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

[Muhammad Shaybani Khan]
Acknowledgments

The project called "The Chagatay Language", in the course of which this and several other works were produced, was awarded a John Simon Guggenheim Fellowship. The author gratefully recognizes the distinction and generous support by the Trustees of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

Many of the direct sources [text editions with translations, grammatical notes, glossaries, and research papers] were prepared in the framework of two major projects: "Islam Among the Turks of Central Asia" and "Ahmad Yasavi, a Major Source of Central Asian Sufism", sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Some of the research trips to libraries, field works were made possible by grants from the Academic Senate of UCLA, the Institute of Turkish Studies, the International Research and Exchange Board, and the Turkish Language Institute [Türk Dil Kurumu], Ankara.

I am grateful for the cooperation of depositories of Turkish manuscripts: the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, the British Museum, London, the Orhan Library, Bursa, Suleymaniye and Nuruoysmaniye Collections, Istanbul, and the Collection of the University of Language, History, and Geography, Ankara. They opened their doors for my research and readily provided me with copies of manuscripts I requested.

Introduction

0. Socio- and geolinguistic data.
An acrolect of the Central Asian Turks from the fourteenth to the late nineteenth century, the Chagatay language was a multilayered literary idiom employed in Transoxiana, Khorasan, Fergana and East Turkistan, especially in cultural centers such as Samarkand, Bukhara, Herat, Khiva, Kokand and Kashghar. Chagatay was also used in India in the court of the Great Moguls, in Kazan, in the Crimea, and even in the Ottoman Empire. Today it is regarded as the Classical phase of Modern Uzbek although the extent of Chagatay, especially of its lexicon, was much broader than what the term Classical Uzbek would imply. It was also more detached from the modern idiom with much less dialectal variations, which follows from its standardizing role due to serving as a common literary idiom for a number of language communities.
0.1. Present status
The Chagatay language is not in active use. With the emergence of national languages in the region [Uzbek, Kazak, Kirghiz, Karakalpak, Tatar, and Bashkir] and the progress of literacy in the native tongues, along with the rise of national awareness among these peoples, it lost its significance as a common literary idiom of the Turks of Central Asia. Yet we cannot call Chagatay an extinct language. Its basic structure and most of its special grammatical traits continue to exist in the mentioned modern Turkic idioms. Since there were no purist or secularist language reforms to cut out Arabic and Persian elements from the vocabulary, Chagatay has remained very close to the modern dialects especially through its paremiologic content which constitutes an essential part of the cultural heritage of the Central Asian Turks.

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

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

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

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

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

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

0.4. Chagatay Literacy
As a common idiom among the peoples of Central Asia Chagatay was not the only means of literary expression. Arabic and Persian were at times much in vogue especially in scholarly prose and court literature. Chagatay works emerged and flourished where there was a special need for them: in the court of Turkish dignitaries for high style literature and in teaching Islam to nomads and semisedentary peoples for popular style used in didactic works, translations or original compositions. Knowledge of the language was maintained and furthered by interlinear translations, grammars and lexicons. Behind the learned literature there was a rich and carefully preserved tradition of folk literature with unique examples of epic poetry. The paremiologic riches of Chagatay testifies to the existence of popular wisdom manifest in proverbs, idioms, and set expression.
The cultural content of the Chagatay literacy reflects an Islamic milieu which accounts for the abundance of Persian and Arabic elements in the language and in the literary expression. Arabic was in high rank because it was the language of the Qur’an while Persian was the idiom of a highly impressive literature. It was the vocabulary of Islam and its literary expression that was borrowed into Chagatay. As far as the lexicon is concerned the borrowed elements substantially enriched the Chagatay word stock and increased its expressiveness. Foreign genres widened the range of literary forms.

