*kitāba*.)” Also the verbal  
 noun; thus :: ’NIK BITKY BALKUVLK **anig bitigi bālgūlūg** “His writing is clear.” 0 BTIK  
**bitig** “Amulet (*ūdā*)” — Oḡuz dialect. 0

BJAK **bičāk** “Knife (*sikkīn*.)” Proverb: NAJ’ YITIG BIJA’K ’AR·SA’ ’VZI SA’BIN  
 YUNUVMA’S **nāčā yitig bičāk ārsā ōz sāpin yonūmās** 0 “No matter how sharp the knife is it  
 cannot cut its own handle.” This is coined about one who is clever at solving other people’s prob-  
 lems but is unable to solve his own. 0

BADUK **bādük** “Big (*kabīr*),” of anything. :: BADUK· TAIWAIY<sup>1</sup> **bādük tewe** “A big  
 camel.” 0

BURUQ· **bürük** “A string that is drawn around (*xayt mudawwar*),” such as the loop of a  
 bag or the belt of trousers. 0

BAZAK **bāzāk** “Painting or decoration (*naqš*.)” A variant [cf. 207 **bāzāk**].

BZIK<sup>2</sup> **bāzig** “Shivering (*ri’da*.)” Thus :: ’L BAZAK<sup>2</sup> BZDIY<sup>2</sup> **ol bāzig bāzdi** “He  
 shivered.” 0

193 1. All vowels except the first by a later hand (? — black ink).

2. Dot of B in brown ink.

:: ’L QULIN BUSK BUSDY **ol qulin bōsiḡ bōsdi** “(He laid an ambush;<sup>3</sup> also,) he gave  
 [his slave] a beating (*ḡirāb*.)” 0

BULK **bölük** “Group (*tā’ifa*),” of any kind of animal. Thus :: BYR BULK QUVY·  
**bīr bōlük qōy** “A herd (*qaṭī*) of sheep.” 0

[I. 322/385] 194

:: BIYR BULUK KIŠIY **bīr bōlük kiši** “A group (*tā’ifa*) of people.” This is a collective noun, like  
*al-qawm* (“people”) and *al-ibil* (“camels”). 0

BILAK **bilāk** “Wrist (*mi’šam al-yad*.)” 0 **bilāk**

BALAK **beläg** “Gift (*hadiyya*)” which a traveller brings his relatives, or which is sent  
 from one spot to another. 0 **beläg**

BALIK **bilik** “Wick of a lamp (*fatīla as-sirāj*.)” 0 **bilik**

BLIK **bilik** “Probe for wounds (*misbār*.)” 0

BILIK **bilig** “Knowledge (*ilm*.)” Thus :: BILIK ’UK·RAN **bilig ögrän** “Learn knowl-  
 edge.” 0 BILIK **bilig** “Wisdom (*ḡikma*.)” Hence :: ’UZ’QIY BILKA’LA’R **ozāqi bilgālār** “The  
 sages of old (*al-ḡukamā’ al-mutaqaddimūn*.)” 0 BILIK **bilig** “Understanding (*aql*.)” Proverb:  
 ’UḡLA’N BILIK SIYZ· **oḡlān biligsiz** “There is no understanding in babies.” 0 **bilig**

BANK<sup>1</sup> **bänäk** “Seed of grain (*ḡabba*.)” Arḡu dialect; in some other dialects (*wa-fī*  
*ba’ḡ al-luḡa*) BNAL [sic] **bänäk** is “Penny (*fals*.)” **bänäk** D

TABUK **täpük** [Football] Something fashioned from lead in the shape of a spindle-  
 whorl, then wound with goat’s-hair or the like. Boys play with it by kicking (*rakl*).

:: ’UL QULIN TABIK TAB·DY **ol qulin täpig täpdi** “He gave his slave a kick (*rakla*.)” 0 **täpig**

:: BA’Š TITK TITY **bāš titig titti** “The wound throbbed with pain (*amaḡḡa ayya imḡāḡ*.)” **titig**

This [structure] is only used for emphasis. Example: ’UL ’ARIK ’RUF ’UR·DY **ol ārig**  
**uruḡ urdi** “He struck the man hard (*ḡaraba . . . ḡarban ’ayya ḡarb*.)” :: ’UL QIḡ QJDY **ol qačiy**  
**qačdi** “He fled quite away (*firār*.)” 0

TUTAK **tütäk** “Spout (*ḡunbūr*)” of an urn, or the like. **tütäk**

TITIK **titig** “Clay (*tīn*.)” 0 **titig**

3. *ittaxaḡa l-kamīn* — confusion (?) with 187 **busuḡ**.

194 1. K changed to G (three dots in brown ink).



TIRIK <b>tirig</b> “Living ( <i>ḥayy</i> ),” of an animal.	<b>tirig</b>
TAZAK <b>tāzāk</b> “Horse dung ( <i>rawṭ al-faras</i> ).”	Proverb: <b>tāzāk</b>
TAZAK QA'RDA' YTM'S 'ḌKV 'YSYZ QATM'S	<b>tāzāk qārda yatmās</b> <b>ädgü esiz qatmās</b>
“Dung does not remain beneath snow (because of its heat it melts the snow; similarly,) one must not mix the good with the bad (since they are not alike).”	P
TAZIK <b>tāzig</b> “Panic, flight ( <i>an-nifār bayn al-qawm</i> ).” :: TAZIK: KIŠY <b>tāzig kiši</b> “One who flees ( <i>naḥūr</i> ) from something.” 0	<b>tāzig</b>
TIZIK <b>tizig</b> “Row ( <i>ṣaff</i> )” of anything. :: TZIK TZIK [sic] <b>tizig terāk</b> “A row of poplars ( <i>ṣaff min al-ḥawr</i> ).” :: BYR TIZK YNJUV <b>bīr tizig yinčü</b> “A string ( <i>naẓm</i> ) of pearls.” 0	<b>tizig</b>
TAŽIK <b>tažik</b> “Persian ( <i>fārisī</i> )” – with <i>zāy</i> <sup>2</sup> between the two points of articulation. 0	<b>tažik</b>
TAŠUK <b>tāšük</b> “Ruptured in the scrotum ( <i>āḍar</i> ).”	<b>tāšük</b>
[I. 324/387]	195
Proverb: TAŠUK SUWDA' BALKURA'R <b>tāšük suwda bālgürār</b> 0 “A man's rupture is noticed only when he bathes.” 0 This is coined about one who does something that he boasts of, so people say, “We'll see whether it's good or not when you reveal it.” 0	P
TAŠIK <b>tāšik</b> “A glutton ( <i>manḥūm</i> )” – one whose eyes are bigger than his stomach. 0	<b>tāšik</b>
“A sluggard ( <i>sāqiṭ kaslān</i> )” is called: TUŠUK KIŠIY <b>tüšük kiši</b> .	<b>tüšük</b>
TUŠAK <b>töšäk</b> “Bedding ( <i>firāš</i> ).” 0	<b>töšäk</b>
TIŠAK <b>tišäk</b> “A two-year old sheep ( <i>aṭ-ṭanī min al-ḡanam</i> ).” 0	<b>tišäk</b>
TULAK: <b>töläk</b> “Tranquil, quiet ( <i>muṭma'inn sākin</i> ).” Proverb: 'AJ' 'IYWAK TUQ	<b>töläk</b>
TULAK: <b>ač ewäk toq töläk</b> 0 “The hungry one is hasty (for food), the full one is tranquil” – he is not bothered if dinner is late. Oḡuz dialect.	P
TULAK <b>tüläk</b> “The season in which animals shed their winter coat ( <i>waqt 'isqāṭ ad-dawābb 'aqā'iqahā</i> ).” :: 'UL QVY' TULA'KINDA' KAL'DY ol <b>qōy tülākındä kälđi</b> “He came during the season when sheep shed their winter coat.” 0	D
TALIK <b>tälik</b> “Hole ( <i>ṭaqb</i> ).” 0	<b>tälik</b>

2. z changed to ž (two dots in brown ink).

TUWK <b>tüwäk</b> [Blowgun] made by removing the bark from a tender willow branch. It is like a trumpet ( <i>šabbūr</i> ). It is used to shoot at small birds, using hazelnuts or pellets ( <i>banādiq</i> ). It can also be made from reed. Čigil dialect. 0	<b>tüwäk</b>
JUBAK <b>čüpäk</b> “Baby's penis ( <i>fayšala aš-šabi</i> ).” 0	<b>čüpäk</b>
JIBAK QARĠVY <b>čipäk qarḡyü</b> “Sparrow-hawk ( <i>yu'yu</i> ).”	<b>čipäk</b>
JATUK <b>čätük</b> “She-cat ( <i>hirra</i> ).” Oḡuz dialect. 0 KVK JATK <b>küvük čätük</b> “He-cat ( <i>ḍaywan</i> ).	<b>čätük</b> D
JAJAK <b>čečäk</b> “Flower, blossom ( <i>nawr, zahr</i> ).” 0	<b>čečäk</b>
JKAK <b>čečäk</b> “Measles ( <i>ḥašba</i> ).” Čigil dialect. 0	D
JARIK <b>čäriḡ</b> “Battle line ( <i>ṣaff al-ḥarb</i> ).” 0 Proverb: 'AL'B' JARIK'DA' BIL'KA' TAIYRIK'DA' alp <b>čäriḡdä bilḡä tēriḡdä</b> “The hero (is tried) in battle (‘when the fuel of war is kindled’), <sup>1</sup> the sage (is tried) in council.” 0	<b>čäriḡ</b> P
JARIK <b>čäriḡ</b> “Opposite side ( <i>qubāla</i> )” of anything, in Oḡuz dialect; “time ( <i>waqt</i> )” of anything.	D
JURAK: <b>čöräk</b> “Flat bread ( <i>qurs</i> ).”	<b>čöräk</b>
One says, as a call for kids ( <i>fī du'ā' al-jady</i> ): JLIK JLIK <b>čilik čilik</b> . 0	<b>čilik</b>
JUNK <b>čünük</b> “Plane tree ( <i>šajar ad-dulb</i> ).”	<b>čünük</b>
JUŠK <b>čüşäk</b> “Pasturage ( <i>ri'y</i> ).” Soḡd dialect.	<b>čüşäk</b> D
DULK <b>düläk</b> “Potsherd ( <i>xazaf a'šar</i> ), <sup>2</sup> such as a jar with a broken top. 0	<b>düläk</b>
SIBAK <b>sibäk</b> “Pivot of a hand-mill ( <i>quṭb ar-raḥā</i> ).” It is the piece of iron around which the millstone turns. 0	<b>sibäk</b>
[I. 325/389]	196
SIBAK <b>sibäk</b> “The reed ( <i>qašab</i> ) which is placed in a baby's cradle as a urinal ( <i>li-yabūla fihi</i> ).” 0	
SIDUK <b>sidük</b> “Urine ( <i>bawl</i> )” of any kind.	<b>sidük</b>

195 1. *iḍā šubba ḍirāmuhā* – a quotation from the Mu'allaqa of Labīd.  
2. MS. *a'šā*.

SIDIK sidig “One of the two skirts of a robe ( <i>aḥad jānibay al-qabā’ min al-jānibayn</i> ).” This form is better than: SIDIG sidig [188]. 0	sidig
SURUK <sub>2</sub> sürüg Any “herd ( <i>qaṭī’</i> )” of cattle. :: BIYR <sub>2</sub> SURUK QU <sub>2</sub> VY <sub>2</sub> bīr sürüg qōy “A flock ( <i>qaṭī’</i> ) of sheep.” Verse:	sürüg
’UKUR SURUK QVY <sub>2</sub> TAWY YUNDIY BILA’ YUMURLAYUV ’R <sub>2</sub> KANN SUVTIN SAΓA’R ögür sürüg qōy tewe yondi bilä yumurlayu erkānin sūtin saγār	V
“(He who is blessed with) herds of sheep, camels, and horses should gather them [early] to milk (and profit therefrom).”	
SUZUK SUVW <sup>1</sup> süzük sūw “Clear blue ( <i>azraq šāfi</i> ) water” Anything “clear ( <i>šāfi</i> ),” such as a ruby, is: SUZUK süzük. 0	süzük
Anything “that is loosed from its bond ( <i>ḥulla min waṭāqihī</i> )” is called: SAŠUK säšük. :: SAŠUK ’ĀT säšük āt “A horse set free ( <i>muṭlaq</i> ) from its tether.” 0	säschük
SAWUK NA’NK säwük nān “Something loved ( <i>maḥbūb</i> ).” 0	säwük
SILIK ’AR <sub>2</sub> silig är “A man who is graceful ( <i>zarīf</i> ), clean ( <i>naqī</i> ), handsome ( <i>ḥasan</i> ) and fine-spoken ( <i>laṭīf al-kalām</i> ).” 0	silig
ŠUBIÜK šöpik “The remainder of a fruit which is discarded after eating ( <i>šamāj</i> [de- fined]).” The šīn is an alternant of jīm [i.e. čöpik]. 0	šöpik D
ŠUTUK šütük “Inkstand ( <i>dawāt</i> )” made from the horn of an ox, or other. :: ŠUTUK <sup>2</sup> SAQA’L šütük saqāl “Scanty-bearded ( <i>kawsaj</i> )” – as likened to an inkstand. 0	šütük
“A plane tree ( <i>dulb</i> )” is called: ŠUNUK šünük. The šīn is an alternant of jīm [i.e. 195 čünük]. 0	šünük D
KABAK kápäk “Bran ( <i>nuxāla</i> ).” 0 KABAK YNJV kápäk yinčü “Small pearls ( <i>lu’lu’</i> <i>šayir</i> ).” 0 KABAK kápäk “Scurf ( <i>ḥazāza ar-ra’s</i> ).” 0	kápäk
KUBÜIK köpük “Foam ( <i>zabad al-mā</i> ).” 0 KUBUK köpük “Overflow of a kettle ( <i>tuḫāḥa al-qidr</i> ).” 0	köpük
KAJIK káčig “Ford ( <i>ma’bar</i> ).” Proverb [=528 qayin-]: QAY’NA’R ’UKUZ KAJIK SIYZ BULMA’S <sub>2</sub> qaynār ögüz káčigsiz bolmās “There is no rushing river that is without a ford.” This is coined about a perplexing problem of which one says, “There must be a way out.” 0	káčig P

- 196 1. W changed from F (two dots in brown ink).  
2. Second U (brown) changed from A (black).

KJK köčük “The fatty tail (of a sheep); buttocks (of a man) ( <i>al-alyatān wa-riḍf al- insān</i> ).” 0	köčük
KIJIK kičig “Small ( <i>šayir</i> )” of anything. 0	kičig
KADUK kädük “Felt cap ( <i>lubbāda</i> ).” KADUK kädük “Feather head-dress ( <i>al-γifāra</i> [I. 327/390] <i>min ar-rīš</i> )” – since it resembles a felt cap.	kädük 197
“Toil and work ( <i>aš-šubl wa-l-’amal</i> )” is called: ’YŠ KUḌUK is ködüg. 0 KUDUK ködüg is never used alone but only in this paired expression. 0	ködüg
KARAK kāräk A particle meaning “necessary ( <i>yanbaγī</i> ).” It is used as the answer to one who says: KARAK’MUV kāräk mü “Is it necessary? ( <i>a-yanbaγī</i> ).” The answer is: KARAK <sub>2</sub> kāräk meaning: “Yes it is ( <i>balā</i> ).” <sup>1</sup> 0	kāräk
KURUK körük “Smith’s bellows ( <i>ḥimlūj, minfāx al-ḥaddād</i> ).” 0	körük
KUZK küziük In a loom, “the knotted threads ( <i>al-xuyūṭ al-mun’aqida ba’duha ‘alā ba’d</i> ) by which the upper warp is separated from the lower.” Also for one who weaves brocade ( <i>nāsij ad-dibāj</i> ), or other. 0	küziük
KAZIK kázik “Fever and chills ( <i>al-ḥummā allatī ta’xuḍu l-insān bi-ra’da</i> ).” :: SARIF KAZIK sariγ kázik “Jaundice ( <i>yaraqān</i> ).”	kázik
KAZIK kázig “A turn” in work ( <i>an-nawba fī l-’amal</i> ). Thus :: SANIK KA <sub>2</sub> ZI <sub>2</sub> YK <sub>2</sub> IN <sub>2</sub> K <sup>2</sup> KAL’DIY sānig kázigīn kaldi “Your turn has come.” 0	kázig
KAZIK kázig “Courage ( <i>jur’a</i> ).” :: BV ’YŠTA’ SANK’ KAZIK KARA’K <sub>2</sub> bu išta saṅa kázig kāräk “You must have courage in this matter.” Its meaning is the first (? <i>wa-ma’nāhu al- awwal</i> ).	kázig
KUŽK küžäk “Lock or tuft of hair ( <i>al-quzza’a min aš-ša’r wa-š-šudγ</i> ).” Arγu dialect. 0 küžäk D	küžäk D
KASAK kāsäk “Piece ( <i>qit’a</i> )” of something. :: BYR KASAK ’UTM’K bīr kāsäk ötmäk “A piece of bread.” 0	kāsäk
KAWK kāwig – with the thin <i>kāf</i> – “Cartilage of the nose ( <i>γuḍrūf al-anf</i> ).”	kāwig
KUWK MUVŠ küwük müš “He-cat ( <i>ḍaywan</i> ).” Čigil dialect. 0	küwük D

- 197 1. MS. *balī, kasra* in brown ink.  
2. K changed to G (three dots in brown ink).

KULUQ N'NK kölük nāñ “Something borrowed ( <i>musta'ār</i> ).” 0	kölük
KULUQ kölük “Beast of burden ( <i>zahr</i> [defined]).” 0	
KAMK kāmāk “A fabric ( <i>nasīj</i> ) of cotton, embroidered and striped,” used for mantles and, by the Qifčāq, for raincoats. 0	kāmāk
KUNAK kōnāk “Leather bag ( <i>rakwa</i> ).” 0	kōnāk
MAŽK mǎžāk “Dog’s dung ( <i>ja'r al-kalb</i> )” – with the <i>zāy</i> <sup>3</sup> between the two points of articulation. :: 'IT MAŽKY it mǎžāki. 0	mǎžāk
NATAK nātäg An interrogative particle meaning “how? ( <i>kayfa</i> ).” Thus :: NATAK SAN nātäg sän “How are you?” 0	nātäg
NAJUK nǎčük A particle meaning “why? ( <i>lima</i> ).” Thus :: NAJUK BAR'DIYNK nǎčük bardīñ “Why did you go?” Yabāqu dialect.	nǎčük D
NALK nälük A particle with the same meaning as NAJUK nǎčük, among the rest of the Turks. It means “why? ( <i>lima</i> ).” 0	nälük D
NRAK nārāk A particle meaning “why is it necessary? ( <i>limādā yanbayī</i> ).” :: BV SANK' NRAK bu saña nārāk “Why is this necessary for you?” Its root-form is: NA' KARA'K nā kārāk, with some letters dropped.	nārāk
[I. 329/392]	198
L	
BJAL bičal “Uncircumcized ( <i>matkā</i> ),” of a woman; “castrated ( <i>amtan</i> )” of a man, horse, any animal. 0	bičal
BAŠIL QUVY bašil qōy “Sheep with a white spot on the head ( <i>aşqa'</i> ).” A variant [cf. 242 başyil]. 0	bašil D
BADAL 'R'T badal art Name of a pass ( <i>'aqaba</i> ) between Uč and Barsγān. It is steep ( <i>ka'ūd</i> ).	badal N
TSL tasal “The boundary ( <i>madā, ḥadd</i> )” that is set up in polo. It is a metathesis of: TALA'S talās – as, in Arabic, one says <i>mā fī al-arḍ 'alaq wa-la'aq</i> meaning “[there is no] pasture [in the land].” 0	tasal
TAKAL tǎgül – Oγuz dialect – “Not so ( <i>laysa kaḍālika</i> ).” It derives from the Arγu phrase: DA'Γ 'UL dāy ol. The <i>dāl</i> was changed to <i>tā</i> , the <i>γayn</i> to <i>kāf</i> , and the two <i>alifs</i> were dropped. 0	tǎgül D

3. *z* changed to *ẓ* (two dots in brown ink); MS. in error, *bi-zā bayn bayn*, read *bi-zāy bayn*.

:: 'UQ KYŠ 'JRA' JIGIL TIĞIL QILDY oq kēš ičrā čiyil tiyil qildi “The arrow made čiyil tiyil [such] a sound in the quiver,” or other.

JIKIL čigil Name for three groups (*ṭawā'if*) of the Turks.

čigil N

The first is a nomadic people (*qawm min ahl al-wabar*) inhabiting: QUYA'S qayās, a small district (*bulayda*) beyond Barsγān.

The second is a small district near Ṭarāz called: JIKIL čigil. It is the original referent of this name. Thus: When Dū-l Qarnayn came to the land of Arγu the clouds loosed their founts and the road became muddy, and this caused him great difficulty. He said in Persian: 'IYN JIKIL 'AŠ'T' Īn čigil ast meaning: “What is this mud (*mā ḥādā ṭ-ṭīm*) – there’s no escaping it!” So he ordered a building to be constructed in that spot, and they built the fortress (*ḥiṣn*) that is called: JKIL čigil to this day. The place was called by that name; then the Turks who settled there were called: JKILY<sup>1</sup> čigilī and this name spread after that. Now the Oγuz, since their lands bordered on this fortress, used to fight the Čigil continually – the enmity between the two peoples persists to the present – and so they called all Turks who dressed in the manner of the Čigil by that name. That is to say, the Oγuz called all the Turks from the Jayḥūn (Oxus) to Upper Šin: JKIL čigil – but this is an error.

The third is a group of villages (*qurā*) in Kāšγar

[I. 330/394]

199

called: JKIL čigil. They too have spread out from one place. 0

JMUL čömül A tribe (*jīl*) of the Turks. 0

čömül N

SUKAL sōkāl “Sick (*marīd*).” Oγuz dialect. 0

sōkāl D

SIGIL<sup>1</sup> sigil “Wart (*tu'lūl*).” 0

sigil

QZIL qizil “Red (*aḥmar*)” of anything.

Proverb [=453 yepün]: qizil P

QILNUV BLSA' QIZL KAD'R

qilnu bilsä qizil kädär

YARA'NUV BLSA' YAŠIL KAD'R

yarānu bilsä yašil kädär

“If (a woman) knows how to be good company she will wear red silk; if she is flattering and flirtatious she will wear green silk.” This is one of the women’s proverbs. It is coined as advice to be good company in order to get good things. 0

QIZIL qizil Name of a river (*wādī*) in Kāšγar.

Verse: N

198 1. There are two U’s in brown ink over the Y (indicate nunnation).

199 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.

QIZIL SARIG' R'QAŠIB' qizil sariy arqašip  
 YBKIN YAŠIL YUR'KAŠIB<sup>2</sup> yepgin yašil tergäšip (?)  
 BIR' BIR' KARUV YURKAŠIB' bir bir kerü yörgäšip  
 YALINKUQ' 'ANY TANK' LAŠUVR yalñuq ani tanñlašür

V

Describing spring: "The red and yellow (flowers and blossoms) are heaped up, the green and brown (basils) are [in rows (?) and] entwined upon one another; mankind is astonished." 0

KAWL 'AT' käwäl at "Fleet horse, courser (*faras rä'i' jawād*)."

käwäl

M

:: BYR BJIM QA'GUVN bīr bičim qāγūn "A slice (*šaṭba*) of melon." The same for something else.

bičim

BUĞIM boγim "Knuckle (*ašja'*)" of the finger. A "node (*anbūb*)" of reed or alfa is also called: BUĞIM<sup>3</sup> boγim. 0

boγim

BUKUM 'ATUK büküm ätük "Boot (*xuff*) worn by women." Oγuz dialect; others say: MUKIM mükim or: MUKIN mükim, changing the *bā'* to *mīm* and the final *mīm* to *nūn*. I think this is not genuine; 0 nevertheless, the Qifčāq and other crude peoples<sup>4</sup> use this word. 0

büküm

D

TARIM tārim The title by which one addresses princes (*takākīn*) and those princesses (*xawātīn*), and others, great or small, who descend from Afrāsiyāb. This term is used only for the sons of the Khāqānī kings, and for no one else, however great. One says 'ALTUN TARIM' altun tārim when addressing princesses. 0

tārim

N

TARIM tarim "River channels (*a'dād al-awdiya*) that flow into swamps and quicksand."

tarim

TARIM tarim Name of a place (*mawđi'*) on the frontier of Uighur near Kuča. It is called: 'S'MY<sup>5</sup> TARIM üsmi tarim and there is a river (*wādī*) flowing in it

N

[I. 332/396]

200

which is also called by that name. 0

TURUM<sub>1</sub> turum "The height of a man (*qadr qāma ar-rajul*)."  
 TURUM<sub>2</sub> SUVW<sup>1</sup> bīr är turumi süw "A man's height of water." The same for other things. 0

turum

2. Two dots of Y in brown ink.

3. Dot of F in brown ink.

4. MS. *aḥlāf*, read *aḥlāf* (cf. 168:11, 459:9).

5. This word added below the line (original copyist).

1. W changed from F (two dots in brown ink).

TURUM<sub>1</sub> torum – with *išbā'* – "Newborn camel (*ibn maxād*)."  
 The female (*bint al-maxād*) is called: TIŠY TURUM<sub>1</sub> tiši torum. 0

torum

"A string (*naẓm*) of pearls" is called: BYR' TIZIM YINJU<sup>2</sup> bīr tizim yinčü. 0

tizim

TUQUM toqum "Slaughter-animal (*jazūr*)" – usually used of a horse. 0

toqum

"A portion (*bidda*) of rolled bread" is called: BIYR' TIKM' TURMA'K' bīr tikim türmāk.

tikim

TALIM tālim "Much or many (*kaṭīr*)" of anything. :: TALIM YARMA'Q tālim yarmāq "Many dirhams." 0  
 Verse:

tālim

TALIM BAŠLAR' YUWLDIYMAT tālim bašlar yuwuldīmat  
 YAĞY 'ANDIN YAWLDYMT yaγi andin yawaldīmat  
 KUJY 'NINK KAWILDIYMAT küči aniñ käwildīmat  
 QILJ QIN'Q' KUJN SĠ'DIY qilič qinqa küčün sıydi

V

Describing a battle: "The warriors' heads rolled; the foe's rage was stilled because of it; their strength waned; until the sword entered the sheath [only] by use of force (because of all the gore which was clotted upon it)." 0

TULUM tulum "Weapon (*silāḥ*)" (generic term).<sup>3</sup>

tulum

:: BYR TILIM 'AT bīr tilim ät "A slice (*filḍa*) of meat." The same for anything cut or split lengthwise (*maqṭū' aw mašqūq ṭūlan*).

tilim

DIDIM didim "The crown (*iklīl*) which is worn by the bride on the night of the nuptial procession." 0

didim

SARIM sārim "A piece of silk or other material used to cover the mouth of a jug or decanter in order to filter (*li-yuṣaffā bihi*) wine." 0

sārim

:: BIYR' SAĞIM SUVT bīr sayim sūt "The milk of one milking (*qadr ḥalba min laban*)."  
 0

sayim

SUQM suqim Name of a piece of wood which is hollowed out in the shape of a pine cone, then perforated on three sides and attached to an arrow; it is "the whistler (*aş-şufāri*)."  
 "The planet Mars (*mirriḥ*)" is called by this name: BAQIR SUQIM baqir suqim. 0

suqim

BYR' QUJAM NA'NK bīr qučam nāñ "A bundle (*iḍbāra*) of something." 0

qučam

QURUM<sub>1</sub> qorum "Rocks (*şaxr*)."  
 One calls "a treasure (*māl jamn*)": QURUM<sub>2</sub> qorum. qorum  
 :: 'UL' QRUM<sub>1</sub> BULDY ol qorum buldi "He found a treasure." 0

qorum

2. Two dots of Y in brown ink.

3. In MS. this entry comes before the verse s.v. tālim.

KARAM **kārām** “Underground habitation (*sarab*).” Dialect of Upper and Lower Şin. 0 **kārām** D  
201  
[I. 334/398]

KARIM **kārim** “Figured curtain (*al-qirām*).” Hence :: TA’M’ KARIMIY **tām kārimi** **kārim**  
“Wall cover (*sitr al-jidār*).”

N

One calls “a trustworthy person (*amīn nāsih*)”: JIYN’ BUTUN’ KIŞIY **ēin bütin kişi**. 0 **bütün**  
BUTUN’ **bütün** “Sound or genuine (*şahih*)” of anything. :: BUTUN YARMA’Q **bütün yarmāq** “A  
sound dirham.” 0

BUĐUN’ **bođun** “Subjects, commoners (*ar-ra’īya wa-‘awāmm an-nās*).” Čigil dialect. 0 **bođun** D

BURUN **burun** “Nose (*anf*).” 0 BURUN **burun** “Mountain peak (*ra’n al-jabal*).” :: **burun**  
TA’Γ’ BUR’NIY **tāγ burni**. One calls the “first part (*awwal*)” of anything: BURUN’ **burun**. ::  
’UL MANDIN’ BURUN BAR’DIY **ol mändin burun bardi** “He went ahead of me (*qudāmī*).” This  
word corresponds to the Arabic in sense, not in sound.<sup>1</sup> 0

BUŽIN **bužin** “Hellebore (*xarbaq*).” With the *zāy* between the two points of articula-  
tion. **bužin**

BASAN’ **basan** “A meal (*ta’am*) which is prepared for the dead person after they have  
buried him.” :: YUVΓ BASAN **yōγ basan**. 0 **basan**

BUΓYUN’<sup>2</sup> **boγin** “Knuckle (*aşja*); node (*unbūb*)” of reed. The *nūn* is an alternant of **boγin**  
*mīm* [i.e. 199 **boγim**]. This type of alternation is permitted in Arabic also as in the following  
couplet: 0  
*yā rubba ja’din fihimū law tadrin*  
*yađribu đarba s-sabiđi l-maqādīm*

(“Many a stocky one among them – if you only knew – strikes like a lanky one, forward in  
battle.”) Note also the negative particles *lam* and *lan*. 0

BAQAN’ **baqan** “Ring or necklace (*ħalqa, řawq*)” made of brass. :: ’ALTUN BAQAN **baqan**  
**altun baqan** “A ring of gold”; etc. 0

BIQIN **biqin** “Hip (*xāşira*).” **biqin**

BUKN **bögān** “Impotent (*‘innin*).” **bögān**

BUKN **bögān** “Caecum (*al-mimraγa<sup>3</sup> min al-am‘ā*).”

201 1. Ar. *anf* “nose” is also used to mean “first part.”  
2. I crossed out by later hand.  
3. MS. *mumarraγa*.

BUKAN **bükān** “Watermelon (*bařix hindi*).” 0 **bükān**

BULUN **bulun** “Captive (*axid, asir*).” Verse: **bulun**

A’ABNG<sup>4</sup> QULSA’M<sup>5</sup> ’UĐUV BA’RIB **apañ qolsa uđu bārip** V  
TUTAR ’AR’DIM SUSIN TA’RIB **tutar ārdim süsin tārip**  
BULUN QIYLIB BA’ŞY YA’RIB **bulun qīlip bāşi yārip**  
YULUΓ BARJA’ MANK’ YAIΓ’DIY<sup>6</sup> **yuluγ barča maña yiydi**

Describing the routed foe: “Had I wished I would have followed him, taken him, dispersed his  
troops, made him captive, and split open his head; (but) he gathered for me much ransom (so I  
granted him freedom).” 0

TABAN **taban** “Hoof (*xuff*) of a camel.” 0 **taban**

TUBUN **topun** “Knob of a corn-stalk (*ku’bura ař-řa’am*).” Uč dialect. **topun** D

TADUN **tađun** “Calf (*al-řada’ min al-baqar*).” The female is: TIŞIY TADUN **tişi tađun**. **tađun**  
0

TUĐN **tuđun** “Village chief (*‘arif al-qarya*); distributor of water (*muwazzi’ al-miyāh fi*  
*ş-şirb*).” 0 **tuđun**

TUTUN’ **tütün** “Smoke (*duxān*).” Proverb [=451 **yazuq**]: **tütün**

[I. 335/400]

’UVT TUTUN SUZ BULM’S **öt tütünsüz bolmās** P  
YGT YA’ZUQ SUZ BULMA’S **yigit yāzuqsuz bolmās** 0

“No fire without smoke, no youth without sin.” 0

TUGUN<sup>1</sup> **tügün** “Knot (*uqda*).” 0 **tügün**

TIKAN **tikān** “Thorn (*şawk*).” This pronunciation is only for lightness. By rule one  
should double the *kāf* and say: TIĶAN’ **tikkān**. 0 This word comes from the verb: TIK’DY  
**tikdi** meaning “He pricked or planted (*γaraza*), pierced with an awl (*xaraza*),<sup>2</sup> goaded (*naxasa*).” G

4. Three dots of G by later hand.

5. M’ by later hand.

6. A crossed out by later hand.

202 1. Three dots of G by later hand.  
2. MS. *jazaza*.

The first *kāf* is part of the root, the second *kāf* is added to form an adjectival (*šifa*). Other examples: TAW'DIY 'AT'NY **tāwdi ätni** "He pierced the meat (on a spit) (*šakka l-laḥm fi s-saffūd*)"; to form an adjectival from this verb you say: 'AT'NIY TAW'KA'N' **ätni tāwgān** "One who skewers meat (*šakkāk li-laḥm*). You add a *kāf* for the noun that is not part of the root. :: 'AR' JUM'DY SUWDA' **är čömdi suwda** "The man dove (*γāš a*) into the water"; to form this into an adjectival you say: SUWQA' JUMKA'N' 'AR' **suwqa čömgān är** "A diver (*rajuḷ γawwāš*). You add a *kāf* for the adjectival that is not a part of the root. If the word has a *kāf* as part of the root the rule is to add the adjectival *kāf* (*kāf aš-šifa*) by doubling the *kāf*. For example: 'AR' 'URA'ΓUT'NIY SIKTY **är urāγutni sikti** "The man cohabited with (*jāma'a*) the woman"; to form the adjectival you say; SIĶAN 'AR' **sikkān är** "One who cohabits frequently (*rajuḷ jammā'*). The word: TIKAN<sup>3</sup> **tikān** "Thorn" is on the same order, except that one of the *kāf*'s has been dropped for lightness. 0

TULUN' **tulun** "Temple of the head (*šudγ*). One of the two variants [cf. 606 **tuluḅ**]. And "the gear (*hana*) to the right and left of the temples on a bridle" is called: TULN **tulun**. 0

TULUN 'ĀAY' **tolun āy** "Full moon (*badr*). 0

TAMAN' **tāmān** Name of a river flowing through Kāšγar. 0

TAMAN' YINK'NA' **tāmān yinā** "Large needle (*ibra kabīra*)."

TUMAN **tümān** "Much (*kaṭīr*)" of anything. :: TUMAN TUR'LUK SUVZ'LA'DIY **tümān türlüg sözlādi** "He spoke much about every sort of thing (*qāla min kull naw' kalāmān kaṭīran*). TUMAN MINK' **tümān miḅ** "A thousand thousand (*alf 'alf fi al-'adad*). :: TUMAN MINK YARMA'Q **tümān miḅ yarmāq** "A million dirhams." 0

TUSUN **tosun** "Colt not yet broken (*al-muhr alladī lam yuraḍ ba'du*). 0

JUBAN<sup>4</sup> **čupan** "Assistant to the village chief (*'awn 'arīf al-qarya*). 0

[I. 337/402]

JIQAN' **čiqan** "Mother's sister's son (*ibn al-xāla*). 0

JAKUN **čäkün** "Young of the weasel (*walad al-wabr*). 0

JUKAN **čögān** "Polo stick (*šawḷajān*). 0

SABAN' **saban** "Plowing gear (*al-faddān bi-jamī' ālātihi*). SABAN **saban** is also "the act of plowing (*falāḥa al-arḍ*). Proverb [=373 **sanriš**, 625 **sandruš**]: SABANDA' SAND-

3. Later hand has placed a *tašdīd* above KA.

4. A changed from U (?).

RIŠ BULSA' U'URT'KUN'DA' 'IRTAŠ BUL'MA'S' **sabanda sandriš bolsa örtgündä irtäš bolmās** "If there is quarreling<sup>1</sup> during (the season of) plowing there will be no strife during harvest." This is coined as advice for someone to secure an affair at the beginning of his dealing with it so that contention will not arise at the end. 0

SAΓUN **sayun** Honorific title of the Qarluq chiefs. 0 "A Turkic doctor (*ṭabīb turkī*)" is called: 'ATA' SAΓUN **ata sayun**. 0

SIΓAN' SAJ **siyan sač** "Lank (*sabiṭ*) hair." 0

SUKAN **sögān** (?) "Basket or pack saddle (*qirṭāla*). 0

QAJN **qačan** A particle meaning "when? (*matā*). Thus :: QAJN KAL'DINK **qačan kälidin** "When did you come?" It may also be used in the meaning "if only (*law*)"; thus :: QAJN BAR'SA' SAN **qačan barsa sän** "If only<sup>2</sup> you had gone." It can also mean "When (*iḍā*). The root-meaning is the first. 0

QAḌIN' **qaḍin** "Relation by marriage (*šihr*). Or with *zāy* [i.e. **qazin**] in Qifčāq dialect. Proverb [=553 **qay-**]: QADAŠ TYMYŠ QAY'MA'DUQ QAḌIN TYMYŠ QAY'MIYŠ' **qadaš tēmīš qaymaduq, qaḍin tēmīš qaymiš** "They said (concerning kinsmen) 'brother' and he paid them no heed; they said 'brother-in-law' and he paid them heed." This is coined as advice to bridegrooms to respect their inlaws.

QARIN **qarin** "Belly (*baṭn*). 0 QARIN' 'AT'MA'Q' **qarin atmāq** The stomach (*karš*) of a slaughtered beast is made a target for shooting and whoever hits it gets a portion of the meat.

QURUN **qurun** [Soot] "The trace of smoke that sticks to the wall (*aṭar ad-duxān al-murtabik 'alā l-jidār*). 0

QUQUN **qoqun** "Spark (*šarara*). 0

QALIN' **qalin** Anything "thick or coarse (*ṭaxīm γalīz*). "Dense (*kaṭīf*) troops" are called: QALIN' SUV **qalin sü**. 0

QULUN' **qulun** "Foal (*falu*). 0

QULAN' **qolan** "Saddle girth (*ḥizām*). 0 QULAN' 'AT'YIY **qolan äti** "The place on the horse for the saddle girth." 0

KATAN **kätän** "Hardship (*mihna*). Hence one says of a person undergoing hardships: KATAN KUR'DIY KARA'KUV YUD'TIY **kätän kördi kārākü yüdti** "He underwent (so many) hardships (that) he could carry his tent (on his back because of the fewness of his belongings)." [But cf. 225 **kārākü** P.] 0

203 1. MS. *mulāḥa*, read *mulājja*.

2. MS. *lima*, read *law*.

sayun  
N

siyan

sögān ?

qačan

qaḍin D  
P

qarin

qurun

qoqun

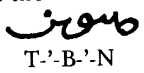


qalin

qulun

qolan

kätän  
(P)

KUDAN' <b>küdän</b> "Wedding feast ( <i>walīma</i> )."	<b>küdän</b>
KUBAN <b>köpän</b> – Oғuz dialect – "A camel blanket ( <i>hils al-ba'ir</i> ), pack saddle ( <i>barḡa'a</i> ), or other such animal gear." 0	<b>köpän</b> D
[I. 339/404]	<b>204</b>
KURIN <b>kürin</b> "A basket ( <i>šarija</i> ) for transporting melons, cucumbers, and the like." 0	<b>kürin</b>
KUZAN' <b>küzän</b> One of the rat ( <i>jirdän</i> ) genus, used to hunt small birds; also "the gerboa ( <i>yarbū'</i> )."	<b>kiüzän</b>
KUSAN <b>küsän</b> Name of the city which is called Kuča. It is a frontier of Uighur. 0	<b>küsän</b> N
KALIN <b>kälin</b> "Bride ( <i>'arus</i> )."	<b>kälin</b>

When the nouns in these chapters are written down [i.e., in the Uighur script] you must write the medial A (*al-manšūb al-awsaṭ*) by adding an *alif* in the Turkic script (*fi hijā' at-turkiyya*). Example :: TABAN **taban** "camel's hoof" is written thus: ; you add two *alifs* which are not found in Arabic script in the root-word (*fi hijā' al-'arabiyya fi aṣl al-kalima*).<sup>1</sup> This is with regard to A (*naṣb*). Example of words with medial U (*marfū'a awsaṭuhā*): TUBAN **topun** "knob of a cornstalk" is written in the Turkic script thus: ; in the same way, you add two *vāvs* for U (*ḡamm*).<sup>2</sup> 0 :: KALIN' **kälin** "bride" is written in the Turkic script:  [with Y for I].<sup>3</sup> The rule follows these examples for what I have not mentioned. The addition of the *madd* and *līn* letters is permissible; but the more elegant and more correct pronunciation is that indicated in this book (*mā yanṭiqu bihi l-kitāb*). The reason it is permissible is that *fa'al* is the shortened form of *fa'āl*, *fu'al*<sup>4</sup> of *fu'āl*, and *fi'al*<sup>5</sup> of *fi'āl*. The lengthened form does not depart from the pattern. The shortened form is for conciseness and lightness, and lightening is more correct.

End of Unaugmented Chapters

#### Chapters of Words with a *Madd* Augment between the First and Second Radicals

Chapter: *fā'il*, in its various vocalizations

- 204** 1. Kāšyarī points up the plene character of Uighur script by repeating the letters one for one in Arabic script below: T'-B'-N.
2. T-V-B-V-N.
3. K'-L-Y-N.
4. MS. *fu'āl*.
5. MS. *fi'āl*.

T	QA'ΓUT' <b>qāγut</b> Name of a dish made from millet. The millet is boiled, dried and ground, then mixed with butter and sugar. It is one of the foods given to confined women.	<b>qāγut</b>
R	JA'TIR' <b>čätir</b> "Tent ( <i>xayma</i> )."	<b>čätir</b>
	JA'TIR' <b>čätir</b> "Sal ammoniac ( <i>nušādīr</i> )."	Kuča dialect. D
	JA'JIR' <b>čäcīr</b> "Tent ( <i>xayma</i> )."	The Oғuz call it: JA'ŠIR' <b>čäšir</b> . 0
	SA'TIR' <b>satir</b> A term of abuse <sup>6</sup> meaning "You bastard!"	<b>čäcīr</b> <b>čäšir</b> D <b>sätir</b>
[I. 340/406]		<b>205</b>
( <i>lā aṣl lahu</i> )."	SA'ΓIR' <b>saγir</b> "A conical vessel for wine, shaped like a mortar."	<b>sāγir</b>
Z	SIYBIZ' KŠY' <b>sībiz kiši</b> "A clumsy, careless ( <i>axraq γāfil</i> ) person."	<b>sībiz</b>
Š	One calls "anything that resembles something else of the same sort ( <i>kull jins min al-ašyā'</i> <i>yušbihu ba'ḡuhu ba'ḡan</i> ): TUVDAŠ NANK <b>tūdäš nāñ</b> . The root is: TUV <b>tü</b> meaning: "Hair ( <i>ša'r</i> )."	<b>tūdäš</b>
	One says of animals: BUV 'AT NA' TUVLUK <b>bu at nā tülüğ</b> meaning "What is the color-marking ( <i>šiya</i> ) of this horse?" 0 DAŠ' - <b>daš</b> , - <b>däš</b> is a particle of close association ( <i>ḡarf mušāḡaba wa-muḡārana</i> ). One calls two children from one womb: QARIN'DAŠ' <b>qarindaš</b> ; QARIYN' <b>qarīn</b> is "womb" ( <i>baṭn</i> ); when DAŠ' - <b>daš</b> is suffixed the meaning is "womb-fellow" ( <i>mušāḡib al-baṭn</i> ). "A breast ( <i>tady</i> )" is called 'AMIK' <b>ämig</b> ; and "two babies sucking at the same breast" are called: 'AMIK'DAŠ' <b>ämigdäš</b> meaning: "Breast-fellows" ( <i>šāḡibay at-tady</i> ). :: YIYR'DAŠ' <b>yērdäš</b> "Two people who come from the same place ( <i>mawḡi'</i> )."	D
	:: QADAŠ' <b>qadaš</b> "Brother, kinsman ( <i>ax, qarīb</i> )"; the root is: QA' <b>qa</b> "Receptacle ( <i>zarf</i> )"; and DAŠ' - <b>daš</b> is suffixed causing it to mean that each of the two kinsmen lay in a single receptacle, the mother's womb. :: KUNKUL'DAŠ' <b>könül-däš</b> "Heart-fellow ( <i>mušāḡib al-qalb</i> )," since "heart" is: KUNKUL' <b>könül</b> . Therefore TUVDÄŠ' <b>tūdäš</b> is "color-fellow ( <i>muḡārin al-lawn wa-š-šiya</i> )."	0
	TIYDIS' <b>tīdiš</b> "Hindering ( <i>mumāna'a</i> )."	0
	KA'KUŠ' <b>kāküš</b> A salve for tumors known as "white hellebore ( <i>kundus</i> )."	<b>kāküš</b>

6. *sabb*, written SAB' and overlined as if Turkic.

## Г

BA'LIF' bāliγ "Wounded (*jarīh*)." 0

Verse: bāliγ

'URMIŠ 'AŽUN BUSVFIN  
QILMIŠ 'ANIY BA'LIF'  
'AM' SAM' 'NKAR TILA'NIB  
SIZDA' BULUR YAQIF'

urmiš ažuṅ busūyin  
qilmiš ani bāliγ  
ām sam aṅar tilānip  
sizdā bulur yaqīγ

V

Describing his condition: "Time held me in a snare of trials and left me wounded [lit: Time laid its ambush, and wounded him]; he sought medicine for that, and found a dressing with you." 0

TA'TIF' tātiγ "Pleasant taste (*laḏḏa*)." One says, as a paired expression: TA'TIF' T'LIF' tātiγ tāliγ.

tātiγ

## K

BIYŠK' bēšik "Cradle (*mahd aš-šabi*)." 0

bēšik

DIYDAK dīdāk "Litter curtain (*kabīsa aš-za'īna*)." The bride is always hidden by it from strangers when she departs.

dīdāk

BIYLAK bēlāg "Gift (*hadiyya*)." 0

bēlāg

TUVNAK tūnāk "Prison (*sijn*)" Barsγān dialect. 0

tūnāk D

SUVJIK sūčig "Sweet (*ḥulw*)," of anything. 0 SUVJIK sūčig "Wine (*al-xamr*)," specifically. This word has two opposite meanings. The people of the Īla valley – Yaγma, Tuxsi and Čigil – call wine: QIZIL' SUJIK qizil sūčig meaning:

sūčig

D

[I. 342/408]

206

"Red drink" (*šarāb aḥmar*). 0

SAJYZIG sēzig "Opinion or suspicion (*zann*)." 0

sēzig

KUVBIK' kūpig "Quilting (*taḏrīb aṭ-ṭawb*)." 0

kūpig

KUVŠIK' kōšik "Screen, curtain (*xamar, sutra*)." 0

kōšik

KUVLIK' kōlik "Shadow (*zill*)." 0

kōlik

## L

QA'FIL qāγil "Tender willow rods (*quḏbān xilāf raṭb*)" used to bind vine stalks. Proverb: QL [sic] SA'WIY QALM'S QA'FIL BA'TIY YAZIL'MA'S qari sāwi qalmās, qāγil bāγi yazilmās 0 "An old man's words are not left (neglected but are used, just as) fresh willow rods (once they are bound) do not (afterwards) come loose."

qāγil

P

## M

BIYRIM bērim "Debt (*dayn*)." Proverb [=50 alim]: 'ALIMJY 'AR'S'LA'N BIYRIMJY SIJFA'N alimči arslān bērimči sičγān 0 "The creditor is (like) a lion (in his power over the debtor), the debtor is (like) a mouse (in his fear of him)." P

## N

BIYJIN bēčin "Monkey (*qird*)." BIYJIN bēčin(yil) One of the twelve years in Turkic. 0 bēčin

TYMIN tēmin A particle meaning "a short while ago (*qabla hāḏihi s-sā'a*)." :: TYMIN KALDIM tēmin kāldim "I came a short while ago." 0 tēmin

JUVDIN čōḏin "Bronze (*qitr*)." Thus :: JUVDIN 'AŠJ čōḏin ešič "A bronze kettle." 0 čōḏin

SUVFUN sōγun, sōγan "Onion (*baṣal*)" (with *ḏamm* [u] or *našb* [a] in the second syllable). 0 sōγun, sōγan

SUVFAN' YILA'N soγān yilān "A large harmless snake (*al-ḥuffāt min al-ḥayyāt*)." 0

SIYFUN sīγun "Stag (*ayyil*)." SIYFUN 'UTY sīγun oti [Mandrake] A certain plant whose root is shaped like a man and which is used as a remedy for impotence. It is called in Persian *istarang*. It is found as male and female; the male is for men, the female for women. 0 sīγun

SIYFUN SAMUR sīγun samur Name of a place (*mawḏi'*). Buγra Khān was poisoned there. 0 N

JA'DAN čāḏan "Scorpion (*aqrab*)." 0 čāḏan

LA'JIN lāčin "The shahin falcon (*šāhin*)," a bird of prey. A man may be called: LA'JIYN lāčin for his prowess in war. 0 lāčin N

## Chapter: fā'ul

Q'TUVN qātūn The name of all female descendants (*banāt*) of Afrāsiyāb. Proverb: XA'N 'IYŠIY BULSA' QA'TUVN 'IYŠIY QALIYR xān īši bolsa qātūn īši qalīr "When the Khā-qān's business is at hand the Khātūn's business is put off." This is equivalent to the Arabic saying: *iḏā jā'a nahr allāh baṭala*

[I. 343/410]

207

nahr 'īsā ("When the canal of God comes the canal of Jesus is vain.") <sup>1</sup>

207 1. Cf. Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb* (Cairo, 1384/1965), pp. 30-31. *Nahr allāh* means "the sea" or "rain" or "a flood"; *nahr 'īsā* was the name of a canal in Baghdad.



QA'ΓUVN<sub>2</sub> qāyūn “Melon (*baṭīx*).” Proverb: QA'ΓUVN<sub>2</sub> QARMA' BULSA' 'IDISIY 'IKIY 'ALKIN TAKIYR<sub>2</sub> qāyūn qarṣa bolsa idisi ekki älgin tägīr 0 “When a melon is the plunder its owner is snatched along by both hands.” This is coined about the tenacity with which a wealthy man holds on to his belongings. 0

LA'ΓUVN<sub>2</sub> lāyūn “Something hollowed out like a grain-measure (*šay' manqūr ka-š-šā'*), out of which one drinks milk, curdled milk, and the like.” 0

Chapters of Words with a *Madd* or *Līn* Augment between the Second and Third Radicals

Chapter: *fa'āl, fa'ūl, fa'il*, in its various vocalizations

J

BUQA'J 'AR'T buqāč art Name of a pass (*'aqaba*). 0 buqāč N

BUQA'J<sub>2</sub> buqāč “Pots and pans (*tawr wa-qidr*).” :: 'ŠIJ BUQA'J<sub>2</sub> ešič buqāč.

R

TATA'R<sub>2</sub> tatār A tribe (*jīl*) of the Turks. 0 tatār N

TATA'R<sub>2</sub> tayār “Sack (*γirāra*)” for keeping wheat, etc. 0 tayār

TW'R<sub>2</sub> tawār “Merchandise, property (*sil'a, māl*).” tawār

JAWA'R<sub>2</sub> čawār “Kindling (*aq-čaram alladī yūqadu bihi n-nār*).” It is used in the paired expression: JAWA'R<sub>2</sub> JUW'R<sub>2</sub> čawār čuwār. 0 čawār

SUQA'R<sub>2</sub> soqār “Hornless (*lā qarn lahu*)” (animal); bald toward the temples (*lā ša'r 'alā ra'sihi nahw aš-šudγayn*)” (man) — or like the Turkic (? *aw ka-t-turkiyya*). :: S UQA'R<sub>2</sub> QUVY<sub>2</sub> soqār qōy “A hornless (*jammā*)” sheep.” 0 soqār

XUZ'R<sub>2</sub> xuzār Name of a place (*mawđi'*) in the country of the Turks. xuzār N

Z

KUFA'Z<sub>2</sub> küwāz “Haughty (*mutakabbir*).” 0 küwāz

MARA'ZA marāz “Indigo (*'izlīm*).” marāz

MARA'ZU marāz “Hireling (*ajīr*).” Arγu and Yaγma dialect. :: XIYA'R MARA'Z xiyār marāz. D

Γ

TAŠUVI tašūy “Conveyance (*nuqla*)” of merchandise, etc. 0 tašūy

TUŠA'Γ<sub>2</sub> tušāy “Shackle for the fore-legs of a horse (*šikāl yaday al-faras*).” tušāy

Q

BAJA'Q<sub>2</sub> bačāq “Christian fast (*šawm an-našārā*).” 0 bačāq

TALA'Q<sub>2</sub> talāq “Spleen (*tiḥāl*).” 0 talāq

TILA'Q<sub>2</sub> tilāq “Female organ (*matā' al-mar'a*).” Čigil dialect. 0 tilāq D

SULA'Q<sub>2</sub> solāq “Spleen (*tiḥāl*).” Qifčāq dialect. The *sīn* is an alternant of *tā'*. This is like the Arabic *sitt* (“six”) from the root *sids* and *fast* (“basin”) from the root *ṭass*. The grammarians cite the following verse in this connection: *jazā llāhu banī s-si'lāti 'amrān wa-qābūsa širār an-nāti* (“May God requite the sons of the demons, 'Amr and Qābūs the vilest of men”)<sup>2</sup> — intending by the final word *an-nās*.

K

BUDIYK bödīg “Dance (*zafan, raqš*).” 0 bödīg

BAZA'K bāzāk A variant of: BZK bāzāk [193].<sup>3</sup> bāzāk D

TIRA'K terāk “Poplar (*al-ḥawr min aš-šajar*).” 0 terāk

TILA'K tilāk “Wish (*murād*).” tilāk

TUL'K YLQY tülāk yilqi “An animal which sheds (*mu'iqq*) its winter coat and grows a summer one.” 0 tülāk

[I. 345/412] 208

L

TUKA'L tükāl “Completeness (*tamām*).” Also, “a complete thing (*šay' tamm*)” is called: TUKA'L tükāl. Thus :: TUKA'L 'ALFIL tükāl alγil “Take it all (*tammān*).” 0 tükāl

QIWA'L BURN qiwāl burun “A proud nose (*'irnīn ašamm*).” This is an object of praise. Verse:

2. Two syllables are missing at the beginning for a good Rajaz: — —  $\overset{\vee}{j} \overset{\vee}{a} \overset{\vee}{z} \overset{\vee}{ā} \overset{\vee}{l} \overset{\vee}{l} \overset{\vee}{ā} \overset{\vee}{h} \overset{\vee}{u} \overset{\vee}{b} \overset{\vee}{ā} \overset{\vee}{n} \overset{\vee}{i} \overset{\vee}{s} \overset{\vee}{-} \overset{\vee}{s} \overset{\vee}{i} \overset{\vee}{l} \overset{\vee}{ā} \overset{\vee}{t} \overset{\vee}{i} / \overset{\vee}{a} \overset{\vee}{m} \overset{\vee}{r} \overset{\vee}{ā} \overset{\vee}{n} \overset{\vee}{w} \overset{\vee}{a} \overset{\vee}{q} \overset{\vee}{ā} \overset{\vee}{b} \overset{\vee}{ū} \overset{\vee}{s} \overset{\vee}{ā} \overset{\vee}{š} \overset{\vee}{i} \overset{\vee}{r} \overset{\vee}{ā} \overset{\vee}{r} \overset{\vee}{ā} \overset{\vee}{n} \overset{\vee}{ā} \overset{\vee}{t} \overset{\vee}{i}$  Cf. the verses of 'Ilbā' ibn Arqam (cited *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. nwt): *yā qabbaḥa llāhu banī s-si'lāti / 'amra bna yarbū'a širāra n-nāti / laysū a'iffā'a wa-lā akyāti* (“May God efface the sons of the demons, 'Amr son of Yarbu' the vilest of men, neither modest are they nor clever”).

3. The definition is below the line in a later hand.

'AR·DIY SINY QIYZ                    ardi sini q̄iz  
 BUVDY 'NIK TA'L                    bōdi anig t̄āl  
 YAY·LIŪR 'ANIK 'AR·TUJY            yaylur anig artuči  
 BUR·NY TQY QIW'L                    burni taqi qiwāl 0

Describing a girl: "The girl led you on, (the supple-bodied one), her body swaying coyly and shaking like a juniper branch, while her nose was in the air."

## M

JURA'M čurām "A shot with a light arrow (*ramya bi-sahm xafif*)." It is farther than the *galwa* [= one-eighth mile]. The man shoots while lying on his back (*mustalqan*) so that the arrow will cover the most distance. :: JURA'M 'UQIY čurām oqi "The arrow used in this kind of shooting." 0

QUR'M KIŠY LA'R qurām kišilār "People seated according to rank (*al-julūs 'alā l-marātib*)," as they are seated in court. :: KIŠILA'R QURA'M' 'ULTURDIY L'R kišilār qurām olturdilār "The people sat down according to rank."

## N

BULA'N bulān Name of a large beast hunted in the lands of Qifčāq. It has one horn, shaped like a jar, hollowed out and erect toward the sky, in which snow and rain accumulate. The female kneels down so that the male may drink from her horn, and the male kneels down so that the female may drink from his. 0

TĪKYN tegin "Slave (*'abd*)" – this is the root-meaning. Thus :: KMUŠTĪKYN kümüş tegin "A slave clear-colored as silver." 'AL·B' TĪKYN alp tegin "Strong slave." QUTLUĠ TĪKYN qutluġ tegin "Blessed slave."

Then this word became a title pure and simple (*sima maḥḍa*) for the sons of the Khāqā-niyya. It is found joined with the names of birds of prey. For example: JAI·RIY TĪKYN čayri tegin meaning: "A Tegin like a falcon (*bāzī*) in his ferocious courage." KUJ· TĪKYN küč tegin "A powerful Tegin."

The reason why this name was transferred from the slaves (*mawālī*) to the sons of Afrāsī-yāb is simply that the latter used to

[I. 347/414]

pay their respects to their fathers by addressing them in the following way, both orally and in letters: "Your slave (*'abd*) did such-and-such and performed such-and-such." This showed modesty on their part and respect for their fathers. Afterwards this name was reserved for them [when uttered alone], while as a name for slaves (*mawālī*) it remained joined to some other element, so as clearly to distinguish the two. 0

V

čurām

qurām

bulān

tegin  
N

N

209

TUZUVN: tüzün "Forebearing (*ḥalīm*)." Proverb [=118 *üstār*.]: TUZVN BYRLA' tüzün  
 'URUŠ 'UVTUVN BYRLA' TIRAŠMA' tüzün birlä uruš, ütün birlä tiräsmä 0 "Argue with  
 one who is forbearing (for he will bear with you) but do not quarrel with one who is insolent and  
 foolish (for he will overcome you)." 0

TUKUVN: tögün "Brand, cauterization (*wasm, kayy*)." 0 tögün

TUMA'N: tümän "Mist (*ḍabāb*)." 0 tümän

JARUVN čarün "Plane tree (*šajar al-dulb*)." Yağma dialect. čarün D

JIKIYN: čigün A plant which grows among vines, forms ears, and is used as fodder. 0 čigün

JIKYN: čigün "Silk (*ibrīsam*)." :: JIKYN: YIBIY čigün yipi "Silk thread."

0 JIKIYN čigün "A stitch of brocade figured with gold (*xiyāṭa ad-dībāj muqarqaman bi-ḍ-ḍahab*)." :: JIKYN JIK'NA'DIY čigün čignādi "He embroidered (*qarqama*) the brocade." 0

SAMA'N: samān "Straw (*tibn*)." Čigil dialect. 0 samān D

QULA'N qulān "Wild ass (*ḥimār al-waḥš*)." qulān

QABA'N<sup>1</sup> qapān A man's name. qapān N

QUT'N qutān A man's name also. 0 qutān N

KUKA'N: kōgān "Noose (*ribāq*)" for small cattle or for milch cows when being milked. kōgān  
0

?IL KUKA'N: yel kōgān "Rainbow (*qaws quzaḥ*)." 0

Those with an Augment after the Third Radical

Chapter: *fa'lā, fa'lū, fa'lī*, medial quiescent

B

TUR·BIY torpi "Calf in its first year (*tabī*)." 0 torpi

KUR·BA' 'UVT: körpä ot "Late-sprouting (*xalifa*) plant." Similarly :: KURBA' körpä  
 YIMIŠ: körpä yemiš "Late-ripening (*xalifa*) fruit." It refers to what emerges after its first

209 1. First A changed from U (?).

season. Likewise, one calls “a child born in the summer (*walad šayfi*)”: KURBA' 'UΓUL\_ körpä oγul. Lambs and camels and calves if born after their season (*iḍa wulidat ba'da awāniḥā*) are called: KUR·BA' körpä.

KIR·BIY kirpi “Hedgehog (*qunfuḍ*).” The “porcupine (*duldul*)” is called: 'UQ\_LUΓ KIR·BIY oqluγ kirpi. 0

JATIYBA' [sic] käsä (?) The name for a compensation (*rahn*) which the village chief exacts from one who does not come out to dig a canal or irrigation channel. Čigil dialect. 0

[I. 348/416]

KNPA' kǎnpä A plant. Kǎnčǎk dialect.

T

BARTV bǎrtü “Tunic (*qurtaq*).” 0

BUR·TA' burta “Gold leaf (*ruqāqāt aḍ-ḍahab*).” 0

TAX·TUV taxtu “Raw silk before it is spun (*al-qazz qabl al-γazl*).”

SUK·TIY sökti “Bran (*nuxāla*).” Barsγān dialect. 0

SUQ·TUV suqtu “Gut-wurst (*am'ā*)” stuffed with liver, meat and spices, then cooked and eaten. 0

QIF·TUV qiftu “Shears (*miqrāḍ*).” Čigil dialect. 0

KIR·TUV kertü “Oath (*yamīn*).” 0 KIRTUV· kertü “The place of truth (*mawḍi' aš-šidq*).” One says of a dead man: 'UL KIR·TUV YIYR·DA' 'UL ol kertü yērdä ol meaning: “He is in a place of truth where it is not permissible to lie.” From this comes the expression: 'UL TANKRIYK' KAIRTU'NDIY ol tānriḱā kertüdi “He believed (*āmana*) in God (and acknowledged His Prophet).”

J

BAR·JA' barča A particle meaning “all (*kull*).” :: BAR·JA KAL·DIY LA'R· barča kǎldilār They all came. Verse:

QUL·DAJIIY QA' MINK YAΓA'Q' qoldačiqa miñ yaγāq  
BARJA' BILA' 'AY·RUQ TAY'AQ' barča bilä ayruq tayāq

“I owe the beggar a thousand walnuts; besides all this (I'll give him) a stick to lean on.”

TARJIIY tārči “Hireling (*aḱir*).” 0

kirpi

kāsä ?  
D

210

kǎnpä D

bǎrtü

burta

taxtu

sökti D

suqtu

qiftu D

kertü

barča

V

tārči

TANJUUV tanču “Morsel (*luqma*).” 0

JUMJA' čömčä “Ladle (*miḱrafa*).” Oγuz dialect. 0

JINJUUV jinčü “Pearl (*lu'lu*).” Oγuz and Qifčāq dialect. The *jīm* is an alternant of *yā* [i.e. *yinčü*]. 0

JANJUUV janču “Rollingpin (*miḱmala*)” for flattening noodle dough. 0

SINJUUV sinču A type of bread larger than a wafer but smaller than a loaf (*xubz bayn ar-ruqāqa wa-r-raḱif*).

ŠANJUUV šanju A city (*balda*) on the road to Upper Šin. The more correct pronunciation is to lengthen the vowel: ŠA'NJUV šanju. 0

QAM·JIIY qamči “Whip (*sawḱ*).” 0 QILJ QAM·JY qilič qamči “Pickax (*mi'wal*)” i.e., a whip with a sword inside. 0 QAM·JY qamči “Rod (penis) (*qaḍīb*)” of a horse, bull or camel. It is usually used for a horse. :: 'AT· QAM·JIYSIY at qamčisi. 0

KAW·JIIY kǎwči A measure (*mikyāl*) in use from Kāšγar to Uighur. It holds ten *raḱls*. 0

KUM·JUV kōmčü “Buried treasure (*kanz*).” :: TAW·ΓA'J KUM·JUYSIY tawγāč kōm-čüsi “Treasure of 'Ād” (magnificent treasure) (*kanz 'ādī*). 0

MAN·JUV manču “Wage, of a craftsman only (*uḱra al-muḱtarif faqaḱ*).”

D

BUK·DA' bögdä “Dagger (*xanjar*).”

BAL·DUV baldu “Ax (*fa's*).” 0

TAM·DUV tamdu “Kindling (*ḍaram*).” One may also say: TAM·DUQ tamduq. 0 tamdu D?

JUK·DAY čügde “The projecting part of the head behind the ears (*xuššā* [defined]).” 0 čügde

SAM·DA' samda The fabric “sendal (*aš-šandal alladī yulbasu*).” Čigil dialect. 0 samda D

SIN·DUV sindu

[I. 350/418]

“Shears (*miqrāḍ*).” Oγuz dialect.

D

QAM·DUV qamdu A piece of cloth, four cubits long and a span in breadth, sealed with the seal of the Uighur Khān, and used in commercial transactions (*bihā biyā'atuhum*). When it becomes worn it is patched, then washed and re-sealed; this occurs once every seven years.

qamdu

QANDA' **qanda** An interrogative particle of place meaning “where? (*ayna*).” :: QANDA' 'AR'DIYNK **qanda** *ärdin* “Where were you?” The *nün* is an alternant of *yā*: QAY'DA' **qayda**. The root-form is: QAYUVDA' **qayūda**. 0

QAR'DUV **qardu** “Ice grains (*ḥabbāt al-jamd*) the size of hazelnuts which flow on the surface of the water in extreme cold.” Verse: **qardu**

QAR'DUVNIY YINJUV SAQINM'NK **qardūni yinčü saqinmān** V  
 TUZIVNY MANJUV SIZINM'NK **tuzγūni manču sezinmān**  
 BULM' DQ<sup>1</sup> N'NK K' SAWINM'NK **bulmaduq nānkā sāwinmān**  
 BILKA'LA'R' 'ANIY YIYRA'R **bilgālār ani yerār**

“Do not consider ice grains as pearls; do not consider a gift of food as a wage for work; do not rejoice at what you have not found; for at all these the sages scoff.” 0

KAN'DUV **kändü** “Self (*dāt, nafs*).” :: 'UL KANDUV 'AY'DIY ol **kändü aydi** “He himself said.” 0 **kändü**

KUNDIY **kündi** “Vile (*raql*).” Oγuz dialect. :: 'UL KUNDIY KIŞY 'UL ol **kündi kişi ol** “He is a vile man.” This particle may be used as a filler (*şila*) when one loses the thread of speech (*iḏā lam yattafiq ḥuḏūr al-kalām*). One inserts this word until one can resume the thread of speech. 0 **kündi D**

MUNDA' **munda** A particle meaning “here (*hāhunā*).” :: 'UL MUNDA' 'UL ol **munda ol** “He is here.” **munda**

MAN'DA' **mändä** A particle meaning “I have (*fiyya wa-'indī*).” Verse: **mändä**

'AM'KAK SIZIN TURUV YUVQ MUNDA' TAMUV V (munda)  
 'AD' KUV<sup>2</sup> LUKUK KURMAḐIB' 'AŽUN JIQA'R  
**ämğäksizin turγu yōq munda yamu**  
**ädgüliküg körmädip ažun çiqār**

“It is unthinkable that man remain here without grief; before he sees any good his time is up (and he dies).” 0

MANDUV **mandu** Name of a Turkic vinegar (*xall turkī*). The juice from fine grapes is kept in an earthen jar until it ferments, then pure wine is poured over it and the mixture is left overnight to mature. It is the most excellent of vinegars. 0 **mandu**

[R]

- 211 1. DQ below line.  
 2. KUV above line (apparently a later hand).

BUΓRA' **buγra** “Camel stallion (*fahl al-ibil*).” From this comes the name: BUΓ'RA' **buγra N**  
 XA'N' **buγra xān**. 0

[I. 352/420] **212**

BUKRIY **bükri** “Bent over (hunchbacked) (*aḥḏab*),” of anything. 0 **bükri**

TAT'RUUV **tetrü** “Inverted (*ma'kūs*),” of anything. **tetrü**

TUΓRUV **toγru** “The tang of a blade (*sīlān*).” It is the tail (*ḏanab*) of a sword, knife or dagger, which is inserted into the handle. 0 **toγru**

TAK'RA' **tägrä** “Circuit, rim (*ḥawl, ḥitār*)” of a thing. :: QUḐUΓ TAKRASIY **quḏuy** **tägräsi** “Rim of a well (or other).” **tägrä**

JUBRA' **çöprä** “Shabby (*xalaq*),” of clothing. **çöprä**

JAFRIY **çayri** “The sacer falcon (*şaqr*).” From this comes the man's name: JAF'RIY **çayri N**  
 BAK **çayri beg**. 0

JIFRY **çiyri** “Sphere (*falak*).” :: KUVK JAFRIYSIY **kök çiyri** “The celestial sphere.” **çiyri**

JIFRY **çiyri** “The spindle (*falak*)” of a mill, waterwheel, or the like; a “whorl (*şihrija*)” of silk; a “pulley (*bakara*)” of any kind.

Verse: V (çayri)

JAF'RIY 'ALIB' 'AR'QUN MUNUB' 'AR'QAR' YATA'R  
 'AWLAR KAYIK TAY'GAN 'IDIB' TILKUV TUT'R  
**çayri alip arqun münüp arqar yetār**  
**awlar kâyik tayγan idip tilkü tutār**

Describing the hunt: “He takes sacer in hand and, mounting a courser, reaches the mountain goats; he hunts the wild beasts and foxes with his hounds.” 0

SAFRY **sayri** “Hide (shagreen) (*zarγab*).” The “skin or surface (*adīm*)” of anything is called: SAF'RIY **sayri**. Thus :: YIYR' SAF'RIYSIY **yēr sayri** “The surface (*adīm, wajh*) of the earth. :: KIŞIY SAF'RIYSIY YUVZ' **kişi sayri** “A man's hide (*zarγab*) is his face” — since it is the hardest and coarsest skin because it is exposed to heat and cold. (P)

SIF'RA' **siyra** “Ravine, valley (*fajj, wādī*).” Oγuz dialect. 0 **siyra D**

SUWRAY **süwre** Any “pointed (*muḥaddad ar-ra's*)” object, such as a spearhead, arrow-head, minaret, skewer, and other small objects. 0 **süwre**

:: 'AWK' SUF'RUUV<sup>1</sup> KIR'DIM' **äwkä suqru kirdim** “I entered the house as an intruder, without permission (*dāmīr<sup>an</sup> min γayr idn*).” 0 **suqru**

212 1. I crossed out by later hand.

KUŠ <sub>2</sub> RY küsri (?) “Ribcage ( <i>jawāniḥ aṣ-ṣadr</i> ).”	küsri ?
KUW <sub>2</sub> RA’ köwrä “The trunk ( <i>šabaḥ</i> ) <sup>2</sup> of a dead animal when its insides have rotted away and the flesh remains dried to the bones.” 0	köwrä
KAK <sub>2</sub> RA’ kāk <sub>2</sub> rä A bitter plant chewed by camels.	kāk <sub>2</sub> rä
Z	
BAN <sub>2</sub> ZY banzi “Remains of the vine on the trellis after the grapes have been plucked ( <i>baqāyā l-‘inab ba’d al-qiṭāf</i> )”	banzi
[I. 353/422]	213
‘alā l-‘ariš).” Kānčāk dialect.	D
SUNZIY sunzi (?) A type of flea ( <i>buryūt</i> ). I consider it to be the louse ( <i>qaml</i> ). 0	sunzi ?
JWŽV čawžu (?) A tree that is red in trunk and branch, has red bitter berries, and grows in the mountains. It is the ‘ <i>anam</i> tree to which are likened the fingertips of young girls. 0	čawžu ?
KAN <sub>2</sub> ZIY känzi A šini fabric ( <i>nasij</i> ) in various colors, red, yellow or green.	känzi
S	
BUX <sub>2</sub> SIY buxsi Name of a food. It is made by cooking wheat, putting it into a jar with almond kernels, and pouring over it <i>talbīna</i> [a mixture of bran, milk and honey], then leaving it to ferment. One eats the solid part and drinks the liquid. 0	buxsi
TUXSIY tuxsi A tribe ( <i>jil</i> ) of the Turks in Qayās. <sup>1</sup> :: TUX <sub>2</sub> SIY JIKIL tuxzi čigil. 0	tuxsi N
TAW <sub>2</sub> SIY tāwsi “Tray ( <i>xiwān</i> ).” 0	tāwsi
TUM <sub>2</sub> SA’ tumsa (?) “Platform ( <i>minbar</i> ).” Arḡu dialect – not original. 0	tumsa ?
XAF <sub>2</sub> SIY xafsi “Small box ( <i>ḥuqqa</i> ).” 0	xafsi
Š	
TUT <sub>2</sub> ŠIY tutši Something “adjoining ( <i>muqārin, mujāwir</i> ).” :: ‘ANIK YIYRY MANIG <sup>2</sup> YYR <sup>3</sup> KA’ TUT <sub>2</sub> ŠIY ‘UL anig yēri mänig (yēr)kă tutši ol “His land is adjacent ( <i>muqārīna</i> ) to	tutši

2. MS. *šayx*.

213 1. MS. *quyās* (*u* by later hand).  
2. Three dots of G by later hand.  
3. Added by later hand below line.

mine.” The <i>šin</i> here is related to <i>jīm</i> ; one may say: TUT <sub>2</sub> ŠIY tutši. A variant of the same word is: TUTA <sub>2</sub> ŠIY tutāši. :: MAN <sub>2</sub> SANK’ TUTA <sub>2</sub> ŠIY BARIYR <sub>2</sub> MAN män saṇa tutāši barīr män “I go to you habitually ( <i>dā’iban</i> ).” 0	D
JAX <sub>2</sub> ŠUV čaxšu “Box-thorn ( <i>ḥuḍaḍ</i> ).” It is used to treat ophthalmia. Not original. 0	čaxšu
QARŠIY qarši “Royal palace ( <i>qaṣr al-malik</i> ).” 0	qarši
QARŠIY qarši “Opposite ( <i>ḍidd</i> ).” :: TUVN KUVNUK’ QARŠIYSIY ‘UL tūn kūniḡ qaršisi ol “Night is the opposite of day.”	
QARŠIY qarši “Disagreement ( <i>ixtilāf</i> )” between two emirs. :: ‘UL BAK ‘ANIG BIR <sub>2</sub> LA’ QAR <sub>2</sub> ŠIY ‘UL ol beg anig birlä qarši ol “That emir is in disagreement ( <i>muxālif</i> ) with the other.” 0	
QAW <sub>2</sub> ŠIY QAŠ <sub>2</sub> qawši qāš “Joined and arched ( <i>maqrūn azajj</i> ) eyebrows.”	qawši
Γ	
BAT <sub>2</sub> ΓA’ bat <sub>2</sub> ya “The board ( <i>lawḥ</i> ) upon which one cuts felt and goat’s-hair cloth for caps.” 0	bat <sub>2</sub> ya
TUZ <sub>2</sub> ΓUV tuz <sub>2</sub> yu “A gift ( <i>hadiyya</i> ) of food which is brought out for a relative or acquaintance who is passing through.”	tuz <sub>2</sub> yu
TAM <sub>2</sub> ΓA’ tam <sub>2</sub> ya “Seal ( <i>tābi</i> )” of the king, or other.	tam <sub>2</sub> ya
TAM <sub>2</sub> ΓA’ tam <sub>2</sub> ya Any “tributary ( <i>sā’id</i> )” of water, running into a sea, lake, river, etc. Also “an estuary ( <i>furḍa al-baḥr</i> )” is called: TAM <sub>2</sub> ΓA’ tam <sub>2</sub> ya. 0	
[I. 355/424]	214
	Verse:
TAM <sub>2</sub> ΓA’ SUWIY TAŠ <sub>2</sub> RA’ JIQB <sub>2</sub> TA’ΓIΓ ‘UTA’R <sub>2</sub> ‘AR <sub>2</sub> TUJ LARIY TAK <sub>2</sub> RA’ ‘UNUB <sub>2</sub> TIZ <sub>2</sub> KIN YATA’R <sub>2</sub> tam <sub>2</sub> ya suwi taš <sub>2</sub> ra čiqip tāyiy ötār artučlari tāgrä öniḡ tizgin yetār	V
“The water of this tributary penetrates the mountain, while on either bank grow junipers in a row like a horse’s halter.” <sup>1</sup>	
JUF <sub>2</sub> ΓA’ čuw <sub>2</sub> ya “Relay horse of the express courier ( <i>al-faras allaḍi ya’xuḍuhu l-barīd al-musri</i> )’ fi ṭ-ṭariq fa-yarkabuhu ilā an yajida l-āxar).”	čuw <sub>2</sub> ya

214 1. A play on words with *tizig* “row” and *tizgin* “halter” (see ED, 574).

JUFΓA' čuwɣa "Scout, guide (*dalīl*, *qā'id*)." Qifčāq and Oɣuz dialect. Proverb [cf. 244 *qulāvuz*]: QALIN QULA'N JUFΓA' SIZ BULM'S' qalin qulān čuwɣasiz bolmās "There is no herd of wild asses without a guide (*dalīl*, *hādī*)." This is coined [to advise] a person to follow another in a matter where it is right for him to obey. 0

SURΓUV sorɣu "Cupping glass (*miḥjama*)." 0

SLΓ' 'ĀT' salɣa āt "A restive (*jamūḥ*)<sup>2</sup> horse."

QABΓA' qapɣa "Gate or pass (*darb*)." 0

QADΓUV qadɣu "Care, sorrow (*hamm*, *ḥuzn*)." 0

QUDΓUV qudɣu "Flies (*dubāb*)." 0

QARΓA' qarɣa "Crow (*ɣurāb*)." Proverb:

QARΓA' QARIYSIN KIM BILYR      qarɣa qarīsin kim bilīr  
KIŠY 'ALA'SIN KIM TAB'R      kiši alāsin kim tapār

"Who is it that knows old crows (from young? Likewise,) who is it that knows a man's secret thoughts?" Verse:

QARΓA' QLY BŪILSA' MUNGIN 'UL' BUZ SUQ'R  
'AWJY YAŠIB' TUZAQ' TABA' MANK'K' YAQA'R'  
qarɣa qali bilsā muḥin ol buz suqār  
awči yašip tuzaq tapa māḥkā yaqār

"The crow, when he knows that hardship (and hunger will come down on him) will bore through the ice; but he will not hesitate to enter the trap when he sees grain inside, as long as the hunter is well hidden." 0

QURΓUV 'AR' qurɣu ār "A light-witted (*ṭayyāš*) man."

QARΓUV qarɣu "A structure in the shape of a minaret, built on a mountain peak, on which a fire is lit to warn people to arm themselves against an approaching enemy." 0

QAŠΓA' QUVY' qašɣa qōy "Sheep with black body and white head (*arxam*)." QAŠΓA' 'AT' qašɣa at "Horse with a white blaze (*mubarqa'*) except for black around the eyes." "A camel with a white spot on the head (*ašqa'*)" is also called this. 0 QAŠΓA' BUΓRA' qašɣa buɣra. The name of two places (*ism mawḍi'ayn*).<sup>3</sup> 0

2. MS. *jamū'*.

3. Atalay (Tercüme I, 426) speculates that "A camel with a white spot on the head" is the definition of *qašɣa buɣra*, and that the word defined as "The name of two places" has dropped from the text.

Anything "twisted or crooked (*inzawā*, *i'wajja*)" is: QAMΓIY qamɣi. One calls "a person with palsy of the mouth (*laqwa*)": QAMΓIY YUVZ\_LUK' qamɣi yūzliḡ.

W

TALWA' telwā "Crazy (*majnūn*)." 0

QALW' qalwa "An arrow that has a rounded wooden head in place of the iron point (*jummāḥ* [defined])."

[I. 357/426]

Q

"Anything wrinkled (*fīhi ɣuḍun*)" is called: BURQIY NA'NK' burqi nāḥ — for example, a frowning face in which the forehead is wrinkled. 0

TARQA' tarqa "Sour grapes (*ḥiṣrim*)." A variant of: TALQA' talqa.

TURQUV torqu "Silk (*ḥarīr*)." Proverb: TAWΓA'J' XA'ŅIK TURQUV SIY<sup>1</sup> TALIM TANK\_LA'MADIB' BIJMA'S' tawɣāč xānnig torqusi tālim, tāḥlāmāḍip bičmās 0 "The Khāqān of Šīn has much silk but he measures it out before cutting it (for clothing)." This is coined to advise someone to be moderate and leave off squandering. 0

TALQA' talqa "Sour grapes (*ḥiṣrim*)." The *lām* is an alternant of *rā'* [i.e. *tarqa*].

Anything "twisted" or "spun" (*maftūl mudawwar*) is called: TALQUV talqu. Thus "a twisted rope" is called: TALQUV YIŠIΓ talqu yišiy. 0

JANQA' čanqa "A type of hunting snare (*ad-dāḥūr wahwa naw' min al-mašāyid*)." 0

"A hard-tempered (*'asir aṭ-ṭab'*) man, one who obeys no one (*lā yanqādu li-aḥad*)" is called: QATQIY KIŠIY qatqi kiši.

QUTQIY 'AR' qotqi ār "A humble man (*mutawāḍi'*)." 0

K

BARKA' bārgā "A rod or whip (*qaḍīb*, *sawṭ*)" used to beat thieves or to goad asses. 0

BURKA' bürgä "Flea (*barṣūt*)." "A light-witted (*ṭayyāš*) man" is likened to this and called: BURKA' KIŠIY bürgä kiši. 0

BIYR\_KUV bērgü "Debt (*dayn*)." :: 'ANIK MANK' BIYR' 'AĀT' BIYR\_KV SIY<sup>1</sup> BA'R' anig maḥa bīr āt bērgüsi bār — "He owes me a horse." 0

BAL_KUV <b>balgü</b> “Mark, sign ( <i>amāra</i> , ‘ <i>alāma</i> ).” Proverb: QUT BALKUVSIY BILIK <b>qut bālgüsi bilig</b> “The mark of Fortune is Wisdom.” 0	<b>bālgü</b> P
BILKA’ <b>bilgä</b> “Wise ( <i>ḥakīm</i> ).” 0	<b>bilgä</b>
BILKA’ <b>bilgä</b> “Knowing ( <i>‘ālim</i> ).” 0	
BIL_KA’ <b>bilgä</b> “Intelligent ( <i>‘āqil</i> ).”	Verse:
BILKA’ ’ARIK ’DKV TUTB SUVZIN ’IŠIT ’AR_’DAMINIY ’UK_’RANIBAN ’IŠ_QA’ SURĀ’ <b>bilgä ärig ädgü tutup sözin ešit</b> <b>ärdämini ögränibän işqa sür-ä</b>	V
“Hold the wise man in good stead, listen to his words, learn his manners and virtues, and apply (what you have learned).”	
From this comes the name: BIL_KA’ BAK’ <b>bilgä beg</b> meaning “Wise, knowing, intelligent emir.” The Khān of the Uighur was called: KUVL’ BIL_KA’ XA’N’ <b>köl bilgä xān</b> meaning “His intelligence is like a lake” ( <i>‘aqluhu ka-l-ḡadīr</i> ). 0	N
[I. 358/428]	216
:: BUKV BILKA’ <b>bügü bilgä</b> “Intelligent ( <i>‘āqil</i> ).” It is likened to pools of water only because of its abundance. 0	
TĀIR_KUV <b>tergü</b> “Saddle straps ( <i>simāt</i> ).” <sup>1</sup> 0	<b>tergü</b>
TIRKY <b>tergi</b> “Spread table ( <i>mā’ida</i> ).” Proverb [cf. 237 <i>saḡrāq</i> ]: TILIN’ TIRKY K’ TAKIYR <b>tilin tergikä tägīr</b> 0 “By (gracious) speech you’ll reach the table spread.” This is coined to advise a person to show his excellence through his speech. It is like the Arabic saying: <i>al-mar’ maxbūw taḥta lisānihi</i> (“A man is hidden beneath his tongue”). 0	<b>tergi</b> P
One says of the panic ( <i>hazāhiz</i> ) which befalls a people when the enemy appears, so that they flee ( <i>nafarū</i> ) from him: TAZKY BULDY <b>täzgi boldi</b> . 0	<b>täzgi</b>
TILKUV <b>tilkü</b> “Fox ( <i>ta’lab</i> ).” 0 This is a nickname for baby girls. When a woman gives birth, they ask the mid-wife: TILKUV MUV TUF_DIY ’AZUV BURIYMUV <b>tilkü mü tuydi azu börimü</b> meaning “Did she bear a fox (meaning a girl, since girls are coy and cunning; and :: BURIYMUV) or a wolf (meaning a boy, since boys are brave)?” 0	<b>tilkü</b>
:: BIYR TILKA’ ’AT <b>bīr tilgä ät</b> “A slice ( <i>filḡa</i> ) of meat.” The same for anything cut lengthwise. Hence “a strip ( <i>šaḡba</i> ) of land” is called: BIYR TILK’ YIYR_’ <b>bīr tilgä yēr</b> . 0	<b>tilgä</b>

216 1. The classical plural of *simḡ* “saddle strap” is *sumūt*; *simāt* can mean “tablecloth”; see ED, 544.

JAJK’ <b>čäčgä</b> “Weaver’s reed ( <i>ḥaff al-nassāj</i> ).”	<b>čäčgä</b>
To ask a child whether he must [pee] or not ( <i>hal bihi am lā</i> ) they say: JURKV BA’R MUV <b>čürgü bār mu</b> . 0	<b>čürgü</b>
BUTKUV <b>bütgü</b> “Excrement ( <i>ḡā’iḡ</i> ),” used only of children. :: BUTKV BA’R MUV <b>bütkü bār mu</b> “Do you have to go ca-ca?” 0	<b>bütgü</b>
JILKUV ’AT_’ <b>čilgü at</b> “A sorrel ( <i>ašqar</i> ) horse.” 0	<b>čilgü</b>
SIR_KA’ <b>sirkä</b> “Vinegar ( <i>xall</i> ).” 0	<b>sirkä</b>
SIR_KA’ <b>sirkä</b> “Nit ( <i>šu’āba ar-ra’s</i> ).” 0	
KATKIY ’AT_’ <b>kätki at</b> “Horse with protruding chest and hollow back ( <i>aq’as</i> ).” 0	<b>kätki</b>
KUT_KIY <b>kötki</b> “Mound of earth ( <i>at-tall min al-turāb</i> ).” 0	<b>kötki</b>
KADKUV <b>kädgü</b> “Clothing ( <i>malbūs</i> ),” of whatever sort. 0	<b>kädgü</b>
KULKV <b>külgü</b> “Laughter ( <i>ḡaḡika</i> ).” 0	<b>külgü</b>
“Apoplexy ( <i>sakta</i> )” is called: KULKV <b>külgü</b> . :: ’AR_’ KLKV BRDY <b>är külgü bardi</b> “The man had an apoplectic stroke.” One may also say: KUL_T_KUV <b>kültgü</b> . 0	
KAR_KIY <b>kärki</b> “Carpenter’s ax ( <i>qaddūm</i> ).” 0	<b>kärki</b>
KUR_KA’ <b>körgä</b> “A wooden plate ( <i>aḡ-ḡabaq allāḡī yuḡna’u min xaḡab</i> ).” Kāncāk dialect.	<b>körgä D</b>
L	
BUTLV <b>butlu (buylu ?)</b> Camel’s nose-plug ( <i>xaḡāš anf al-ba’īr</i> ). <sup>2</sup> 0	<b>butlu (buylu ?)</b>
[I. 360/430]	217
BIRLA’ <b>birlä</b> A particle meaning “with ( <i>ma’a</i> ).” :: ’UL MANIK BIR_’LA’ ’AR_DY ol <b>mānig birlä ärđi</b> “He was with me.” One may elide the <i>rā’</i> for lightness and say: BILA’ <b>bilä</b> . 0	<b>birlä</b>
BBLY <b>bibli</b> “Long pepper ( <i>ad-dār fulful</i> ).” 0	<b>bibli</b>
TUB_LUV <b>toplu (?)</b> Grave ( <i>qabr</i> ). To curse someone you say: TUB_LUVQA’ TUL <b>toplūqa tol</b> , meaning: “May the grave be filled with him!” 0	<b>toplū ?</b>

2. See S. Tezcan in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı - Belleten*, 1977, p. 60.

TUQ'LIY toqli "Sixth-month old sheep (*al-jaḍa' min aḍ-ḍa'n wahwa llaḍī maḍā 'alayhi sitta ašhur*)."<sup>0</sup>

JAFly čawli "The shahin falcon (*šāhin*)."<sup>0</sup>

JAF'LA' čayla Name of a summer pasture in Uč.

ŠUFLUV šuylu "Hound's-berry (*inab at-ta'lab*)."

M

BIJ'MA' YURYNJΓA' bičma yorinčya "Cut (*maqṭū'*) clover."

Those [deverbal] nouns with the *mīm alif* suffix [-ma] indicating the passive participle become simple nouns, and so I shall mention them here. <sup>0</sup>

TUITM' tutma "Box (*šandūq*)."<sup>0</sup>

TURMA' turma "Radish (*fijl*)."<sup>0</sup> Hence "carrot (*jazar*)" is called: SARIF TURMA' sariy turma, meaning, "yellow radish." The people of Arγu call the latter: KIYZRIY gēzri, borrowing the Persian word for carrot *gazar* but pronouncing it with slurring (*rikka*). The Oγuz call it: KAŠUR' gāšūr which they also borrowed from the Persians. When they mixed with the Persians they forgot some of their own language and used Persian in its place. For example, they call a flask (*qumquma*): 'AF'TABAY aftabe which is the Persian *āftābe*. They call a necklace (*ṭawq*): QALIYDAH 'qalīda — in Arabic<sup>1</sup> it is *qalāda*. The Turks call a flask (*qumquma*): QUMΓA'N' qumγān and they call a necklace or ring (*ṭawq, ḥalqa*): BAQAN baqan. <sup>0</sup>

Know that the Oγuz are refined. They use nouns and verbs in isolation that the Turks use only in paired expressions, as a branch or subordinate is joined to its root. For example, the Turks say to mean "He mixed two things": QATĪY QAR'DY qatti qardi. <sup>0</sup> QATĪY qatti is the root in the matter of mixing two things; QARDIY qardi is subordinate to it. The Oγuz say: QAR'DIY qardi for mixing two things, leaving off the root. Similarly, the Turks say: 'DKV YAWLA'Q adgū yawlāq — 'ADKUV ādgū is "good"; <sup>0</sup> YAWLA'Q yawlāq is "bad" and is used paired with 'ADKUV ādgū not alone. The Oγuz use it alone. <sup>0</sup>

[I. 361/433]

TIZ'M' tizmā "Waistband (*nayfaqa*)" of trousers. Also anything that resembles it, such as the "mouth (*ra's*)" of a bag. It is made like a waistband, then a string is inserted to tie it up. <sup>0</sup>

TAK'MA' tāgmā A word meaning "every one (*kull aḥad*)."<sup>0</sup> Proverb: TAK'MA' KIŠY 'UVZ' BUL'M'S' YA'T YAFUQ' TUVZ' BULM'S tāgmā kiši ōz bolmās, yāt yaγuq tūz bolmās <sup>0</sup> "Every person is not like your self (that you should entrust your secret to him or rely upon him), nor are the foreigner and the kinsman equal."

toqli

čawli

čayla N

šuylu

bičma

G

tutma

turma

D

D

D

218

tizmā

tāgmā

P

TUKMA' tügmā "Button (*zirr*)" of a shirt. <sup>0</sup> Also the buttons of tunics and robes. <sup>0</sup>

TIK'M' NA'NK' tikmā nāḡ "Something sewn (*muxayyaṭ*)."

JAL'MA' čalma "Clod (*madar*)."<sup>0</sup> "The dung (*kirs*) from sheep folds and camel stables which is cut up and dried for fuel in the winter" is called: JAL'M' čalma. <sup>0</sup>

SATM' satma "A type of platform which the vineyard guard sets up in a tree to sit on at night (*irzāl* [defined])."

SUZ'MA' süzmā "Curds (*ḥālūm*)."<sup>0</sup>

QAT'MA' YUVΓA' qatma yuvγa "Folded bread cooked in butter (*yuybaxu fi samn*)."<sup>0</sup>

QAR'MA' qarma "Plunder (*nahb*)."<sup>0</sup> Hence :: NA'NK QAR'MA'LA'DIY nāḡ qarmālādi "He plundered something." <sup>0</sup>

QIR'MA' qirma Anything "turned on a lathe (*maxrūt*)."<sup>0</sup> Thus :: QIRMA' TUBIQ qirma topiq "A turned ball." <sup>0</sup>

KAS'MA' kāsmā "A broad iron arrowhead (*al-mišqaš min an-nišāl*)."<sup>0</sup>

KAS'MA' kāsmā "Forelock (*nāšiya*)."

Verse:

TUNLA' BIL' BASTIMIZ;  
TAK'M' YNKAQ BUSTIMZ  
KS'MA'LARIN KAS'TIMZ  
MINK'LAQ 'ARIN BJTIMZ

tünlä bilä bastimiz  
tägmä yaḡaq bustimiz  
kāsmälärin kāstimiz  
miḡlaq ärin bičtimiz

V

Describing their raid on the Uighur: "We attacked them at night; we lay in ambush on every side; then we cut their horses' forelocks, and killed the men of: MINK'LA'Q miḡlāq (a place name)."<sup>0</sup>

[N]

BAK'NIY bāgni "Beer (*šarāb*)" of wheat, millet or barley. <sup>0</sup>

BAΓ'NA' baγna "Rung (*daraja*) of a ladder." <sup>0</sup>

"A type of laserwort (*maḥrūt*)" is called: TAF'N' YWA' taγna yawa. Its medicinal juice<sup>1</sup> is mixed with curdled milk and added to the gravy of Tutmāč.

TAK'NA' tāknā "Trough (*naqīr*)."

JURNY čurni "A laxative (*dawā' mushil*) compounded by the doctors of the Turks."

217 1. MS. *bi-l-γuziyya*, read *bi-l-'arabiyya*.

218 1. MS. *ma'qūrun*, read *ma'qūruhu*, in the meaning 'aqqaruhu.



JIKN' <b>čignä</b> "Harrow ( <i>mimlaqa</i> )." Yağma dialect.	<b>čignä</b> D
XAS'NIY <b>xasni</b> An Indian medicine which is placed in the butter-skin of a baby,	<b>xasni</b>
[I. 363/435]	<b>219</b>
who licks it in order to get fat. <sup>1</sup> 0	
QUŠNIY <b>qošni</b> "Neighbor ( <i>jār</i> )." The Oğuz put the <i>nūn</i> before the <i>šin</i> and say: QUNŠIY <b>qonši</b> . Both of these are correct. 0	<b>qošni</b> D
Chapter: <i>fa'lān, fu'lān, fi'lān</i> , in its various vocalizations	
B	
TUR'BUN' <b>torpun</b> (?) "Inquiry, conjecture ( <i>taħarrī, qiyās</i> )." BIN'LA' <b>anig äwin torpinla</b> "Inquire where his house is ( <i>taħarra ayna baytuhu</i> )."	
T	
TRBYN <b>tartīn</b> "A band or retinue ( <i>jamā'a, rahṭ</i> ) of people, under the command of a chief from among them." 0	<b>tartīn</b>
TARTIYN' <b>tartīn</b> "Provisions ( <i>mīra</i> )." <sup>2</sup> 0	
:: 'AR' TAŠTIN BARDIY <b>är taštin bardī</b> "The man went outside ( <i>xārijan</i> )." 0	<b>taštin</b>
JIK'T'N' <b>čiktān</b> "Saddle cover ( <i>γāšiya as-sarj</i> )." 0	<b>čiktān</b>
QAF'TA'N' <b>qaftān</b> "Robe ( <i>qabā</i> )."	<b>qaftān</b>
J	
BARJA'N' <b>barčān</b> Name of a place.	<b>barčān</b> N
TABJA'N' <b>tapčān</b> "A three-legged [stool] shaped like a tray ( <i>xiwān</i> ), used to stand on when picking grapes." 0 It is for picking those bunches which cannot otherwise be reached. 0	<b>tapčān</b>

219 1. MS. *li-yatarayyala*, read *li-yatarabbala*.

JUR'JA'N' <b>jurčān</b> One of the frontiers ( <i>tağr</i> ) of Islam, on the road to Šīn.	<b>jurčān</b> N
X	
BARXA'N' <b>barxān</b> Name of Lower Šīn. It is a fortress ( <i>hišn</i> ) on a mountain top near <b>barxān</b> N Kāšyar. There are gold mines beneath it. 0	
BURXA'N' <b>burxān</b> "Idol ( <i>šanam</i> )." As a painted effigy ( <i>dumya</i> ) it is called: BDAZ BURXA'N' <b>bāḏiz burxān</b> . 0	<b>burxān</b>
TARXA'N' <b>tarxān</b> A pagan word meaning "emir ( <i>amīr</i> )." Arğu dialect.	<b>tarxān</b> D
D	
JIN'DA'N' <b>čindān</b> "Sandalwood ( <i>šandal</i> )." 0 JINDA'N' 'AT' <b>čindān</b> at "A reddish-bay ( <i>ward</i> ) horse." <b>čindān</b>	
R	
TAW'RA'N' <b>tāwrān</b> "Threads which are gathered and then twisted together ( <i>xuyūṭ</i> <i>tujma'u tumma yuftalu</i> )" for trouser-bands and sling-ropes. 0	<b>tāwrān</b>
SAB'RA'N' <b>sabrān</b> Name of one of the cities of the Oğuz. The common people call it <b>sabrān</b> N ŠAB'RA'N' <b>šabrān</b> with <i>šād</i> , but there is no way for <i>šād</i> to come into Turkic. 0	
SUY'RA'N' <b>subrān</b> (?) Anything "long or tall ( <i>ṭawīl</i> )," such as a minaret, or the like. <b>subrān</b> ? Oğuz dialect. 0	<b>subrān</b> ? D
S	
TUKSIYN' <b>tügsīn</b> "A type of four-ribbed knot ( <i>naw' min al-uqad yu'qadu 'alā arba'a aḏlā'</i> ). Verse [=408 <b>boquq</b> ]:	<b>tügsīn</b>
TAK'M' JAJ'K' 'UKUL'DIY BUQUQLANIB' BUKUL'DIY TUKSIYN' TUKUVN' TUKUL'DIY YAR'GA'LIMAT' <sup>3</sup> YURKAŠVR	<b>tāgmä čečäk üküldi</b> <b>boquqlanip bögüldi</b> <b>tügsīn tügün tügüldi</b> <b>yazγālimat yörgäšür</b>
V	
Describing summer: "The flowers are heaped up; their calyxes are gathered like ribbed knots; they are entwined one in another, ready to burst asunder." 0	
TUK'SIYN' <b>tügsīn</b> Title of a commoner in the third rank	N

2. Gloss above line in a later hand: *ṭa'am* ("food").

3. First *sukūn* (·) changed from dot over R (indicates Z).

[I.365/437]

from the king. 0

TUQSUVN **toqsōn** The number “ninety (*tis‘ūn*).” Its root is: TUQVZ ‘UVN **toqūz ōn** **toqsōn** meaning “nine times ten.” 0 The two words were joined into one. 0

SAX‘SIYN‘ **saxsīn** A city near Bulγār. It is Suvār. 0 **saxsīn** N

SAKSUVN **sāksōn** The number “eighty (*tamānūn*).” Its root is: SAKIZ ‘UVN‘ **sākiz ōn** meaning “eight times ten.” The two words were joined into one. **sāksōn**

KUB‘SUVN‘ **kōpsūn** “Mattress, soft bedding (*ḥašīyya, firāš mawḥū*).” **kōpsūn**

KIM‘SA‘N‘ **kimsān** “Gold leaf (*ruqāqāt ad-dahab*),” used on caps, etc. **kimsān**

Š

KIR‘ŠA‘N **kiršān** “White lead (*isfidāj*).” 0 **kiršān**

KUKŠYN NA‘NK **kōksīn nān** “Anything of a sky-blue color (*ka-lawn as-samā*).” **kōksīn**

Γ

BAR‘GA‘N [sic] **bazγān** “A smith’s hammer (*fuṭs*).” 0 **bazγān**

BAŠ‘GA‘N‘ **bašγān** A large fish weighing 50-100 raṭls. A tribal chieftain (*kabīr al-qawm*) is likened to it and called: BUDUN‘ BAŠ‘GA‘NIY **bodun bašγāni** meaning “Chief of the people (*ra‘īs al-qawm*).” 0 **bašγān**

TUT‘UVN **tutγūn** “Captive (*axīd, asīr*).” 0 **tutγūn**

TAD‘UVN **tadγūn** “River (*wādī*),” such as the Euphrates, etc. It is used like: ‘UKUZ **tadγūn** **öğüz** for any “flowing river (*wādī jāri*).” 0 **tadγūn**

TAL‘N‘YK **talyān īg** “Epilepsy (*šar*).” **talyān**

SIJ‘GA‘N‘ **sičγān** “Mouse (*fāra*).” Proverb [=562 **qaši-**]: ‘ULDAJY SIJ‘GA‘N MUVŠ **TAŠAQIY QAŠIYR‘ öldäči sičγān mūš tašaқи qašīr** 0 “The mouse whose death is near will scratch at the cat’s testicles.” This is like the Arabic expression: *ka-l-bāḥiṭ ‘an al-mudya* (“Like one who seeks the dagger”), coined about a person who hovers about that which will bring his death. 0 SIJ‘N‘YLIY **sičγān yili** One of the twelve years in Turkic. **sičγān** P

SAR‘GA‘N **saryān** A plant which grows in swamps. The place where it grows is called: SAR‘GA‘N YIYR‘ **saryān yēr**. “A thicket in which the cane has dried up (*yabisa*)” is called: SAR‘GA‘N QAMIYŠ **saryān qamiš**. 0 **saryān**

QRGA‘N YIYR‘ **qazγān yēr** “Land that has erosion (*juruf*), cracks (*axāqīq*) and furrows (*šuqūq*).” **qazγān** Proverb:

QUŠ YAWZIY SAΓ‘ZIF‘N **quš yawuzi saγizγān** P  
YIΓA‘J YAWUZY ‘AZGA‘N **yīγāč yawuzi azγān**  
YIYR‘ YAWUZY QAZ‘GA‘N **yēr yawuzi qazγān**  
BUDN YAWUZY BARS‘Γ‘N‘ **bodun yawuzi barsγān**

“The worst bird is the magpie. The worst tree is the (one called) *Azγān*.” 0

[I. 366/439]

221

This is a shrub which has white and yellow rose-like blossoms and red berries like ear-drops; among us it is planted with the grazing-weeds (? *xuss*) of orchards, since it has no value as firewood: whenever it is kindled it crackles in the fire and sparks of it fly out and burn one’s clothing and furniture. “The worst land is the eroded (*dāt al-juruf*)” – since it has no value for camping or sowing. “The worst people are those of *Barsγān*” – since they are unsociable and miserly. 0

QUZ‘Γ‘UVN‘ **quzγūn** “Raven (*γudāf*).” Proverb: BURININK ‘URTAQ‘ QUZ‘Γ‘UV- **quzγūn** **ŃUG‘<sup>1</sup> YIΓA‘J‘ BA‘ŠIN‘DA‘ bōriniḡ ortaḡ quzγūnnuḡ yīγāč bāšinda** 0 “The raven shares with the wolf hunts, but what the raven hunts is on top of the tree.” [The wolf’s is shared, the raven’s is on the tree top.] This is like the Arabic saying: *yarbuḍu ḥajratān wa-yarta‘ī wasaṭān* (“He lies down aside and pastures in the middle”). 0 P

QŠ‘Γ‘VN **qušγūn** “Tender cane (*qašab raṭb*) which is used as fodder.” 0 **qušγūn**

QŠ‘Γ‘VN **qušγūn** A variant of: ‘UŠ‘Γ‘UVN **ušγūn** meaning “rhubarb (*rībās*).” 0 D

QUM‘GA‘N‘ **qumγān** “Flask (*qumquma*).” 0 **qumγān**

MUN‘GA‘N‘ KIŠIY **munγān kiši** “A loquacious person (*ṭarṭār*).” **munγān**

Q

BAR‘QIN KIŠIY **barqin kiši** “A traveller whom nothing alters from his course (*ar-rajul al-musāfir allaḡī lā yaṭnīhi ‘an ‘azmihi šay*).” 0 **barqin**

TURQUVN‘ SUVW‘<sup>2</sup> **turqūn sūw** “Still (*dā‘im*) water.” 0 **turqūn**

TALQA‘N‘ **talqān** “Barley gruel (*sawīq*).” Verse: **talqān**

‘UΓLM ‘UKUT‘ ‘ALΓIL **oγlum ögüt alγil** V  
BILIK‘ SIZLIK KTA‘R‘ **biligsizlik ketār**  
TAL‘QA‘N KIM‘NIK BUL‘SA‘ **talqān kimnig bolsa**  
‘ANGAR‘<sup>3</sup> BAK‘MAS‘ QATA‘R‘ **aḡar bākmās qatār**

- 221 1. *Tašdīd* (˜) and three dots of G by later hand.  
2. The dots of the W by later hand.  
3. Three dots of G by later hand.

“My son, take my counsel and drive off ignorance, for he who has barley gruel mixes it with syrup” — and similarly, he who has intelligence will accept advice. 0

JAL\_QN **čalqan** “The spread of an infection (*ta'diya al-jurh wa-sirāyatuhu*) from one spot to another,” such as a swelling of the leg which causes lumps in the groin. 0

QAL\_QA'N **qalqān** “Shield (*turs*).” One of the two variants. [Cf. 612 **qalqaŋ**] Verse: **qalqān**

QIQ'RIB' 'ATIF' KAM'ŠALIM <sup>4</sup>	<b>qiqrip atiy kāmšālim</b>	D
QAL'QAN' SUNKUVN' JUM'ŠALIM'	<b>qalqan sūnūn čomšālim</b>	V
QAY'NAB' YANA' YUM'ŠALIM'	<b>qaynap yana yumšālim</b>	
QAT'FIY YAFIY YUWIL'SUVN <sup>5</sup>	<b>qatγi yaγi yawalsūn</b>	

[I. 368/441]

Describing the enemy: “We'll attack them screaming and shouting; we'll thrust with them with spear and shield; we'll be violent in the fray — then quiet (for the sake of peace, if it be sued for), so that the hard foe may relent.”

K

TAR'KAN' **tārkān** An address (*xiṭāb*) of the Khāqāniyya for one who has sovereignty over a realm or province (*man kāna malikan 'alā l-wilāya*). It is used only for those who belong to (? *'alā šadr*) the Khāqāniyya and the king. The word means: “You who are obeyed! (*yā muṭā'*).” 0

:: TAR'KIN' KAL' **tārkīn kāl** “Come quickly (*asri' fi l-ḥudūr*).” Its root is: TAR'K' **tārk** meaning “speed (*sur'a*).” 0

TUR'KUN' **törkün** “Gathering-place of the clan (*majma' al-'ašīra*); parents' house (*bayt al-umm wa-l-ab*).” :: QIZ' TUR'KUNIKA' KAL'DIY **qiz törkünkä kälđi** “The daughter came to her father's house.” Verse [=371 **čärgäš-**]:

KAL'SA' 'ABNG <sup>1</sup> TAR'KANIM'	<b>kälsä apan tärkänim</b>	V
'ATIL'KAMAT' TUR'KUNIM	<b>etilgämät terginim</b>	
YAĐIL'MAĞAY' TAR'KINIM	<b>yadılmayay törkünim</b>	
'AM'DIY JARIK' JAR'KASUVR	<b>amđi čäriğ čärgäšür</b>	

4. Most *suküns* (') in this stanza are apparently by later hand. This is not indicated in the transliteration beyond this point except in very striking cases.

5. All the U's in this stanza are apparently by later hand. This is indicated only sporadically beyond this point in the transliteration.

222 1. Three dots of G by later hand. Most of the vowels in this stanza are apparently by later hand.

Calling the Khāqān to help fight the Yabāqu: “May the Khāqān but come! then my gathered goods (*jam'i*) will prosper, my clan's houses (*buyūt 'ašīratī*) will not go to ruin; now the battle line is drawn up (may he reach me!)” 0

TAR'KIN' SUVV<sup>2</sup> **tergin sūw** “Stagnant (*mustanqa'*) water.” 0 TAR'KIN' SUV **tergin sū** “Gathered (*mujtama'*) troops.” Anything “gathered together (*mujtama'*) is: TARKIN' **tergin**.

TAŠ'KAN' **taškān** Name of Šāš. This is the home-town of Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl aš-Šāšī. Its root-form is: TA'Š' KAN'D' **tāš känd** meaning “City of stone (*balda min ḥijāra*).” 0

TUŠKUN **tüšgün** “Goat's-thorn (*šajar al-kaṭīrā' dū šawk*).” **tüšgün**

JAT'KA'N' **čätgān** (**čīgān** ?) “Bridle rein (*'inān al-lijām*).”<sup>3</sup> 0 **čätgān** (**čīgān**?)

JUMK'N [sic] **čimgān** “Meadow (*rawd*); peat (*ṭīl*).” 0 **čimgān**

JIWKIN' 'AŠ' **čiwgin aš** “Food that is wholesome and fattening (*nāji' musammin*).” :: JWKIYN 'UT' **čiwgīn ot** “A fattening plant (for animals).” 0 **čiwgin**

SITKUVN **sitkūn** A city of the Oγuz. **sitkūn N**

SUZKUN **süzgün** A black thorny mountain tree. **süzgün**

KIR'KIN' **kirgin** “Rut of a stallion (*qaṭm al-faḥl*).” :: BUΓ'RA' KIR'KINIY KIR'DIY **kirgin** **buγra kirgini kirdi** “The [camel] stallion was at rut (*daxala qaṭm al-faḥl*).” 0

KAWKIN' 'AŠ' **kāwgin aš** “Unwholesome (*γayr nāji'*) food.” It is the opposite of: JIWKIN' **čiwgin**. Also of a plant. 0 **kāwgin**

KAL'KIN' **kälgin** “Flood tide (*al-madd wahwa bi-manzil as-sayl*).” 0 **kälgin**

[I. 370/444]

LIM'KAN' **limkän** “Yellow plum (*ijjāš ašfar*).” **limkän**

L

BAQ'LA'N QUZIY **baqlān qozi** “A young and fat (*ṭarī samīn*) lamb.” **baqlān**

2. Two of the dots of W by later hand.

3. See ED, 402 for the suggestion that the definition is for **tizgin** which has dropped from the text. DTS, 145 (**četgān**) compares with **čīgān** at QB, 6110 (hapax legomenon) with the same meaning. Since MSS. B and C of QB both clearly have **čīgān** (JYK'N) and since this fits the meter (while **čätgān** would not), it must be genuine.

BK'LA'N <b>baklān</b> A man's name. 0	<b>bāklān</b> N
JUΓ'LA'N <b>čoylān</b> Name of a Qarluq chieftain.	<b>čoylān</b> N
SUK'LYN <b>süglīn</b> "Pheasant ( <i>tadruj</i> )." SUK'LYN <sup>1</sup> <b>süwlin</b> is a variant.	<b>süglīn</b> <b>süwlin</b> D
[M]	
BAT'MA'N <b>batmān</b> "A <i>manā</i> [= 2 raḡls]." :: BIYR BAT'MA'N 'AT' <b>bīr batmān ät</b> "A <i>manā</i> of meat." 0	<b>batmān</b>
JUQMIYN <b>čuqmīn</b> A bread which is shaped like a biscuit and cooked by steaming in a kettle. It is the most wholesome type of bread. 0	<b>čuqmīn</b>
SUKM'N <b>sökmān</b> An honorific title for warriors ( <i>abṭāl</i> ), meaning "He who breaks the battle line ( <i>kāsir šaff al-ḥarb</i> )." It comes from the expression: SUK'TY MA'NK'NIY <b>sökti nāṅni</b> meaning "He broke through ( <i>hataka</i> ) the thing." 0	<b>sökmān</b>
SIQM'N <b>siqmān</b> "Grape pressing season ( <i>awān 'aṣr al-'inab</i> )." 0 In the autumn.	<b>siqmān</b>
QUR'MA'N' <b>qurmān</b> "Bow case ( <i>miqwas</i> )." Oγuz and Qifčāq dialect. :: KIYŠ' QUR' MA'N' <b>kēš qurmān</b> "Bow case and quiver." Its root is the expression: QUVR MA'N' <b>qūr mān</b> meaning "Fasten the belt ( <i>šudd al-minṭaqa</i> ) (to your waist)."	<b>qurmān</b> D
KAT'T' MA'N' <b>ketmān</b> "Hoe ( <i>mi'zaq</i> ) with which one breaks up the soil."	<b>ketmān</b>
KUVZ'MA'N' <b>kōzmān</b> "Bread baked in hot ashes ( <i>xubx al-malla</i> )."	<b>kōzmān</b>

Chapters of Words with a *Madd* or *Līn* Augment between the Second and Third Radicals

Chapter: *fā'alā*, in its various vocalizations

T	
?M'T' <b>tamāta</b> (?) Name of a thin batter ( <i>'ajīn raqīq</i> ), the consistency of <i>qaṭā'if</i> dough, which is spread on fat chickens or meat to retain the juices when roasting. 0	<b>tamāta</b> ?
J	
QAR'JIY <b>qarāci</b> "A beggar ( <i>sā'il</i> ) who goes from door to door."	<b>qarāci</b>
KALA'JUV <b>kālācü</b> "Talking, speech ( <i>ḥadīṭ, kalām</i> )." Oγuz dialect. 0	<b>kālācü</b> D
KUMYJA' <b>kōmīčā</b> "Gnat ( <i>baqq</i> )."	<b>kōmīčā</b>

R	
:: 'UL MANIK TABA'RUV KAL'DIY <b>ol mänig tapāru kaldi</b> "He approached me ( <i>ḥaḍāra ilayya</i> )." 0 :: 'UL 'ANIK TABA'RUV BAR'DIY <b>ol anig tapāru bardī</b> "He approached him." 0 TABA' <b>tapa</b> is a particle meaning "toward ( <i>ilā</i> )." The <i>rā'</i> and <i>vāv</i> are augments. 0	<b>tapāru</b>
XUM'RUV <b>xumāru</b> "Inheritance ( <i>al-mīrāt bi-'aynihi</i> )." :: BUVNIY 'TAM' DAN XUM'RUV BULDUM <b>būni atamdan xumāru buldum</b> "I received this from my father as an inheritance." 0 XUMA'RUV <b>xumāru</b> "Memorial property ( <i>at-taḍkira min al-amwāl</i> )." It is a custom of the Turks	<b>xumāru</b>
[I. 371/445]	224
that when a chief of the realm dies a valuable portion of his property is set aside for the king. This is called: XUMA'RUV <b>xumāru</b> meaning "a memorial from him ( <i>taḍkira minhu</i> )." The word is used as a man's name or a woman's name. Also a traveller leaves behind with his kinsmen something to remember him by ( <i>šay' taḍkirat<sup>an</sup></i> ), and this too is: XUMA'RUV <b>xumāru</b> .	N
Z	
NAMYZ' <b>namīza</b> "Wife's sister's husband ( <i>silf</i> [defined])." Čigil dialect.	<b>namīza</b> D
Š	
ŠALA'ŠUV <b>šalāšu</b> A type of Šīnī fabric.	<b>šalāšu</b>
ŠAMUVŠA' <b>šamūša</b> "Fenugreek ( <i>al-ḥulba allatī yu'kalu</i> )."	<b>šamūša</b>
Γ	
QARA'ΓUV <b>qarāγy</b> "Vitriol ( <i>zāj</i> )." 0	<b>qarāγy</b>
QARA'ΓUV <b>qarāγy</b> "Blind ( <i>a'mā</i> )." 0	
QURIYΓUV NA'NK <b>qurīγy nāṅ</b> "Something about to dry ( <i>'alā šaraf al-jafāf</i> )." Also, "the time in which a thing dries ( <i>waqt jafāf</i> )." 0	<b>qurīγy</b>
QIRA'ΓUV <b>qirāγy</b> "Frost ( <i>jalīd</i> ) which drops from the sky when it is cold." 0	<b>qirāγy</b>
BUZA'ΓUV <b>buzāγy</b> "Calf ( <i>'ijl</i> )." Proverb: 'AWDA'KY BUZA'ΓUV 'UKUVZ BUL-MA'S' <b>äwdäki buzāγy öküz bolmās</b> "The house calf never becomes a bull." 0 This is coined about a man who stands high in virtue and honor but whose kinsmen still regard him as though he were a child. 0	<b>buzāγy</b> P
BUZA'ΓUV TILIIY <b>buzāγy tili</b> [lit. "calf's tongue"] "A rat ( <i>jirdawn</i> )." It is a small animal. 0	

:: 'AT· BUŠUVΓUV BULDY at **bošūyu boldi** “It became time to let the horse loose from the tether (*awān iṭlāq . . . min al-wataq*).” The same for other things.

:: 'AT· TUŠA'ΓUV BULDY at **tušāyu boldi** “It became time to put the shackle (*waqt waq' aš-šikāl*) on the horse.” The same for other things.

BUQA'ΓUV **buqāyu** “A fetter (*maqṭara*) which is placed on a thief.” 0

TAQA'ΓUV **taqāyu** The generic word for “fowl (*dīk wa-dajāj*).” Then one distinguishes them by saying 'AR·KAK· TAQA'ΓUV **ārkāk taqāyu** for “cock (*dīk*)”<sup>1</sup> and TIŠIY TAQA'ΓUV **tiši taqāyu** for “hen (*dajāj*).” Proverb [cf. 449 *yawaš* V ]: YAZYDA' QY SUW·LIYN· 'AḌAR·KALIY 'AW·DA'KIY TAQA'ΓUV 'IJ·ΓIN·MA' **yazīdaqi süwlin edārgāli äwdāki taqāyu ičyinma** 0 “When you go out to hunt pheasant [in the field] do not let the hens in the house escape.” 0 This is coined to advise a person to stop spending what he has to get what he does not have. 0

TAQA'ΓUV YILIIY **taqāyu yili** Name of one

[I. 373/447]

of the twelve years in Turkic. 0

TALA'ΓUV **talāyu** “Fatal poison (*summ mujhiz*).”<sup>1</sup> “Dysentery (*zahīr*)” is also called: TALA'ΓUV **talāyu**. 0

TUMA'ΓUV **tumāyu** “A cold (*zūkām*).” 0

QAN'ΓIV **qanāyu** “Lancet (*mibḍa*).”

K

BUTUVKA' **bütügä** “Eggplant (*bāḍinjān*).”

BILA'KUV **bilāgü** “Whetstone (*misann*).” 0

TIRA'KUV **tirāgü** “Anything that supports (*yu'tamadu 'alayhi wa-ya'midu bihi*) something else,” such as a column, etc.

KAR'KV **kārākü** “Tent (*xibā*),” among the Türkmān; “winter house (*bayt šatwī*),” among the settled folk. Proverb [=203 *kātān*]: KUK KURDIY KARA'KV YUDTY **kāk kördi kārākü yüḍti** “He saw trouble so he loaded the tent (on his back).”

224 1. MS. *dajāj*.

225 1. MS. *mujahhaz*.

KUZ'KUV **közāgü** “Fire poker (*miḥḍāt*).” Proverb: KUZ'KUV 'UZUVN BULSA' 'ALIK KUY·M'S **közāgü uzūn bolsa ālig köymās** 0 “If the poker is long the hand will not get burned.” 0 This is coined about a man who has sons and servants looking after his affairs while he relaxes. 0

KUŠIYKA' **köšigä** “Slight shade (*zill šayīr*).” 0

KALA'KUV **kälāgü** “Gerboa (*yarbū*).”

KULIYK' **kölīgä** “Deep shade (*zill zalīl*).”

L

JUMA'LIY **čümāli** “Ant (*naml*).” Čigil dialect. 0

One says of a man who is dazed (*sadira ṭarfuhu*) from the heat: JUMAIYLY<sup>2</sup> BULDY **čümēli čümēli (?) boldi** meaning “He became dizzy and sluggish (*sadira wa-fatara*).” 0

KABA'LIY **kāpāli** “Butterfly (*al-farāša allatī taṭīru*).” 0

Chapter: *fa'ālān, fa'īlān*, in its various vocalizations

Z

QARIYZ'N **qarizān** “Dotard (*šayx harim*).”

Q

JIYQA'N<sup>3</sup> **čibiqān** “Jujube (*unnāb*).” 0 JIYQA'N<sup>3</sup> **čibiqān** “Boil (*dummal*)” – likened to a jujube because of its redness. 0

QAR'Q'N **qarāqān** A type of mountain tree.

M

JULYMA'N 'IYŠ **čulimān (?) iš** “An inextricable (*lā yu'rafu maxrajuhu*) affair.” The root-meaning is “stagnant water (*mustanqa' al-mā*).” Kānčāk dialect. ? D

Chapter: *fa'anlī*, in its various vocalizations

D

2. I by a later hand (dark ink, thin point).

3. One dot of Y crossed out, making it BI.

0	TATINDY SUVT' tatindi sūt "Remainder of milk in the udder ( <i>al-γubr<sup>4</sup> min al-laban</i> )."	tatindi
	SAJIN'DIY NA'NK sačindi nāṅ "Something thrown off, scattered ( <i>maṭrūḥ manšūr</i> )."	0 sačindi
	TADIN'DY NA'NK tiđindi nāṅ "Something inaccessible ( <i>mumanna'</i> )."	0 tiđindi
	KADINDY TUVN kādindi tōn "An often-worn ( <i>malbūs kaṭīran</i> ) garment."	kādindi
[I. 374/449]		226
	SURUN'DIY 'AR sūrūdi ār "A man who has been cast out ( <i>maṭrūd</i> ) of every place."	0 sūrūdi
	QIRINDIY qirindi "The peel or parings ( <i>qušāra</i> ) of a thing."	qirindi
Z		
	ZARNZ' zaranza "Safflower ( <i>'uṣfur</i> )."	"Safflower seed ( <i>qirṭim</i> )" is called: ZARNZ'
'UR'TIY <sup>1</sup>	zaranza uryi.	zaranza
N		
	SUZUN'DIY SUVW' süzündi sūw "Water that has been much filtered ( <i>allađī ṣuffiya kaṭīran</i> )."	0 süzündi
	QAZIN'DIY TUB'RA'Q' qazindi topṛāq "Excavated earth ( <i>nabīṭa at-turāb</i> )."	0 qazindi
	BUFN'DIY boγundi "Bladder ( <i>maṭāna</i> )," of animals, not of humans.	boγundi
	SALIN'DIY 'UTUNG <sup>2</sup> salindi otuṅ "Firewood which the flood has thrown up ( <i>lafāza</i> ) <sup>3</sup> on the bank." 0 SALIN'DIY NA'NK salindi nāṅ "Something thrown out ( <i>maṭrūḥ</i> )."	0 salindi
	SULNDY salindi nāṅ "The male member ( <i>'awf<sup>4</sup> ar-rajul</i> )."	This comes from the expression: SALINDY NA'NK salindi nāṅ meaning "The thing hung down ( <i>tadallā</i> )," since it is always hanging. An inelegant word ( <i>luṣa ṣayr faṣīḥa</i> ). 0
	TAMIN'DIY SUVW <sup>2</sup> tamindi sūw "Drip water ( <i>quṭāra al-mā</i> )."	0 tamindi
	KUMUN'DIY NA'NK kōmūndi nāṅ "Something buried ( <i>madfūn</i> )."	kōmūndi

4. MS. 'ubr.

1. *Sukūn* (') changed to U (?).  
 2. Three dots of G and two of the dots of W by later hand; not indicated henceforth in our text.  
 3. MS. *laqaṭa*.  
 4. MS. 'arf; cf. 451:10, and see Dozy II, 190. Possibly to be read 'ard; cf. 168 sik.

When *nūn dāl yā'* are added to verbal roots they become nouns with the meaning of excess (*fuḍāla*) or of the passive participle (*al-maf'ūl*). It is the same function as the Arabic form *fu'āla*.

Another approach is to begin with the past tense form of the verb. When *nūn* is inserted between the final radical of the verbal root and the past tense marker *dāl yā'*, then the verb becomes a noun with the meaning of the passive participle. For example: SUW<sup>5</sup> NIY SUVZ'TIY [sic] *suwni süzdi* "He filtered the water." When you insert *nūn* between the radical *zāy* and the past tense marker *dāl yā'* and say: SUZUN'DIY SUVW<sup>2</sup> *süzündi sūw*, then the verb becomes a noun which is the object of the action, meaning "Filtered (*muṣaffā*) water." Other words follow this rule. 0

Chapter: *fu'lulī*

L

BUS'TULY bustuli "Mountain spinach (*as-sarmaq allađī yu'kalu*)."

0 bustuli

## End of Trilateral Chapters

## Chapters of Words of More than Three Radicals

Chapter: *fa'lal, fa'lāl, fu'lul*, in its various vocalizations

[I. 376/451]

227

T

BUŠUT' bošyut "Apprentice (*at-tilmīd fī l-ḥirfa*)."

0 bošyut

TARMUT' tarmut "Mountain ravines and streams (*fajāj al-jabal wa-talā'uhu*)."

Thus :: tarmut

TAT' TARMUT KAJTIM tāy tarmut kāčtim "I crossed the mountain ravines and streams." 0

TAKŠUT' tāgšüt "Exchange (*badal*) of something in the way of compensation (*'iwađ*)," such as the exchange of bad coin for good. 0

tāgšüt

RABJAT rabčat<sup>1</sup> (?) "Forced labor (*suxriyya*)," as when an emir uses his subjects' pack-animals without recompense. Kāncāk dialect. 0

rabčat ?

D

JABIUT čapyut "Mattress (stuffing) (*ḥašiyya*)."

0 čapyut

5. W changed from V (three dots by later hand).

227 1. See ED, 780. Note that this word is not in the correct alphabetical order, which requires the first letter to be T or J. Perhaps *tapčut* (< *tapšut*) or *čapčut* (< *čapšut*)?

- QAR·ŠUT· qaršut “Opposite (*ḍidd*),” such as night and day. 0 qaršut
- QIZΓUT qizγut “Exemplary punishment (*nakāl*)” – a man is disgraced (*yufḍahu*) before the people because of a crime, and he is punished for it, so that others will see him and be restrained thereby. qizγut
- QAW·ŠUT· qawšut “Reconciliation (*muṣāfaḥa muṣālaḥa*) of two kings for the well-being of the state.” From this comes the man’s name: QAW·ŠUT· qawšut. qawšut  
N
- LUJNT lučnut<sup>2</sup> (?) “Giving aid (*i’āna*) in the cleaning of wheat, etc.” The villagers help one another by sending over a slave, or else an animal to thresh the grain. Kāncāk dialect. lučnut ?  
D

## J

- BIJ·ΓUVJ· bičγūč “Shears (*miqrād* [defined]).” 0 bičγūč
- BUD·RA·J budrāč Name of a chieftain of the Yabāqu. They fell into the hands of the Muslims in the time of Bākāč Arslān Tegīn. budrāč  
N
- YAR·KUVJ· bürgūč “A broad piece of wood shaped like a sword, used to turn over bread in the oven.” bürgūč
- BUS·KA·J bösgāč “A flat loaf (*raḡīf*).” bösgāč
- TUT·M·J tutmāč A well-known food of the Turks. 0 It is one of the provisions of Dū-l-Qarnayn [remaining] among them. Thus: When Dū-l-Qarnayn emerged from the lands of darkness the people’s food supply was short and they complained to him of hunger, saying: BIZ·NIY TUT·M·J ’ĀJ· bizni tutma āč meaning “Don’t keep us (here) hungry (*lā tumsiknā hāhunā jiyā’an*) – but let us go, that we may return to our homelands.” He consulted with the wise men about this, and they came up with this food. It strengthens the body and reddens the cheeks,

[I. 377/452]

228

and is not quickly digested. After eating 0 Tutmāč one then drinks the broth, double (? *aḍ’āfahu*). When the Turks saw this they called it: TUT·M·J· tutmāč. Its root is: TUTM·’AJ· tutma ač meaning “Don’t leave hungry (*lā tujawwi*).” The two *alifs* were dropped for lightness. The sense is, “Don’t leave yourself hungry, but take this food and eat it.” 0

- TUT·ΓUVJ tutγūč “Breakfast (*as-sulfa min aṭ-ṭa’ām*).” 0 tutγūč
- TUD·RIJ<sup>1</sup> tudrič “Manure (*zibl*).” Arḡu dialect. 0 tudrič D

2. Perhaps köčnüt (cf. 180 köčüt “horse”)?

228 1. U changed to (or from?) A.

TAL·ΓUVJ· talγūč The name for a piece of wood which is inserted between an animal’s bundle and the rope. The rope is twisted (*yufṭalu*) with it several times so that the rope is stretched taut, the load is fastened securely, and the bundle does not go awry. 0 talγūč

TAW·Γ·J tawγāč The name for Māšīn. It lies beyond Šīn a distance of four months’ travel. 0 Šīn is originally threefold: “Upper,” in the east, which is: TAWΓA·J tawγāč; “Middle,” which is: XIATA·Y· xiṭāy ; and “Lower,” which is: BAR·XA·N barxān, the vicinity of Kāšḡar. 0 But now Tawγāč is known as Māšīn, and Xiṭāy as Šīn. 0 tawγāč  
N

TAWΓA·J· tawγāč The name of a tribe of the Turks who settled in those regions. From this word comes the expression: TAT TAWΓA·J tat tawγāč meaning “Uighur (which is Tat) and Šīnī (which is Tawγāč).” 0 N

“Any manufactured item that is ancient and imposing (*iḍā kāna qadīman ‘aẓīmān*)” is called: TAW·ΓA·J ’ADY tawγāč āḍi. This is like the Arabic expression *šay’ ‘ādī* (“something of ‘Ād”). The word is also used as a name for kings: TAWΓA·J· XA·N· tawγāč xān meaning “of great and inveterate rule (*‘aẓīm al-mulk wa-qadīmuḥu*).” 0 N

They say, as a paired expression: TAT TAWΓA·J· tat tawγāč. By “Tat” they mean “Persian (*al-fārisī*),” and by “Tawγāč” they mean “Turk.” In my opinion the more correct usage is what I have mentioned [above]. The latter is used in the lands of Islam; the former in that place. Both are correct.

TAW·ΓA·J YUDA·SIY tawγāč yodāsi A shrub whose leaves are like leaves of the lily (*sūsan*) and are used as a medicine. 0

SAR·QIJ sarqič “Gum succory (*mārūra* [defined]).” 0 sarqič

SURQIJ surqič “Resin (*uṣāra šibḡ al-lukk*)” used to glue the tangs of swords, daggers and knives to their handles. 0 surqič

SAR·NIJ· sarnič “A leather milking pail (*ulba*).” 0 sarnič

[I. 379/455]

229

SAΓ·DIJ· saydič “Friend (*šadiq*).” 0 saydič

SUΓ·DIJ· soγdič Name of a feast (*ḍiyāfa*) that circulates among the people in winter, in succession (*‘ala t-tartib*). 0 soγdič

SAWDIJ sawdič “A basket (*qaf’a*) woven from branches,” used to carry fruit, etc. 0 sawdič

SANKAJ· sāngāč A species of apple (*tuffāḥ*) the size of a hazelnut, sweet, red and white. 0 sāngāč

0

QTQJ· qatquč (?) “Something that stings (*šay’ yaldaḡu*),” like a scorpion. Arḡu dialect. qatquč ?

0

D

QIS·GA'J' qisγāč "Pincers ( <i>kalbatān</i> )."	0	qisγāč	
QIUS·GA'J' qisγāč A small black animal that bites people. Oγuz dialect.	0	D	
QUŠ·GA'J' qušγāč "Sparrow ( <i>'usfūr</i> )."	0	qušγāč	
KAR·BIJ' kārpič "Brick ( <i>labin</i> )."	0	kārpič	"Baked bricks ( <i>ājurr</i> )" are called: BIŠIΓ KAR-
BIJ' bišiy kārpič.	0		
KIR·TUJ KIŠIY kirtüč kiši "A grudging and ill-natured ( <i>ḥasūd šaris al-xulq</i> ) person."		kirtüč	
R			
BAŠTAR baštar "Scythe ( <i>minjal</i> )."	Arγu dialect.	0	baštar D
BAK·TUR' bāktür A man's name. Its root is: BAK·TUR' bāk tur meaning "Hold fast (to your place) ( <i>uṭbut makānaka jaldan</i> )."	0	bāktür N	
BUKTIUR <sup>1</sup> böktir "Hard depressed ground in a mountain ( <i>al-ḥazan wa-l-wahada fi l-jabal</i> )."		böktir	Verse:
	'AFA' BUKTIR 'Z' YURDIM BARIQ YA'QIB QYA' [sic] KURDM 'NY BYLB TQY BARDM TUKAL YA'GY TURY [sic] TUΓDY	aγa böktir üzä yordim yiraq bāqip qara <sup>2</sup> kördim ani bilip taqi turdim tükal yāyi tozi toγdi	V
"I climbed a hard outcropping ( <i>ḥazn</i> ) <sup>3</sup> of the mountain, I saw a black spot from afar, I stayed in my place after I recognized (it), then the dust of the enemy rose up [completely]."			
BALDIR bāldir "Mountain peak ( <i>ra'n al-jabal</i> )."	:: TA'Γ BALDIRIY tāγ bāldiri.	0	bāldir
BALDIR' 'UΓUL baldir oγul "Step-son ( <i>rabīb</i> )."	BALDIR' QIYZ baldir qiz "Step-daughter ( <i>rabība</i> )."	0	baldir
BALDIR' TARIG baldir tariγ "A field that is tilled at the beginning of spring ( <i>alladī ḥuriṭa fi btidā' ar-rabi'</i> )."			
That is the best time for it. Similarly, "anything that occurs at the beginning of its season ( <i>kull fi'l fi btidā' awānihi</i> )" is called: BAL·DIR' baldir. :: BALDIR' QUZIY baldir qozi "A lamb born at the beginning of the parturition season ( <i>nutija fi btidā' an-natāj</i> )."			
All four of these have <i>išbā'</i> of the <i>bā'</i> . 0			

229 1. Second U in red ink.

2. Read thus, to correspond to the translation (**qara**, Ar. *sawād*, here means "a form dimly perceived in the distance"; cf. WB,ii, 138). **Qaya** is also a good reading; the phrase would then mean, "I looked back from afar."3. MS. *ḥazm*.

:: TA'Š QUḌIΓQ' TUŠTY BULDUR BULDUR' 'ITİY tāš quḍuγqa tüšti buldur buldur	buldur	etti "The stone fell in the well causing such a sound to arise."	
BILDIŪR' bildur "Last year ( <i>al-'ām al-mādī</i> )."	0	bildur	
BUL·GA'R' bulγār A well-known city of the Turks.	0	bulγār N	
TUL·FIR' tolwir (?) "Bridal pavilion ( <i>as-sitr wahwa l-ḥijāl</i> )."	It is stretched out ( <i>yumad-du</i> ) for women, and is made of brocade and silk.	0	tolwir ?
[I. 380/457]			230
:: 'UQ KIYS·TA' JAL·DIR' JAL·DIR' 'ITY oq kēštā čaldir čaldir etti	"The arrow rattled ( <i>taqalqala</i> ) <sup>1</sup> in the quiver."	Also for the [rustling] sound of dry grass blown by the wind.	čaldir
JAIΓMUR čaγmur "Turnip ( <i>šaljam</i> )."	0	JAMΓUR čamγur The same, by metathesis.	čaγmur čamγur
SAR·KAR' sarkār "Bandit ( <i>qāṭi' aṭ-tariq</i> )."	Qarluq dialect.	0	sarkār D
QAN·DIR' qandir Name of the skin ( <i>jild al-laḥm</i> ) which remains after the hide which is suitable for tanning has been stripped off.	0	qandir	
KAS·TAR kästär "Earthenware ( <i>xazaf</i> )."	Uč dialect.	0	kästär D
KAŠMIYR' kāšmīr A city in the region of the Turks. It was built by Solomon, God's blessings be upon him.	0	kāšmīr N	
MANDA'R mandār A plant which winds around trees and causes them to dry up – "bindweed ( <i>ašāqa</i> )."	Oγuz dialect.		mandār D
Z			
YURDUZ borduz "Truck-garden ( <i>fālīz</i> )."	This word is not original.	0	borduz
BALDIZ' baldiz "Wife's younger sister ( <i>uxt al-mar'a aš-šurā</i> )."	"A man's sister ( <i>uxt ar-rajul</i> )" is not called: BAL·DIZ baldiz, but rather: SINGIL' siñil [604].	0	baldiz
TARMAZ' tarmuz "Gherkin ( <i>qaṭad</i> )."	0	tarmuz	
QUT·SUZ' qutsuz "Luckless ( <i>al-mudbir fi l-umūr</i> )."	Proverb [cf. 545 qowi]: QUTSUZ QUḌUΓ·QA' KIR·SA' QUM·YAFA'R' qutsuz quḍuγqa kirsā qum yayār	0	qutsuz P
"When a luckless one ( <i>al-mudbir alladī lā jadd lahu</i> ) falls in the well <sup>2</sup> it rains sand (on top of him)."			
This is like the			

230 1. MS. *yuqalqilu*.

2. "in the well" added by a later hand above the line.



Arabic saying: *idā aqbala aqbala wa-idā adbara dammara* (“Going forward he brings fortune, going backward he brings misfortune”). 0

QIR·QIZ **qirqiz** A tribe of the Turks. 0

**qirqiz** N

QALBUZ **qalbuз** “Morsel (*luqma*).” :: QAL·BUZ LA·DIY NA·NKNY **qalbuзlādi nāñni** **qalbuз** “He took a bite (*iltaqama*) of the thing.” 0

QUNDUZ· **qunduz** “Beaver (*al-quḍā'a wahya kalba al-mā'*).” 0 QUNDUZ QAY·RIY **qunduz** **qayri** “Castoreum (*xizmiyān*) (a medicine).”<sup>3</sup> 0

KUNDUZ **kündüz** “Daylight (*ḍaw' an-nahār*).” 0

**kündüz**

MUNDUZ **munduz** “Simpleton (*al-ablah min an-nās*).” Proverb: NAJA·MUN·DUZ·'ARSA·'IYŠ·'AD·KUV NAJA·'K·RIY 'AR·SA·'YUVL·'AD·KUV **nāčā munduz ārsā ēš ādgü, nāčā āgri ārsā yōl ādgü** “Though your companion be a simpleton, that is better than being alone in the desert; though the road be twisted, travelling on it is better than going at random through the desert wastes, for at least by the road one may reach one's destination.” [Lit.: “No matter how simple, a companion is good; no matter how crooked, a road is good.”] 0

**munduz**  
P

MUNDUZ·'AQIN **munduz aqin** “Sudden flood (*al-atī min as-sayl*).” 0 MUN·DUZ YURIYΓ·'ĀAT· **munduz yoriya āt**

[I. 382/458]

231

“A horse whose only pace is a jog-trot (*hamlaja*).”

S

BIJ·ΓA·S· **bičyās** “A contract or covenant (*'ahd, mītāq*)” among people, etc. Verse: **bičyās**

BIJΓ'S BTK QILURLAR·	<b>bičyās bitig qilurlar</b>	V
'ND KAY YM· BIRUVRLAR·	<b>and kāy yemā berūrlār</b>	
X'NDIN BASUT TILAR·LAR·	<b>xāndin basut tilārlār</b>	
BAS·MIL JUMAL TIRKAŠUVR·	<b>basmil čömul tergäšür</b>	

Calling the Khāqān to help in battle with the Yabāqu: “My people write a pact of allegiance (*kitāb al-'ahd wa-l-bay'a*) not to go against the king; [they even take a firm oath; they seek aid from the Khān;] for now the tribes of Basmil and Čömul are gathered to do battle with us.” Then the Khāqān overtook them and took them captive. 0

BAKMĀS· **bākmās** “Syrup (*rub*b).” Oğuz dialect. 0

**bākmās**

QIRBA·S·'AR· **qirpās är** “A man whose hair falls out (*yatanātaru*) of his head so that it is wispy not thick (*yaxiffu wa-lā-yakuffu*).”

**qirpās**

Š

3. MS. *al-xirmiyān fī l-awdiya*, read *al-xizmiyān fī l-adwiya*.

YURBA·Š·'IYŠ **borbās iš** “A confused, inextricable (*muxtaliḥ lā yu'rafu maxrajuhu*) affair.” **borbās**

BATRUŠ SUVV· **batruš sūw** “Muddy (*kadir*) water.” Also “noodles (*aṭriyya*) that have too much dough and too little water.” **batruš**

BUL·ΓA·Š· **bulyāš** “Civil disorder (*fitna*) that befalls a people at the approach of an enemy.” 0 **bulyāš**

TIR·K·Š **tergāš** “The press of a crowd preventing movement (*at-tamānu' fī s-sayr min az-zahma*).” 0 SUVF· TIRK·ŠIY **sūw tergāši** “Stagnant water in a river channel (*mustanqa' al-mā' fī l-wādī min al-a'ḍād*).” **tergāš**

JULBUŠ **čalpuš** “The sticky substance (*luzūja*) of fruits that sticks to (*yušību*) one's clothes or hands.” 0 **čalpuš**

SAR·MAŠ **sarmaš** “The winding of one thing around another (*iltifāf aš-šay' bi-š-šay'*).” **sarmaš**  
0 When people “mingle in confused discord (*māja . . . ba'ḍuhum fī ba'ḍ fī fitna*)” one says: SAR·MAŠ BULDY **sarmaš boldi**. 0

SUWSUŠ **suwsuš** “What remains of beer after its alcoholic strength has gone out (*āxir mā' al-ḥinṭa ba'da mā ḍahaba quwwa šarābihi*).” Also “churned milk that has been watered down (*al-māxiḍ<sup>1</sup> yušabbu 'alayhi l-mā'*)” is given this name. 0 **suwsuš**

QAT·LIŠ· **qatliš** “The place where channels of a river come together (*mu'tarak al-miyāh 'inda tanāṭuḥ al-a'ḍād*).” :: SUVV· QAT·LIS·TIY **sūw qatlišti**. 0 **qatliš**

QATMIŠ **qatmiš** A man's name. 0

**qatmiš** N

QIRTIŠ **qirtiš** “Face color or complexion (*lawn wajh*)” of a person, or other.

**qirtiš**

[I. 383/460]

232

:: KUR·K·LK QIRTIŠ·LIΓ KIŠY **körklüg qirtišliy kiši** “A person with a beautiful complexion.”  
:: YJR· QIRTIŠY **yēr qirtiši** “The surface (*adīm*) of the earth.” Not every surface is called: QIRTIS **qirtiš**. 0

QAR·ΓIŠ **qaryiš** “Curse (*la'na*).” :: TANKRIY QAR·ΓIŠIY 'ANIK·'UZA· **tāñri qaryiši** **anig üzä** “God's curse upon him!” It may be used as an adjective; thus: QARΓIŠ· KIŠY **qaryiš kiši** “A damned (*mal'un*) person.” 0 **qaryiš**

QULDAŠ· **qoldaš** “Associate (*qarīn*).” This is used only among servants of the nobility (? *fī xidam al-kubarā*). 0 **qoldaš**

231 1. MS. *māḥiḍ*; cf. 73 *ayrān*.

KIR·DAŠ kirdäs “A neighbor who resides with you in a single dwelling ( <i>al-jār alladī yuḥālluka fi dār wāḥida</i> ).” 0	kirdäs
Γ	
YURBA·Γ borbāy “Postponing, procrastination ( <i>al-maḥl wa-t-taswīf fi l-umūr</i> ).” 0	borbāy
BIR·QI·Γ birqiy “Snorting ( <i>naxīr</i> ) of a horse or donkey.” :: ’ĀT BIR·QI·ΓIY āt birqiyi.	birqiy
BRQ·Γ burqiy “A wrinkle ( <i>inziwā</i> )” in the skin, etc. 0	burqiy
BAŠ·LA·Γ NA·NK· bošlāy nāḡ “Something left free or neglected ( <i>muhmal</i> ).” Thus :: bošlāy BAŠ·LA·Γ YILQY bošlāy yilqi “An animal that is left free.” 0	
BIFRI·Γ boyruy (?) “A bulge ( <i>amt</i> )” in a straw sack, a milk skin, etc. 0	boyruy ?
TAB·LA·Γ taplāy “Satisfaction ( <i>riḍā</i> )” with a thing.” :: BUV ’IYŠ· DA’ SANIK TAB·LA·ΓINK· BA·R· MUV bu īšda sānig taplāyın bār mu “Do you have satisfaction in this mat- ter?” 0	taplāy
TAB·ZU·Γ tapzuy “Riddle ( <i>al-ulḡūza allatī yuḥājā bihā</i> ).” :: TABUZ·ΓUQ TABUZDM tapuzyuq tapuzdum “I proposed (to him) a riddle ( <i>uḥjiyya</i> ).” 0	tapzuy
TUT·SU·Γ tutsuy “Will or request ( <i>waṣiyya</i> ).” :: MAN ’ANKAR· TUT·SU·Γ TUTUZ· DUM· män anar tutsuy tutuzdum “I enjoined upon him a will or request ( <i>awṣaytuhu bi-waṣiyya</i> ).” 0	tutsuy
TAR·TI·Γ tartiy “Saddle girth ( <i>ḍafr ar-raḥl<sup>1</sup> wa-ḥizāmuhu</i> ).” 0	
TAR·TI·Γ tartiy “Summons ( <i>du’ā</i> ) of a king to his retinue because of a matter that has arisen.” Hence :: BAK· DAN TARTI·ΓIY KAL·DIY begdān tartiyēi kāldi “The summoner ( <i>dā’i</i> ) of the king or emir has come.” 0	tartiy
TURQ·Γ turqiy “Shame ( <i>al-ḥayā fi l-amr</i> ).” :: ’UL· MANDAN TRQ·Γ ol mändān turqiy <sup>2</sup> “He was ashamed ( <i>ṣāra . . . ḥayī</i> ) before me over something he did.” 0	turqiy
TU·ΓRA·Γ tuyrāy “The king’s seal and signature ( <i>tābi’ al-malik wa-tawqī’uhu</i> ).” Oḡuz dialect. The Turks do not know this word and I do not know its origin. 0	tuyrāy D
TU·ΓZA·Γ [sic] tuyrāy “Any horse which the king gives his troops on the day of a parade or a battle ( <i>yawm ar-rukūb aw al-ḥarb</i> ) and which he takes back when they return.” 0	
TILDA·Γ tildāy “Falsely accusing a person ( <i>at-tajanni’ alā l-insān</i> ).”	tildāy

- 232 1. MS. *ṣafr ar-rajul*.  
2. Read *turqiylandi* (402-3) or *turqiy boldi*.

[I. 385/462]

233

Thus :: ’UL ’ANKAR· TILDA·Γ· QILUVR· ol anar tildāy qilūr “He accuses him falsely (*yatajannā ‘alayhi*).” This is equivalent to the Persian *bahāne*. 0

“The east (*ṣarq*)” is called: KUVN· TU·ΓSU·Γ kūn tuysuy. 0 KUVN BATSI·Γ kūn  
batsiy is “the west (*ḡarb*).” 0 tuysuy  
(batsiy)

TALQ·Γ talqiy “A place where ropes collide (*muṣṭadam al-ḥibāl*).”<sup>1</sup> 0 TALQI·Γ  
talqiy “An impediment (*ta’wīq*) in affairs.” 0 talqiy

TUMLI·Γ tumliy “Cold (noun or adjective) (*bard, bārid*).” Verse: tumliy

TUMLI·Γ KLB QAB·SADIY	tumliy kālip qapsadi	V
QUTLI·Γ YA·YI·Γ TAB·SADIY	qutluḡ yāyiy tāpsadi	
QAR·LAB ’AŽUN YAB·SADIY	qarlap ažun yapsadi	
’AT· YIN ’UŠB ’AMRIŠUVR·	āt yen üšip āmrišūr	

0 “Cold has come and covered the world. It is envious of blessed summer. It has snowed and  
nearly hidden the earth. Bodies shiver as though ants were creeping inside.” 0 The root of:  
TUM·LU·Γ· tumliy is: TUM· tum. 0 :: ’ULUK· YU·DIY TUM·LU·Γ· ölüḡ yüzi tumliy “The dead  
man’s face is cold” – this means that his kinsmen draw back from him after death. P

SIR·TI·Γ sirtiy “The trace of a story (*aṭar kull ḥadīṭ*) of which one is only partially  
aware.” Thus :: MAN BUV SUVZDAN SIR·TI·Γ BULDUM män bu sözdān sirtiy buldum “I got  
wind of this story (*wajadtu aṭar ḥadā l-kalām*).” 0 sirtiy

SAJ·LI·Γ ’AR· sacliy ār “A hairy (*ṣa’rānī*) man.” 0 sacliy

SAR·SI·Γ SUVZ sarsiy sōz “Coarse (*xašin*) speech.” The same for a coarse matter, or a  
coarse way of walking. 0 sarsiy

SIZ·LA·Γ sizlāy The word for “setting the teeth on edge (*kalāl as-sinn*)” from drinking  
freezing water or biting ice and feeling the cold. sizlāy

SI·ΓZI·Γ siyzaḡ “A thong that is inserted between stitch-holes of a shoe or the like (*kalb*  
[defined]).” 0 SI·ΓZI·Γ siyzaḡ “A patch holding two things together (*ar-ru’ba bayn aš-ṣay’ayn*).”  
0 siyzaḡ

“A toothpick (*xilāl al-asnān*)” is called: TIYŠ· SI·ΓZA·ΓIY tiš siyzaḡyi. 0

SA·ΓLI·Γ [sic] sanliy Anything “counted (*ma’dūd*).” Its root-form is: SA·Γ·LI·Γ [sic] sanliy.  
0 sanliy

- 233 1. MS. *jibāl*.

SUW·LA'Γ <i>suwlāy</i> “Watering place ( <i>mašra'a al-mā</i> ).” 0	SUWLA'Γ <i>suwlāy</i> Name of a place.	<i>suwlāy</i> N
QUT·LΓ NA'NK· <i>qutluγ nān</i> “Anything blessed ( <i>mubāarak</i> ).” The man's name is after this word.		<i>qutluγ</i> N
QAR·ŠA'Γ <i>qaršāy</i> “Spanning of cloth ( <i>šibr at-tawb</i> ).”		<i>qaršāy</i>  234
[I. 387/464]		
Thus :: 'ANIK QAR·ŠA'ΓIY KUVR· <i>anig qaršāyi kōr</i> “Look at him spanning the cloth (or other).” 0		
QURŠA'Γ <i>quršāy</i> “Girding oneself with a belt ( <i>at-tanaṭṭuq bi-l-minṭaqa</i> ).” QURŠ'Γ <i>quršāy</i> “A coil ( <i>ṭurra</i> ) of woven wool that is wound around a tent ( <i>wahwa minṭaqa al-xibā</i> ).” It is called: 'AW· QURŠA'ΓY <i>āw quršāyi</i> .		<i>quršāy</i>
QIŠLA'Γ <i>qišlāy</i> “Winter quarters ( <i>mištāt</i> ).” Proverb: 'VZ KVZ 'YR QIŠLA'Γ <i>ōz kōz īr (?) qišlāy</i> 0 “If a man does his own job and does not entrust it to someone else, he is like one who takes as his lot the winter quarters that are on the sunny side of the mountains ( <i>mašraqa al-jibāl</i> ), for that side keeps green longer and has less snow in the winter.” [Lit. “One's own eye is (like) winter quarters on the sunny side of the mountain” (?).] 0 MA'N· QIŠ·LA'Γ <i>mān qišlāy</i> Name of a place in the country of the Oγuz. 0		<i>qišlāy</i> P  N
QUŠLA'Γ <i>qušlāy</i> “Bird grounds ( <i>maṭīra</i> ).” It is a place where birds abound and are hunted. 0		<i>qušlāy</i>
QRQA'Γ <i>qirqāy</i> “Barren desert ( <i>mart</i> ).” It is a desert ( <i>mafāza</i> ) <sup>1</sup> that has no water and no vegetation. 0		<i>qirqāy</i>
QUL·SIF 'AR· <i>qulsiγ ār</i> “A slavish ( <i>yušbihu xulquhu xulq al-'abīd</i> ) man.”		<i>qulsiγ</i>
NIŽDA'Γ <i>niždāy</i> “Whetstone ( <i>mašḥaḍ</i> ).” With <i>zāy</i> between the two points of articulation.		<i>niždāy</i>
Q		
BATRAQ <i>batraq</i> “A lance ( <i>miṭrada</i> ) topped with a piece of silk, which marks the champion on the day of battle.” 0		<i>batraq</i>
BUJΓ'Q <i>bučyāq</i> “One of the four quarters of the earth ( <i>quṭr al-arḍ</i> ).” :: YJR· BUJΓA'· QIY <i>yēr bučyāqi</i> .		<i>bučyāq</i>
BUJΓA'Q <i>bučyāq</i> “Corner ( <i>zāwiya</i> ),” and the like. 0		

234 1. MS. *mufāza*.

BUJΓA'Q <i>bučyāq</i> “Skin from a camel's shanks ( <i>jild akāri' al-juzur</i> ),” used to make sandals. 0		
BUXSUQ <i>boxsuq</i> “Manacles ( <i>γull</i> ).” 0 BUΓSUQ <i>boγsuq</i> is a variant of the same word due to the alternation of <i>xā'</i> and <i>γayn</i> as in Arabic <i>xatir</i> ~ <i>γadir</i> (“treacherous”). 0		<i>boxsuq</i> <i>boγsuq</i> D
“One who is crippled and lame ( <i>a'raj a'sam</i> )” is called: 'AX·SAQ· BUX·SAQ· <i>axsaq boxsaq</i> , pleonastically.		
BADRUQ· <i>badruq</i> A man's name. 0		<i>badruq</i> N
BARJUQ <i>barčuuq</i> A city built by Afrāsiyāb. He imprisoned therein Bīzan son of Nebuchadnezzar. 0		<i>barčuuq</i> N
BURJAQ· <i>burčaq</i> “Beans ( <i>lūbiyā</i> ).” 0		<i>burčaq</i>
BURJAQ <i>burčaq</i> “Beads of sweat ( <i>ḥabbāt al-'araq</i> ).” Hence :: TAR BUR·JAQ·LAN·DIY <i>tār burčaqlandi</i> “The sweat came out in beads ( <i>taḥabbaba</i> ).” 0		
BUZLUQ <i>buzluq</i> “Icehouse ( <i>majmada</i> ).” 0		<i>buzluq</i>
BAS·RUQ <i>basruq</i> “What keeps anything weighted down ( <i>ṭiqāl kull šay'</i> ).” Proverb: [I. 388/466]		<i>basruq</i>  235
YIYR· BAS·RUQY TA'Γ BUḌUVN· BAS·RUQY BA'K <i>yēr basruqi tāy boḍūn basruqi bēg</i> 0		P
“The underpinnings ( <i>awṭād</i> ) of earth, what keep it weighted down ( <i>ṭiqāl</i> ), are the mountains; similarly, what keep people weighted down are emirs.” This means that the stability of the earth depends on the mountains, and similarly the stability of men depends on rulers who restrain them. 0		
BAŠNAQ [sic] 'AR· <i>baštaq ār</i> “An unarmed ( <i>ḥāsir</i> ) man (or other).” 0		<i>baštaq</i>
BAŠ·MAQ <i>bašmaq</i> “Shoe ( <i>mik'ab</i> ).” Oγuz dialect. 0		<i>bašmaq</i> D
BUΓMAQ <i>boγmaq</i> “Button of a shirt ( <i>zirr al-qamīš</i> ).” 0 BUΓMAQ <i>boγmaq</i> “A necklace ( <i>at-tiqšār wahwa qilāda</i> . . .) of gold or other material, studded with jewels and pearls and worn by brides.” 0		<i>boγmaq</i>
BAL·JIQ· <i>balčiq</i> “Mud ( <i>wahl</i> ).” Oγuz dialect.		<i>balčiq</i> D
BUL·ΓA'Q· <i>bulyāq</i> “Panic ( <i>hazāhiz</i> ) which befalls a people at the appearance of an enemy.” 0 BUL·ΓA'Q· <i>bulyāq</i> A man's name. Verse:		<i>bulyāq</i> N
BUL·ΓA'Q 'UKUŠ BUL·SA' QAJAN BILKINK· YITA'R· YANK·ŠAQ TALIM· SAY·RAB· 'ANY TAM·ΓAQ QATA'R· <i>bulyāq üküš bolsa qačan bilgin yitār yaṅšaq tālim sayrap ani tamyaq qatār</i>		V

“When there is much disorder (*fitan*) among people your intellect goes astray and is not led to the right path; and when there is much vain talk the palate stiffens from dryness of the mouth.” [This is coined] to advise continence in speech.

TUB'RA'Q' <b>toprāq</b> “Earth or soil ( <i>turāb</i> ).”		<b>toprāq</b>
TAB'LUVQ' <b>toplūq</b> “Cracks ( <i>šuqāq</i> ) in the ground.” 0		<b>toplūq</b>
TUT'ΓA'Q' <b>tutγāq</b> “A detachment ( <i>jarīda</i> ) that sallies forth at night to capture enemy skirmishers and spies.” 0		<b>tutγāq</b>
TAR'TUQ <b>tartuq</b> Name of a city in Yaγma. 0		<b>tartuq</b> N
TAR'ΓA'Q' <b>taryāq</b> “Comb ( <i>mušt</i> ).” 0		<b>taryāq</b>
TUR'LA'Q' <b>turlāq</b> “Emaciated ( <i>naḥīf</i> ),” of an animal. And if a person grows up weakly ( <i>šubba . . . bi-d-ḡa'f</i> ) he is called: TUR'LA'Q' <b>turlāq</b> . 0		<b>turlāq</b>
TARMA'Q <b>tarmāq</b> “Claw ( <i>mixlab</i> ).” A certain kind of plant is called: QAR'Γ A'Q' <b>tarmāq</b> TAR'MA'QY <b>qaryāq tarmāqi</b> . <sup>1</sup> 0		<b>tarmāq</b>
TUZ'LUQ' <b>tuzluq</b> “Salt container ( <i>mimlaḡa</i> ).” 0		<b>tuzluq</b>
TUΓ'RA'Q' <b>toγrāq</b> “A type of willow ( <i>al-γarab</i> <sup>2</sup> <i>wahwa šajar al-hamad</i> [?]).” 0		<b>toγrāq</b>
TIΓRA'Q' 'AR' <b>tiγrāq ār</b> “A sturdy ( <i>jald</i> ) man.”	Verse:	<b>tiγrāq</b>
'UΓRA'Q' 'ARIY TIΓRA'Q	<b>oγrāq āri tiγrāq</b>	V
YYMY 'ANIK 'UΓL'Q	<b>yēmi anig oγlāq</b>	
SUVTY 'AZ' SAΓRA'Q	<b>sūti üzā saγrāq</b>	
YYRY TQY 'AΓLA'Q	<b>yēri taqi aγlāq</b>	

“The tribe<sup>3</sup> of Oγrāq are sturdy, their food is kids, there is ever a cup over

[I. 390/468]

236

their koumiss, though their land is bare withal.” He is describing them as generous and brave. 0

TUΓ'SA'Q' **tuγsāq** “Widow (*armala*).” This is usually used in the paired expression: **tuγsāq**  
TUVL' TUΓ'SA'Q' **tūl tuγsāq**. 0

235 1. Clauson (ED, 550) suggests **qarya tarmāqi** “crow’s foot.”

2. MS. *γarb*. According to Lane (p. 2242) *γarab* is generally held to be the willow, *salix Babylonica*; *γarb* is a different tree, from which pitch is extracted, and this might relate it to *hāmīd* which can mean “black and stinking (of a fruit)”; but *hamad* is unattested. Perhaps the balsam poplar; see ED, 472.

3. MS. *qatīla*, read *qabīla*.

TAW'RA'Q' **tawrāq** “Speed (*sur'a*).” Hence :: TAW'RA'QIN KAL **tawrāqin kāl** “Come quickly.” It may be used as an adjective; thus :: TAW'RA'Q' 'YŠJY **tawrāq išči** “A fast (*musri*) worker.”

TUQ'LUQ' **toqluq** “Satiety (*šiba'*).” 0

**toqluq**

TUQ'LUQ' **toqluq** “Baldness, of a man; hornlessness, of an animal (*jamam* [defined]).”

TALΓUVQ' **talyūq** “A peg (*watid*) that is inserted in the handle of a spade or a pickaxe in order to fasten the blade to it.” 0

**talyūq**

TUM'ŠUQ' **tumšūq** “Bird’s beak (*al-minqār li-t-ṭayr*).” 0

**tumšūq**

TAM'ΓA'Q' **tamγāq** “Throat, larynx (*ḡalq, ḡanjara*).” 0

**tamγāq**

JAX'ŠA'Q' **čaxšāq** “Stony ground on mountain peaks (*ar-raḡrād fī qulal al-jibāl*).” Proverb: JAX'ŠA'Q' 'UZA' 'UT' BUL'MA'S' JAQ'RAQ' BILA' 'UWUT' BUL'MA'S' **čaxšāq üzā ot bolmās čaqraq bilā uwut bolmās** 0 “There is no grass on stony mountain ground, there is no shame with a scabby-headed man.” 0

**čaxšāq**

P

JAX'SA'Q' **čaxšāq** “Dried apricots or raisins (*faliq al-mišmiš wa-z-zabīb*).” Qarluq dialect. 0

D

JA'R JARMAQ **čār čarmaq** “Children (*ad-darādiq wa-l-aṭfāl*).” One word follows closely on the other [i.e. a pleonasm]. A variant is: JAMR'Q **čamraq**. 0

**čarmaq**

**čamraq** D

JΓRUQ YIYR' **čiryuq yēr** “Ground that is trampled down hard (*murakkala šulba*).”

**čiryuq**

JAQ'MA'Q' **čaqmāq** “The fire-stick (*zand*) used to strike a fire.” It is a simple noun and also a verbal noun [i.e. “striking a fire”], just as one says [in Arabic] *ḡamd*<sup>1</sup> (“praise, praising”) from *ḡamidtu*<sup>2</sup> (“I praised”) or *jamd*<sup>3</sup> (“ice, freezing”) from *jamada*<sup>4</sup> *l-mā* (“the water froze”); they are both simple nouns and verbal nouns. 0

**čaqmāq**

G

JAL'BAQ' **čalpaq** “Dirt, filth (*qadar, wasax*).” 0 JAL'BAQ' 'IYŠ' **čalpaq iš** “A confused (*muxtaliṭ*) affair.” 0

**čalpaq**

JUMΓUQ **čumγuq** “A white-footed crow (*al-a'šam min al-γirbān*).” The Oγuz leave off the *γayn* and say: JUMQ **čumuq**. They do the same for every quadrilateral word having *γayn* or *kāf* [preconsonantly].

**čumγuq**

**(čumuq**

D)

“A slanderous (*nammām, muxranbaq*) man” is called: JAM'ΓUQ 'AR' **čamγuq ār**. 0

**čamγuq**

236 1. MS. *jamd*.

2. MS. *jamīdat*.

3. MS. *jamīda*.

4. MS. *jamd*. These emendations follow EP and Tercüme I, 469.

BAŞGA'Q' <b>sap̄yāq</b> [Waist] "What is above the hips ( <i>mā fawq al-warikayn</i> )." <sup>5</sup>	<b>sap̄yāq</b>
SAB'LIQ' <b>sapliq</b> "Anything that is to be made into the hilt ( <i>miqbaḍ</i> ) of a sword or knife, or the handle ( <i>niṣāb</i> ) of a thing" is: SAB'LIQ' <b>sapliq</b> .	<b>sapliq</b>
[I. 391/470]	237
"One who squanders his wealth ( <i>man yubaḍdiru mālahu</i> )." <sup>5</sup> is called: SAJ'GA'Q' KIŞIY <b>sačyāq</b> <b>kişi</b> . 0	<b>sačyāq</b>
SIJ'GA'Q' <b>sičyāq</b> "One who moves his bowels frequently ( <i>ya'tarihi l-ḡā'iṭ kaṭīran</i> )." <sup>5</sup> This is an exception to the rule, according to which the <i>qāf</i> in this word should be <i>nūn</i> , since that is how to form adjectives indicating habitual action. For example: 'UZ'GA'N 'AT' <b>ozḡān at</b> "A horse which continually runs ahead ( <i>sabbāq</i> )." <sup>5</sup> 0 :: 'UL 'IYŞ QIL'GA'N 'L ol <b>iş qilḡān ol</b> "He is one who works much ( <i>kaṭīr al-'amal</i> )." <sup>5</sup> 0	<b>sičyāq</b> G
SUS'Γ'Q' <b>susyāq</b> "Anything used to ladle ( <i>yuyrafu bihi</i> ) water, or other." Dialect of Qarluq, Qifčāq, and all nomadic peoples. 0	<b>susyāq</b> D
SUΓ'DA'Q' <b>soyḍāq</b> A people who have settled in Balāsāḡūn. They are from Soyḍ which is between Bukhara and Samarqand, but their dress and manner is that of Turks. 0	<b>soyḍāq</b> N
SAΓ'RA'Q' <b>sayrāq</b> "Drinking cup ( <i>al-qa'b wa-l-ka's allāḍī yuṣrabu fihi</i> )." <sup>5</sup> 0 Proverb [cf. 216 <i>tergi</i> ]: SA'WIN' SAΓ'RA'Q' QA' TAKIYR' <b>sāwin sayrāqqa tāḡīr</b> 0 "By (gracious) speech one attains the cup (of emirs in their drinking)" – meaning that one is honored thereby. 0	<b>sayrāq</b> P
SIR'MA'Q' <b>sirmāq</b> "Pack-saddle cloth ( <i>barḍa'a</i> ) for asses." 0	<b>sirmāq</b>
SUΓ'NA'Q' <b>suḡnāq</b> A city of the Oḡuz. 0	<b>suḡnāq</b> N
SAΓ'LIQ' <b>sayliq</b> "Ewe ( <i>na'ja</i> )." <sup>1</sup> Its root-meaning is "milch ( <i>ḡalūb</i> )." <sup>5</sup>	<b>sayliq</b>
SUW'LUQ' <b>suwluq</b> "Towel ( <i>mindīl</i> )." <sup>5</sup> 0	<b>suwluq</b>
SAQ'LIQ' <b>saqliq</b> "Alertness ( <i>al-yaqaza fi l-umūr</i> )." <sup>5</sup> 0	<b>saqliq</b>
SUQ'LUQ' <b>suqluq</b> "Greediness ( <i>ḡirṣ, jaṣā'a</i> )" for food, or other. 0	<b>suqluq</b>
QAB'GA'Q' <b>qapḡāq</b> "Quiver cover ( <i>ifāṣ</i> [defined])." <sup>5</sup> 0	<b>qapḡāq</b>
QA'JAQ' <b>qatčaq</b> "The place where channels of a river come together ( <i>al-mawḍi' allāḍī yatanāṭahu l-miyāh min as-sawā'id</i> )." <sup>5</sup> 0	<b>qatčaq</b>

5. See ED, 786; G. Clauson, "The Turkish-Khotanese Vocabulary Re-edited," *Islām Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* V.1-4 (1973), pp. 37-45, line 184.

QADRQ <b>qadraq</b> "Windings and folds of mountains ( <i>ma'āṭif al-jibāl wa-maḡānīhā</i> )." <sup>5</sup> Thus :: QAT' QADRAQ <b>qat qadraq</b> "A winding and fold ( <i>ma'ṭaf wa-maḡniya</i> )." <sup>5</sup> 0	<b>qadraq</b>
QUD'RUQ' <b>qudruq</b> The generic word for all "tails ( <i>aḡnāb</i> )." <sup>5</sup> :: QUVY' QUD'RUQIY <b>qōy qudruqi</b> "The fatty tail ( <i>alya</i> ) of sheep." 0 'AT' QUD'RUQIY <b>at qudruqi</b> "A horse's tail ( <i>ḡanab</i> )." <sup>5</sup>	<b>qudruq</b> Verse:
QUD'RUQ' QATIΓ' TUK'DUMIZ TANK'RIYK' 'UKUŞ' 'UK'DUMIZ KAM'ŞIB' 'ATIΓ' TAK'DIMIZ 'ALDAB' YANA' QAJ'TIMIZ	<b>qudruq qatıy tüğdümüz</b> <b>tānḡrig üküş öğdümüz</b> <b>kāmşip atıy tāğdimiz</b> <b>aldap yana qačtimiz</b>
[I. 393/472]	238
"We tied the horses' tails securely; we praised God Most High greatly (meaning the cry <i>allāhu akbar</i> among the heathen ranks), we attacked them and drove the horses, then feigned flight (so that they would come after us and we might round on them and rout them)." <sup>5</sup> 0 QUŞ QUD'RUQY <b>quş qudruqi</b> "Bird's tail." Proverb: TUQUM' BUZUB' QUD'RUQ'TA' BIJAK SIYMA' <b>toqum yüzüp qudruqta bičäk sīma</b> 0 "After you skin the horse do not break the knife on its tail." This is like the Arabic saying: <i>şawwā axūka ḡattā idā anḡaja rammada</i> ("Your brother roasted the meat so much that when it was done he put it in the ashes").	<b>quş qudruqi</b> P
QUD'RQ' <b>qudruq</b> "Anal aperture (by allusion) ( <i>yuknā bihi 'an al-faqḡa</i> )." <sup>5</sup> Thus :: QUD'RUQY 'TK'N KŞIY <b>qudruqi ötgān kişi</b> "A much-farting ( <i>nabbāj al-faqḡa</i> ) person." 0	
QAR'SA'Q' <b>qarsāq</b> "The fennec or corsac fox ( <i>fanak</i> )." <sup>5</sup>	<b>qarsāq</b>
QAR'LUQ' <b>qarluq</b> A tribe of the Turks. They are nomads, not Oḡuz, but they are also Turkmān. 0	<b>qarluq</b> N
QUR'LUQ' <b>qorluq</b> "A skin ( <i>şann</i> ) for keeping koumiss." 0	<b>qorluq</b>
QARN'Q' <b>qarnāq</b> A city of the Oḡuz.	<b>qarnāq</b> N
QARNA'Q' 'AR' <b>qarnāq är</b> "A large-bellied ( <i>'aḡīm al-batn</i> ) man." 0	
QIRNA'Q' <b>qirnāq</b> "(Slave-)girl ( <i>jāriya</i> )." <sup>5</sup> Dialect of Yabāqu, Qāy, Čömül, Basmil, Oḡuz, Yemāk, Qifčāq. 0	<b>qirnāq</b> D
KUTY QZLA'Q' <b>kōti qizlāq</b> "A red-tailed bird ( <i>al-ḡummara min aṭ-ṭayr wahwa aḡmar aḡ-ḡanab</i> )." <sup>5</sup> 0	<b>qizlāq</b>
QIS'RA'Q' <b>qisrāq</b> "Young mare ( <i>ramaka fatiyya</i> )"; or, according to the Oḡuz, "any mare ( <i>ar-ramaka kā'imān mā kānat</i> )." <sup>5</sup> Proverb: QIYZ' BIR'LA' KURAŞMA' QIS'RA'Q BIRLA' YARIŞMA' <b>qiz birlā kürāşmä qisrāq birlā yarişma</b> 0 "Do not wrestle a virgin (for she is strong and will bring you down), and do not race against a young mare (for she is stronger and more impetuous than an older horse ( <i>faras</i> ) and so will beat you)." This is one of the proverbs of the Khāqāniyya which pertain to the wedding night of Sultan Mas'ūd, when she tripped him with her foot and brought him down. 0	<b>qisrāq</b> D P

QIS'MA'Q' <b>qismāq</b> "Lasso ( <i>wahaq</i> )."	0	
QUŠ'LUQ <b>qušluq</b> "Forenoon ( <i>daḥwa</i> )."	0	qušluq D
QIŠ'LIQ <b>qišliq</b>		qišliq
[I. 394/474]		239
"Winter house ( <i>bayt šitwī</i> ); something made for the winter ( <i>šay' u'idda li-š-šitā</i> )."	0	
QUF'ŠA'Q NA'NK' <b>qoγšāq nān</b> "Something feeble and weak ( <i>fīhi futūr wa-wahn</i> )."	0	qoγšāq
QIF'JA'Q' <b>qifčāq</b> A tribe of the Turks.	0	qifčāq N
QIF'JA'Q' <b>qifčāq</b> Name of a place near Kāšyar.		
QUL'BA'Q' <b>qulbāq</b> Name of an ascete of the Turks who used to frequent the mountains of Balāsāγün. They say that he used to write with his hand on hard black stone: TANK'RIY QULIY QUL'BA'Q' <b>tānri quli qulbāq</b> meaning "God's slave Qulbāq," and the writing would show forth on it in white; and the same on white stone, where the writing would show forth in black. Traces of it are found to this day.	0	qulbāq N
QALTUQ <b>qaltuq</b> "Horn of the wild ox [i.e. yak] ( <i>qarn baqar al-waḥš</i> )."		qaltuq
and used to drink koumiss, etc.		
QULTIQ <b>qoltiḡ</b> "Armpit ( <i>ibiḡ</i> )."	0	.qoltiḡ
QLTQ <b>qiltiq</b> "Dandruff, scurf on the head ( <i>ibriyya ar-ra's wa-ḥazāzatuhu</i> )."	0	qiltiq
QAMΓA'Q' <b>qamγāq</b> "Panic grass ( <i>tumām</i> )."	0	qamγāq
QUM'LA'Q' <b>qumlāq</b> [Hops] A plant similar to bindweed ( <i>lablāb</i> ) which grows in the Qifčāq country. They prepare a drink from it mixed with honey. When this plant is brought on board ship the sea becomes so agitated that the passengers nearly drown.	0	qumlāq
QAN'JIQ <b>qančiq</b> "Bitch ( <i>kalba</i> )."	0	qančiq
To curse out a woman one likens her to this and calls her: FYNJIQ [sic] <b>qančiq</b> .		
MUN'JUQ <b>mončiq</b> "Bead, trinket ( <i>kull xaraza min al-ḥulī</i> )."	0	mončiq
"Anything that is hung to a horse's neck, such as gems, lions' paws, or amulets ( <i>tamā'im</i> )."	0	mončiq
MANJUQ <b>mančiq</b> "Anything that is hung ( <i>yu'allaqu</i> ) on a saddle, such as a provisions bag or nose bag ( <i>ḥaqība, mixlāt</i> )."	0	mančiq
MUNΓA'N KIŠIY <b>munγāq kiši</b> "A loquacious ( <i>tartār</i> ) person."		munγāq
QIS'MA'Q' <b>qismāq</b> "The two broad straps on either side of the stirrup ( <i>sayray ar-rikāb al-'arīdayn yakūnu r-rikāb baynahumā</i> )."		qismāq

K		
BUR'JAK <b>bürčäk</b> "Forelock ( <i>nāšiya</i> ), of a man; hair of the forelock or mane or tail ( <i>sabība</i> ), of a horse."	0	bürčäk
BITRIK <b>bitrik</b> "Clitoris ( <i>baḡr al-mar'a</i> )."	0	bitrik
BITRK <b>bitrik</b> "Pistachio ( <i>fustuq</i> )."	0	D
Arḡu dialect.		
BİSTK <b>bistäk</b> "Cotton that is carded and ready to be spun ( <i>qaḡ'a quṭn mandūf mu'add li-l-γazl</i> )."	0	bistäk
Čigil dialect.		D
BSTK <b>bistäk</b> "Wick ( <i>fatīla</i> )."		D
Arḡu dialect.		
BUK'SAK <b>böksäg</b> "Woman's bosom ( <i>tarība al-mar'a</i> )."		böksäg
BUK'SAK' <b>böksäg</b> "Upper part of the chest ( <i>naḡr</i> )."	0	böksäg
TUT'SUK KIŠY <b>tütsüg kiši</b> "A quarrelsome ( <i>mušāḡin</i> ) person."	0	tütsüg
[I. 396/476]		240
TḤJK <b>taxčäk (?)</b> A type of Šinī silk.	0	taxčäk ?
TURBK' <b>törpig</b> "Adz or file ( <i>safan</i> )."		törpig
They also say: TURBKUV <b>törpigü</b> .	0	törpig
TARLIK' <b>tärlik</b> "The saddle felt ( <i>miršaḡa</i> ) which is put under the saddlecloth."	0	tärlik
TUR'LUK <b>türlüg</b> An expression for "the different types ( <i>anwā'</i> )" of a thing. Thus :: QAJ' TURLK NA'NK' <b>qač türlüg nān</b> "Different kinds ( <i>aḡnāf</i> ) of a thing."	0	türlüg
:: QAJ TUR'LUK' SUVZ' 'AY'DIM <b>qač türlüg sōz aydim</b> "I said all sorts of things ( <i>qultu anwā'an min al-kalām</i> )."	0	türlüg
TUR'MA'K' <b>türmāk</b> "Rolled bread ( <i>zumāward</i> )."	0	türmāk
TIRNA'K <b>ternāk</b> "An assembly of the people who agree on a course of action ( <i>miḡfal al-qawm ijtama'ū t-tadbīr</i> )."	0	ternāk
TUŠ'LK 'UVDIY <b>tüšlük ödi</b> "Time to halt for a rest ( <i>waqt at-ta'rīs</i> )."	0	tüšlük
TAKRAK' <b>tägräk</b> "Rim ( <i>ḡitār</i> )" of anything. Thus :: QUḡUΓ TAK'RAKIY <b>quḡuγ tägräki</b> "Rim of a well."	0	tägräk
TUK'LUK' <b>täglük</b> "Blind ( <i>ḡarīr</i> )."		täglük
Thus :: TUK'LUK' KUZLK <b>täglük közlüg</b> "A blind man."	0	täglük
TAW'LUK' <b>täwliüg</b> "Deceiver ( <i>muḡtāl, xaddā</i> )."	0	täwliüg
JAK'RAK' <b>čäkräk</b> "A single layered gown ( <i>qabā' ḡāq</i> ) of wool, worn by slaves."	0	čäkräk

“A weak-sighted person ( <i>axfaš</i> )” is called: KUVZIY JAR'LIK <i>kōzi</i> čärlig.	čärlig
JALBAK čälpäk “Blariness of the eye ( <i>γamaš al-'ayn</i> ).” 0	čälpäk
JIL'DAK čildäg “A sore ( <i>qarḥ</i> ) that appears on the upper chest of a horse.” It flows with pus and afterwards must be cauterized. 0	čildäg
SUR'TUK 'IŠL'R' sürtük ešlär “Lesbian ( <i>al-mar'a al-mašḥūqa wa-s-sāḥiqa kaḍālika</i> ).” Anything “rubbed ( <i>insaḥaqa</i> )” is called: SUR'TUK sürtük. 0	sürtük
SAD'RAK <sup>1</sup> BUVZ' sädräk bōz “Loosely-woven ( <i>muḥalḥal an-nasj</i> ) cloth.” 0 SAD-RAK QABUḤ sädräk qapuy “A grated or latticed door ( <i>as-sanjūra wahwa bāb mušabbak</i> ).” 0	sädräk
SUR'JUK sörcük “Evening conversation ( <i>samar</i> ).” The Oγuz have <i>fathā</i> on the <i>jīm</i> and say: SUR'JAK sörcäk. 0	sörcük sörcäk D
SALJUK sälcük Name of the grandfather of the present Sultans. He was called: SAL-JUK SUV BA'ŠIY sälcük sü bāši. 0	sälcük N
SIKRIK sekrik “Any place in the mountains that is crossed by jumping ( <i>kull mawḍi' fi l-jabal yu'baru 'anhā bi-l-waṭb</i> ).” 0	sekrik
SUKRUK sökrük “Female organ ( <i>matā' al-mar'a</i> ).” 0	sökrük
KUBRUK köprüg “Bridge ( <i>qanṭara</i> ).” 0	köprüg
KUT'LUK' kötlük A word of abuse meaning “You effeminate one! ( <i>yā muxannaṭ</i> ).” Its real meaning is “You catamite! ( <i>yā man 'umila bihi 'amal qawm lūṭ</i> ).” 0	kötlük
TUM'RUK <sup>2</sup> tümrüg “Tambourine ( <i>duff</i> ).” Oγuz dialect. 0	tümrüg D
KUB'JUK' köpčük “Saddle cushion ( <i>mīṭara</i> ).” Oγuz dialect. 0	köpčük D
KIR'BIK kirpik “Eyelash ( <i>al-hudb fi jafn al-'ayn</i> ).” 0	kirpik
[I. 398/478]	241
KAR'TUK kärtük “A notch ( <i>ḥazz</i> ) in wood.” :: KARTUK KAM'RUK kärtük kämrük “Notches and furrows ( <i>ḥuzūz wa-axādid</i> ).” 0 KARTIK kärtik “A notch ( <i>ḥazz</i> ) cut in wood to keep tally of bread and the like.”	kärtük kärtik
KURŠA'K küršäk Name of a food. It is made by boiling millet kernels in water or milk, then butter is put on it, and it is eaten. 0	küršäk

- 240 1. Dot of *Ḍ* by later hand (?).  
2. Second U changed from A (?).

KAZLIK kätzlik “A small knife ( <i>sikkīn ṣayīr</i> ) which a woman keeps with her fastened to her robe.”	kätzlik
KUZLUK közlük “Something woven from horse tails and put on the eye if it is bleared or dazzled.” 0	közlük
KUS'RUK' TUŠA'Ḥ kösrük tušay “Shackle for the forelegs of a horse ( <i>šikāl yaday al-faras</i> ).”	kösrük
KWRIK käwrik “A thorny tree ( <i>al-'arfaj min aš-šajar</i> ).” 0	käwrik
KUWRUK' küwriug “Kettledrum ( <i>al-kūs wa-ṭ-ṭabl allaḍī yuḍrabu bihi</i> ).” 0	küwriug
KAW'RAK NA'NK käwräk nāṅ “Any pliant shrub ( <i>kull šay' xirw min aš-šajar</i> ),” such as the castor oil plant, etc. 0	käwräk
KAW'ŠAK NA'NK' käwšäk nāṅ “Anything soft and pliant ( <i>fīhi līn wa-futūr</i> ),” such as a thin garment, etc.	käwšäk
KUWŠAK 'AT' köwšäk ät “Tender ( <i>fīhi raxāwa</i> ) meat.” KUWŠAK 'AT'MA'K köwšäk ätmäk “Bread made from fine-yeasted dough ( <i>'ajīnuhu min xamīr ḥasan</i> ).” 0	köwšäk
KUW'LUK' küwlük “A clay pellet ( <i>bunduqa min aṭ-ṭīn</i> ),” which may be shot before or after drying. 0	küwlük
KAK'LIK' kāklik “Partridge ( <i>qabj</i> ).” <sup>1</sup> 0	kāklik
KAKMAK 'AR' kākämäk är “A man hardened by troubles ( <i>ḥārasathu l-umūr wa-qāsā l-miḥan fa-šadda fīhi</i> ).” Its root is: KK kāk meaning “Hardship ( <i>miḥna</i> ).” Adjectives of this sort are exceptions to the rule, according to which this word should be: KAK'MA'N' *kākman. 0	kākämäk G
KAM'DUK SUNKUVK' kändük süṅük “A bone stripped of the flesh ( <i>al-'urāq min al-'izām</i> ).”	kändük
KUNJUK' köncük “Opening at the collar ( <i>jayb</i> ).” The Oγuz have <i>fathā</i> on the <i>jīm</i> and say: KUNAJAK' köncäk. 0	köncük köncäk D
KAN'JA'K kāncäk A tribe of the Turks.	kāncäk N
KAN'J'K SANKIR kāncäk sāṅir Name of a city near Ṭarāz. It is a frontier of Qifcāq. 0	N
KANDUK kändük “A vat-shaped container for flour, etc. ( <i>kandūj</i> [defined]).” Kāncäk dialect. 0	kändük D

- 241 1. MS. *qayḥ*.

KUN'LUK **künlük** "A daily matter (*amr muyāwama*)." 0 KUNLK YIM **künlük yem** **künlük**  
 "Daily bread (*rizq*)." However, this [expression] is rarely used. 0

MAR'DAK' **märdäk** "Young of the bear (*walad ad-dubb*)." :: 'DIF MAR'DAKY **adiy** **märdäk**  
**märdäki** "Bear cub (*daysam*)." Some of the Turks call "a suckling pig (*xinnawş*): TUNKUZ  
 MAR'DAKY **toñuz märdäki**. 0

[I. 399/480] 242

MALDAK NA'NK **mäldäk nāñ** "Anything felted (*mutalabbad*)," such as the depilated **mäldäk**  
 pudendum.

L

BJΓIL **bičyil** "Cracks (*şuqāq*)" in the hand or foot;<sup>1</sup> also cracks in the gound. 0 **bičyil**

BAS'BAL **basbal** "A single coil of spun thread (*jadba min yazl*)." 0 **basbal**

YAS'MIL' **basmil** A tribe of the Turks. 0 **basmil N**

"A quadruped with a white head (*ibyađda ra'suhu*)" is called: BAŞΓIL YLQY **başyil** **başyil**  
 yilqi. 0

BTMUL **bitmül** "Long pepper (*ad-dār fulful*)." 0 **bitmül**

BUŞKA'L **böşgāl** "Flat bread (*ar-ruqāqa min al-xubz*)." Khāqāniyya dialect. 0 **böşgāl D**

BUΓRL **boγrul** "A bulge (*amt*)" in a full bag, a milk-skin,<sup>2</sup> and the like. 0 **boγrul**

BUΓRUL QUVY **boγrul qōy** "A white-throated (*ibyađda ḥalquhu*) sheep."

BUKTAL 'AR' **büktäl är** "A middle-sized (*rab'a*) man." 0 :: BUKTAL 'AT' **büktäl at** **büktäl**  
 "A blat-backed (*adakk*) horse." 0

BUKRUL' 'AT' **bögrül at** "A horse white in the flanks (*axşaf*)." Also a sheep with white **bögrül**  
 spots (*aşkal*), etc. 0

BND'L **bandāl** (?) *al-karb* [defined as] Something which comes out of a tree in the **bandāl** ?  
 shape of a shoulderblade, and which boys take and burn, then beat its coals, at night. They call  
 it: 'UVT' BNDA'L **öt bandāl**. This is in polo [sic].

TAR'ΓIL YIL'QIY **taryil yilqi** "Any animal that has white and black stripes on its back **taryil**  
 (*fī zahrihi xuṭūṭ biđ wa-sūd*)," such as "a speckled one (*namış*)" is: TAR'ΓIL **taryil**. This adject-  
 ive may modify all animals except horses. 0

242 1. MS. *rajul*, read *rijl*.

2. MS. *ṭabb*, correct to *waṭb*; cf. 232 *boγruy*.

TUΓRIL' **toγril** A bird of prey. He kills a thousand geese and eats one. The man's **toγril**  
 name: TUΓ'RIL **toγril** is after this. 0 **N**

TΓRL **toγril** "Gut-wurst (*am'ā*)" stuffed with meat and spices." Kāncāk dialect. 0 **D**

JAŞKA'L **čäskāl** "Earthenware, broken pots (*xazaf*,<sup>3</sup> *burma a'sār*)." Kāncāk dialect. 0 **čäskāl D**

SANKIL [sic] **sāpgil** "A freckle (*kalafa*)" which appears on the face." 0 **sāpgil**

SAR'SA'L **sarsāl** "Weasel (*dalaq*)." It is a small animal resembling the sable (*sammūr*). **sarsāl**  
 0

QAR'TA'L 'AT' **qartäl ät** "Meat in which are whiteness and redness (*mujazza'*)." QAR'- **qartäl**  
 TA'L QUVY **qartäl qōy** "A spotted (*arqaṭ*) sheep." 0

QIR'ΓIL 'AR' **qiryil är** "A grey-haired (*kahl*) man." 0 **qiryil**

QIZ'ΓUL 'AT' **qizyil at** "A horse between ash and grey (*bayn al-aḥḥal wa-l-aşhab*)." **qizyil**

M

BAJ'KAM' **bäckäm** "A badge (*sawm*) in the form of a piece of silk or the tail **bäckäm**

[I. 401/483] 243

of a wild ox (*yak*), which marks the warrior during battle." The Oγuz call it: BAR'JAM' **bärčäm**. **bärčäm D**  
 Verse:

BAJ'KAM' 'URUB' 'AT' LAQA'	<b>bäckäm urup atlaqa</b>	V
'UY'ΓUR'DAQIY TAT'LAQA'	<b>uyγurdaqi tatlaqa</b>	
'UF'RIY YAWUZ' 'IT' LAQA'	<b>oγri yawuz itlaqa</b>	
QUŞ'LAR' KIBIY 'UJ' TUMIZ'	<b>quşlar kepi uçtimiz</b>	

"We put badges on the horses; we headed for the Uighur dogs (meaning 'people') [lit.: towards the  
 Tats among the Uighur; toward the hidden evil dogs;] we flew (toward them) like birds (until we  
 fell upon them)." 0

BAJ'KUM **bäcküm** "Hall of a house (*saqīfa al-bayt*)." 0 **bäcküm**

BAD'RAM' **bađram** "Joy and laughter among the people (*as-surūr wa-đ-đahika bayn al- **bađram**  
*qawm*)." The ground, when it has blossomed forth with flowers, is called: BAD'RAM' YIYR'  
**bađram yēr** meaning "Pleasant ground (*arđ nazīha*)." I do not know the origin of this word, since  
 I have heard it from the lips of Persians. However the Oγuz call a "festival day (*yawm al-īd*)":  
 BAY'RAM' **bayram**, since it is a day of joy and pleasure. The *đāl* has been changed to *yā*' accord-  
 ing to their custom. From this point of view the word must be pure Turkic (*luγa maḥḍa*). 0 **(bayram D)***

3. MS. *jazaf*.



:: 'UL YUMUŞQA' BIR·TAM BAR·DIY **ol yumuşqa birtäm bardı** "He went off on the mission whole-heartedly and for a long time (*munqaṭi'an ṭawīlan*), as if he did not intend to come back." 0 **birtäm**

BAΓ·RAM· QUM· **baγram qum** "Sand dune (*raml 'ālij jubayl*)."<sup>1</sup> A certain sandy tract (*raml*) between Kāşyar and Yärkänd is called: BAΓRAM QUVMIY **baγram qūmi**. 0 **baγram**  
N

BUXSUM **buxsum** "Millet beer (*mizr* [defined])." 0 **buxsam**

TUM·RUM· YIΓA·J· **tomrum yiγāč** "A piece of wood that is cut (*maqṭū'*)," such as a shoemaker's last (*'ālat al-iskāf*), and the like. 0 **tomrum**

TUŞ·RUM **tüşrüm** "A ball of spun thread (*kull dajāja min al-γazl*)."<sup>2</sup> Arγu dialect. 0 **tüşrüm** D

ZUNKM **züngüm** A type of Şīnī brocade. 0 **züngüm**

SID·RIM **sidrim** "Strap (*qidd*)."<sup>3</sup> Oγuz dialect. 0 :: SID·RIM 'IYŞLIF 'AR· **sidrim** **sidrim** D  
**ışliγ är** "A man who completes a job and leaves nothing over for someone else." 0

SAR·QIM<sup>3</sup> **sarqim** "Hoarfroast (*şaqi'*)." 0 **sarqim**

KUTRUM **kötrüm** "Bench (*dukkān*) on which one sits." 0 **kötrüm**

KUJRM **köçrüm** "Panic (*faza'a*)." It is when villagers flee into the city. 0 **köçrüm**

KD·RIM 'AT· **kädrim ät** "Skinned (*maslūx*) flesh." 0 **kädrim**

[I. 402/485] 244

KAS·TAM **kästäm** "A feast (*diyāfa*) which one prepares for drinkers who come to him without formal arrangements." 0 **kästäm**

Words Having Two Letters the Same

R

TAR·TAR<sup>1</sup> **tartar** (*turtur* ?) A bird like the turtledove (*qumri*). **tartar**

:: TAWY 'AM·KY JURJUR **tewe ämgi čurčur** [lit. "the camel's teat **čurčur**"] Onomatopoeic for the fall of milk into the milking dish. 0 **čurčur**

- 243 1. MS. *habīl*.  
2. MS. *daḥāja min al-'azl*.  
3. Second *sukūn* (·) changed from U (?).

- 244 1. *Sukūns* (·) changed from U (first one is unclear).

:: QARIN QURQUR 'TY **qarin qurqur etti** "The belly growled (*taqarqara*)."<sup>4</sup> **qurqur**

K

SUKSUK **süksük** "Tamarisk (*γaḍā*)."<sup>5</sup> **süksük**

M

SUM·LIM TAT· **somlim tat** "A Persian who does not know any Turkic." Anyone who does not know Turkic is called: SUM·LIM **somlim**. 0 **somlim**

KUR·KUM **kürküm** "Saffron (*za'farān*)."<sup>6</sup> This word agrees with Arabic, since the Arabs too call it *kurkum*. Verse: **kürküm**

BAK·LAR 'TIN 'AR·ΓURUB· **beglär atin arγurup**  
QADΓUV 'ANY TUR·ΓURUB· **qaḍγu ani turγurup**  
MANKZIY YUZIY SAR·ΓARIB· **mänzi yüzi sarγarip**  
KUR·KUM 'ANKAR· TURTULUVR· **kürküm anar türütülür** V

Eulogizing Afrāsiyāb: "The emirs have jaded their horses, and grief has emaciated them; their faces [have turned yellow] as though smeared with saffron." 0

Chapter: *fa'älil*, in its various vocalizations

J

SARA·ΓUJ **sarāγuč** "A woman's veil (*ximār al-mar'a*)."<sup>7</sup> **sarāγuč**

R

SIPA·QUR **sipāqur** "Nosebag (*mixlāt*)."<sup>8</sup> Its root is: SIḪ 'AQURY **sip aquri** meaning "Manger of a foal in its second year (*mi'laf at-ṭanī min al-xayl*)."<sup>9</sup> **sipāqur**

Z

QULA·B(W)UZ<sup>2</sup> **qulābuz** "Guide (*dalīl*)."<sup>10</sup> The *bā'* is an alternant of *vāv*. Proverb [cf. 214 *čuwγa*]: QALIN QA·Z QULA·VUZ SUVZ BULM'S· **qalin qāz qulāvuzsüz bolmās** 0 "A flock of geese do not fly without a guide." This is coined to advise someone to follow one who is better guided<sup>3</sup> than himself. **qulāvuz**  
D P

Q

JIIA·LAQ<sup>4</sup> **čičālaq** "The little finger (*xinšir*)."<sup>11</sup> 0 **čičāla q**

2. B altered to W by later hand.  
3. MS. *ahdā*, read *ahdā*.  
4. *Sukūn* (·) changed from U; originally JJ'LUQ (?).

JIJA'MUQ <b>çiçāmuq</b> "The ring finger ( <i>binşir</i> )." This is a little-known word. <sup>5</sup> 0	<b>çiçāmuq</b>
SULA'MUQ <b>solāmuq</b> "A left-handed ( <i>a'sar</i> ) man." 0	<b>solāmuq</b>
QAR'JUQ' <b>qarācuq</b> A name for al-Fārāb. It is one of the cities <sup>6</sup> of the Oγuz. 0	<b>qarācuq</b> N
QAR'MUQ <b>qarāmuq</b> "Corn cockle ( <i>zuwān aṭ-ṭa'ām</i> )." 0	<b>qarāmuq</b>
[I. 404/487]	245
QAMIYJA'Q' <b>qamičāq</b> "Tadpole ( <i>du'mūṣ</i> )." 0	<b>qamičāq</b>
K	
TUN'RIK YIYR' <b>tünārig yēr</b> "Any dark ( <i>muḫlim</i> ) place." Also "the grave ( <i>qabr</i> )" is called: TUN'RIK <b>tünārig</b> . :: 'AR TUN'RIK'K' KIRDY <b>ār tünārigkā kirdi</b> "The man entered the grave." 0	<b>tünārig</b>
JUM'RUK KŠY <b>čömārük kiši</b> "A blear-eyed ( <i>a'maš</i> ) man." 0	<b>čömārük</b>
XUJVNA'K [sic] <b>čüčünāk (?)</b> "A melon which is sweet-smelling and streaked ( <i>ḥadaja</i> [defined])." 0	<b>čüčünāk</b> ?
BAJ'NAK <b>bäčänāk</b> A tribe of the Turks dwelling near Rum. BAJ'NK <b>bäčänāk</b> A clan of the Oγuz; BJA'N'K <b>bäčänāk</b> is a variant. 0	<b>bäčänāk</b> N
Chapter: <i>fa'al'al</i> , second and fourth radicals vowelled; <i>fa'allū</i>	
J	
TAFIL'FUVJ <b>tawilyüč</b> "Jujube ( <i>ṭabarxūn</i> )." <sup>1</sup>	<b>tawilyüč</b>
D	
BU'FUR'DA' SAJ' <b>buγurda sač</b> "Curly ( <i>ja'd</i> ) hair."	<b>buγurda</b>
S	
JI?AXSY <b>činaxsi (?)</b> An embroidered <i>šini</i> silk.	<b>činaxsi ?</b>

5. *qalla mā yu'rafu*, last word changed to *ya'rifu* by later hand.6. MS. *ism bilād*, read *min bilād*, or (Tercüme I, 487n.) *ism balda min bilād*.245 1. MS. *ṭayarxūn*.

Γ	
TABUZ'FUV NA'NK <b>tapuzγu nāṅ</b> "Riddle ( <i>alγūza</i> )." 0	<b>tapuzγu</b>
TUTUR'FUV NA'NK <b>tutuzγu nāṅ</b> "Something to be recommended ( <i>ḥaqquhu an yū'aza fihi</i> )." 0	<b>tutuzγu</b>
SIBIZ'FU <b>sibizγu</b> "Flute ( <i>mizmār</i> )." 0	<b>sibizγu</b>
SIRIJ'GA' <b>siričγa</b> "Glass ( <i>zujāj</i> )." 0	<b>siričγa</b>
SAIRIJ'GA' <b>saričγa</b> "Locust ( <i>jarād</i> )." An indolent ( <i>raxw</i> ) man is likened to it and called: SAIRIJ'GA' 'AR' <b>saričγa ār</b> . 0	<b>saričγa</b>
QUBUR'GA' <b>qoburγa</b> "Owl ( <i>al-hāma min aṭ-ṭayr</i> )." 0	<b>qoburγa</b>
Q	
TRRQUV [sic] YIYR' <b>tatirqu (?) yēr</b> "Ground with sparse vegetation ( <i>nabtuhā γayr multaff</i> )." 0	<b>tatirqu ?</b>
TATIR'GA' <b>tatirqa</b> "A white tanned skin ( <i>qaḍam</i> [defined])." 0	<b>tatirqa</b>
TAWILQUV <b>tawilqu</b> A variant of: TAWIL'FUVJ' <b>tawilyüč</b> meaning "jujube ( <i>ṭabar-xūn</i> )." 0	<b>tawilqu</b> D
'AWIL'QUV <b>awilqu</b> Type of plane tree ( <i>šajar al-qarm</i> ). It has red berries, the juice of which is added to the gravy of Tutmāč. Its bark is used as a medicine for ophthalmia. It is also used to dye clothing. 0	<b>awilqu</b>
TUQUR'QA' <b>toqurqa</b> "The spigot ( <i>šunbūr</i> ) on vats or ablution vessels." 0	TUQUR'- <b>toqurqa</b> N
QA' <b>toqurqa</b> Name of a place in the summer pastures of Kāšγar.	
SAQAZRQUV <b>saqirqu</b> "Tick ( <i>qurād</i> )." 0	<b>saqirqu</b>
QASIR'QUV <b>qasirqu</b> "Whirlwind ( <i>i'šār</i> )." 0	
K	
TUŠR'KUV <b>tüšürgü</b> "The outlet ( <i>fūha</i> ) of water into a canal; the place where the run-off from a mill pours ( <i>mafraγ</i> ) into another stream; etc." 0	<b>tüšürgü</b>
JAKUR'KA' <sup>2</sup> <b>čäkürgä</b> "Locust ( <i>jarād</i> )," in Oγuz dialect; "locust before it can fly ( <i>qabl an yaṭira</i> )," in Turk dialect. Crowded households and armies are likened to them, thus: JUKURK' TAK SUV <b>čäkürgä täγ sü</b> "An army as thick as locusts." 0	<b>čäkürgä</b> D

2. First A changed from U (?).

SUBUR·KUV süpürgü “Broom ( <i>miknasa</i> ).” 0	süpürgü
KTUR·KUV kötürgü “Conveyance ( <i>minqala</i> ).” 0	kötürgü
KASUR·KUV käsürgü “Leather bag ( <i>jrāb</i> ).” 0	käsürgü
KUSUR·KA' kösürgä “A type of rat ( <i>naw' min al-jirdan</i> ).” <sup>3</sup> 0	kösürgä
DUNUŠKA' dünüşgä “Hoary cress ( <i>qunābarī</i> ).” Kāncāk dialect. 0	dünüşgä D
[I. 406/490]	246
KIMIŠ·KA' kimišgä “An embroidered Kāšyar felt.”	kimišgä
M	
TAKIRMA' NA'NK tągirmä nān “Anything round ( <i>mudawwar</i> ),” such as a flat-bread, a hand-mill, or a dirham. 0	tagirmä
SAKIR·MA' säkirmä Name of a small town on the Khotan road. 0	säkirmä N
QUTUR·MA' BUR·K quturma börk “A cap that has two wings ( <i>janāḥān</i> ), <sup>1</sup> in front and in back.” 0	quturma
KUJUR·MA' 'UJUQ' köčürmä oçaq “A stove or fireplace which is portable ( <i>yunqalu</i> ) from place to place.” KUJUR·MA' 'UYUN köčürmä oyun The game called “Fourteen.” You draw four lines on the ground to make the fortress, and ten more for the gates; then you play, using hazelnuts, or the like. 0	köčürmä
Those with Quiescent Second Radical and Vowelled Third Radical	
T	
MINDATUV mindatu “Silken canopy (? <i>qazzīna</i> ).” <sup>2</sup>	mindatu
J	
QUL·NAJIY QIS·RA'Q' qulnači qisrāq “A mare that is about to foal ( <i>'aqūq</i> ).”	qulnači
Γ	
QAR·NAΓUV 'AR' qarnayu är “A potbellied ( <i>baḥīn</i> ) man.” 0	qarnayu

3. MS. *jirdān*.246 1. MS. *janāḥā*.2. Cf. 247 *mandiri* and 264 *mundaru*; ED, 768.

SAΓ·NAΓUV saɣnayu “A dried gourd ( <i>qar' yābis</i> ).” 0	saɣnayu
QUN·DIΓUV qondiɣu “Polishing stone ( <i>midwas</i> ).” 0	qondiɣu
QAM·JIYΓUV qamčīɣu “A pustule ( <i>baḥra</i> ) that appears on the lips or fingers, with much pain, and with itching and fever.”	qamčīɣu
K	
TUR·BIKUV törpigü “Adz ( <i>safan</i> )” with which to smooth wood. 0	törpigü
TAM·RAKUV tämrägü “Tetter (skin disease) ( <i>qūbā'</i> ).” 0	tämrägü
SUK·NAKUV sögnägü “A pustule ( <i>baḥra</i> ) that appears between the nail and the skin.” 0	sögnägü
KAR·ŠAKUV 'AT' kāršägü at “A horse with sores on his withers ( <i>bihi dabar bi-minsa- jihi</i> ).”	kāršägü
M	
BUL·ΓAMA' bulɣama “Gruel ( <i>'ašīda</i> ) that is unsweetened and unbuttered.” 0	bulɣama
JUQRAMA' YUL' čoqrama yul “An abundantly-flowing ( <i>fawwāra ɣazīra<sup>3</sup> al-mā'</i> ) spring.”	čoqrama
N	
BUL·ΓUN' bulɣuna A shrub ( <i>šajar</i> ) which is red, pliant, and shaped like tamarisk ( <i>ṭarfā'</i> ). Camels feed on it. MALΓUN' malɣuna is a variant.	bulɣuna D malɣuna D

Chapter: *fu'lulī*N<sup>4</sup>

BULDUNY bulduni (?) Name of a thick mixture of sour and fresh milk (*raṭiyya*) which has grapes or raisins thrown in and is eaten. Kāncāk dialect. D

R

SUNDIRIY sondiri (?) “Sea (*baḥr*).” Proverb: 'Š·YA'K 'AYUR· BAŠIM BUL·SA' sondiri ? SUNDURIY DA' SUVF' 'IJ·KA'Y· MAN äšyāk ayur bašim bolsa sondurida sūw ičgāy mān 0 P  
“The ass says, ‘My head must be sound so I may drink sea water.’” This is coined for one who wishes a long life in order to

3. MS. *ɣarīza*.4. Cf. ED, 335; error for T? therefore *bulduti*?

[I. 408/492] 247

gain his hopes.

MAN'DIRIY **mandiri** – Čigil dialect – name of the room (*majlis*) where the bride and groom are brought together at night and people shower them with coins (*niṣār*). **mandiri** D

L

BUSTALY **bustuli** A name for “mountain spinach (*sarmaq*)” which is eaten. **bustuli**

N

KUZKNIY **közkäni** (?) “A type of beetle which flies about at night with a buzzing sound (*quṭrub* [defined]).” **közkäni** ?

Chapter: *fu'lundī*, in its various vocalizations

D

SUBURN'DIY **süpründi** “Sweepings (*qumāma*).” 0 **süpründi**

SAR'QIN'DIY SUVW\_ **sarqindi sūw** “Drip water (*al-quṭār min al-mā'*).” 0 **sarqindi**

QUJ'GUN'DIY **qučγundi** “Onion (*baṣal*).” Čigil dialect. **qučγundi** D

End of Quadrilateral Chapters

Chapters of Quinquilaterals

Chapter: *fa'al'al*, in its various vocalizations

J

SUQAR'LAJ BUR'K **soqarlač börk** “A tall (*ṭawīla*) cap.” 0 **soqarlač**

QAI'UR'MA'J<sup>1</sup> **qayurmāč** “Fried wheat (*ḥinṭa maqliyya*).” 0 QAWURMA'J **qawur- qayurmāč**  
**māč** – with thin *fā'* – is a variant. **qawurmāč** D

YU'UR'FUUVJ\_ **yoγuryūč** “Pastry roller (*miṭmala*),” for flattening noodle dough, etc. 0 **yoγuryūč**

R

247 1. First A changed to U (?).

JAIFIL'WA'R' 'UQY čiyilwār oqi “Short arrows (*ḥusbāna* [defined]).” Verse: čiyilwār

'UTRV TURIUB' YAΓDIY [sic] 'ANKAR KIYŠ 'UQY JAIFILWA'R' V  
'AY'DIM 'ASIF QIL'UV 'AMAS' SAN TAQIY YALWA'R'  
**utru turip yaydim anar kēs oqi čiyilwār**  
**aydim asiγ qil'yu āmās sän taqi yalwār**

Describing the enemy: “When he confronted me I rained down on him short arrows from the quiver, then said, ‘Your flattery and cries for mercy will not help you now.’” 0

Γ

:: SAMUR\_TUΓ\_ 'IYŠ **samurtuγ iš** “A confused, inextricable (*muṣṭaliṭ lā yudrā maxra-juhu*) affair.” 0 **samurtuγ**

QURUT'LUΓ KIŠY **qurutluγ kiši** “One who has dried curds (*ḏū aqiṭ*).” 0 This is like the Arabic expression: *rajul tāmīr wa-lābin* (“a man be-dated and be-milked”), meaning: *ḏū tamr wa-laban* (“who has dates and milk”). 0 **qurutluγ**

:: TATIR'LIF YIYR\_ **tatirliγ yēr** “Smooth hard (*ḏāt jadad wa-ṣalāba*) ground.” **tatirliγ**

:: QATIR'LIF 'AR\_ **qatirliγ är** “A man with a mule (*ḏū baγl*).” 0 **qatirliγ**

:: BASAR'LIF TA'Γ **basarliγ tāγ** “A mountain overgrown with garlic (*ḏū ṭūm*).” **basarliγ**

BAΓIR'LIF 'AR\_ **baγirliγ är** “A man who submits to no one (*lā yanqādu li-aḥad*).” This is like the Arabic expression: *innā la-naḥnu a'zam akbādan min al-ibil* (“Indeed we are bigger-lived than camels”). 0 **baγirliγ**

:: JAΓIR'LIF 'AR\_ **čayirliγ är** “A man who has juice (*ḏū 'ašīr*).” 0 **čayirliγ**

[I. 409/494] 248

SUFUR'LUΓ TA'Γ\_ **suγurluγ tāγ** “A mountain overrun with weasels (*ḏū wabr*).” **suγurluγ**

:: SIFIRLIF 'AR\_ **siγirliγ är** “A man who has cattle (*ḏū baqar*).” 0 **siγirliγ**

TAWAR'LIF 'AR\_ **tawarliγ är** “A man of wealth (*ḏū māl*).” 0 **tawarliγ**

JAWA'R'LIF YIYR\_ **čawārliγ yēr** “Ground that has kindling (*ḏāt ḏarm*).” 0 **čawārliγ**

BAQIRLIF **baqirliγ** Name of a place near Balāsāyūn. 0 BAQIR'LIF TA'Γ **baqirliγ** **baqirliγ**  
**tāγ** “A mountain having copper (*ḏū nuḥās*).” 0 N

TAMIṢR'LUΓ 'AT\_ **tamurluγ ät** “Flesh which has veins and sinews (*ḏū 'urūq wa-a'šāb*).” 0 **tamurluγ**

:: QUBZLIΓ KIŠY **qopuzluγ kiši** “One who has a lute (*ḏū 'ūd wa-mizhar*).” 0 **qopuzluγ**

QUTUZLUḠ 'AR' qotuzluḡ är "A man who owns a wild ox ( <i>yak</i> ) ( <i>ṣāḥīb baqar al-wahš</i> )."	qotuzluḡ			
SAGIZLIḠ 'AR' sayizliḡ är "One who has chewing gum ( <i>dū 'ilk yumḍayū</i> )."	0	SAGIZLIḠ YŶR' sayizliḡ yēr "Ground having pure clay ( <i>dāt ṭīna ḥurra</i> )."	0	sayizliḡ
SAQIZLIḠ TVN saqizliḡ tōn "A garment with something viscous stuck to it ( <i>fīhi ta'alluq al-luzūjāt</i> )."	0	saqizliḡ		
QAMIŠLIḠ YŶR' qamišliḡ yēr "A canebrake or reed-bed ( <i>maqṣaba</i> )."	0	qamišliḡ		
TABUḠLUḠ 'AR' tapuḡluḡ är "A man of inveterate service ( <i>dū xidma qadīma</i> )."	0	tapuḡluḡ		
QABUḠLUḠ 'AW' qapuḡluḡ äw "A house with a door ( <i>dū bāb</i> )."	0	qapuḡluḡ		
TATIḠLIḠ NA'NK tatiḡliḡ nāḡ "Something tasty ( <i>laḍīd</i> )."	Its root-form is: TA'TIḠLIḠ-	tatiḡliḡ		
LIF' tatiḡliḡ.	0			
TUTUḠLUḠ YŶR' tutuḡluḡ yēr "A land haunted by jinn who injure anyone that passes through ( <i>majanna</i> [defined])."	tutuḡluḡ			
TIDIḠLIḠ NA'NK tidiḡliḡ nāḡ "Something to which access is prevented ( <i>mamnū' 'an al-wuṣūl ilayhi</i> )."	0	tidiḡliḡ		
:: QIDIḠLIḠ BUR'K' qidiḡliḡ börk "A cap with a brim sewn on ( <i>dāt ḥitār muxayyaṭ</i> )."	0	qidiḡliḡ		
QUḌUḠLUḠ 'AW' quḍuḡluḡ äw "A house with a well ( <i>bi'r</i> )."	0	quḍuḡluḡ		
TARIḠLAḠ tariḡlāḡ "A sown field ( <i>mazra'a</i> )."	0	tariḡlāḡ		
TURUḠLAḠ YŶR' turuḡlāḡ yēr "Place of residence ( <i>mawḍi' al-iqāma</i> )."	0	turuḡlāḡ		
TARIḠLIḠ YŶR' tariḡliḡ yēr "Land that is seeded ( <i>dāt zar'</i> )"; also, "granary ( <i>ḥurī</i> )."	tariḡliḡ			
SARIḠLIḠ 'AR' sariḡliḡ ar "A bilious ( <i>mamrūr</i> ) man."	0	sariḡliḡ		
QURUḠLUḠ YA' quruḡluḡ ya "A strung ( <i>muwattar</i> ) bow."	0	quruḡluḡ		
BUSUḠLUḠ YAḠY busuḡluḡ yaḡi "The enemy in ambush ( <i>dū l-kamīn</i> )."	0	busuḡluḡ		
QABIḠLIḠ QIYZ' qapaḡliḡ qīz "A virgin ( <i>'adrā</i> )."	0	qapaḡliḡ		
QATIḠLIḠ 'AR' qatiḡliḡ är "A man who is a mongrel or half-breed ( <i>ḥajīn</i> )"; also, "one who has a condiment with which to season his food ( <i>lahu idām yu'tadamu bihi</i> )."	0	qatiḡliḡ		
BARAIḠLIḠ KIŠY baraḡliḡ kiši "A man who has a shaggy dog ( <i>dū kalb aḥlab</i> )."	0	baraḡliḡ		

248 1. Final *sukūn* (◌) changed from U (originally QITUQLUḠ ?).

JARUQLUḠ 'AR' čaruḡluḡ är "A man with sandals ( <i>muḥtadī</i> )."	JARUQLIḠ čaruḡluḡ	čaruḡluḡ	
A clan of Oḡuz.	0	N	
QARAḠLIḠ qaraḡliḡ "Any animal which has an eyeball ( <i>lahu muqla</i> )."	:: QARAḠLIḠ SIYZ' TAK KUḠIR'VR <sup>2</sup> qaraḡsīz tāḡ körūr "He blinks ( <i>yataḡāmazū</i> ) in battle, etc., as though he does not recognize <sup>3</sup>	qaraḡliḡ	
[I. 411/497]		249	
the combatants and their outfits."			
QASUQLUḠ 'AR' qasuḡluḡ är "A man who has a skin of koumiss ( <i>lahu rāwiya al-āmiš</i> )."	0	qasuḡluḡ	
QUSIQLIḠ 'AR' qusiḡliḡ är "A man who has hazels ( <i>dū jillawz</i> )."	0	qusiḡliḡ	
:: BAŠAQLIḠ SUNKV bašaḡliḡ sünū "A pointed ( <i>dāt sinān</i> ) spear." Also, an arrow if it has an arrowhead ( <i>dū naṣl</i> ).	0	bašaḡliḡ	
:: TAŠAQLIḠ 'AR' tašaḡliḡ är "A man with testicles ( <i>dū xuṣya</i> )."	0	tašaḡliḡ	
QAŠUQLUḠ 'AY'Q qašuḡluḡ ayāq "A bowl with a spoon ( <i>dāt mil'aqa</i> )."		qašuḡluḡ	
BUQUḠLUḠ 'AR' boquḡluḡ är "A man with goiter ( <i>dū ḥawṣala</i> )."	0	boquḡluḡ	
TAQUQLUḠ 'AR' taquḡluḡ är "A man who has chickens ( <i>dū dajāj</i> )."	Oḡuz dialect.	taquḡluḡ	
SUQAḠLIḠ TAḠ suqaḡliḡ tāḡ "A mountain overrun with antelope ( <i>dū 'ufr min az-zībā</i> )."	0	D suqaḡliḡ	
BALIQLIḠ 'UKUZ baliḡliḡ ögüz "A river with fish ( <i>dū samak</i> )."	Also, land that has mud ( <i>fihā waḥl</i> ), in Arḡu dialect.	0	baliḡliḡ
:: QULAḠLIḠ NA'NK qulāḡliḡ nāḡ "A thing with an ear ( <i>dū uḍun</i> )."	0	qulāḡliḡ	
QUNUQLUḠ 'AW qonuḡluḡ äw "A house with guests ( <i>dū aḍyāf</i> )."	0	qonuḡluḡ	
TURUMLUḠ 'AR' torumluḡ är "A man who has a newborn camel ( <i>lahu ibn maxād</i> )."	0	torumluḡ	
QURUMLUḠ TAḠ qorumluḡ tāḡ "A rocky ( <i>dū janādil</i> ) mountain."	0	qorumluḡ	
TULUMLUḠ 'AR' tulumluḡ är "An armed man ( <i>mudajaj</i> )."	Verse:	tulumluḡ	

2. First *sukūn* (◌) changed from U.

3. *lā yadrī*; corrected, below the line, to *lā yarā*, "does not see" (later hand).

'UNKDUN NALK YALWARMADINK QAJ QATA' BIR'DINK TAW'R  
TULUMLUĞ BULUB' QATIN'DINK QA'NIK 'AMDY YIYR' SUWA'R  
öñdün nälük yalwarmadıñ qač qata berdiñ tawār  
tulumluy bolup qatindiñ qānig amdi yēr suwār

“Why did you not beg mercy before you paid the tax several times? Now that you are armed you are stubborn. (Go back to paying the tax; if not,) your blood will water the ground.” 0

TABAN'LIG TAWAY tabanlıy tewe “A camel with hooves (*dāt al-xuff*).” 0 tabanlıy

TUBUN'LUĞ TARIĞ topunluy tariy “A corn stalk with knobs (*al-burr dū l-ku'-bura*).” 0 topunluy

:: BUDUNLUĞ BUQUNLUĞ KIŞY bodunluy boqunluy kişi “One who has kinsmen (*dū rahṭ wa-'ašīra*).” 0 bodunluy boqunluy

:: BAQANLIG QADIŞ' baqanlıy qađış “A strap with a ring (*dū ḥalqa*).” 0 baqanlıy

BADUK QARINLIG 'AR' bādük qarınliy är “A potbellied (*baṭīn*) man.” 0 qarınliy

QURUN'LUĞ 'AW' qurunluy äw “A house blackened with soot (*muswadd min ad-duxān al-mutarākim*).” 0 qurunluy

SAGIN'LIG 'AR' sayınlıy är “A man who has milch-ewes (*dū ḥalā'ib*).” 0 sayınlıy

:: SUĞUNLUĞ TA'Ğ soğunluy tāy “A mountain overgrown with wild onions (*dū unşul*).” 0 soğunluy

:: SAMAN'LIG 'AR' samanliy är “A man who has straw (*dū tibn*).” 0 samanliy

QAFUNLUĞ 'AR' qağunluy är “A man who has a melon (*dū baṭṭīx*).” 0 qağunluy

QUQUN'LUĞ 'UVT' qoqunluy öt “A fire with sparks (*dāt šarara*).” 0 qoqunluy

[I. 413/500] 250

QULUNLUĞ QIS'RA'Q qulunluy qisrāq “A mare with her foal following her (*mutliya qulunluy* [defined]).”

The principle is that : LIG' -liy added to these nouns denotes the owner (*ṣāḥib*) of the object named; or else the passive participle (*maf'ūl*), which then takes on a variety of nuances that cannot be known in advance; 0 or again, it may indicate nouns of place. The first of these usages is illustrated in the phrase: BADUK QARINLIG 'AR' bādük qarınliy är meaning “a potbellied (*baṭīn*) man, one who possesses a large belly (*dū baṭn 'azīm*)”; also in: SAMNLIG 'AR' samanliy är meaning “a man who owns some straw (*dū tibn*).” The second is illustrated in the phrase: SARIĞLIG 'AR' sariyliy är meaning “A bilious (*mamrūr*) man”; 0 also in: QURQLUĞ YA' quruqluy ya meaning “a strung (*muwattar*) bow.” The third is illustrated in the phrase: TARIĞLA'Ğ tariylyāy for “sown field (*mazra'a*)”; and in: TURİĞL'Ğ turuylyāy for “place of residence (*mawđi' al-iqāma*).”

V

G

Know that most of the words in the quinquilateral chapter are compounds made from simple trilateral roots.

The suffix with *ḡayn* has a different connotation from that with *qāf*. The *ḡayn*<sup>1</sup> is used as I have just shown. The *qāf*<sup>2</sup> is only used for locations (*talzamu l-amākin*). Example :: TARIĞ-LIG 'AW tariyliy äw means “a house having corn (*dū ḥinṭa*),” 0 but: TARIĞ-LIG [sic] tariyliy is “a granary (*huri*).” 0 QURİĞLUĞ YA' quruyluy ya is “a strung (*muwattar*) bow,” 0 and QURİĞLUĞ [sic] quruyluy is “a bowcase (*miqwas*).” 0 This is what obliged me to mention several of them, so that they might be known.

In writing the word you may separate the *lām* and *ḡayn* as long as they are not part of the basic noun. For example, in the phrase: BALIQ-LIG 'UKUĞ baliqliy ögüz you may separate the: BALIQ' baliq from the: LIG' -liy. 0 [Another example:] BARAQ' LIG 'AR' baraq liy är “a man who has a shaggy dog (*dū l-kalb al-ahlab*).” However, the system employed in this book (? *hādīhi l-jīha*) is better, since it serves for conciseness, both in the patterning (*mizān*) and in the transcription (*kitba*).

Q

BURNDUQ burunduq “Halter or nose-rope (*zimām*).” 0 burunduq

BASINJAQ 'AR' basinčaq är “An oppressed (*mustađ'af*) man.” 0 basinčaq

SÄIĞIR'JIQ siyirčiq “Starling (*ṭayhūj*).” 0 siyirčiq

QABIR'JA'Q<sup>3</sup> quburčāq “A wooden case (*tābūt*).” It is usually used to mean “coffin quburčāq (*tābūt al-mayyit*).” 0

QUĐUR'JUQ qođurčuy [Doll] (*al-kīd* [?])<sup>4</sup> They are figures (*tamāṭīl*) which little qođurčuy girls make<sup>5</sup> to play with, in the shape of people. 0

QARINJAQ' qarınčaq “Ant (*naml*).” Oğuz dialect. qarınčaq D  
[I. 415/501] 251

They also say: QARIN'JA' qarınča [608]. 0

?ĞRJAQ bayirčaq “Pack-saddle (*akāf*) for asses.” bayirčaq

- 250 1. MS. *qāf*.  
2. MS. *ḡayn*.  
3. Altered from QUBURJA'Q.  
4. Possibly to be read *al-libd* (“felt”) or, perhaps, *al-lu'ab* (“dolls”).  
5. MS. *tatḥduh*, read *tattaxiduhu*.

TULAR'SUQ <sup>1</sup> <b>tolarsuq</b> (?) “Heel ( <i>'aqib</i> ),” usually of an animal. 0	<b>tolarsuq</b> ?
BAĞIR'SAQ KIŞY <b>bayırsaq kişi</b> “A compassionate, kindly ( <i>'aṭūf ḥafī</i> ) person.” 0	<b>bayırsaq</b>
BAĞIRSUQ <b>bayırsuq</b> “Intestines ( <i>mi'ā</i> ).” 0	<b>bayırsuq</b>
BAĞIR'DAQ <b>bayırdaq</b> “A woman's bodice ( <i>şudra al-mar'a</i> ).” 0	<b>bayırdaq</b>
QURUĞ'SAQ <b>quruysaq</b> “Stomach ( <i>ma'ida</i> ).” “A bird's gizzard ( <i>qānişa aṭ-ṭayr</i> )” is also called: QURUĞ'SA'Q <b>quruysāq</b> . 0	<b>quruysaq</b>
BUTURĞA'Q <b>buturyāq</b> [Burr] “A thorn ( <i>şawk</i> ) shaped like a pistachio, with hooks that catch on clothing, etc.” 0	<b>buturyāq</b>
TABUZ'FUQ <b>tapuzyuq</b> “Riddle ( <i>al-yūza</i> ).” 0	<b>tapuzyuq</b>
TUBUL'GA'Q <b>topulyāq</b> “Sedge ( <i>su'd</i> ).” TUBL'GA'Q <b>topulyāq</b> “Colic ( <i>qūlanj</i> ).” 0	<b>topulyāq</b>
SIDIR'GA'Q <b>sidiryāq</b> “Cloven hoof ( <i>zīlf</i> ).” 0	<b>sidiryāq</b>
QUDR'GA'Q' <b>quduryāq</b> “One of the two tails of a gown ( <i>aḥad ḍaylay al-qabā' xalfan</i> ).” 0	<b>quduryāq</b>
QADIZ'GA'Q' <b>qadizyāq</b> “A blister ( <i>majl</i> ) on the hand, from working.” 0	<b>qadizyāq</b>
BADIJ'LIQ YGA'J' <b>badičliq yiyāč</b> “A piece of wood to make into a vine trellis ( <i>'ariš al-karm</i> ).” 0	<b>badičliq</b>
J'AJLAQ <b>čanačliq</b> “Awkwardness, effeminacy ( <i>xurq, taxnīṭ</i> ).” 0	<b>čanačliq</b>
BAĞIR'LAQ <b>bayırlaq</b> “Sandgrouse ( <i>qaṭāt</i> ).”	<b>bayırlaq</b>
TAWAR'LUQ' <b>tawarluq</b> “Pantry ( <i>xizāna</i> ).” 0	<b>tawarluq</b>
TURUQ'LUQ' <b>turuqluq</b> “Emaciation ( <i>huzāl</i> ).” 0	<b>turuqluq</b>
TARIĞ'LIQ <b>tariyliq</b> “Granary ( <i>hurī</i> ).”	<b>tariyliq</b>
JUBULMAQ <b>čubulmaq</b> (?) “Dried apple ( <i>faliq at-tuffāḥ</i> ).” Utluq <sup>2</sup> dialect. 0	<b>čubulmaq</b> ?
JUMUŞLUQ <b>čomuşluq</b> “Privy ( <i>kanīf</i> ).”	<b>čomuşluq</b>
JARUQLUQ <b>čaruqluq</b> “A strip of leather to be made into sandals ( <i>u'idda . . . li-l-ḥidā</i> ).” 0	<b>čaruqluq</b>

251 1. First *sukūn*(·) changed from U; originally TLURSUQ.  
2. Spelled 'TLIQ – see 62, n. 1.

TANUQLUQ <b>tanuqluq</b> “Testimony ( <i>şahāda</i> ).” 0	<b>tanuqluq</b>
TUĞA'Q'LIQ <b>tuyāqliq</b> “A piece of wood to be made into a strainer ( <i>fidām</i> ).” 0	<b>tuyāqliq</b>
SATIĞ'LIQ NA'NK <b>satiyliq nān</b> “Something ready for sale ( <i>mu'add li-l-bay'</i> ).” 0	<b>satiyliq</b>
SARIĞ'LIQ <sup>3</sup> <b>sariyliq</b> “Yellowness ( <i>şufra</i> )” of things. 0	<b>sariyliq</b>
SIRUQLUQ' YIĞA'J' <b>siruqluq yiyāč</b> “A piece of wood to be made into a tent pole ( <i>şaqb</i> ).” 0	<b>siruqluq</b>
SUIĞ'LIQ NA'NK <b>soyiqliq nān</b> “Anything prepared for the cold ( <i>mu'add li-l-burūda</i> ).” 0	<b>soyiqliq</b>
QBAQLQ <b>qabaqliq</b> “A squash patch ( <i>manbit al-qar'</i> ).” 0	<b>qabaqliq</b>
QADAŞ'LIQ <sup>3</sup> <b>qadaşliq</b> “Brotherhood, kinship ( <i>uxuwwa, qarāba</i> ).” 0	<b>qadaşliq</b>
QURUĞ'LUQ <b>quruyluq</b> “Dryness ( <i>jafāf</i> )” of a thing. 0	<b>quruyluq</b>
QRUĞ'LUQ <b>quruyluq</b> “Bowcase ( <i>miqwas</i> ).” Thus :: KYŞ QRUĞ'LUQ <b>kēş quruyluq</b> “Quiver and bowcase.”	
QAŞIQLIĞ' MUNKUZ' <b>qaşuqluq münüz</b> “A horn to be made into a spoon ( <i>mil'aqa</i> ).” 0	<b>qaşuqluq</b>
SARAN'LIQ <b>saranliq</b> “Miserliness ( <i>buxl</i> ).”	Verse: <b>saranliq</b>
NAKIN TUTAR BAK'LAYUV 'UVZY Y'MA'S SARANLIQIN' SIĞ'TAYUV <sup>3</sup> 'ALTUN' YIĞ'R <sup>3</sup> nāgin tutar bākläyü özi yēmäs saranliqin siytayu altun yiyār	V
Describing human nature:	
[I. 416/504]	252
“Man hoards up his wealth and holds on to it tightly, crying over it out of miserliness, while he piles up gold; then he leaves it to someone else!” 0 [He holds tight to his wealth and does not eat Crying because of miserliness, he piles up gold.]	
QAĞUNLUQ <b>qağunluq</b> “Melon patch ( <i>mabṭaxa</i> ).” 0	<b>qağunluq</b>

3. Waterstained, text unclear.

- QUNQLUQ 'AV' qonuqluq äv "Guest house (*bayt aḍ-ḍiyāfa*).” 0 qonuqluq
- TAFUZMQ 'AR' tayuzmaq är "A short and stout (*b uḥtur qaṣīr*) man.” There is also a *tayuzmaq* variant with *qāf* [i.e. *taquzmaq*]. Also for other things. 0 (taquzmaq  
1)  
1)
- MUFUZ'GAQ muγuzγaq "A fly (*ḍubāb*) that resembles the bee (*naḥl*).” Arγu dialect. muγuzγaq  
1)  
1)
- This suffix has five usages: (1) To form a noun in the meaning of a verbal noun (*maṣdar*). Example: U'ULUFLUQ uluγluq "Deeming oneself great (*kibriyā*)," derived from: 'ULFA'D-TIY ulγāḍti meaning "he became great (*kaḅura*)"; :: QURUFLUQ quruγluq "Dryness (*jafāf*)," derived from: QURINDIY NA'NK qurindi nāḅ meaning "the thing dried (*jaffa*).” (2) To form a noun denoting that one thing has been prepared (*mu'add*), or is in store (*muddaxar*), for something else. Example: SURUQ'LUQ YIΓA'J siruqluq yiγāč "a piece of wood prepared to be made into a tent pole (*mu'add li-yuttaxaḍa minhu ṣ-ṣaqb*)"; :: TUQA'Q'LIQ [sic] YIΓA'J' toγāqliq yiγāc "A piece of wood in store to be made a strainer.” (3) To form a noun denoting the place where something grows. Example: QABAFLIY [sic] qabaqliq "squash patch (*manbit al-qar'*)"; 0 QAI'UNLUQ qaγunluq "melon patch.” (4) To form a simple noun, unconnected with these other meanings. Example: BAΓIR'LAQ bayirilaq "sandgrouse (*qaṣāt*)"; SIFIRJUQ siyirčeq "starling (*ṭayhūj*).” This is a guide to form words which are not enumerated. They follow the explanation given here. If you regard the matter from this point of view you will find nothing that deviates from the rule. (5) to form a verbal noun (*maṣdar*). Example: TURUQ'LUQ turuqluq "Emaciation (*huzāl*).”
- K
- KIRIT'LK kiritlik "Lock (*γalaq*).” KRIT'LK QABUΓ kiritlig qapuy "A locked (*muγ-laq*) door.” kiritlik  
kiritlig
- KUZAT'LIK NA'NK közätlig nāḅ "Something preserved (*maḥfūz*).” 0 közätlig
- JUKUT'LUK' čökütlik "Shortness of stature (*qaṣr al-juṭṭa*).” 0 čökütlik
- SUKUT'LUK' sögütlik "Willow orchard (*manbat ṣajar al-xilāf*)," with the hard *kāf*. The owner (*ṣāḥibuhu*) would be with the thin *kāf* [sögütlig]. 0 (sögütlik  
(sögütlig))
- KUZJ'LUK'
- [I. 418/506] 253
- TITIK küzäčlik titig "Clay to be made into a pot (*bastūqa*).” The owner would be with the thin *kāf* [küzäčlig]. 0 (küzäčlik  
(küzäčlig))
- TAMURLK tāmürlük "The place where iron ore is smelted (*al-mawḍi' allaḍi yuḍābu fihi ḥijāra al-ḥadīd wa-yuxallaṣu minhā l-ḥadīd*).” The owner would be with the thin *kāf* [tāmür- (tāmürlük) lüg]. 0 (tāmürlük  
(tāmürlük))
- KMURLK kömürlük "A tree, or a place, for charcoal (*ṣajar al-faḥm wa-mawḍi' al-faḥm*).” kömürlük  
The owner would be with the thin *kāf* [kömürlük]. 0 (kömürlük  
(kömürlük))

- TABIZ'LIK täpizlik "Envy (*ḥasad*).” Thus :: 'NIK TBZLIK Y KIM'KA' TAL'QA'R' täpizlik  
anig täpizliki kimkä talqār "To whom does his envy do harm?" 0
- TTIZLIK titizlik "Bitterness (*afūṣa*)," as with the taste of myrobalan. titizlik
- BUŠINJAK büšinčäk "A cluster of grapes (*'unqūd al-'inab*).” Kānčāk dialect. 0 büšinčäk D
- TKIRMAK tägirmäk "Camel litter (*hawḍaj*).” The Oγuz sometimes call it: 'UKUR' MAK ügürmäk. tägirmäk  
(ügürmäk  
D)
- ŠAKIRTUK' šäkirtük "Pistachio (*fustuq*).” 0 šäkirtük
- KABAZLK kábäzlik "Cotton field (*maqṭana*).” To describe the person you say: KBAZ' LK 'AR' kábäzlig är meaning "A man who has cotton (*ḍū quṭn*).” 0 kábäzlik  
kábäzlig
- BADIZ'LIK 'AW bādizlig äw "An ornamented (*muzaxraf*) house.” 0 bādizlig
- KIDIZ'LIK YUVNK kidizlik yūḅ "Wool prepared for making felt (*libd*).” The owner would be with the thin *kāf* [kidizlig]. 0 kidizlik  
(kidizlig)
- TAKUZLK tögüzlük "A horse's having a blaze (*kawn al-faras aγarr*).” Proverb: 'AT' TAKUZLKY 'ÄY' BUL'M'S at tögüzlüki äy bolmās 0 "The horse's blaze is not (a substitute for) the moon.” This is coined when one wishes something small to take the place of something big. 0 P
- SAMIZ'LIK sämizlik "Fatness (*siman*).” 0 sämizlik
- KUWAZ'LIK küwäzlik "Insolence (*baṭar*).” Verse: küwäzlik
- 'ŠTIB' 'TA' 'NA'NK NIK SAWLARNY QADIR'MA' V  
NANK' QUB' BULUB' KUWAZ'LIK QILNB' YAN' QUTURMA'  
eṣtip ata anāḅnig sawlarini qadirma  
nāḅ qut bulup küwäzlik qilnip yana quturma
- "When you hear the words of your parents do not turn (their words against them); when you find wealth and fortune<sup>1</sup> (do not boast) nor let insolence seize hold of you and do not overstep your limit.” 0
- JAJAKLK čečäklik Name for "a place where flowers grow (*mawḍi' yanbut fihi z-zahr*).” čečäklik  
0
- KABAKLK kápäklik "The place where bran is made (*al-mawḍi' allaḍi yuj'alu fihi n-nuxāla*).” The owner would be with the thin *kāf* [kápäklik]. kápäklik  
(kápäklik)

253 1. MS. *jidd*, read *jadd*.



TUWAK·LIK <i>tüwäklik</i> “A branch that is to be made into a blowgun ( <i>mā kāna min al-kušn mu‘add li-yuttaxada minhu marmā l-banādiq</i> )”	<i>tüwäklik</i>
[I. 419/508]	254
<i>bi-n-nafas</i> ) for shooting at small birds.”	
BTIK·LIK·N·NK <i>bitiglik nāḡ</i> “Something suitable to be written upon ( <i>mu‘add li-yuktaba ‘alayhi</i> ).” The owner would be with the thin <i>kāf</i> [ <i>bitiglig</i> ]. 0	<i>bitiglik</i> ( <i>bitiglig</i> )
KADUKLK KIDIZ· <i>kādüklük kiḏiz</i> “Felt which has been prepared for making a raincoat ( <i>mimḡar</i> ).” The owner would be with the thin <i>kāf</i> [ <i>kādüklüg</i> ].	<i>kādüklük</i> ( <i>kādüklüg</i> )
:: ‘YŠLIḡ KUḏKLK ‘AR· <i>išliḡ köḏüglüg är</i> “A man who has toil and trouble ( <i>ḏū šuḡl wa-‘amal</i> ).” One does not say: KUḏKLK <i>köḏüglüg</i> alone.	<i>köḏüglüg</i>
TIRAIKLK <i>teräklik</i> “A poplar orchard ( <i>manbit al-ḡawr</i> ).” The owner would be with the thin <i>kāf</i> [ <i>teräklig</i> ]. 0	<i>teräklik</i> ( <i>teräklig</i> )
:: BUV NA·NK· ‘UL BIZK· KARAKLK <i>bu nāḡ ol bizkā kāräklig</i> “This is something that is necessary ( <i>yanbayi</i> ) for us.” 0	<i>kāräklig</i>
BAŠIK·LIK ‘URA·ḡUT <i>beşiklig urāyut</i> “A woman who has (a baby and) a cradle ( <i>ḏāt raḏī wa-mahd</i> ).” 0	<i>beşiklig</i>
TUŠAK·LIK BAR·JIN <i>töšäklik barčün</i> “Brocade (or other) to be made into bedding ( <i>firāš</i> ).” The owner would be with the thin <i>kāf</i> – I mean the owner of the bedding [ <i>töšäklig</i> ]. 0	<i>töšäklik</i> ( <i>töšäklig</i> )
:: KUŠIK·LIK·YYR· <i>köšiklig yēr</i> “A shaded ( <i>muḡallal</i> ) place.”	<i>köšiklig</i>
TIKIKLK TUVN <i>tikiglig tōn</i> “A sewn ( <i>muxayyat</i> ) garment.” 0	<i>tikiglig</i>
TUKKLG TARIF <i>töküklüg tariḡ</i> “Poured ( <i>mašbūb</i> ) <sup>1</sup> wheat,” or other.	<i>töküklüg</i>
:: KVJ·LK BIĻAK·LIK KŠY <i>küčlüg biläklig kiši</i> “A person with a strong arm ( <i>qawī ḏū sā‘id</i> ).” 0	<i>biläklig</i>
“One who is knowing, intelligent, and wise ( <i>‘ālim ‘āqil ḡakīm</i> )” is called: BLIKLK KŠY <i>biliglig kiši</i> .	<i>biliglig</i>
BALIK·LK KBA·Z <i>biliklik kābāz</i> “A piece of cotton to be made into a wick ( <i>quḡna mu‘adda li-l-fatīla</i> ).” 0	<i>biliklik</i>
KULUK·LK ‘AR· <i>kölüklüg är</i> “A man who has a beast of burden ( <i>lahu ḡamūla wa-ḡahr</i> ).” 0	<i>kölüklüg</i>

KULIKLIK YYR· <i>köliklig yēr</i> “A shaded ( <i>muḡallal</i> ) place.” 0	<i>köliklig</i>
BURN·JUK <i>bürünčük</i> “A woman’s veil ( <i>ximār al-mar‘a</i> ).”	<i>bürünčük</i>
BILIN·JAK·NA·NK <i>bilinčäk nāḡ</i> The name for “anything stolen ( <i>masrūq</i> ) which is later found in the hands of the stealer or of someone else.” Thus :: BILIN·JAK·BṢIL·DY <i>bilinčäk bildi</i> “He recognized <sup>2</sup> the stolen article in the hands of the stealer.” 0	<i>bilinčäk</i>
TARINJAK <i>tärinčäk</i> “A thin cloak ( <i>rayḡa</i> ).” Oḡuz dialect.	<i>tärinčäk</i> D
This suffix has five usages:	G
(1) To form a noun denoting the place where something grows. Example: SUKUT·LUK <i>sögütlik</i> “willow orchard ( <i>manbit al-xilāf</i> ).” Or denoting the place where something is put. Example: KABAK·LIK <i>kapaklik</i> “A place for bran ( <i>mawḏi‘ an-nuxāla</i> ).”	
(2) To form a noun denoting that something has been prepared ( <i>udduxira</i> ) to be made into the thing mentioned. Example: TUŠAK·LIK BAR·JIN· <i>töšäklik barčün</i>	
[I. 421/511]	255
“brocade prepared for making bedding”; :: BUV YḡA·J ‘UL QABUḡ·QA· TIRAK·LIK <i>bu yiyāč ol qapuyqa tiräklik</i> “This is a piece of wood that is to be made into the bar of a gate ( <i>mu‘add li-lizāz al-bāb</i> ).” 0	
(3) To form a noun denoting abstract verbal nouns ( <i>bi-ma‘nā l-mašdar fi ḡ-ḡabāyi</i> ). 0 Example: KUWAZLK <i>küwāzlik</i> “insolence ( <i>baḡar</i> )”; YKITLIK <i>yigitlik</i> “youth ( <i>šabāb</i> ).”	
If the word falls in one of these three categories it has the strong, genuine <i>kāf</i> , no other, in all dialects.	
(4) To form a noun denoting the owner of the thing named. Example: BILAK·LIK ‘AR· <i>biläklig är</i> “A strong-armed ( <i>ḏū sā‘id qawī</i> ) man”; :: BTK·LIK ‘AR· <i>bitiglig är</i> “A man who has an amulet ( <i>ḏū ruḡa</i> ).” This corresponds to the Arabic pattern in: <i>rajul tāmīr wa-lābin</i> (“a man be-dated and be-milked).” 0	
(5) To form a noun denoting the passive participle. Example :: BLIK KIŠY ‘ARA· ‘ULK·LK ‘UL <i>bilig kiši ara ülüglüg ol</i> “Intelligence is divided ( <i>maqsūm</i> ) among people”; 0 :: TUŠAK·LIK TUŠA·K <i>töšäklig töšäk</i> “bedding that is spread out ( <i>mafrūš</i> ).” 0	
If it is in one of these two categories it has the thin <i>kāf</i> , no other.	
All these words are composed of simple trilateral nouns plus the suffix, with the hard or thin <i>kāf</i> , in this chapter, or with the <i>qāf</i> in the last section, with the meanings that I have mentioned.	

As for quadrilaterals and quinquilaterals, etc., beyond the simple stem, in the sound pattern, one adds the *lām* and *qāf* to those roots of the *qāf* or *iṣbā'* variety, but *kāf* to those roots of the *kāf* or *rikka* variety, in all of the five meanings. This rule holds in all cases, without any exception in any of the dialects.

Chapter: *fa'allān*,<sup>1</sup> second radical vowelised, third unvoiced

J

BAL\_IQ\_JIN **baliqčīn** Name of a white bird which hunts fish and is called "heron (*mālik al-ḥazīn*)." **baliqčīn**

D

JUFUR\_DA'N **čuyurdān** **čuyurdān**

[I. 423/512]

256

"water-bank or cliff (*juruf*)."

Z<sup>1</sup>

QURΓŽIYN **qoružīn** "Lead (*usruf*)," with *zāy* between the two points of articulation. **qoružīn**  
The Oγuz drop several letters and say: QUŠUVN' **qušūn**. (qušūn D)

S

BUDUR\_SIYN **budursīn** "Quail (*salwā*)."  
Verse: **budursīn**

'UZUM MANIK BUDUR\_SIYN' **özüm mänig budursīn** V  
'UVTIY 'ANIK JAQ\_LANUVR **ōti anig čaqlanūr**

0 Describing his love: "My soul is (like) a quail (*summānā*), tossing and turning over the fire of (love for) him." 0

Γ<sup>2</sup>

TWIŠΓ'N **tawišyān** "Rabbit (*amab*)."  
0 TWIŠΓ'N YLY **tawišyān yili** One of the **tawišyān**  
twelve years in Turkic. 0

TAWUŠ\_ΓA'N 'UKUZ' **tawišyān ögüz** Name of a river which flows by the city of Uč. 0 N

255 1. MS. *fa'lalān*.

256 1. MS. R.  
2. MS. ' (*'ayn*).

:: BUV 'IT' 'UL KIŠIY K' JABIT\_ΓA'N **bu it ol kišikā čapityān** "This is a dog which always attacks (*abadan yahmilu 'alā*) a person (to bite him)." JABIT\_ΓA'N 'AR' **čapityān ār** "One who strikes necks (*ḍarrāb li-l-a'nāq*)," in Uighur dialect. 0 D

:: BUV 'AT' 'UL QUD\_RUQ SABIT\_ΓA'N' **bu at ol qudrūq sapityān** "This is a horse which always moves (*abadan yuḥarriku*) its tail." Also of a dog who wags (*tabaṣbaṣa*) his tail when he wants some bread or when he sees his people and fawns on them. 0

QADIT\_ΓA'N 'AR' **qadityān ār** "A man who obeys no one (*lā yanqādu li-aḥad*)." The same for an animal that is refractory (*ḥarūn*). 0 **qadityān**

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TALIM TARIΓ TARIT\_ΓA'N **bu ār ol tālim tariγ tarityān** "This is a man who often has his fields sown (*kaṭīr'an mā ya'muru bi-z-zirā'a*)." 0 **tarityān**

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TALIM 'UZUM' QURIT\_ΓA'N' **bu ār ol tālim üzüm qurityān** "This is a man who often dries (*kaṭīr'an mā yujaffifu*) grapes (or other)." 0 **qurityān**

:: BUV 'AT' 'UL TALIM TUB\_RA'Q' TUZIT\_ΓA'N **bu at ol tālim toprāq tozityān** "This is a horse that often raises dust (*kaṭīr'an mā yuhayyiju l-γubār wa-yuṭīruhā*)." **tozityān**

:: BUV 'UT' 'UL QARIN' BU\_AŠUT\_ΓA'N **bu ot ol qarīn bošutyān** "This is a medicine which relaxes (*yushilu*) the bowels." The same for anything that often weakens something strong by loosening (*yuhīnu quwwa aš-šay' bi-l-ḥall*). 0 **bošutyān**

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'AWINK' TALIM TAWA'R' TAŠIT\_ΓA'N **bu ār ol äwiñä tālim tawār tašityān** "This is a man who often has goods conveyed (*naql*) to his house (or other)." 0 **tašityān**

:: BUV 'UVT' 'UL 'AŠYJ TAŠIT\_ΓA'N **bu ot ol ešič tašityān** "This is a fire that makes the kettle overflow (*mufawwira*)." 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'L 'ATIN QAŠIT\_ΓA'N **bu ār ol ätin qašityān** "This is a man who often has his body scratched (*ḥakk*)." 0 **qašityān**

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL MANY TUVT\_JIY QAQIT\_ΓA'N' **bu ār ol māni tütči qaqityān** **qaqityān**

[I. 424/515]

257

"This is a man who always rouses my anger and annoyance (*abadan yūqi'unī fi l-γaḍab wa-ḍ-ḍajar*)." 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'ATIN' TALIM QALIT\_ΓA'N **bu ār ol atin tālim qalityān** "This is a man who always makes his horse jump (*yuwaṭṭibu*)." 0 **qalityān**

:: BUV KUN 'UL KUVZ QAMAT\_ΓA'N **bu kün ol kōz qamatyān** "This is a sun which is dazzling (*muḥayyira*) to the eye." 0 **qamatyān**

:: 'UΓUL' MANIY 'AWK' QUMIT\_ΓA'N 'L **oγul māni äwkä qomityān ol** "My son makes me long (*mušawwiq*) for home (or other) always." 0 **qomityān**

:: BUV 'UT' 'UL BURUN' QANAT·ΓA'N bu ot ol burun qanatγān “This is a medicine which always makes the nose bleed (*mura* ‘if’).” qanatγān

:: 'UK·DIY 'UL 'ARIK QANIT·ΓA'N ögdi ol ärig qanitγān “Praise ever gladdens (*mu-hizza abadān*) a man.” 0 qanitγān

:: BUV KIŠY 'UL SUVZ BATUR·ΓA'N bu kiši ol sōz baturγān “This is a man who is in the habit of keeping a secret (*min* ‘*adatihī kitmān al-kalām*’, etc.)” 0 baturγān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'AŠ· TATUR·ΓA'N bu är ol aš taturγān “This is a man who habitually feeds (*min* ‘*adatihī idāqa aṭ-ṭa'ām*) (guests, or others).” Verse [cf. 306 qatar·]: taturγān

'AR·DIY 'AŠIN TATUR·ΓA'N	ärđi ašin taturγān	V
YAWLAQ YAΓIΓ QAJUR·ΓA'N	yawlaq yaγiγ qačurγān	
'UΓRAQ SUVSIN QAY·TAR·ΓA'N	oγraq sūsīn qaytarγān	
BAS·TIY 'ULM 'AX·TARUV	basti ölüm axtaru	

Eulogizing a man: “He was a feeder (*miṭ'ām*) of guests, a repeller of enemies, one who used to drive back the army of Oγraq (by his firmness), till death brought him down.” 0

TUBR·ΓA'N YZR' topuryān yēr “Soft bare ground from which the dust rises when it is trod (*layna, baṭna* [defined]).” 0 topuryān

SUBUZ·ΓA'N [sic] suburyān “Sepulchral vault (*nāwūs*); tombs of the infidels (*maqābir al-kafara*).” Proverb: SUBUZ·ΓA'N DA' 'AV· BUL·M'S TUBR·ΓA'N DA' 'AW· BUL·M'S suburyānda äv bolmās topuryānda aw bolmās “There is no house (for the living) in old tombs (*maqābir qadīma*); (similarly) game does not inhabit bare ground (*baṭīna*)” – it only frequents places where there are water and vegetation. 0 suburyān P

QABAR·ΓA'N qaparyān “A pustule (*baṭra*) that appears on the body, with itching and fever.” qaparyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'KUŠ QATUR·ΓA'N bu är ol üküš qaturγān “This is a man who is very jovial (*kaṭir aḍ-ḍahk wa-s-surūr wa-l-faxr*).” qaturγān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TA'ŠIΓ YZR· DAN QUBUR·ΓA'N bu är ol tāšiy yērdän qopuryān qopuryān “This is a man who quarries (*qallā'*) rocks from the earth.” Also of other things.

::

[I. 426/517]

258

BUV 'AR' 'UL 'AJIΓ TUDUR·ΓA'N bu är ol äčiy tođuryān “This is a man who fills (*mušabbi'*) the hungry always.” Its root-form is: TUD·ΓUR·ΓA'N tođuryān.

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL SIDRIM· SIDIR·ΓA'N bu är ol sidrim siđiryān “This is a man who is always cutting strips of leather from a hide and peeling off the hair (*yattaxiđu l-qidd wa-yaqud-duhu min al-jild wa-yaqšuru* ‘*anhu š-ša'r*’).” The same for anyone who is characterized by peeling (*qašr*) something. 0 siđiryān

:: BUV 'AL·B' 'UL YAΓIYNY QAY·TAR·ΓA'N<sup>1</sup> bu alp ol yaγīni qataryān “This is a warrior who always drives back the enemy batallion (*yaruddu l-xamīs abadān*).” 0 qataryān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL QUNUQ·NIY QAJUR·ΓA'N bu är ol qonuqni qačuryān “This is a man who always drives away (*ṭarrād naffār*) guests (or other).” qačuryān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL KŠIYK'(Y)<sup>2</sup> QJUR·ΓA'N bu är ol kišikā qičuryān “This is a man who, when he sees someone alighting at his place, always becomes ill-mannered and condescending (*yasū'u xuluquhu wa-yubayyinu min nafsihī l-kibr wa-l-faxr dā'imān*).” qičuryān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'ARAN BUY·NIN QADIR·ΓA'N bu är ol ärän boynin qadirγān “This is a man who always bends (*yalwī*) men's necks.” 0 qadirγān

:: BUV 'UVT 'UL 'IŠYJ TAŠUR·ΓA'N bu ot ol ešič tašuryān “This is a fire that makes the kettle overflow (*mufawwira*).” The same for a torrent that always causes the cistern to overflow and disperse (*afāḍa mā' al-ḥawḍ wa-hazamahu abadān*). 0 tašuryān

QAQUR·ΓA'N [sic] qaγuryān A bread that is kneaded with butter and cooked in the oven. 0 qaγuryān

:: BUV BILA'ZUK 'UL BILAK QAWUR·ΓA'N bu bilāzük ol biläk qawuryān “This is a bracelet that always squeezes (*yačṭaṭu*) the wrist.” 0 qawuryān

:: BUV 'UΓUL' 'UL BURUNIY TAṀUR·ΓA'N bu oγul ol burni tomuryān “This is a boy whose nose is always bleeding (*yar'ufu*).” 0 tomuryān

SAGIZ·ΓA'N sayizγān “Magpie (*'aq'aq*).” 0 sayizγān

QUĐUZ·ΓUVN· quduzγun “Crupper of the saddle (*ṭafar as-sarj*).” 0 quduzγun

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL KIŠY BRLA' TUTJY TURUŠ·ΓA'N bu är ol kiši birlä tutči turušγān “This is a man who always opposes (*yuqāwimu*) people.” 0 turušγān

:: 'ULA'R 'IKY TAWA'R· SATIŠ·ΓA'N 'ALIŠ·ΓA'N LA'R 'UL olār ekki tawār satišγān ališγānlār ol “The two of them are always selling and buying (*yatabāya'āni . . wa-yaštariyāni*) merchandise.” Another way of saying this is: SATIŠ·ΓA'N TAWIŠ·ΓA'N satišγān tawišγān, from the verbs: SATIY *satti* meaning “he sold (*bā'a*)” and: TAW·DIY *tawdi* (*tāwdi* ?) meaning “he disposed (of merchandise) (*tašarrafa*).” 0 satišγān

[I. 427/519]

259

:: 'UL KIŠY BIRLA' BAQIŠ·ΓA'N 'UL ol kiši birlä baqišγān ol “He customarily regards people with glances (*min* ‘*adatihī abadān yunāzīru l-insān bi-l-liḥāz*).” 0 baqišγān

258 1. Y' added by a later hand.

2. Y (or NY) written below K' (thus: kišīni).

:: 'UL 'AR' 'UL YAWLA'Q TUQUŠ'ĠA'N ol är ol yawlāq toqušyān “He is a man who is warlike and belligerent (*min 'ādatihi l-ḥarb wahwa miḥrāb wa-mis'ar*).” toqušyān

SUWUS'ĠA'N sowušyān “Tapeworm (*šafar*)” – it is a snake in the belly. sowušyān

BIJILĠA'N bičilyān “Cracks (*šuqāq*),” in the hands or feet, or in the ground. 0 bičilyān

KUVK' TUBUL'ĠA'N kōk topulyān “Mountain swallow (*sumām*).” This is the name of a bird which is said to have steel in its feathers and to bore through (*yaḍribu . . . fa-yanfuḍu*) mountain peaks to the other side. I was told this by someone to whom I am beholden for some favors. 0 :: BUV 'AR' 'UL JARIK' TUBUL'ĠA'N bu är ol čäriḡ topulyān “This is a man who breaks (*hattāk*) the battle line.” Its root-meaning is in the expression: TAMUR TUBL'DY tāmür topuldi “He bore through the iron with force (*taqaba l-ḥadīd bi-šidda wa-šalāba*).” 0 topulyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL KŠIY BRLA' TUTJY QATIL'ĠA'N QARIL'ĠA'N bu är ol kiši birlä tutči qatilyān qarilyān “This is a man who meddles in people’s affairs (*mixlaṭ mizyal*).” 0 qatilyān qarilyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'L SINKIRIY QURUL'ĠA'N bu är ol siḡiri qurulyān “This is a man who always has muscle cramp (*ya'tarihi t-tašannuj*).” qurulyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'L YAFIYDIN QUTUL'ĠA'N bu är ol yaḡidin qutulyān “This is a man who always escapes (*abadan yanjū*) from the enemy (or other).” 0 qutulyān

:: BUV NA'NK 'UL QABU'ĠA'N QABUL'ĠA'N [sic]<sup>1</sup> bu nāḡ ol qapuḡda qawulyān “This is a thing which always gets squeezed (*yaḡḡaytu*) in the door (or other).” 0 qawulyān

:: BUV QUZIY 'UL SAĠ'LIQ BRLA' QUŠUL'ĠA'N bu qozi ol sayliq birlä qoşulyān “This is a lamb that is always joined (*yuqārīnu*) to the ewe.” The same for other things. qoşulyān

:: BUV SUVF 'UL TAWRA'Q SUĠUL'ĠA'N bu sūw ol tawrāq suḡulyān “This is water which always sinks into the ground quickly (*sari'an mā yaḡūru abadan*).” The same for a spring whose water dries up quickly (*sari'a al-ḡu'ūr*). 0 suḡulyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TALIM QAQIL'ĠA'N SUQUL'ĠA'N bu är ol tālim qaqilyān soqulyān qaqilyān “This is a man who gets buffeted by men’s fists (*dalūl bi-ajmā' ar-rijāl mulakkad*).”<sup>2</sup> soqulyān

Q

TUTUR'QA'N tuturqān “Rice (*uruz*).” 0 tuturqān

[I. 429/521]

260

TAŠIR'QA'N KUVZLUK taširqān kōzliḡ “A boggle-eyed man (*jāḡiḡ*).” 0 taširqān

259 1. B changed from T (?).

2. MS. *mulkadd*.

SIQIR'AQ'N siqirqān “A type of rat (*naw' min al-jirdān*).” siqirqān

K

:: BUV 'AR' SUVKA' BTILK'N 'UL bu är sūkā bitilgān ol “This is a man who is always reenlisting (*yuktabu smuhu*) in the army.” 0 bitilgān

:: BUVLA'R BUVDUN 'UL TUTJY TIRL'K'N bulār bōḡun ol tutči terilgān “These are people who always meet together or agree in a matter (*abadan yajtami'ūna fi amr*).” The same for anything that customarily withdraws and assembles (*fi 'ādatihi l-inziwā' wa-l-ijtimā'*). 0 terilgān

:: BUV BUĠRA' 'L YUK KUTURKA'N bu buḡra ol yūk kōtūrgān “This is a camel stallion that carries (*ḡammāl*) loads (or other).” kōtūrgān

:: BUV BA'K 'UL YA'ZUQ' KAJURKA'N bu bēḡ ol yazuq kāčūrgān “This is an emir who forgives (*šafūḡ*) offenses.” 0 kāčūrgān

:: BV 'R 'L TLM 'IYŠ KAJURKA'N bu är ol tālim iš kāčūrgān “This is a man who is skilled and decisive in affairs (*ḡuwwul qullab faššāl xuṭṭa*).” Another way of saying this is: 'AWUR'KA'N TAWUR'KA'N āwūrgān tāwūrgān. Verse:

YAĠY 'UVTIN 'UJURKA'N  
TUVY'DUN 'ANY KUJURK'N  
'IŠLAR 'UZUB KAJURK'N  
TKDY 'UQY 'ULDURUV

yaḡi ōtin öčūrgān  
tōyduḡ ani kōčūrgān  
išlar üzüp kāčūrgān  
tāḡdi oqi öldürü

V

Recounting the virtues of the dead man: “He was one who put out the fire of battle-foes,<sup>1</sup> one who drove them from their camp, but a decisive business-man withal (*faššāl xuṭṭa*); then a deadly arrow of fate struck him down.”

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TALIM 'UQ JAWURK'N bu är ol tālim oq čāwūrgān “This is a man who tests (*naqqār*) arrows” – this is done by turning them on one’s nail. čāwūrgān

KUSUR'KA'N kōsūrgān “A type of mole (*naw' min al-xuld*).” 0 kōsūrgān

TUŠUR'KUVN tūšūrgūn “Goat’s-thorn (*šajar al-kaṭīrā*).” In one variant [cf. 222 tūšūrgūn  
D

KUWRK'N kōwūrgān “Wild onion (*unšul* [defined]).” The Oḡuz call it: KUMUR- kōwūrgān  
KA'N kōmūrgān. 0 kōmūrgān  
D

TAMURK'N tāmūrgān “Arrowhead (*naṣl as-sahm*).” Oḡuz dialect. tāmūrgān  
D

:: BUV 'AR' 'L 'IYŠIĠ 'ADA'QA' TAKUR'K'N bu är ol išiḡ adāqqa tāḡūrgān “This is a man who always brings an affair to its end (*yuballiḡu l-amr āxirahu*).” tāḡūrgān

260 1. MS. *ḡurūf al-aqtāl*, read *ḡurūb al-aqtāl*.

:: BUV 'AT' 'UL KULAR·K'N bu at ol kölārgān “This is a horse whose belly always swells and who lies down flat (*yantafixu baṭnuhu<sup>2</sup> wa-yanbaṭihu*).” 0

[I. 430/523]

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL SUVTUK' SUMUR·KA'N bu ār ol sūtüg sümürgān “This is a man who gulps down (*abbā*) milk (or other).” 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TAKMA' YIYR·DIN TUTJY SURUL·K'N bu ār ol tāgmā yērdin tutči sūrūlgān “This is a man who is driven out (*mudaffa*) from every place.” 0

:: BUV NA'NK' 'UL KARIL·KA'N bu nān ol kārūlgān “This is something that is always stretched out (*yamtaddu*),” such as a stretched skin, or clouds stretched over the mountain tops. 0 :: BUV 'AR' 'UL TALIM KARIL·K'N bu ār ol tālim kārūlgān “This is a man who is always yawning and stretching (*ya'tarihi t-tu'abā' wa-t-tamaṭṭi*).” 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'AḌKUV SA'WIN TIRIL·KA'N bu ār ol ādgū sāwin tirilgān “This is a man who will always live with a good reputation (*ya'īšu fī ḥusn šīt wa-tanā*).” 0

:: BUV NA'NK' 'UL BIYR' BIYR·K' TARIL·KA'N [sic] bu nān ol bīr bīrkā tizilgān “This is something which is always arranged part to part (*yantaṣimu ba'duhu ba'dan*).” 0

:: BUV YIB' 'UL KASIL·KA'N bu yip ol kāsūlgān “This is a string which always snaps (*yanqaṭi'u*).” 0

:: BUV TUKUVN 'UL SAŠIL·K'AN bu tūgūn ol sāšūlgān “This is a knot which always comes loose (*tanḥallu*).”

:: BUV YB' 'UL TUKUL·K'N bu yip ol tūgūlgān “This is a thread that always gets knotted (*mun'aqid*).” :: BUV 'AR' 'UL TUT·JIY QA'ŠIY KUVZIY TUKUL·K'N bu ār ol tutči qāši kōzi tūgūlgān “This is a man who always wrinkles (*munzawī*) his brow (because of his meanness).” 0

This suffix (lit. chapter) — both (the section) with *ḡayn* and with *kāf* — has five usages. 0

(1) To indicate continuity or habituality of the action. Example: BUV 'TUL 'UL BUR·NY YUMUR·GA'N [sic] bu oḡul ol burni tomurḡān “This is a boy whose nose is always bleeding (*dā'imān ya'tarihi r-ru'āf*);” 0 :: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'AḌKUV SA'WIN TIRIL·K'N bu ār ol ādgū sāwin tirilgān “This is a man who will always enjoy a good reputation (*dā'imān ya'īšu fī šīt ḥasan*).”

(2) To form a transitive adjectival indicating continuity of the action. Example: BUV 'AR' 'UL TUVNIN QURITGA'N bu ār ol tōnin quritḡān “This is a man who often dries (*kaṭīr at-tajfif*) his clothes”; 0 :: BUV 'AR' 'UL SUVWUḡ SUMUR·KA'N bu ār ol sūwuy sümürgān

2. MS. *baṭnahu*.

[I. 432/525]

“This is a man who gulps down (*abbā*) water (or other).”

The simple nouns in this section have the hard *kāf*; all of the adjectivals have the thin *kāf*.

(3) To form an adjectival with the meaning of the passive participle. Example: BUV 'AR' 'UL QAQIL·GA'N SUQUL·GA'N bu ār ol qaqlḡān soqulḡān “This is a man who is frequently pushed and shoved (*kaṭīran mā yudfa'u wa-yudallu*);” :: BUV 'AR' 'UL YIYR·DIN YIYR·K' SURUL·KA'N bu ār ol yērdin yērkā sūrūlgān “This is a man who is driven (*mudaffa*) from place to place.” 0

(4) To form an adjectival of an unwilling action. Example: BUV KIŠY 'UL SUVZUK 'UNIT·GA'N bu kiši ol sōziḡ unitḡān “This is a man who always forgets (*dā'imān yansā*) words”; :: BUV TUKUVN 'UL SAŠIL·K'N bu tūgūn ol sāšūlgān “This is a knot which always comes loose (*tanḥallu dā'imān*).”

(5) To form simple nouns, with none of the above meanings. Example: KAWUR·KA'N kōwūrgān “Wild onion (*uṣṣil*)”; TAWUŠ·GA'N tawišḡān “Rabbit (*arnab*).”

The Oḡuz, and all nomadic peoples from Rūm up to Šīn, elide the *ḡayn* or *kāf* which is the sign of the continuity of the action, for the sake of lightness. D

There is no distinction in speech between masculine and feminine adjectivals. Gender is known only from the context.

None of the adjectival forms or of the rules which I have explained is confined to this chapter. Rather, each rule holds for all the verbs in each book, including those with four or more radicals. You will soon become acquainted with them, God willing.

Chapter: *fa'lalāl*,<sup>1</sup> second radical unvowelled, in its various vocalizations

J

SUN·DILA'J' sondilāč “Bullfinch (*ša'wa*).” Proverb: SUNDILA'J' 'IYŠIY 'RM'S sondilāč 'UR·T·KUVN' ?TM'K sondilāč īši ārmās örtgūn tāpmāk “It is not the finch's job to thresh hay.” P  
0 This is coined about a weak man

[I. 433/526]

who wishes to do the job of a strong man but cannot. 0

QAR·GILA'J' qarḡilāč “Swallow (*waṭwūṭ*).” QAR·LIḡAJ qarliḡāč is a variant, by qarḡilāč metathesis. qarliḡāč D

262 1. MS. *fa'lalāl*.

## Γ

QAR·ΓALIF **qaryaliy** Name of a fortress near ʿArāz. Its root-form is: QAR·ΓA·LIF **qaryaliy**  
N  
qaryāliy.

## Q

TAMΓALQ **tamγaliq** “A small ewer (*ibrīq ṣayīr*).” 0 TAMΓALIQ **tamγaliq** “A small table, reserved for one man (*mā’ida ṣayīra yaxuṣṣu bihā r-rajul*).” Its root is: TAMΓA·LIF **tamγaliy** meaning “stamped (*dū ṭ-ṭābi*).” The reason is that the king used to stamp with a seal his ewer and his private table, and they would contain enough wine and food for one man. Later every small ewer and every small table were called: TAM·ΓALIQ· **tamγaliq** meaning “a table prepared to be stamped with a seal (*mā’ida mu’adda li-yūḍa’a ‘alayhā l-xātam*)” in order to prevent other than the king from eating thereon. It would be correct to say that the *γayn*<sup>1</sup> was changed to *qāf* because of the closeness of their points of articulation.

SRMJUQ **sarmačūq** “A type of noodles (*naw’ aṭriyya*).” The dough is cut up into small pieces the size of chickpeas; it is fed to sick persons, and the like, in a broth. 0 **sarmačūq**

SAR·MUSAQ **sarmusaq** “Garlic (*tūm*).” SAMURSAQ· **samursaq** is a variant, by metathesis. 0 **sarmusaq· samursaq D**

QUR·FULUQ **qurγuluq** “Lightheadedness (*ṭayṣ, nazaq*).”<sup>2</sup> **qurγuluq**

QIZ·LA·MUQ· **qizlāmuq** “Measles, or a similar eruption (*al-ḥaṣba wa-buṭūr miṭluhā*).” **qizlāmuq**

QAŠ·ΓALAQ **qašyalaq** A type of water bird, smaller than the duck. Verse: **qašyalaq**

TNKDA’ BL’ KURSA’ MINY ’UR·DAK ’AT’R·  
QALW’ KRUB· QAŠ·ΓALAQIY SUWQA’ BAT’R  
**taṇda bilā körsā mini ördāk öṭār**  
**qalwa köriṭ qašyalaqi suwqa batār**  
V

Describing his hunting of birds: “When the duck sees me in those mornings<sup>3</sup> [it quacks; when the **qašyalaq** sees me with] a headless arrow this bird dives into the water.”

BAL·KULK NA·NK **bālgülüḡ nāṅ** “Something evident (*bādī zāhir*).” Proverb: BULDA·JIY BUZA·ΓUV ’UKUVZ· ’ARA’ BAL·KUVLUK **boldāči buzāyu öküz ara bālgülüḡ** 0 **bālgülüḡ**  
P  
“A calf that is expected to become a bull is evident among the bulls.” 0 This is coined about a strong and clever lad from whom every virtue is expected. 0

263

1. MS. *qāf*.
2. MS. *az-zaq*, read *an-nazaq*; cf. 13:9.
3. MS. *γudar* (“ponds”), read *γudā* (pl. of *γudwa*, “dawn, morning”); cf. 131:2.

KUZKUNAK· **közkünäk** A bird which resembles the sacer falcon and the lizard [sic] **közkünäk** and lives on wind (*ṭā’ir yuṣbiḥu ṣ-ṣaqr wa-l-‘azāya wa-yataballāyu bi-r-rīḥ*).

[I. 434/528]

264

## N

“Inlaws (*al-aḥmā’ wa-l-aṣḥār*)” are called: QADIN QAD·NA·TUN **qadīn qadnāyun, qadnāyun** pleonastically.

Another type.

SAN·DUVA·J· **sanduvāč** “Nightingale (*‘andalīb*).” Verse [= 523 **sanduvāč**]: **sanduvāč**

SAN·DA·<sup>1</sup> QAČR SUNDILA·J **sändā qačar sondilāč** V  
MAN·DA· TINAR QAR·ΓILA·J **mändā tinar qaryilāč**  
TAT·LIUΓ ’UTAR SAN·DUVA·J **tatliy öṭār sanduvāč**  
'RKAK TŠLY JARŠVR [sic] **ärkāk tiši učrušūr**

Describing the Quarrel of Summer and Winter; Summer says to Winter: “The bullfinch flees from you, the swallow (*xuṭṭāf*) rests in me, the nightingale sweetly sings his songs, male and female couple” – that is to say, in summer.

## R

MUNDARUV **mundaru** “A silken bridal canopy (*al-ḥajala min al-ḥarīr*).” 0 **mundaru**

End of Quinquiliteral Chapters

Chapters of Sextiliterals

Chapter: *fa'al'alal*, in its various vocalizations

## K

TIZIL·DURUK **tizildürük** “Copper coins placed on the tip of a shoe (*fulūs ru'ūs al-xuff*).” 0 **tizil-dürük**

KUZUL·DURUK· **közüldürük** “Something woven from horse tails and put on the eye if it is bleared or dazed.” A variant of: KUZLUK· **közlük**. 0 **közüldürük**  
(**közlük D**)

JANIŠTURK **čäništürük** “A berry (*ḥaml ṣajar*) similar to the hazelnut, white and red, that ripens at the beginning of summer and is eaten.” 0 **čäništürük**

264 1. Two A's over the D added by later hand (indicate nunation, thus: **sändān**)

KUMUL:DURK	kömüldürük	“The breast-girth on a saddle ( <i>al-labab fī s-sarj</i> ).”	kömül- dürük
Q			
SAQAL:DURQ	saqalduruq	Name for “the thread woven from silk which is attached to caps in order to fasten the cap underneath the chin so it does not fall off.” 0	saqal- duruq
QALLDURUQ	qalalduruq	A man’s name.	qalalduruq N
Chapter of Septiliterals			
ZAR:FUN:JMUVD	zaryunēmūd	“A type of basil ( <i>sinjilāt</i> ).” It is what is called in Persian <i>palang mušk</i> .	zaryunē- mūd
End of the Book of Nouns of Sound Words			
In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate			
Book of Verbs			
Chapter of Biliterals			
B			
:: QUL TANKRIY KA’ TAB:DIY	qul täñrikä tapdi	“The slave (worshipper) worshipped ( <i>‘abada</i> ) God Most High.”	tap-
::			
[II. 3/3]			265
’UL XA’N:QA’ TAB:DIY ol xānqa tapdi		“He served ( <i>xadama</i> ) the king (or other).”	
:: ’UL NA’NK:NIY TAB:DIY ol nāñni tapdi		“He found ( <i>wajada</i> ) the thing (which was lost).” TABA’R TAB:MA’Q tapār tapmāq. 0	
:: ’UL QULIN: TAB:DIY ol qulin täpdi		“He kicked ( <i>rakala . . . bi-rijl</i> ) the slave.” TABA’R TAB:M’K täpār tapmāk.	täp-
:: ’AR: SUWDA’ JAB:DIY ar suwda čapdi		“The man swam ( <i>sabaħa</i> ) in the water.”	čap-
:: ’UL ’AT:NIY JIBIQ’ BIR:LA’ JAB:DIY ol atni čipiq birlä čapdi		“He struck the horse lightly ( <i>daraba . . . xafifan</i> ) with a stick.”	
:: JUMAQ TAT’ BUY:NIN JAB:DIY čomaq tat boynin čapdi		“The Muslim struck ( <i>daraba</i> ) the neck of the unbeliever.” Uighur dialect. 0	D

:: ’AR: ’AWIN: JAB:DIY är äwin čapdi “The man plastered his house with fresh mud (*laṭaxa . . . bi-ṭīn ḥurr*).” JABA’R JAB:M’Q čapār čapmāq.

:: YYJY YKNA’ SAB:DIY yīči yignä sapdi “The tailor threaded (*daxxala . . . s-silk fī*) the needle.”

:: ’UL QUŠ QANTIN: SAB:DIY ol quš qanatin sapdi “He bound (*wašala*) the bird’s wing.” The same for anything defective which one mends or binds (*jabara, wašala*). SABA’R SAB:MA’Q sapār sapmāq. 0

:: ’AR: TUVN QAB:DIY är tön qapdi “The man stole (*xalasa*) the garment (or other).”  
 :: ’UḠLA’NIḠ YIYL: QAB:DIY oylāniy yēl qapdi “The baby suffered a stroke (*ašāba . . . sa’fa*) from the jinn.” QABA’R QAB:MA’Q qapār qapmāq. Also used of a breeze that flutters (*habba bi-*) a garment, or the like.

:: ’AR: YUQA’RUV QUB:DIY är yoqāru qopdi “The man rose from his place (*qāma . . . min makānihi*).”  
 :: TUBIY QUB:DIY tüpi qopdi “The wind blew up (*habbat*).”  
 :: QUŠ QUB:DIY quš qopdi “The bird (or other) rose upward (*nahaḍa*).” QUBA’R QUB:M’Q qopār qopmāq.

## J

:: ’AR: ’AT’ BIJ:DIY är ät bičdi “The man cut (*qaṭa’a*) the meat (or other).” BIJA’R BJMA’Q bičār bičmāq.

:: MAN YBA’R SAJ:TIM män yipār sačtim “I scattered (*naṭartu*) musk (or other).”  
 :: ’UL ’AWKA’ SUVW SAJ:DIY ol äwkä sūw sačdi “He sprinkled (*rašša*) water in the house (or other).” SAJA’R SAJ:M’Q sačār sačmāq.

:: ’AR: SIJ:DY är sičdi “The man defecated (*taṣawwaṭa*).” SIJ’R SIJMA’Q sičār sičmāq.  
 The same for other [animals]. 0

:: ’AR: QAJ:DIY är qačdi “The man (or other) fled (*haraba*).” QJ’R QJM’Q qačār qačmāq. 0

:: ’UL MINY QUJ:DIY ol mini qučdi “He embraced (*‘anaqa*) me.” QUJA’R QUJMA’Q qučār qučmāq. 0

[II. 5/5]

:: ’ĀY: KUVN KAJ:TY äy kün kächti “The month and the day have passed (*maḍā*).”  
 :: ’AR: SUVW KAJ:TY är sūw kächti “The man crossed (*‘abara*) the water (or other).”  
 :: ’AR: KAJ:TY är kächti “The man passed (*maḍā*), i.e. died (*māta*).” KAJ’R KAJ:M’K kächār kächmāk. 0

:: SUV KUJ:TIY sü köčti “The troops (or other) set out (*raḥila*).” KUJA’R KUJM’K köčār köčmāk. 0

With regard to hard letters, it is preferable to change the *dāl* of the preterite into *tā*, for the sake of euphony. The hard letters are: the hard *bā*,<sup>1</sup> the hard *jīm*, *qāf*, the hard *kāf*. With

the exception of these letters, the correct pronunciation of the preterite is with *dāl* [see 281-2 G].  
Verse:

TUNLA' BLA' KUJA'LIM	tünlä bilä köčälim	V
YAMAR_ SUWIN KAJ'LIM	yamar suwin káčälim	
TARNKUVK_ SUWIN 'JA'LM <sup>2</sup>	tärñük suwin ičälim	
YUWFA' YAFY 'UWLSUVN	yuwya yaγi uwulsün	

“We’ll set out (*nartañilu*) at night; we’ll cross the Yamar water – (it is a river); we’ll drink seepage water; so that the enemy, swerving from us, will crumble in our hand.”

R

:: 'UL 'AWKA' BAR'DIY ol äwkä bardı “He went (*dahaba*) to the house (or other).” **bar-**  
BARIYR\_ BAR'MA'Q barır barmāq. 0

:: 'UL YANJUQ 'AĞZIY BUR'DIY ol yančuq aγzi bürdı “He drew together (*zawā*) the mouth of the bag.” The same for anything that resembles this, such as the waistband of trousers, etc. BURA'R\_ BURMA'K bürär bürmāk.

:: YIBA'R\_ BUR'DIY yipār burdı “The musk fragrance spread (*fāhat*).” The same for any sweet fragrance that spreads out (*taḍawwa'a*). :: SUVW\_ BUR'DIY sūw burdı “The steam (or other) rose up (*irtafa'a*).” BURA'R\_ BURMA'Q burär burmāq. 0 **bur-**

:: 'AR\_ YUQA'RUV TUR'DIY är yoqāru turdı “The man (or other) stood up (*qāma*).” **tur-**  
:: TUM'N TUR'DIY tumän turdı “The mist rose (*hāja*).” TURUR\_ TUR'MA'Q turur turmāq.

TURUR\_ turur. This is an aorist verb, with no preterite or infinitive. It means **(turur)**

[II. 6/7]

“is” (*huwa*). For example: :: 'UL TA'Š TURUR\_ ol tāš turur “It is a stone (*annahu ḥajarun huwa*).” :: 'UL QUŠ TURUR\_ ol quš turur “It is a bird.” This is a copula (*šila*) in speech. It is similar to Arabic *yanbaγi* (“it is necessary”) in not having a preterite or infinitive. 0

:: 'UL BITIK TUR'DIY ol bitig türdı “He rolled up (*ṭawā*) the book (or other).” **tür-**  
TURA'R\_ TUR'MA'K türär türmāk. 0

:: 'UL SAR'DIY ol särdı “He was patient (*šabara*) about something.” SARA'R\_ SAR\_ MA'K särär särmāk. 0 **sär-**

:: 'UL 'AT\_ SUR'DIY ol at sürdı “He drove (*sāqa*) the horses (or other).” **sür-**

- 266 1. MS. *yā'*.  
2. Later hand, in margin: 'IJA'LIM.

:: 'AR\_ 'ITIF SUR'DIY är itiy sürdı “The man drove away (*ṭarada*) the dog (or other).”  
SURA'R SUR'MA'K sürär sürmāk. Also when an emir banishes someone (*ajlā*) from the country you say: SUR'DIY sürdı. 0

:: XA'N SUVSIN\_ QUR'DIY xān sūsin qurđı “The (emir or) king mustered (*jama'a*) his army.” **qur-**  
:: X'N JUVA'J\_ QUR'DIY xān čuvāč qurđı “The king unfurled (*ḥalla, našara*) the royal pavillion.”<sup>1</sup> QURA'R\_ QUR'MA'Q qurär qurmāq.

:: 'AR\_ YIYRIK QIR'DIY är yērig qirdı “The man scraped (*qašara*) the ground (or other).” QIRA'R\_ QIR'MA'Q qirär qirmāq. 0 **qir-**

:: 'AR\_ YA' QUR'DIY ar ya qurđı “The man strung (*wattara*) the bow.” QURA'R\_ QUR'MA'Q qurär qurmāq. 0 **qur-**

:: 'AR\_ YIB\_ KAR'DIY är yip kārđı “The man stretched (*madda*) the rope (or other).” **kär-**  
:: BAK YUVL KAR'DIY beg yōl kārđı “The emir<sup>2</sup> stretched (*madda*) the road.” This means that he has men strationed in look-outs so that no one can pass without his knowledge. 0 This is done from fear of the enemy.

:: 'IT\_ KARDIY it kārđı “The dog barked (*nabaḥa*).” Qarluq dialect. KARA'R\_ KAR\_ MA'K kārär kärmāk. **D**

:: 'L MNY KRDIY ol mäni körđı “He saw (*ra'a*) me.” KUR'R KURM'K körär körmāk. **kör-**  
Proverb [=506 *yüz*]: YUVZKA' KUR'MA' 'AR\_ĐAM TILA' yūzkä körmä ärdäm tilä 0 “Look not<sup>3</sup> at the face (and its pale color, but) look for virtue and breeding (in a man).” **P**

:: 'UL 'AWK\_ KIR'DIY ol äwkä kirdı “He entered (*daxala*) the house (or other).” **kir-**  
KIRUR KIR'MA'K kirür kirmāk.

Z

:: 'AR\_ TUM\_LIF\_DIN BAZ'DIY är tumliγdin bāzđı “The man shivered (*irta'ada*) from the cold (or other).” BAZA'R\_ BAZ'MA'K bāzär bāzmāk. **bāz-**

[II. 8/8] **268**

:: 'UL 'AW\_ BUZ'DIY ol äw bozđı “He tore down (*hadama*) the house (or other).” **boz-**  
BUZA'R\_ BUZMA'Q bozär bozmāq. 0

:: KAYIK TAZ'DIY käyik täzđı “The wild animal (or other) fled (*farra*).” TAZ'R\_ TAZMA'K täzär täzmāk. 0 **täz-**

- 267 1. “the royal pavillion” added in margin by later hand.  
2. MS. *ar-rajul al-amir*.  
3. MS. *lā yunzar*, read *lā tanzur*.



:: BAK 'IYLIN TUZDIY beg ēlin tūzdi “The emir organized (*sawwā*) the realm or province.” :: 'UL YIYRIK' TUZDIY ol yērig tūzdi “He levelled (*sawwā*) the ground (or other).” TUZ'R TUIZMA'K tūzār tūzmāk. 0

:: 'UL YINJUV TIZDIY ol yinčü tizdi “He strung (*naẓama*) pearls.” Also for stringing together (*naẓama*) words :: 'UL SUVZ TIZDIY ol sōz tizdi. TIZA'R TIZMA'K tizār tizmāk. 0

:: YAĞIR'LIĞ 'AT' JIŹDIY yayirliq at čizdi “The galled horse sank down (*inxafaða*)”<sup>1</sup> when someone wished to mount it, in order to protect its back. Any galled animal will do this when someone wishes to place a load on it. JIŹA'R JIŹMA'Q čizār čizmāq. With *zāy* between the two points of articulation.

:: 'URA'ΓUT YIB' JUŹDIY urāyut yip čözdi “The woman stretched (*jadabat*) the yarn.” The same for anything that can be lengthened by stretching, such as rope or sheep gut. JUŹ'R' JUŹMA'K čözār čözmāk. With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. 0

:: 'UL SUVW SUŹDIY [sic] ol sūw süzdi “He strained (*šaffā*) the water (or other).” SUZA'R' SUZMA'K süzār süzmāk. 0

:: YA'Γ SIZ'DIY yāγ sizdi “The butter (or other) melted (*dāba*).” :: KUVN SUZ'DIY kün sizdi “The first rays of the sun appeared (*badā qarn aš-šams*).” :: SUKAL SIZ'DIY sökäl sizdi “The sick man became thin (*indaqqa, tađā'ala*).” SIZA'R' SIZ'MA'Q sizār sizmāq. 0

:: 'AR' 'ARIQ QAZDIY är ariq qazdi “The man dug out (*ħafara*) the canal (or other).” :: 'AT' QAZDIY at qazdi “The horse was restive and dug (*ħafara*) at the ground with his forefeet.” QAZA'R' QAZ'MA'Q qazār qazmāq.

:: 'UL YIYRIK KAZ'DIY ol yērig kızıdi “He toured the country (*naqqaba l-arđ wa-ṭāfa fihā*).” KAZA'R' KAZMA'K kazar kzmāk.

## S

:: 'ANY BUR'T' BAS'DIY ani bürt basdi “The nightmare pressed (*jaṭama*) upon him.” :: BAK 'IYL BAS'DIY beg ēl basdi “The emir subjected and organized (*qahara, sawwā*) the realm or province,”

[II. 10/10]

as though he “pressed (*jaṭama*)” upon it. :: BAKNIY YAĞY BAS'DIY begni yayi basdi “The enemy (or other) made a night attack (*bayyata*) on the emir.” :: 'AR' QIYZIĞ BAS'DIY är qızıy basdi “The man mounted (*tasannama*) the girl.” :: 'IT' KAYIK'NIY BAS'DIY it käyikni basdi “The dog felled (*axada . . . fa-šara'a*) the game.” BASA'R' BAS'MA'Q basār basmāq. 0

:: 'AR' QULIN BUS'DIY ar qulin bözdi “The man beat his slave severely (*ḡaraba . . . mubālīḡan fihī*).” BUSA'R' BUS'MA'K bözār bözmāk. 0

268 1. MS. *lxfađ*.

:: BAK YAĞIYQA' BUS'DIY beg yayıqa busdi “The emir lay in ambush (*daxala fi kamīn*) for the enemy.” BUSA'R' BUS'MA'Q busār busmāq. 0

:: 'AR' QUS'DIY är qusdi “The man (or other) vomited (*qā'a*).” QUSA'R' QUS'MA'Q qusār qusmāq. Also :: BUĐUĞ QUS'DIY bođuy qusdi “The dye faded (*naşala*).” 0

:: QABUĞ 'NIK 'DA'QIN QIS'DIY qapuy aniq ađāqin qisdi “The door squeezed (*ḡarāṭa*) (the man's) foot.” Also for anything that squeezes a thing. QISA'R' QIS'MA'Q qisar qismāq.

:: 'UL 'ANIK TUVN'LUQIN QIS'DIY ol aniq tōnluqin qisdi “He cut down his clothing allowance (*naqaşa min ijrā'ihī l-marsūm li-t-tawb*).” The same for anything of which the allowance is cut off (*muni'a min marsūmihi*).

:: 'UL YIĞA'J KAS'DIY ol yiyāč kızıdi “He cut (*qaṭa'a*) the wood (or other).” KASA'R' KS'MA'K kazar kzmāk. Proverb: 'UY'ΓUR YĞA'J 'UZUVN' KAS' TAMUR QIS'ĞA' KAS' uyyur yiyāč uzūn kās tāmür qisya kās 0 “[Uighur!] when you cut wood cut it long and when you cut iron cut it short” — since iron can be lengthened. They [the Uighur] have a public crier who cries out every day and teaches wise sayings.<sup>1</sup> 0

:: 'UL 'ANDIN KUS'DIY ol andin küzdi “He was offended with him (*'ataba 'alayhi wa-a'raða 'anhu*).” KUSA'R' KUS'MA'K kusār küsmāk. Oğuz dialect.

## Ş

:: MAN BUV 'IYŞDIN BUŞ'DUM män bu işdin buşdum “I was annoyed (*ḡajirtu*) at this business.” BUŞMA'Z MAN BUŞMA'Q buşmāz män, buşmāq. Proverb: BUŞMASA'R<sup>2</sup> BUVZ QUŞ TUTA'R' 'YW'MASA'R<sup>2</sup> 'URVNK QUŞ TUTA'R' buşmasa bōz quş tutār, ewmäsä ürün quş tutār 0 “One who does not get annoyed will catch the white falcon; one who does not hurry will catch the best falcon.”<sup>3</sup>

[II. 11/12]

270

This is coined to advise someone to act patiently in order to reach his goal. 0

:: 'AŞAJ' BIŞ'DIY eşič bişdi “The pot (of soup) was done cooking (*adrakat al-qidr wa-ṭubixat al-maraqa*).” :: Y'MIŞ BIŞ'DIY yemiş bişdi “The fruit ripened (*nađijat*).” :: 'AR' QMIZ BIŞ'DIY är qimiz bişdi “The man stirred the koumiss so that it reached the proper consistency (*ħarraka . . . li-yudrika*). BIŞ'MA'Z BIŞMA'Q bişmāz bişmāq.

:: 'ŞIJ TAŞ'DIY eşič taşdi “The pot boiled over (*fārat . . . wa-fāḡat*).” Also :: SUVF TAŞ'DIY sūw taşdi “The water (of a river or a vessel) overflowed (*fāḡa*).” TAŞA'R' TAŞMA'Q taşār taşmāq. 0

269 1. MS. *ħukm* (vowel marks by later hand), read *ħukam*.

2. R added later; there is a red circle above S.

3. Bōz means “gray”; “white falcon” should refer to *ürün quş* as at 166:17. (But cf. 53 aq at “gray horse.”)

:: 'UL MANK' TUŠDIY ol maṇa tušdi “He confronted (*laqiya* . . . *wa-ra'ā*) me.”  
TUŠA'R TUŠMA'Q tušār tušmāq.

:: 'AR' 'AṬIN' TUŠDIY är attin tüšdi “The man got off (*nazala*) the horse.” :: 'AR' TA'M'DIN TUŠDIY är tām̄din tüšdi “The man fell (*saqaṭa*) from the wall.” Also for falling from a horse, or of anything that falls from a place. TUŠA'R TUŠMA'K tušār tüšmāk.

Verse [=336 *kāwil*]:

TAK'RA' 'ALIB' [sic] 'AK'RALIM	tāgrā awip āgrālim	V
'ATIN TUŠB' YUK'RA'LIM	attin tüšüp yūgrālim	
'ARS'LAN LAYUV KUK'RALIM	arlanlayu kökrālim	
KUVJY 'ANIN KAWLSUVN	kūci anin kāwilsūn	

“We'll surround the enemy; we'll get down from our horses and advance on foot; we'll roar like lions; that the enemy's strength become weak thereby.” Proverb: 'IYWAK SINKA'K SUVTK' TUŠUVR' ēwāk siṇāk sūtkā tüšūr 0 “The hasty gnat falls in the milk,” and dies. This is coined to advise someone to stop acting hastily. 0

:: 'AR' 'AṬIN KIŠAN SAŠDIY<sup>1</sup> är attin kišān sāšdi “The man loosened (*halla*) the shackle from his horse.” The same for anything that you loosen from its bond. SAŠ'R SAŠMA'K sāšār sāšmāk. 0

:: 'UL QUVY'QA' 'AJ'KUV QUŠDIY ol qōyqa äčkü qošdi “He joined (*qarana*) the goat to the sheep.” Also for anything that you join to something else. 0 :: 'UL YIYR' QUŠDIY ol yīr qošdi “He composed (*naẓama*) the poem.” QUŠA'R QUŠMA'Q qošār qošmāq.

Γ

:: 'UL 'AR'NY BUḤDIY ol ärni boydi

[II. 13/14]

“He strangled (*xanaqa*) the man (or other).” BUḤA'R BUḤMA'Q boyār boymāq. 0

:: KUVN TUḤDIY kūn tuḥdi “The sun rose (*ṭala'at*).” :: 'UḤUL TUḤDIY oḥul tuḥdi “The child was born (*wulida*).” Proverb: MUVŠ' 'UḤLY MUYA'VU TUḤA'R' mūš oḥli muyāvu tuḥār “The kitten miaows like its mother” [lit. “The kitten is born miaowing”]. This is coined about a boy who takes after his father. TUḤA'R TUḤMA'Q tuḥār tuḥmāq.

:: 'UQ<sup>1</sup> BŠAQIN TA'Š TIḤDIY oq bašaqin tāš tiḥdi “The stone blunted (*kallala*, *aḍḥabat ḥidda*) the arrowhead (when it struck it).” TIḤA'R' TIḤMA'Q tiḥār tiḥmāq. 0

270 1. Entire word by later hand in margin.

271 1. 'UQ added in red (original hand).

:: 'UL TURKA'K JIḤDIY ol türgāk ḥiydi “He tied up (*šadda*) the bundle (or other).”  
JIḤA'R JIḤMA'Q ḥiyār ḥiymāq. 0

:: 'AR' QUVY' SAḤDIY är qōy saydi “The man milked (*ḥalaba*) the sheep (or other).”  
SAḤA'R SAḤMA'Q sayār saymāq.

:: 'UL QUVY' DAN QURUT' SAḤDIY<sup>2</sup> ol qōydan qurut suḥdi “He made dried curds (*ittaxada* . . . *l-aqīṭ*) from the sheep[’s milk].” SUḤA'R SUḤMA'Q suḥār suḥmāq. Its root is: SUḤUR'DIY<sup>3</sup> suḥurdi [309].

:: BUV SUVZ KUNKUL'KA' SIḤDIY bu sōz köṇülkä siḥdi “These words touched (*naja'a* . . . *ḥ*) the heart.”

:: 'UVN' QA'B'QA' SIḤDIY ün qāpqa siḥdi “The flour fit (*wasā'a*) into the container.”  
The same for anything. SIḤA'R' SIḤMA'Q siḥār siḥmāq.

W

:: 'UL 'ATIK SIYŠ'QA' TAWDIY ol ätig sišqa tāwdi “He arranged (*naẓama*) the meat on the spit (or other).” TAW'R TWM'K tāwār tāwmāk.

:: 'UL MANY SAW'DIY ol māni sāwdi “He loved (*aḥabba*) me.” SAW'R SAWM'K sāwār sāwmāk. Proverb [=521 *tayyān*]: TAY'ḤA'N' YUKUR'KANĪ<sup>4</sup> TIL'KUV SAWM'S' tayyān yūgrükin tilkü sāwmās “The fox loves not the swift-running hound” – since it will catch him. This is coined about one who is outstanding among his fellows, while they envy and despise him. 0

:: 'IT' KAYIK'NY QUWDIY it kāyikni qowdi “The dog chased (*ṭarada*) the game.” The same for anyone who chases something

[II. 14/16]

or runs in its tracks (*ṭarada* . . . *wa-ya'dū fī atar*). QAWA'R' QAW'MA'Q qowār qowmāq. 0

:: 'AR' SUVZUK' KAW'DIY ar sōzüg kāwdi “The man stammered (*talajlaja* . . . *fī kalām*).” Its root-meaning is in the phrase: TAN'JUVNIY KAW'DIY tančūni kāwdi “He chewed on the morsel (in his mouth) without swallowing (*lāka* . . . *wa-lam yabtali*).” KAWA'R' KAW-MA'K kāwār kāwmāk.

Q

:: 'UL MANKA' BAQ'DIY ol maṇa baqdi “He looked (*naẓara*) at me.” BAQA'R' BAQMA'Q baqār baqmāq. 0

2. A changed from U.

3. U's changed from (or to?) A.

4. *Tašdīd* (˘) by later hand.

:: 'UL 'AḌA'QIN' BUQDIY ol aḏāqin boqdi "He drew in his foot after it had been stretched out (*ḏamma ilā nafsīhi . . . ba'da mā kāna mabsūḏan*)." BUQA'R BUQM'Q boqār boq-māq. 0

:: 'UL QA'B'QA' 'UVN' TIQ'DIY ol qāpqa ūn tiqdi "He pressed (*šadda*) the flour into the container." The same for anything that is forced into a vessel by kicking or pressing (*udxila . . . bi-šidda rakl wa-ḏayḏ*). Hence, "grapes that are densely clustered (*mutarākim al-ḥabbāt*)" are called: TIQ'MA' 'UZUM' tiqma üzüm.

:: 'AR' BURUN'DUQ BUT'LUVQA' TAQ'DIY är burunduq butluqa taqdi "[The man] tied (*šadda*) the camel's nose-rope to the nose-plug."<sup>1</sup> Oğuz dialect. Also for tying a string to something. TAQA'R TAQM'Q taqār taqmāq.

:: 'UL SUVZUK' 'ANIK QULA'QA' JAQ'DIY ol sōzüg anig qulāqqa čaqdi "He drummed (*ballaḡa*) the words into his ear. Oğuz dialect. :: 'UL 'IKY KŠIY 'ARA' JAQ'DIY ol ekki kiši ara čaqdi "He incited enmity (*aḡrā*) between the two men. :: 'UL JAQ'M'Q JAQDIY ol čaqmāq čaqdi "He struck (*qadaḡa*) the firestick." JAQA'R' JAQM'Q čaqār čaqmāq. The latter is both a verbal noun and a simple noun. 0

:: QUŠ JUQDIY quš čoqdi "The bird swooped down (*inqaḏḏa*)." JUQA'R' JUQM'Q čoqār čoqmāq. Verse:

'ARAN' QAMUḒ' 'AR'TADIY NA'NK LAR' 'UDV  
TAWA'R' KRUB 'USN [sic] LAYUV 'AS' KA' JUQA'R  
ärän qamuḡ artadi nāḡlār uḏu  
tawār körüp üsläyü äškä čoqār

"Men's morals became corrupted when they coveted property; when they saw wealth they swooped down upon it, just as the vulture swoops down when it sees prey." 0

[II 16/17]

:: 'AR' 'AWDIN JIQ'TY är äwdin čiqti "The man went out (*xaraja*) of the house (or other)." Proverb [=495 kũč]: KUVJ' 'AL'DIYN KIR' SA' TURUV TUNK'LUK TAN' JIQA'R' kũč eldin kirsä törü tüñlüktän čiqār "When violence comes in from the courtyard, law and justice go out the window." 0

:: MAN' 'ANY 'WK' SUQ'DUM' män ani äwkä suqḏum "I made him enter (*adxaltu*) the house." Also of anything that you forcefully insert (*adxalta . . . bi-šidda*) into something else, as an ax head into its shaft. Also :: 'AR' TUVZ SUQ'DIY är tōz soqdi "The man crushed (*daqqa*) the salt (or other)." :: QUŠ' MANK' SUQ'DIY quš män soqdi "The bird pecked at (*laqḡa*) the grain." :: 'ANIY YILA'N SUQDIY ani yilän soqdi "The snake bit (*ladaḡat*) him." Oğuz dialect. SUQA'R' SUQM'Q soqār soqmāq.

272 1. MS. *al-wars* (?), perhaps in error for *al-xašāš*; cf. 216 *butlu*.

:: 'UL 'UZUM SIQ'DIY ol üzüm siqdi "He pressed (*aḡara*) the grapes (or other)." SIQ'DIY SIQM'Q siqdi siqmāq. 0

K

:: 'UL MANIY KURUB' BUK'DIY ol mäni körüp bükdi "When he saw me he skulked (*laḡi'a bi-l-arḏ wa-nxafāḏa mutakamminan*)." :: 'UL 'AŠ DİN BUK'DIY ol ašdin bükdi "He was filled to nausea (*šabi'a . . . ḡattā sa'ima wa-bašima*) with food." Also :: 'UL TAW'RQA' BUK'DIY ol tawārqa bükdi "He was fed up with or had his fill of (*imṭala'a 'aynuhu*) property (or other)." BUKA'R' BUK'M'K bükār bükmäk. 0

:: 'UL SUVWUḒ' BUK'DIY ol süwuy bögdi "He stopped up the water with a dam (*qarā . . . wa-jama'a . . . bi-siker ittaxāḏa lahu*)." Also :: BAK' SUVSIN BUK'DIY beg süsin bögdi "The emir mustered (*jama'a*) his troops." BUKA'R' BUK'MA'K böḡār böḡmäk. Know that an army, because of its great volume, is always likened to water; thus :: SUVF 'AQTIY süw aqti "The water flowed," and: SUV 'AQ'TIY sü aqti "The army flowed." 0

:: 'UḒLA'N SUVW TUK'DIY oḡlän süw tökdi "The boy poured (*arāqa*) the water." Proverb: 'UḒLA'N SUVF TUKA'R' 'ULUḒ' YA'NIY SINUVR' oḡlän süw tökär, uluḡ yāni sinūr 0 "The boy pours the water and the old man (slips on it

[II. 17/19]

and) breaks his shin." This is coined about a wrong which the young commit and of which the old suffer the consequences. 0

:: 'UL 'AWKA' TAK'DIY ol äwkä tägdi "He reached (*balaga*) the house (or other)." TAKYR TAKMA'K täḡir täḡmäk. Proverb: 'IYWAK 'AWKA' TAKMA'S' ewäk äwkä täḡmäs "The hasty man does not reach home" – since by hurrying he jades his riding animal and is left without a mount. This is coined to advise someone to act slowly. Verse:

'AT'ḒALIR' 'UQ'NIY 'AZA'Q' atḡalir oqni azāq  
TAKMADIY BUV SA'W 'UŠA'Q' täḡmädi bu säw ušāq

"This slander did not reach me, though this temptress wishes to shoot at me an arrow from an unknown source."

[She means to shoot an arrow, stray;  
This word, slander, did not reach.]

:: 'AR' TUKUVN TUKDIY är tüḡün tüḡdi "The man tied (*aqada*) the knot (or other)." TUKA'R' TUK'M'K tüḡār tüḡmäk. Proverb: TILIN' TUK'MIŠ'NIY TYŠIN' YAZMA'S' tilin tüḡmišni tišin yazmäs 0 "What is tied with the tongue cannot be untied with the teeth." This is coined to advise someone to keep his word. 0

:: 'AR' TUVN' TIK'DIY är tōn tikdi "The man sewed (*xāḡa*) the garment." :: 'ATIḒ YILA'N TIK'TIY atiy yilän tikti "The snake stung (*lasa'at*) the horse (or other)." 0 Also of a scorpion. :: 'AR' YIḒA'J' TIK'DIY är yiḡāč tikdi "The man planted (*ḡarasa*) the tree." The same for anything that one sets upright (*naḡaba qā'imān*). TIKA'R' TIK'M'K tikār tikmäk. Proverb:

TIK·M'KIN·J' 'UNM·S' TILA·MAKIN·J' BULMA·S' tikmāginčā önmās tilāmāginčā bulmās “As long as (the tree) is not planted it will not grow, as long as (the goal) is not sought it will not be found.” This is coined to advise someone to make an effort. 0

:: 'UL BITIK JAK·DIY ol bitig čäkdi “He pointed (*naqaṭa*) the book.” :: 'UL 'ATIN JAK·DIY ol atin čäkdi “He bled (*faṣada*

[II. 19/21]

'irq) the horse.” JAK·R JAKM·K čäkār čäkmāk. 0

:: 'UL BAK·KA' JUK·DIY ol begkä öökdi “He kneeled (*jaṭā*) before the emir (or other).” :: TAWAY JUK·DIY tewe öökdi “The camel kneeled (*baraka*).” :: TAMUR SUWDA' JUK·DIY tāmür suwda öökdi “The iron sank (*rasaba*) in the water (or other).” JUKA·R' JUK·M·K öökār čökmāk.

:: 'UL TARKA·K' BA·GIN JAK·DIY ol türgāk bāyin čigdi “He tied (*šadda*) the bond of the package (or other).” JK·R JKM·K čigār čigmāk.

:: 'UL YAM·Γ SOK·TY ol yamāy sökti “He tore out (*naqaḍa*) the patch (from the garment).” :: 'UL 'AWIN· SUKTIY ol äwin sökti “He took down (*naqaḍa*) his tent or his building.”<sup>1</sup> :: 'UL BAK·KA' SUK·TIY ol begkä sökti “He kneeled (*jaṭā*) before the emir (or other).” Hence :: SUKA' 'ULTUR· sökä oltur “Sit kneeling.” SUK·R SUKM·K sökār sökmāk.

:: 'AR· 'URA·TUT·NIY SIK·TY är urāyutni sikti “The man copulated with (*jāma'a*) the woman.” SIK·R SIKM·K sikār sikhāk.

L

:: 'UL YAR·MA·Q' BUL·DY ol yarmāq buldi “He found (*wajada*) the dirhem (or other).” BULVR· BULMA·Q bulūr bulmāq.

:: 'UL BILIK BILDIY ol bilig bildi “He knew (*arafa*) understanding, knowledge, or wisdom.” Also for other things. BILYR· BIL·MA·K bilūr bilmāk.

The people of Arḡu say: BILUVR· bilūr with *ḍamma* after the *lām*; others do not agree with them in this. 0

:: 'AR· TA·M· TAL·DIY är tām tāldi “The man bore through (*taqaba*) the wall (or other).” :: 'UL 'UΓ·LA·QIΓ·SAΓ·LIQA· TALIDIY ol oylāqiy saḡliqqa tāldi “He joined the kid to a milch-ewe to suckle it (*ḍamma . . . li-tarḍa'a*).” This is done when the she-goat has little milk or else dies, and the kid, or lamb, is left uncared for. TALIA·YR·<sup>2</sup> TALIA·MA·K tālār tālmāk. 0

275 1. “or his building” added above line (original copyist), *wa-bināhu*, perhaps to be read *wa-banāhu* “And (re-)constructed it.”

2. A and *alif* (') crossed out and Y added by later hand (i.e., originally TAL·R, altered to TALYR· tālūr).

:: 'AR· TUBIQ·NIY 'AD·RIY BILA' TULDY är topiqni adri bilä taldi “[The man] struck (*ḍaraba*) the ball with a forked stick.” This is a type of game of the Turks. When one of the players wishes to have the first play he strikes in this way, the first play going to the one who is most skillfull at it.

[II. 20/23]

Also in the game of tipcat (striking one stick with another to make it fly – *ḍarb al-qāl wa-l-qula*), you say: TAL·DIY taldi. TALA·R TLM·Q talar talmāq. 0

:: 'AR· YARIN·DA·Q' TILDIY är yarindāq tildi “The man cut (*qadda*) a strap (from the hide).” The same for anything that one cleaves lengthwise (*šaqqa ḡūlan*). TILA·R· TIL·MA·K tilār tilmāk. 0

:: 'UL 'ANY JAL·DY ol ani čaldi “He struck him down (*šara'a*).” :: 'UL SUVZUK MANIK QULA·QA' JAL·DIY ol sōzüg mänig qulāqqa čaldi “He shouted the words in my ear (*samma'a*).” Proverb: JAQ·SA' TUT·NUVR· JAL·SA' BILNUVR· čaqsa tutnūr čalsa bilnūr 0 “When (the firestick) is struck (the fire) takes hold, when (the words) are made heard (*usmi'a*) (the purpose) is known.” :: TUVNUΓ· TA·Š· 'UVZA' JAL·DIY tōnuḡ tāš üzä čaldi “(The fuller) beat (*ḍaraba*) the garment on the rock.” Verse:

'IṬTIM TVTB· QUDİY JALDIY  
'ANIK TVSIN QIRA' YUL·DY  
BAŠIN 'ALIB· QUDİY SAL·DIY  
BUṬUZ 'ALIB· TUKAL BUṬDIY

itim tütup qoḍi čaldi  
anig tüsin qira yuldi  
bašin alip qoḍi saldi  
boḡuz ilip tükäl boḡdi

V

Describing a dog: “He [lit. My dog] caught (the wolf) and brought it down (*šara'a*); he plucked out its hair; he [took its head and] cast it behind him, then bit its throat and strangled it.” JAQ·R JAQM·Q [sic; cf. 272 čaq-] čalār čalmāq. 0

:: 'UL MANK' TUVNIN SAL·DIY ol maḡa tōnin saldi “He waved (*lama'a*) to me with his garment.” :: 'UL MANK' KIŠY DA' 'LTUN SAL·DIY ol maḡa kišidä altun saldi “He paid me gold, drawn on a person (*axraja lī 'alā insān ḍahaban*).” :: SUVW YIΓA·JIIΓ·SALDY sūw yiyāčiy saldi “The water cast up (*lafaza*)<sup>1</sup> the wood (or other).” SALA·R· SALM·Q salār salmāq. Also used of a man who signals (*awma'a*) with his hands from a distance.

:: 'AR· KIYDIN· QAL·DIY är kēdin qaldi “The man remained (*baqiya*) behind.” :: 'UL 'UYUVN· DA' QAL·DIY ol oyūnda qaldi “He was left behind (*turika*)<sup>2</sup> in the contest.” The same for anything that remains (*baqiya*) or is left (*turika*). Proverb [=542 törü]: 'IYL QAL·DIY TRUV QAL·MA·S' ēl qaldi törü qalmās 0 “The realm has been left behind, but custom cannot be left behind.” This is coined to advise someone to act according to custom.

276 1. MS. *laqaṭa*; altered from *lafaza* by later hand.  
2. MS. *taraka*.

QAĀLIYR' QALIMA'Q qalīr qalmāq.

:: 'UL MANDIN' NA'NK' QUL'DY ol mändin nāñ qoldi “He asked (*sa'ala*) me for the thing.” QULUVR QULM'Q qolūr qolmāq. 0

:: 'AR' 'YŞ QILDIY är iş qildi “The man acted (*'amila*).” :: 'AR' QIYZIF QIL'DIY är qīziy qildi “The man copulated with (*jāma'a*) the girl.” The word is used by allusion for copulation. For this reason the Oğuz avoid it; instead of saying: QILDIY qildi for “He did (*'amila š-šay*),” they say: 'IYŦIY ētti which means “He did well (*aşlaḥa*).” For example :: 'AR' YU-KUNJ 'IYŦIY är yükünē ētti “He performed (*aşlaḥa*) the prayer”; the Turks say: QILDIY qildi. QILUVR QIL'MA'Q qilūr qilmāq.

:: 'AR' 'AWK' KAL'DIY är äwkä kaldi “The man came (*atā*) to the house (or other).” KALIYR' KALMA'K kälīr kalmāk. Proverb: BIYR' QAR'ĜA' BIR'L' QIŞ KAL'MA'S' bīr qarḡa birlä qiş kalmās 0 “Winter does not come with one crow.” This is coined to advise a person to act slowly until his friends arrive to help him. 0

:: 'AR' KUL'DIY är küldi “The man (or other) laughed (*ḍaḥika*).” KULA'R KUL-MA'K külār külmāk. Verse [=77 äḡgü]:

KULSA' KIŞIY 'AT'MA' 'ANKAR' 'UR'TAR' KULA'  
BAŦIL 'ANKAR' 'ADKUVLUKUN' 'AĜ'ZIN' KULA'  
külsä kişi atma anar örtär kül-ä  
baqqil anar äḡgülükün aḡzin külä

“When you see a person smiling (*yatabassamu*) at you, don't pour hot ashes on his face (i.e., don't put him to shame), but regard him also with a smile (*tabassum*).” The sense is: repay kindness with kindness.

M

:: SUVW TAM'DIY sūw tamdi “The water (or other) dripped (*qaṭara*).” TAM'R TAMĀ'Q tamār tammāq.

:: 'UĜLA'N SUWDA' JUM'DIY oylān suwda čomdi “The boy dived (*ḡāša*) in the water.” JUMA'R JUĀ'Q čomār čommāq.

:: 'UR'DAK SUWQA' JUM'DIY ördäk suwqa čömdi “The duck dived deeply (*ḡāša . . . ḡawşan mubālīḡan fihi*) in the water.” JUMA'R JUĀ'K čömār čömmāk.

The infinitive of the latter is with *kāf*, of the former with *qāf*, in order that the difference between the two verbs be recognized. 0

:: 'UL 'ANY QAM'DIY ol ani qamdi “He beat him to death (*ḍaraba fa-aṭxana wa-awbaqa*).” QUAMA'R<sup>1</sup> QUĀMA'Q<sup>1</sup> qamār qammāq.

277 1. First A by a later hand (dark black, thin point).

:: SUVW' QUMDIY sūw qomdi

[II 23/27]

qol-

“The water was wavy (*māja*).” QUM'R' QUĀMA'Q qomār qommāq. 0

qil-

:: 'UL 'ULK'NY KUM'DIY ol ölügni kömdi “He buried (*dafana*) the dead one (or other).” KUM'R' KUM'K kömār kömmāk. Also :: KUVZMA'N KUM'DIY közmān kömdi “He baked the bread in the hot ashes (*ittaxada l-xubz fi l-malla*).”

D

N

käl-

:: QUVY' BAN'DY qōy bandi “The sheep were bound (*rubīta*).” The same for anything that is tied up (*šudda bi-witāq*). BA'NIR BANM'Q bānir banmāq. The *nūn* is an alternant of *lām* [i.e. *bal*].

P

kül-

:: KUVK TUN'DIY kōk tundi “The sky was overcast (*ḡāmat*).” :: QABUĜ TUNDIY qapuy tundi “The door was blocked (*insadda*).” Similarly, when a pass is blocked by snow, one says: 'R'T TUN'DIY art tundi. TUNVR' tunūr – also, in the aorist :: TUNA'R tunār – TUN-MA'Q tunmāq. The *naşb* form in such verbs [i.e. the aorist with *ā*] is the manner of the Oğuz and Qifčāq. 0

V

:: YAĜMUR TINDY yaḡmur tindi “The rain stopped (*aqla'a*).” :: 'AR' 'LUĜ TIN'DIY är uluy tindi “The man sighed (*tanaffasa . . . aş-şu'dā*).” :: 'ARUQ' TIN'DIY aruq tindi “The weary one rested (*istarāḡa*).” TINA'R TIN'M'Q tinār tinmāq.

tin-

The Oğuz, when they forbid someone from speaking, say: TIN'MA' tinma. This is an inverted expression (*maqḡūb*). It means, “Don't be quiet (*lā taskut*).” The Turks say: TIN' tin meaning: “Be quiet (*uskut*)”; when they say: TINMA' tinma the meaning is: “Don't be quiet (*lā taskut*).” The Oğuz here are in error.

D

:: 'UL 'AR' XYL BILA' SAN'DIY ol är xayl<sup>1</sup> bilä sandi “That man was reckoned (*'udda*) among the class of *xayl* [i.e. horses].” The same for anyone who is reckoned with something. SA'NUR' SAN'MA'Q' sanūr sanmāq. Proverb [=46 anuq]: BA'RİĜ' 'UTRUV TUT'SA' YUVŦA' SAN'MA'S' bāriḡ utru tutsa yōqqā sanmās 0 “If one offers what is available (to the guest, then hospitality) is not [reckoned] as nought.” 0

san-

P

:: 'UL MANK' 'AT'M'K SUN'DY ol maḡa ätmāk sundi “He offered (*nāwala*) me bread (or other).” SUNA'R SUNMA'Q sunār sunmāq.

sun-

:: YİĜA'J' SIN'DIY yiḡāč sindi “The piece of wood (or other) broke (*inkasara*).” :: SUV SIN'DIY sū sindi “The army was routed (*inhazama*).” SINUVR' SIN'M'Q sinūr sinmāq. Also: SINA'R' sinār. 0

sin-

qam-

278 1. Most likely the Arabic word was substituted by a mechanical error for *at* or *yond*.

[II. 24/29]

:: 'UF'RIY TAWA'R QUN'DIY oγri tawār qundi “The thief stole (*salaba*) the property.” Verse:

KIJK BULUB' YA'ṬINY YIR'KUV 'AMA'S'  
'ADKAR'MADIB' QUD'SA' 'ANY 'IYL'NIY QUN'R'  
kičig bolup yāyini yergü āmās  
ädgärmädip qoḏsa ani ēlni qunār

“One must not scorn one's enemy, though he be small, for if one pays him no heed, and he is left alone, he will steal the realm from you.” QUN'R' QUNM'Q qunār qunmāq.

:: YṬIA'J KUNDIY yiyāč köndi “The piece of wood (or other) was straight (*istaqāma*).”  
:: 'UF'RIY KUN'DIY oγri köndi “The thief confessed (*aqarra*) (his thievery).” Also of any person who denies having a certain property and who then confesses to it. :: 'AR' YUVL'QA' KUN'DIY ār yōlqa köndi “The man started out (*šaxaša ilā . . . wa-rakiba*) on the journey.” :: 'UTUNK KUN'DIY otuḡ köndi “The firewood burned (*iḡtaraqa*).” This is an Arγu word – they change *yā* to *nūn* according to rule [cf. 533 köy-]. :: TUSUVN' 'AT' KUN'DIY tosūn at köndi “The unruly horse was broken in or ‘straightened’ (*irtāḏa, istaqāma*).” The same for anything that is straightened. KUN'R' KUNM'K könār könmāk. 0

:: 'AR' TULUM' MAN'DIY ār tulum mandī “The man girded on (*labisa*) the weapon.”  
:: 'AR' A'UT'MA'K<sup>1</sup> SIR'KA'KA' MAN'DIY ār ötmāk sirkākä mandī “[The man] dipped the bread in vinegar to season it (*šabaγa . . . wa-'tadama*).” The same for dipping anything to season it. MANA'R' MAN'M'Q manār manmāq. 0

:: QARIY 'AR' MUN'DIY qari ār mundi “The dotard (or other) ranted (*haḏā*).” MUNA'R' MUN'M'Q munār munmāq. 0

:: 'AR' 'ĀT' MUN'DIY ār āt mündi “The man mounted (*rakiba*) the horse (or other).” MUNA'R' MUN'M'K münār münmāk.

Grammatical Rules and Inflections, the Explanation of Adjectivals,

and the Application of Rules

I assert the following – and aid is with God!

The verbal system is based on the preterite and the imperative. 0

I have asserted that it turns on the preterite since if the first consonant of the word in the preterite

279 1. First A by a later hand.

279

qun-

V

kōn-

D

man-

mun-

mün-

G

[II. 26/31]

has *fath* (A) then the aorist and infinitive will follow it in having *našb* (A) with their first consonant. The same if it has *raf* (U) or *xafḏ* (I). 0 Example :: BAR'DIY bardi “He went”; the *bā* takes *fath* (A) in the preterite, and so the aorist is: BARIR' barir also with *fath* of the *bā*; and in [the infinitive]: BAR'MA'Q' barmāq the *bā* again has *fath*, as before. With *raf* (U) :: TUR'DIY turdi “He stood”; the *tā* takes *raf* in the preterite, and so it will in the aorist: TURUR' turur with *ḏamm* (U) of the *tā*; and in the infinitive: TUR'MA'Q' turmāq with *raf* of the *tā*. With *kasr* (I) :: YIN'JUV TIZ'DIY yinčü tizdi “He strung the pearls”; the *tā* takes *kasr*, and so in the aorist: TIZA'R' tizār with *kasr* of the *tā*; and in the infinitive: TIZ'MA'K tizmāk also with *kasr* of the *tā*.

The structure of this language is not like that of Arabic where the preterite differs from the aorist. Thus, in the first-stem form of the verb “to sit” you say *qa'ada*, with the *qāf* taking *našb* (a); then you say *yaq'udu*, with the *qāf* unvowelled, in the aorist; and you say *qu'ūdan*, with the *qāf* taking *ḏamm* (u), in the infinitive. Similarly of the verb “to rain”: *maḡara*,<sup>1</sup> with *fath* of the *mīm* in the preterite; *yamḡuru*, the *mīm* unvowelled; *muḡūr<sup>an</sup>*, with *ḏamm* of the *mīm*. You have *našb* in the preterite, *ḏamm* in the infinitive, and no vowel in the aorist. An example of the derived-stem forms is the verb “to honor”: *'akrama*, the *hamza* taking *fath* in the preterite; *yukrimu*, the *yā* taking *ḏamm* in the aorist; *'ikrām<sup>an</sup>*, the *hamza* taking *kasr* in the infinitive. Another example: *'istayfara* (“to ask for pardon”) – the *alif* takes *kasr*; *nastayfiru*; *istiyfār<sup>an</sup>*.

[I. 27/32]

281

The preterite in all the verbs differs from the aorist and the infinitive. But Turkic is not like that. Rather, it is perfectly regular, in the biliteral, triliteral, quadriliteral and quinquiliteral chapters, and in what exceeds them. There is agreement among the preterite, the aorist, and the infinitive. 0

The second aspect is that doubling occurs only in the preterite, not in the aorist or in the infinitive [see 414 G]. 0

Third, the active participle is based on the preterite in the dialect of Oγuz, Qifčāq, Yemāk, Yaγma, the people of Arγu, and the nomadic people from Suvārīn<sup>1</sup> to Bāčānāk. Example :: BAR'DIY bardi “He went”; 0 BAR'DAJIY bardači “One who goes”; a *jīm* is inserted between the *dāl*, which is the preterite marker, and the *yā*. 0 :: TUR'DIY turdi “He stood”; TUR'DAJIY turdači “One who stands”; a *jīm* is inserted between the *dāl* and the *yā* which are the two preterite markers. All the verbal chapters follow this pattern.

The imperative. We assert that the active participle is based on the imperative in most of the Turkic dialects, Čigil, etc. [see below, 290ff.]. 0 And the letters of meaning (i.e., suffixes) that occur with verbs for various purposes are affixed only to the imperative, as we shall explain, God willing.

280 1. MS. *maḡarun* (vocalization by later hand).

281 1. Originally Suvārāyn, *kasra* added below the *rā* by a later hand.

Know that the preterite is fixed with *dāl* and *yā'* in all verbs, with the sole exception that the *dāl* changes to *tā'* if associated with hard letters, because of the force of the point of articulation [i.e., assimilation]. 0 The hard letters in this language are four: hard *pā'*, *tā'*, hard *ēīm*, and hard *kāf*. Example of *pā'* :: TAB'TIY **tāpti**

[II. 28/32]

“He kicked with his foot.” Example of *tā'* :: TUŦIY **tutti** “He took.” Example of hard *jīm* :: QAJ'TIY **qačti** “He fled.” Example of hard *kāf* :: TAWAY JUK'TIY **tewe čökti** “The camel kneeled.” Also *qāf* may be counted in this group following hard *kāf*; example :: 'UL MANK' BAQ'TIY **ol maᅇa bačti** “He looked at me.” The *dāl* becomes *tā'* solely due to the hardness of the points of articulation of these letters, as we have explained. Their root-form is *dāl*, but the pronunciation with *tā'* is more elegant when joined to these letters. This is the rule for all verbs, simple and compound, in each book.

The aorist is fixed with *rā'* in each book, in all verbs. If the last consonant of the stem is *rā'* then there are two *rā'*'s, repeated, one belonging to the stem, the other being the aorist marker. 0 The *rā'* of the aorist in this language is like the [prefixes] *alif*, *tā'*, *nūn* and *yā'* in Arabic as aorist markers. 0 If there is no *rā'* in the stem of the word, then one *rā'* occurs which is the aorist marker. This rule is best observed in the preterite and the imperative. If *rā'* occurs before the *dāl* of the preterite, then it occurs [there is no difficulty]; and in the imperative the *dāl* and *yā'* which are the two preterite markers drop, leaving *rā'*, unvowelled. This *rā'* then belongs to the stem, and in the aorist one must add to it a different *rā'* as the aorist marker. If, on the other hand, there is no *rā'* in the preterite and the imperative, then the aorist *rā'* is added to it [simply]. 0 Example :: BAR'DIY **bardi** “He went”; there is a *rā'* before the *dāl*;

[II. 30/34]

:: BAR' **bar** is the imperative, the *rā'* remains fixed while the preterite markers drop, so in this case the *rā'* belongs to the stem; the aorist then is: 'UL BARIYR' **ol barir** “He goes”; the aorist *rā'* is added, resulting in two *rā'*'s, one belonging to the stem, the other being the aorist marker. :: 'UL TUR'DIY **ol turdi** “He stood”; imperative: TUR' **tur** “Stand”; aorist: 'UL YUQA'RUV TURUR' **ol yoqāru turur** “He stands up” — there are now two *rā'*'s in the word, one belonging to the stem, the other being the aorist marker. The Oğuz drop one of these two *rā'*'s in most aorist verbs, for lightness, and pronounce only one *rā'*, as in the imperative; this is not proper and not according to rule [see below, 300-301]. As for verbs in which there is no *rā'* — such as: KAL'DIY **kāldi** “He came,” imperative: KAL' **kāl**, aorist: KALIR' **kālır**; or: KUL'DIY 'AR' **kūldi ār** “The man laughed,” aorist: KUL'AR' **kūlār** — a *rā'* is added in the aorist which is not in the stem. 0 The Oğuz agree with the Turks in this type of verb, in which there is no *rā'*, and do not drop this *rā'*. This is a general rule, holding good for trilateral and quadrilateral verbs, and what exceeds them.

Know that the verbal patterns of [the dialects of] the Turks resemble those of the dialects of the Arabs. They are: *fa'lā'* for the preterite; *fa'il<sup>2</sup>* for the aorist; and *fa'lāl* for the infinitive. Example :: BAR'DIY **bardi** “He went”; this is like the pattern in *'aqrā* (pl. of *'aqir* “wounded”) and *ᅇalqā* (pl. of *ᅇalīq* “shaven”). ::

283

1. *-ā* here is *alif maqᅇūra*, written in Arabic with *yā'*.
2. MS. *fa'ala* (vowels by later hand).

282

[II. 31/36]

BARIR' **barir** “He goes”; this is like *namir* (“leopard”), *raᅇil* (“on foot”), *bakir<sup>1</sup>* *fī ᅇāᅇatıhi* (“rising early to meet his needs”). 0 BAR'MA'Q **barmāq** — this is like *al-qarqāf* (“wine”), *al-xalxal* (“ankle bracelet”). All the verbal patterns of this language are like this, both simple and compound. 0

The biliteral may be considered trilateral in pronunciation by virtue of *iᅇbā'*. Example :: BAR'DIY **bardi** “He went”; :: BA'R'DIY **bārdi** is permitted. :: TUR'DIY **turdi** “He stood”; :: TUVR'DIY **tūrđi** is permitted. This is allowed, however, only in the preterite, not in the aorist or the infinitive. 0 This is similar to the permitted insertion of *madd* and *līn* letters in simple nouns without being part of the root. Example :: YAᅇA'J' **yıᅇāč** “Wood”; its root-form is: YIᅇA'J' [sic] **yıᅇāč**. :: TANUVQ' **tanūq** “Witness”; its root-form is: TANUQ' **tanuq**. However, the more correct and more elegant form of both nouns and verbs is what is shorter in pronunciation and firmer in enunciation. 0

The infinitive has one form for all verbs. This is to add to the stem *mīm alif* and *qāf* for words containing a *qāf* or *ᅇayn* or which have *iᅇbā'* in pronunciation; 0 or *kāf* instead of *qāf* for words which contain *kāf* or which have *rikka* or else *imāla* to the three vowels. 0 Example of those with *qāf* :: 'UL YA' QUR'DIY **ol ya qurđi** “He strung the bow”; QURA'R' QUR'MA'Q **qurār qurmāq** — the infinitive has *qāf* because the word has *qāf*. Example of those with *ᅇayn* :: 'UL SUVT' SAᅇ'DIY **ol sūt sayđi** “He drew milk”; SAᅇA'R SAᅇMA'Q **sayār saymāq** — the infinitive has *qāf* because the word has *ᅇayn*. 0 Example of those with *iᅇbā'*

[II. 32/38]

:: 'AR' BAR'DIY **ār bardi** “The man went”; BARIR' BAR'MA'Q **barir barmāq**. TUR'DIY **turđi** “He stood”; TURUR' TUR'MA'Q **turur turmāq** — since the word has *iᅇbā'*, the infinitive has *qāf*. 0 Example of those with *kāf* :: KAL'DIY **kāldi** “He came”; KALIR' KAL' MA'K' **kālır kalmāk** — the infinitive has *kāf* because the word has *kāf*. The same is true for the thin *kāf* instead of the hard one, thus :: 'UL MANIY 'UK'DIY **ol māni oᅇđi** “He praised me”; UKA'R' UK'MA'K' **oᅇār oᅇmāk** — even though the main part [of the word] has thin *kāf*, the infinitive still has hard *kāf* as in sound words [i.e. those with hard *kāf* in the root]. 0 Example of those with *rikka* :: 'AR' TALIM' SAR'DIY **ār tālım sārđi** “The man was very patient”; SARAR' SAR'MA'K' **sārār sarmāk** — since the word has *rikka*, the infinitive has *kāf*. Note that the corresponding word with *iᅇbā'* has its infinitive with *qāf*, thus :: BAK 'ANY SAR'DIY **beg ani sardi** “The emir scolded him”; SARAR' SAR'MA'K' [sic] **sarar sarmāq**. 0 :: 'AR' BITIK' TUR'DIY **ār bitıg türđi** “The man rolled up the book (or other)”; TURUR' TUR'MA'K' **türür türmāk**. :: 'UL YAR'MA'Q TIRDIY **ol yarmāq terđi** “He gathered the dirhams”; TIRAR' TIR'MA'K' **terār termāk**. :: 'AT' SUR'DIY **at sūrđi** “He drove the horses”; SURAR' SUR'MA'K' **sūrār sürmāk** — the infinitive [in these cases] has *kāf* for the reasons I have indicated. This is a general rule, holding good for all the chapters in each book, both simple and compound, without exception. The scope of *qāf* and *kāf* may be understood from the examples given, so study them! These are the sum of the principles concerning infinitives. 0

284

1. MS. *bakur*.

containing *qāf*, *ḡayn* or *išbā'*; or *kāf* otherwise, as in the above examples; 0 or else *ḡayn* and *yā'*, constructed to the thing referred to. The stem is what remains fixed in the imperative. :: 'UL BARIḡ BAR·DIY ol bariḡ bardi "He went a direct going." 0 :: 'NIKA 'IYŠ' QILḡIY BAL·KUVLK anig iṣ qilḡi balḡülüg "His doing the deed is evident." 0 :: SUKAL·TINIḡIY 'ARTAQ sōkāl tiniḡi artaq "The breathing of the sick man is bad" – this derives from the phrase: 'AR·'ULḡ TIN·DIY ār uluḡ tindi meaning "The man sighed." 0 :: MANIK YURIQIM· NATAK mänig yoriqim nātäg "How is my conduct?" :: SANIK YURIQING NATAK sänig yoriqinḡ nātäg "How is your conduct?" :: 'ANIK YURIQY NATAK anig yoriqi nātäg "How is his conduct?" This type is an infinitive construct. Its root is the word: YURIYDIY yorīdi meaning "He travelled." There is no *qāf* in this verb. The *ḡayn* occurs only in [words whose] infinitives are with *qāf*. The rule for this type of verb, from which infinitives may be derived, is best observed in the stem, which is the part of the word remaining in the imperative when the preterite markers *dāl* and *yā'* drop off. 0 The *kāf* occurs in words which cannot take *qāf* in this meaning. :: 'NIK YAR·MA'Q TIYRI·KIY KUVR· anig yarmāq tēriḡi kōr "Look at his gathering dirhams." Proverb [= 19G, 293G]: TA'Z· KALIKY BUR·K·JYKA' tāz kāliḡi bōrkčikā "The coming of the bald man to the latter

[II. 35/41]

(is inevitable, to buy from him something to cover his baldness)." This is coined about a person who flees from someone he cannot escape. 0 The root of this verb is: KAL·DIY kāldi "He came"; when it is changed from this meaning the infinitival *kāf* is inserted, as you see. 0 The *qāf* does not occur in place of *ḡayn* if the infinitive is in this meaning and this degree, but only after this degree, in a place where *ḡayn* hardly ever occurs; namely, between the *dāl* and *yā'* which are the preterite markers, producing a sound infinitive construct. 0 The *kāf* occurs in a similar place according to the above explanation. Example :: BAR·DIY bardi "He went"; an infinitive is formed from this as follows: 'NIK BAR·DUQY BARMA·DUQY BIYR· anig barduqi barmāduqi bīr "His going or not going are equal." 0 :: TURDIY turdi "He stood"; an infinitive is formed from this as follows: MANIK TURDUQUM· TURMA·DUQUM· BIYR· mänig turduqum turmāduqum bīr "My standing or not standing are equal." The *ḡayn* cannot occur in this type, since one may not say: TUR·DUQIY [sic] \*turduḡi in place of: TUR·DUQIY turduqi to mean "his standing"; nor may one say: MANIK BARDUQUM· BARMA·DUQUM· [sic] mänig barduḡum barmāduḡum to mean "my going [or not going]." The *ḡayn* does not occur in this type. But the *kāf* does, thus :: 'NIK KALDUKY KALMA·DUKIY BIYR anig kāldüki kalmādüki bīr "His coming or not coming are one." 0 :: SANIK KUR·DUKNK· KUR·MADUKNK BIYR· sänig kördükünḡ körmädükünḡ bīr "Your seeing or not seeing are one." I do not mention this type of infinitive either among the nouns or the verbs [in the course of the book], since whoever grasps these rules may easily derive them himself from the various dialects. This rule holds good for all kinds of verbs, sound, weak, doubled, and so on, both simple

[II. 36/43]

and compound.

[II. 34/39]

There is another type of infinitive that occurs in construct with the agent at the time he performs the act, and acts like a noun. The rule is to add after the stem *qāf* and *yā'* for words

P

287

288

286

The imperative of this chapter consists of two consonants, and for that reason we have named it "biliteral." Thus :: BAR· bar "Go." :: KAL· käl "Come." This is the root. When the object of the imperative is singular, most of the Turks add to the stem *ḡayn* and *lām* in words having *qāf* or *išbā'*; *qāf* and *lām* in words ending in *ḡayn*; 0 or *kāf* and *lām* in words having *kāf* or *imāla* or *rikka*. In this case the imperative goes over from the biliteral to the quadriliteral class, or from trilateral to quinquiliteral, or from quadriliteral to sextiliteral. 0 Example :: BAR·ḡIL baryil "Go"; :: TUR·ḡIL turyil "Stand"; these are *išbā'* words, so the suffix is *ḡayn lām*. Those with final *ḡayn* :: TA·ḡQA· 'Aḡ·QIL· tāḡqa aḡqil "Climb the mountain"; :: SUVT· SAḡ·QIL sūt saḡqil "Draw milk"; these end with *ḡayn*, so the suffix has *qāf*. 0 Those with *kāf* :: 'AWKA· KIRKIL āwkā kirgil "Enter the house"; :: YARMA·Q· TIR·KIL· yarmāq tergil "Gather dirhams"; the suffix has *kāf* because of what I mentioned above, and has caused the word to go over from biliteral to the quadriliteral class. 0 Trilateral :: YUK· KUTUR yūk kötür "Lift the load"; TA·M· 'UTUR tām ötür "Pierce the wall"; the imperative [forms may be] :: KUTR·KIL· 'UTR·KIL· kötürgil, ötürgil; they have gone over from the trilateral to the quinquiliteral class. Quadriliteral :: 'AT· SUWḡAR at suwḡar "Water the horse"; :: MNY· 'UḡḡUR mäni oḡḡur "Waken me"; the imperative [forms may be] :: 'UḡḡUR·ḡIL SUWḡAR·ḡIL oḡḡuryil, suwḡaryil – the imperative has gone over from the quadriliteral to the sextiliteral class. This type of imperative is permitted only if the person addressed is singular; if it is dual or plural, the above does not apply.

[II. 37/44]

289

The imperative for the dual and plural is according to one pattern, and there is no difference between masculine and feminine. Thus :: BAR· bar "Go (singular)"; BARIYNKL·R 'KIY·KUV bariḡlār ekigü "Go (dual)"; the plural is :: BARIYNK·LA·R QAMUḡ bariḡlār qamuy. 0

If the person addressed is honored because of age or rank, the Turks address him with the plural form, thus :: BARINK· bariḡ "Go (singular)" – its root-meaning being "Go (plural)." The Oḡuz and Qifčāq say: BAR· bar "Go (sg.)" and: BARINK bariḡ "Go (pl.)"; the plural marker: LA·R· -lār drops and is replaced by *zāy* plus nasal *kāf*, for the singular, if it is desired to show honor and favor to the person addressed – this is in their dialect a "plural of the plural," used as an address for the singular; as in the verse:

'AWLAB MANY QUYMNKIZ  
'AYIQ 'YB· QYMANKIZ  
'AQAR KUZUM 'UŠ TANKIZ  
TAKRA· YURA· QUŠ 'UJA·R·

awlap mäni qoymaniz  
ayiq ayip qiymaniz  
aqar közum oš täñiz  
täḡrä yörä quš uçar

V

"When you hunt me<sup>1</sup> do not leave me behind; do not go back on your promise; sea-water flows from my eye (comparing tears to sea-water because of their saltiness); birds fly round about (the streams of my eye)." 0 This type is permitted only for the second person. It does not occur in the first or third persons imperative, since the nasal *kāf* can only be imagined with a second person imperative. In the words: BAR·DINK bardiḡ "You went" and: KALDINK kāldiḡ "You came," this [letter] expresses a second person verb, not an imperative. Therefore it cannot drop without a trace in the [imperative form]: BARINK bariḡ "Go."

289 1. MS. ṣaddatnī, read ṣidtinī.



The *dāl* which is the preterite marker always takes *kasr* (I), in the first, second and third persons. Example :: BAR·DIM· **bardim** “I went” – the *dāl* takes *kasr*. :: BAR·DINK· **bardiñ** “You went” –

[II. 39/46]

the same. :: BAR·DIY· **bardi** “He went.” The *dāl* takes *kasr* in all cases. *Mīm* is the first person marker in: BAR·DIM· **bardim** “I went.” Nasal *kāf* is the second person marker in: BAR·DINK· **bardiñ** “You went.” *Yā*’ is the third person marker in: BAR·DIY· **bardi** “He went.” For the second person singular of one who is honored, the Turks say: BAR·DINKIZ· **bardiñiz** “You went (singular)”; the *zāy* plus nasal *kāf* is, in its root-meaning, used for the plural, and the Oğuz do use it for the second person plural, thus: BAR·DINKIZ· **bardiñiz** “You went (plural).” The Oğuz here observe the rule; but the Turks have beauty of expression, and retain the distinction between superior and inferior. In all of the above cases the *dāl* has *kasr*, as I have explained. This is the rule for all verbs in each book, in the language of all the Turks.

The active participle, of this chapter and of all the chapters, has five forms expressing various nuances. 0 There is divergence [among the dialects] solely with regard to the form of the participle which expresses that the action simply proceeds from the agent; but there is agreement with regard to the other deverbal adjectivals (i.e. participles). All classes of the Turks use them in the same way, along with the various meanings which they express.

1) The diverging form. :: BAR·DAJIY· **bardači** “One who goes”; TUR·DAJIY· **turdači** “One who stands.” This participle is based on the preterite. A *jīm* is inserted between the *dāl* and *yā*’ which are the two preterite markers, in the dialect of Oğuz, Qifčāq, Yağma, Oğrāq, Suvārīn and Bāčānāk as far as Rūs. This is according to rule, since *dāl* is a letter that serves as a preterite marker,

[II. 40/48]

while *yā*’ alludes to the third person, in the word: BAR·DIY· **bardi** “He went.” Note that this [*yā*’] drops in the second person: BAR·DINK· **bardiñ** “You went,” and also in the first person: BAR·DIM· **bardim** “I went.” The *dāl*, however, does not drop but retains its position in all cases where the verb is preterite. In: BAR·DAJY· **bardači** [on the other hand] it is known that the *jīm* and *yā*’ are agency markers. This is not the same *yā*’ [therefore] which marked the third person in the preterite. This being so, it must be based on the “relative” or “descriptive” noun, as in: ’AT·JY· **ätči** “Butcher (meat-man),” ’AT·MAK·JY· **ätmäkči** “Baker (bread-man).” All groups of the Turks agree in adding *jīm* and *yā*’ to nouns in order to form the descriptive nouns of occupation. Example :: TARIĞ· **tariy** “Tillage,” :: TARIĞ·JY· **tariyči** “Tiller”; :: ’ATUK· **ätük** “Boot,” ’ATUK·JY· **ätükči** “Bootmaker.” 0 As for: BAR·DAJIY· **bardači** “One who goes,” TUR·DAJIY· **turdači** “One who stands,” these also are descriptive nouns (adjectivals), but derived from verbs; whereas the former are derived from nouns. It is fitting that their rules be based on a single principle. This rule does not change for words with *qāf* or *kāf* or *išbā*’, etc. 0

In the dialects of Čigil, Kāšyar, Balāsāyun, Arɣu, Barsyān and Uighur, as far as Upper Šīn, the participle in this meaning is based on the imperative. Instead of the preterite marker *dāl* there occurs *ɣayn*, in words with *qāf* or *ɣayn* or *išbā*’, or thin *kāf* elsewhere.

290

D

D

291

D

[II. 41/49]

In either case the *jīm* and *yā*’ are fixed. Example. In the imperative :: BAR· **bar** “Go”; then “One who goes” is: BAR·FUVJY· **barγūči** in this dialect. :: TUR· **tur** “Stand,” :: TUR·FUVJY· **turγūči** “One who stands.” Those with *qāf* :: YA· QUR·FUVJY· **ya qurγūči** “One who strings the bow”; :: TAWA’R· QAB·FUVJY· **tawār qapγūči** “One who steals goods.” 0 Those with *ɣayn* :: ’AT· SUWFAR·FUVJY· **at suwɣarγūči** “One who waters horses”; MANIY· ’UD·FUVRJY<sup>1</sup>· **māni oɣurγūči** “One who wakens me.” In the biliteral chapter, this *ɣayn* becomes *qāf* with words having *ɣayn*, thus :: TA’Γ·QA· ’AΓ·QUVJY· **tāɣqa aɣqūči** “One who climbs mountains”; :: QUVY· SAI’·QUVJY· **qōy saɣqūči** “One who milks [sheep].” The *ɣayn* becomes *qāf* because two guttural letters of the same genus are joined, resulting in heaviness<sup>2</sup> of pronunciation, and so one of them changes to *qāf* in order to remove the heaviness. The same holds true in the imperative when the last letter of the word is *ɣayn* – it [the *ɣayn* of the imperative suffix] changes to *qāf*, thus :: TA’Γ·QA· ’AΓ·QIL· **tāɣqa aɣqil** “Climb the mountain”; SUVT· SAI’·QIL· **sūt saɣqil** “Draw milk.” In those with *kāf*, there occurs thin *kāf* in place of the preterite marker *dāl*, thus :: KUL·KUVJY· ’AR· **kūlgūči ār** “A man who laughs”; :: ’AWKA· KIR·KUVJY· **āwkā kirgūči** “One who enters the house.” Those with *imāla* :: YAR·MA’Q· TIYR·KUVJY· **yarmāq tērgūči** “One who gathers dirhams”; ’AT·SUR·KUVJY· **at sürgūči** “A horse-driver.”

The Oğuz, and those I mentioned with them, observe the rule, their speech being based on the first method; with regard to the latter type, however, the Oğuz, etc., sometimes agree with the Turks of the Čigil, etc., so that the divergence disappears. Thus

D

[II.43/51]

293

the Oğuz say: YURIĞ·JY· **yoriyči** for “The mediator between the bride’s and groom’s inlaws”; they do not say: YURYDAJY· \***yorīdači**. And they say: TARIĞ·JY· **tariyči** for “Tiller,” and not: TARIYDAJIY· \***tarīdači**. This holds true for all dialects. 0 Since they base these descriptive nouns on the imperative, and since the imperative ends in an unvowelled consonant, they cannot simply attach the two agency markers *jīm* and *yā*’, and say something like: BARUJY· \***baruči** for “One who goes,” or: TURUJY· \***туруči** for “One who stands,” since the *rā*’ has a vowel in such cases and so departs from the structure of the imperative. Therefore they insert *ɣayn* in words with *qāf* or *išbā*’, or *kāf* otherwise, thus keeping the imperative fixed with an unvowelled final consonant. It is clear then that these adjectivals are based on the imperative in the dialects of these groups. Furthermore, *ɣayn* and *kāf* are more appropriate to be inserted in adjectivals than other letters would be for this meaning, because they also occur in the infinitive constructs; thus :: ’ANIK·TURUĞ·NATAK· **anig turuɣi nātäg** “How is his standing?” :: TA’Z· KALIKIY·BUR·K·JIYKA· **tāz kälīgi bōrkčikā** “The coming of the bald man is to the hatter.”

(P)

[In Arabic] the participle may be expressed by the infinitive, as in *rajulun nawmun* for *nā’imun* (“a sleeping man”), or *šawmun* for *šā’imun* (“fasting”); or as in the words of the Exalted: *qul a-ra’aytum in ašbaḥa mā’ukum ɣauran* for *ɣā’iran* (Q.67:30 “Say: ‘What think you? If in the morning your water should have vanished into the earth . . .’”).

292

1. Sic, altered from ’UD·FVJY; and in margin, by later hand: ’UD·FVRVJY.
2. MS. *yqul*, read *yatqulu*.

This is the adjectival for which there is divergence among the [dialectal] groups, in all chapters.

2) The participle which expresses duration or frequent occurrence of the action. This type is based on the imperative, with agreement among these [dialectal] groups, in all chapters. To the imperative is added *γayn alif nūn* in words having *qāf* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of *γayn* in those with *kāf* or *imāla*. 0 Example. In the imperative :: BAR' **bar** "Go"; to characterize a person as frequently performing this action, you say: 'UL 'AR' 'UL 'AW'KA' BAR'ΓA'N' ol **är** ol **äwkä baryān**

[II. 44/53]

"He is a man who goes frequently to the house." :: 'UL 'AR' 'UL 'IYŠLA'R'QA' TUR'ΓA'N' ol **är** ol **išlārqa turγān** "He is a man who often undertakes affairs." Verse:

TUR'ΓA'N 'UL'Γ 'IŠ'LAQA'	turγān uluy išlaqa
TIRKY 'URUB 'AŠ'LAQA'	tergi urup ašlaqa
TUMLU'Γ QADIR QIŠ'LAQA'	tumluy qadir qišlaqa
QUḌTY 'ARIK' 'UM'DURUV	qoḍti ärig umduru

Eulogizing a man: "He was one who often undertook great affairs; (a feeder,) one who frequently spread the table [for feasts]; during the bitter cold of winter; he left men wishing (for his goodness and piety)." 0 Those with *kāf* :: KULKA'N 'AR **külgān är** "A laughing man"; the imperative is: KUL' **kül** "Laugh," and these letters are added to the imperative in this meaning.

Now since it is permitted to insert *γayn* and *kāf* in this adjectival, which indicates frequency of action, then it is even more suitable in the phrases: BAR'ΓUVJJIY KAL'KUḐVJJIY<sup>1</sup> **baryūci, kalgūci** which mean [simply] "One who goes, One who comes," because the less frequent is based upon the more frequent; this should be known! This form is like the forms *fa'āl<sup>2</sup>* or *mif'āl* in Arabic, as in *innahu la-šarrāb bi-anqu'* ("he is a constant drinker of swamp-water"), or *ḡallā' anjud* ("a climber of highlands"), or *miḡ'ām* ("a feeder"), or *miḡ'an* ("a spear-thrower"). These express frequent performance of the action.

3) The participle which expresses that one is desirous of undertaking an action, prior to his actually performing it. It is not based on the imperative [directly]. After the stem one adds *γayn sīn alif qāf* in words having *qāf*, *γayn* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of the medial *γayn* and final *qāf* in words with *kāf* or *rikka*. The letter which in the imperative is unvowelled now takes *kasr* (I).

[II. 46/55]

Example :: BAR' **bar** "Go"; to describe one who desires to go, you say: 'UL 'AWK' BARI'ΓA'N' Q 'UL ol **äwkä bariysāq ol** "He is desirous of going to the house." :: TUR' MUN'DA' **tur munda**

- 294 1. Original U crossed out, another placed directly above K by later hand.  
2. MS. *fi'al*.

"Stay here"; to express this idea you say: 'UL MUN'DA' TURU'ΓA'N' Q 'UL ol **munda turuysāq ol** "He is desirous of staying here." Those with *kāf* :: 'UL BARUV KALIK'SA'K' 'AR'DIY ol **bäri käligsāk ärdi** "He was intent on, or desirous of, coming here." :: 'UL 'AW'K' KIRK'SA'K 'UL ol **äwkä kirigsāk ol** "He is desirous of entering the house." 0 Those with *imāla* :: 'UL TAWA'R' TIRIK'SA'K 'UL ol **tawar terigsāk ol** "He is desirous of gathering money." Memorize the rules!

This [suffix] is also found on nouns to describe a man with this meaning. Thus :: 'UL 'AR' 'UL TAWAR'SA'Q ol **är ol tawarsāq** "He is a man who desires money." :: BUV 'URA'ΓUT' 'UL 'AR'SA'K' **bu urāγut ol ärsāk** "This is a woman who desires men." However, the *γayn* or *kāf* do not occur with nouns.

4) The participle which expresses either that one ought to have performed the action which did not appear but is mentioned (? *kāna min haqqihi an ya'f'ala l-fi'l al-kāmin al-muxbir 'anhu*), or that one intends to perform it. This type is based on the imperative. That is, the imperative remains fixed, with its final consonant unvowelled, and to it one adds *γayn lām qāf* in words having *qāf* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of the medial *γayn* and the final *qāf* [otherwise]. Example :: BAR' **bar** "Go"; to express that one ought to go, you say: 'UL BAR'ΓULUQ 'AR'DIY ol **baryuluq ärdi** "He should have gone," or else, "He intended to." :: 'UL MUNDA' TUR'ΓULUQ 'AR'DIY ol **munda turγuluq ärdi** "He ought, or intends, to stay here."

[II. 47/56]

Some of the Oγuz replace the *lām* by *sīn*, thus :: 'UL MUNDA' BARI'ΓA'N' Q 'AR'DIY ol **munda turuysaq ärdi** "He should have stayed here." :: 'UL MUNDIN BARI'ΓA'N' Q TAKUL ol **mundin bariysaq tägül** "He is not going to go from here."

This type of adjectival makes quinquiliterals from biliterals, sextiliterals [from triliterals], and septiliterals from quadriliterals. All of this will appear in its proper place, God willing.

5) The participle which expresses that one has in mind the performance of the action. This is close to the first type [sic; the preceding type?] in which the agent intends to perform the action. This type is not based on the imperative; rather, the last letter of the word is vowelled with *kasr* (I), while the first letter of the suffix is unvowelled, in all chapters. Example :: BAR' **bar** "Go"; one adds to the stem *γayn lām yā'* in words with *qāf* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of *γayn* in words with *kāf* or *rikka*; thus :: MAN SANK' BARI'ΓA'N' Q MAN' **mān saḡa bariyli mān** "I have in mind going to you." :: 'UL MUNDA' TURU'ΓA'N' Q 'UL ol **munda turuγli ol** "He<sup>1</sup> has in mind staying here." Those with *kāf* :: 'UL MANKA' KALIKLIY TURUR ol **maḡa käligli turur** "He intends and has in mind coming to me." [With *imāla*] :: 'UL MANK' TAWA'R' BIRIK'LY 'UL ol **maḡa tawār berigli ol** "He is going to give me the goods."

This type of adjectival is based on the infinitive construct, but with *lām* and *yā'* added to it so that it becomes an adjectival; since, as we have explained [286], when *γayn* or *kāf* is added to the stem and the unvowelled [final stem-] consonant is vowelled, then it is an infinitive construct, indicating<sup>2</sup>

- 296 1. MS. *annī*, read *annahu*.  
2. MS. *yubnā*, read *yunbi'u* with EP.

[II. 48/58]

the present performance of the action; as :: 'ANIK BARIŪY KUR' **anig bariyi kör** "Look at his going"; :: 'NIK KALIKY KUVR **anig kälīgi kör** "Look at his coming." Since this is an infinitive, it becomes an adjectival through the addition of *lām yā'*, as I have explained.

There is complete agreement with regard to this type of adjectival among all the classes of Turks.

These are the five types of adjectivals, with their respective meanings, for all verbs.

The passive participle is formed in a single way in all chapters, namely by adding *mīm šīn* to the imperative. Thus :: YA' QUR **ya qur** "String the bow"; passive participle: QUR·MIŠ YA' **qurmiš ya** "A strung bow." :: QAZ·MIŠ 'ARIQ' **qazmiš ariq** "A canal that has been dug out." The stem remains fixed, and these two letters are added to it. This is for transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs may also take *mīm šīn* to form a preterite; thus :: 'AW·KA' BAR·MIŠ **āwkā barmiš** "He went to the house, but I did not observe it"; :: 'UL MANKA' KAL·MIŠ **ol maña kälmiš** "He came to me, but I did not know of it." In these examples the *mīm* and *šīn* are in place of the preterite markers *dāl* and *yā'* in: BAR·DIY **bardi** "He went" and: KAL·DIY **kälđi** "He came." The difference between these two forms is that *dāl yā'* on preterite verbs indicate<sup>1</sup> that the action occurred in the presence of the speaker. The action was verified by its occurrence in his presence. For example, if someone says: BAR·DIY **bardi** the meaning is, "He went, and I saw him go with my own eyes." *Mīm šīn*, on the other hand, indicate that the action occurred in the absence of the speaker. Thus :: 'UL BAR·MIŠ **ol barmiš** "He went, but I did not see him go"; :: 'UL KAL·MIŠ **ol kälmiš** "He came, but I did not see him." This is a general rule

[II. 50/60]

holding good for all preterite verbs, whether intransitive or not. There is no difference between words with *qāf* or *išbā'* and those with *kāf* or *rikka*, nor between masculine and feminine, as the examples show. The *mīm šīn* in the phrases: BAR·MIŠ KIŠIY **barmiš kiši** "The man who went," and: KAL·MŠ 'AR' **kälmiš ār** "The man who came" make the verb into an adjectival. The *dāl yā'* do not have this function in: BAR·DIY KAL·DIY **bardi, kälđi**.

Inflection. Most of the dialectal groups – Yağma, Tuxsi, Čigil, Arγu, and Uighur as far as Şin – agree with regard to the preterite that it is fixed with *dāl* and *yā'*; thus :: BAR·DIY **bardi** "He went." The Oγuz, however, and some of Qifčāq and Suvārīn,<sup>1</sup> differ in that they replace *yā'* by *qāf* in words having *qāf*, *γayn* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of *qāf* in words having *kāf* or *rikka*. In this dialect, plural and singular have one form with no difference between them. With *qāf* :: YA' QUR·DUQ **ya qurduq** "He strung the bow"; :: MAN YA' QUR·DUQ **mān ya qurduq** "I strung the bow"; :: BIZ' YA' QUR·DUQ **biz ya qurduq** "We strung the bow." With *γayn* :: 'UL SUVT'

297 1. MS. *yubnā*, read *tunbi'āni*.

298 1. MS. *suvārayn*.

297

SAI·DIY [sic] **ol sūt sayduq** "He drew milk"; :: 'ULA'R TA'Γ·QA' 'AΓDUQ **olār tāγqa ayduq** "They climbed the mountain"; first person :: BIZ' 'AΓDUQ **biz ayduq** "We climbed." With *išbā'* :: 'UL 'ANIY 'UR·DUQ **ol ani urduq** "He struck him"; :: MAN MUNDA' TUR·DUQ **mān munda turduq** "I stayed here." With *kāf* :: 'UL KAL·DUK **ol kälđük** "He came"; :: BIZ' KAL·DUK **biz kälđük** "We came"; :: 'ULA'R' 'AWK' KIR·DUK **olār āwkā kirdük**

[II. 51/61]

"They entered the house." With *imāla* :: MAN 'ANKAR TAWA'R BIYR·DUK **mān anar tawār bērdük** "I gave him the money"; :: MAN YARMA'Q' TIYR·DUK **mān yarmāq tērdük** "I gathered the dirhams." As you see, there is no difference here between plural and singular. Most of the Oγuz use this *qāf* instead of *mīm* in the first person for the form: BAR·DIM **bardim** "I went" [i.e., the Oγuz say **barduq** instead]; the plural and singular have the same form. But they agree with the genuine Turks in the third person; they do not say: BAR·DUQ KAL·DIY [sic] **barduq kälđük** to mean "He went, He came."

The imperative is the same in all the dialects.

Negative. :: BAR·MA'DIM **barmādim** "I did not go"; KAL·M'DIM **käl mādim** "I did not come." There is agreement with regard to this among all the dialects in the first person. Negative of the third person: BAR·MA'DUQ **barmāduq** "He did not go, as far as I have heard or suppose"; KAL·M'DUK **käl māduk** "He has not yet come, as far as I know." This type of negation corresponds to what we have just shown with regard to the assertion: BAR·MIŠ **barmiš** meaning "He went, but I did not observe him or witness his going"; KAL·MIŠ **kälmiš** "He came, but I did not see him come." When the negative is constructed with *qāf* in words having *qāf* or *išbā'*, etc., or with *kāf* otherwise, then it has this connotation, in all verbs. If however you wish to assert the negative, then you say: BAR·MA'DIY **barmādi** meaning "He definitely did not go"; KAL·MA'DIY **käl mādi** "He definitely did not come." As for the Oγuz, they denote assertion by saying: BAR·DUQ **barduq** "He went"; KAL·DUK **kälđük** "He came." The *qāf* or *kāf* is in place of the *yā'* of the third person or the *mīm* of the first person in the negative form of the Turk [dialect; thus]: BAR·MA'DUQ **barmāduq** "He did not go";

[II. 52/63]

KAL·MA'DUK **käl māduk** "He did not come." It is used as a marker of assertion [in Oγuz dialect]. This is a general rule, holding good for all verbs without exception. 0

The infinitive used for emphasis comes before the verb, the reverse of the rule in Arabic. :: 'UL BAR·MA'Q' BAR·DIY **ol barmāq bardi** "He went a going"<sup>1</sup> – the infinitive is placed before the main verb; :: 'UL KAL·MA'K' KAL·DIY **ol käl māk kälđi** "He came a coming" – the infinitive is placed before the preterite [i.e., before the main verb]. 0

Verbal inflection :: BAR·DIY **bardi** "He went"; BARIYR' **barīr** "He goes"; BAR·MA'Q **barmāq** "Going, to go"; imperative: BAR' **bar** "Go (singular)"; plural: BARIYNK'·LA'R' **barīnlār**

300 1. *dahāban dahaba*; Kāšyarī reverses the correct Arabic order to point up the Turkic syntax.

299

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“Go (plural).” The addition of *lām alif rā*’ in the imperative of the second person plural is a rule of the Turks; they [i.e., the Oğuz – see 289 above] use nasal *kāf* for the second person plural, just as the Turks use it to address an individual who is honored, thus :: BARIYNK’ *barīṅ* “Go (plural).”

The prohibitive (negative imperative) is formed in a single way, namely by adding *mīm alif* to the imperative form in all dialects. Example :: BAR·MA’ *barma* “Don’t go”; TUR·MA’ *turma* “Don’t stand”; plural: BAR·MA’NK·LA’R *barmāṅlār* “Don’t go (pl.)”; TUR·MA’NK·LA’R *turmāṅlār* “Don’t stand (pl.).” Third person :: ’UL·<sup>2</sup> BAR·MA’SUVN’ *ol barmāsūn* “May he not go”; KAL·M’SUVN’ *kālmāsūn* “May he not come.”

The assertive [of the foregoing] :: BAR·SUVN’ *barsūn* “May he go”; KAL·SUVN’ *kālsūn* “May he come.” You add *sīn vāv nūn* to the second person imperative to form the third person, in all dialects.

[Aorist.] First person :: BARIYR’ MAN *barīr mән* “I go.” The Oğuz drop one of the *rā*’s in the aorist; they keep the *rā*’ of the stem and discard the aorist *rā*’. Thus :: MAN BARN *mән baran* “I go,” MAN TURN *mән turan* “I stand.” But if there is no *rā*’ in the stem,

[II. 54/65]

then they insert the aorist *rā*’. Thus :: MAN KALIRA’N *mән kālirān* “I come” – there is no *rā*’ in the word: KAL·DIY *kāldi* “He came”; MAN·KULARAN’ *mән külārān* “I laugh” – there is no *rā*’ in the word: KUL·DIY *kūldi* “He laughed.” Also, they change the *mīm* into *alif* – that is, the one that comes after the verb, in the phrase: MAN BARIYR’ MAN’ *mән barīr mән* “I go”; they say: MAN YA’ QURARAN’<sup>1</sup> *mән ya quran* “I string the bow,” while the Turks say: QURAR·MAN *qurar mән* “I string,” with two *rā*’s, one belonging to the root and the other the aorist marker, and with: MAN *mән* afterwards. This is according to rule; what the Oğuz do is not according to rule, but is for lightness.

Negation :: ’UL BAR·MA’S’ *ol barmās* “He does not go”; MAN BARMA’S’ MAN’ *mән barmās mән* “I do not go.” There is no divergence from this among the dialectal groups. The rule for negation of aorist verbs is to add to the imperative form *mīm alif sīn*, whether in the first or third person. In the plural you add to these verbs the particle: LA’R’ *-lār*. Example :: ’ULA’R’ BAR·MA’S’ LA’R’ *olār barmās lār* “They do not go”; BUVLA’R BARMA’S’ LA’R’ *bulār barmās lār* “These do not go”; BIZ BARMA’S’ MIZ *biz barmās miz* “We do not go.”

If you wish to say that one will do something in the future, then you add to the imperative form *ḡayn alif yā*’ in words with *qāf* or *išbā*’, or *kāf* otherwise, or else *qāf* in words with *ḡayn*. Thus :: ’UL YA’ QUR·ḠA’Y’ *ol ya quryāy* “He will string the bow”; :: ’UL SUVT’ SA’Ḡ·QA’Y’ *ol sūt sāyqāy* “He will draw milk”; :: ’UL ’AWKA’ BAR·ḠA’Y’ *ol āwkā baryāy* “He will go home”; :: ’UL MANK’ KAL·KA’Y’ *ol maṅa kālgāy*

2. *Sukūn* (·) altered from U by later hand.

301 1. Second -RA- added by later hand.

D

[II. 55/66]

“He will come to me”; :: ’UL YAR·MA’Q’ TIYR·KA’Y’ *ol yarmāq tērgāy* “He will gather dirhams (or other).” This is the general rule, holding for all verbs in every chapter, to express this meaning.

To express that the agent is on the point of performing the action, or has almost done it, you add to the imperative form *ḡayn alif lām rā*’ in words with *qāf* or *išbā*’, or *qāf* in words ending in *ḡayn*, or *kāf* otherwise. This is the same for all dialects. Example :: MAN BARḠA’LIR’ MAN *mән baryālir mән* “I am on the point of going”; :: MAN TUR·ḠA’LIR’ MAN *mән turyalir mән* “I am about to stand”; 0 :: ’UL YA’ QUR·ḠA’LIR’ *ol ya quryālir* “He is on the point of stringing the bow and has almost done it”; :: ’UL TA’Ḡ·QA’ ’AḠ·QA’LIR’ *ol tāyqa ayqālir* “He is on the point of climbing the mountain and has almost climbed it.” With *kāf* :: ’UL ’AWKA’ KIR·KA’LIR’ *ol āwkā kirgālir* “He is about to enter the house, he has nearly entered”; :: ’UL YAR·MA’Q’ TIYR·KA’LIR’ *ol yarmāq tērgālir* “He has almost gathered the dirhams, he is about to do it.” This is a general rule, holding good for all verbs.

Nouns of time, place and instrument are formed by adding to the stem *ḡayn* and *vāv* in words with *qāf* or *išbā*’, or *kāf* in place of *ḡayn* in words with *kāf* or *imāla* or *rikka*. This occurs in the dialect of Čigil, Yaḡma, Tuxsi, Arḡu, and Uighur as far as Upper Šīn. In the dialects of Oğuz, Qifčāq, Bāčānāk and Bulḡār, to form such nouns, one adds to the imperative form

[II. 56/67]

*sīn* and *yā*’.<sup>1</sup> Example. Noun of time [and place] :: BUV YA’ QUR·ḠUR’ ’UḠUR’ ’AR·MA’S’ *bu ya quryu uḡur ārmās* “This is not the time for stringing the bow.” :: BUV TUR·ḠUV’ YIYR’ ’AR·MA’S’ *bu turyu yēr ārmās* “This is not the place to stay.” In Oğuz :: BUV YA’ QURA’SİY ’UḠUR’ TAKUL’ *bu ya qurāsi uḡur tāgūl* “This is not the time for stringing the bow.” :: BUV TURA’SİY YIYR’ TAKUL’ *bu turāsi yēr tāgūl* “This is not the place to stay.” And :: BUV TA’Ḡ’ ’AḠ·QUV’ ’AR·MA’S’ *bu tāy ayqu (uḡur?) ārmās* “This is not the time to climb the mountain” – I have already pointed out [cf. 292, 301] that when the last letter of the word is *ḡayn* you join to it *qāf* [instead of *ḡayn*] for such suffixes; the last sentence is an example of this. In Oğuz dialect :: BUV TA’Ḡ’ ’AḠA’SİY’ U’UḠR’ TKUL’ *bu tāy ayāsi uḡur tāgūl* “This is not the time to climb the mountain.” Along with this [suffix] you also mention the word for “time” or “place,” namely: ’UḠUR’ *uḡur* “Hour (*sā’a*),” YIYR’ *yēr* “Place.” 0 Those with *kāf* :: BUV ’AW·KA’ KIR·KUV’ UVD’ ’UL *bu āwkā kirgū oḡ ol* “This is the time to enter the house.” :: ’UL BIZ·KA’ KAL·KUV’ BUL·DIY’ *ol bizkā kalgū boldi* “The time of his coming to us has arrived.” The Oğuz say: ’UL BIZ·KA’ KALASIY’ BUL·DIY’ *ol bizkā kālāsi boldi* with the same meaning. This type of verbal acts like a noun in that it can be constructed [with personal pronouns]. Thus :: SANIK BAR·ḠUVNK’ QAJA’N’ *sānig baryūṅ qačān* “When is your going?” The Oğuz say for this: SANIK BARA’SINK’ QAJA’N’ *sānig barāsiṅ qačān*. 0 :: MANIK BARḠUVM’<sup>2</sup> YAQ·TIY’ *mānig baryūm yaqti* “My going is near”; :: ’ANIK’ BAR·ḠUVSIY’ *anig baryūsi*. The Oğuz say: MANIK BARA’SIM’ *mānig barāsim* for “My going.” The *sīn yā*’ are according to their rule for this type of noun. In their dialect there is no distinction [in this form] between words with *qāf* and those with *kāf*, etc.;

303 1. MS. *sīn* and *vāv* and *yā*’.

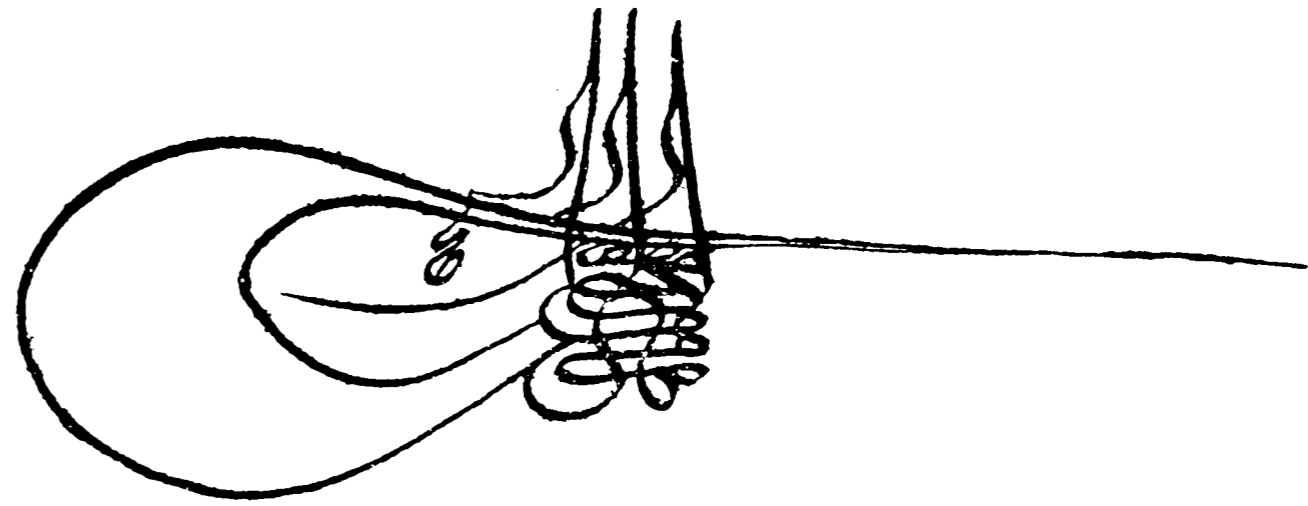
2. M’ added by later hand.

in the dialect of the others there is a distinction among words with *ḡayn*, *qāf* or *kāf*. Nouns of instrument of every category act like [simple] nouns though they derive from verbs. 0 Example :: YIYKUV NA'NK' *yēgū nāḡ* "Something from which to eat; a plate." 0 Example :: 'URḡUV *urḡu* "Something used to beat with." 0 Example :: YḡIA'J BIJ'ḡUV *yīḡāč bičḡu* "An ax with which to cut wood (or other)." 0 Example :: SUR'ḡUV *sorḡu* "Cupping glass"; this is derived from the expression: 'AMIG SUR'DIY *āmig sordi* "It sucked at the udder (or other)." This type of noun distinguishes among *ḡayn*, *qāf* and *kāf* as in the foregoing, in the dialects of these groups,<sup>1</sup> but not in Oḡuz. The rule is the same as the preceding. As for Oḡuz, they form nouns of instrument with *sīn* and *yā'* in all verbs; thus :: YIḡA'J' BIJA'SIY NA'NK' *yīḡāč bičāsi nāḡ* "Something with which to cut wood"; :: YIYKA'SIY [sic] NA'NK' *yeyāsi* (?) *nāḡ* "Something [from which] to eat." 0

These principles and rules that I have indicated are not confined to this chapter alone. They apply to trilaterals, quadrilaterals, quinquilaterals and sextilaterals, as a general rule with no exception at all, in each book and in the manner described. Therefore you must grasp the principles and rules at this point, since in this chapter I have been repetitive and long-winded, and elsewhere I will not be so expansive, but refer [here]. This is the alchemy<sup>2</sup> of the principles of the dialects. I have spent many notebooks on their account. Once you have memorized these principles you may deduce the rest on your own accord; so, as long as you are assiduous in learning them, you will not be troubled by any word that you may hear from a Turk, even if you do not know its root. Understand!

End of the Biliteral Chapters

304 1. MS. *ṭabaqa*, read *ṭabaqāt*.  
2. MS. *kīmā*, read *kīmiyā'*.



## TÜRKLÜK BİLGİSİ ARAŞTIRMALARI

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