As can be expected in a region dominated by Islam, most of the surviving written records are works of religious literature. Treatises on Islamic topics and manuals to teach the essential duties of the believer. Most prominent among these are Islam’s Mu’īn ‘ul murīd, the first known Central Asian Turkish manual for dervish novices, Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān’s Risāla-i Ma‘ārif, a handbook designed for the subjects of the Mongolian prince’s conceptual Uzbek Islamic Empire, Risāla-i Vālīdīya, a treatise by Muḥammad Zahirū’ddīn Bābur on the emulation of the Prophet Muḥammad. Dervish literature is also widely represented. By way of examples the works of Gadā’ī, Lutfī, Shāh Mashhāb, and, from the early period, poets in Sayf-i Sarayi’s anthology can be mentioned. In court literature the lyrical nāma genre, a sequel of masnavis interlaced with ghazals, was developed. At least four of such works have come down to us. Among them the Dahnāma of Yūsuf Amīrī excels both in intricacy of style and sophistication of content. The so-called contest poems (munaza‘ara) have also a few fine representatives, such as Yusuf Amīrī’s The Bhang and the Wine, Yaqūnī’s contest of the Arrow and the Bow, and Ahmādī’s A Contest of the String Instruments. Ghazals, verses of lyrical-panegyric inspiration on religious or secular themes, collected in Divāns are numerous. The collections of Mir Alisher Nava’ī, Husayn Bayqara, Zahirū’ddin Bābur, and, for its less sophisticated but informative content, Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān should be mentioned among the many. Qaṣidas, panegyric poems dedicated to the Supreme Being, to a patron or extolling the beauty of nature, occur mostly as integral part of other genres. Less frequently they are unattached in a collective works. Of the former Yusuf Amīrī’s qaṣida to the Timurid Baysunghur, of the latter Shaybānī Khān’s Bahru’l-huda are typical examples. Epic poetry mostly dealt with legends known from Persian literature. Mir Alisher Nava’ī’s Khamsa, a set of five epics produced in emulation (naẓīra) of Nizāmī’s set of five epics is among the highlights of Chagatay literature. Memoirs and chronicles, for example Zahirū’ddin Bābur’s Memoirs (Bābur-nāma), Muḥammad Sāli’s chronicle of Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān (Shaybani-nāma), Abū’l-ḡāzī Bahādūr Khān’s histories (Shajara-i turk and Shajara-i Tarākīma) and many others are important sources of history and cultural heritage of Central Asia. We also have works on the lexicon (jarhang) and grammar of the Chagatay language of which Mirza Meḥdi Khān’s Sanglah, a grammar and vocabulary of the Turkish language in Persian is the most famous.

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

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

In Turkish scholarship the twentieth century was the age of philology, the backbone of research and scholarly output. The first major centers of Turkic [including Chagatay] studies emerged outside Turkey [Russia, Finland, Hungary, Germany, France]. Since late thirties, however, this discipline became firmly established in Turkey itself and has made substantial headway since. The main concern in this period was about manuscripts, their discovery, identification, and exploitation mostly for lexicographic purposes. Many primary sources were published and quite a few research tools were created for the interested audience. The initially so obvious lack of interest in the content of classical works did not expand proportionately with the technical progress and conceptual refinement of text publications. Philology, originally a method of discipline in research and precision in presentation outgrew its bounds and became art per se. So facsimile editions, transcriptions, and glossaries of classical texts were prepared, often each in separate volumes. The
glossaries were beefed up with numbers indicating the place of occurrence of every single lexical element, including conjunctions, auxiliaries and other frequently used items. But, very often, no translation was prepared and no thorough content analysis was made. For example, from the Nahcu'l-faradis, a book of hadith from the fourteenth century and one of the sources of religious learning of the Central Asian Turks we have a facsimile edition published in 1956, a transcription volume, with no date, but sometimes after 1976, and a bulky word index from 1998. It took two generations of scholars to create these fine volumes. But we still don't have a translation of Nahcu'l-faradis into a modern language or a cultural-historical assessment of its content. Future research must expand in this direction and make the Turkish literary heritage directly accessible to a broader international audience.

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

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

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

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

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

0.7. Literary Sources used in this Book.
Consistent with the principle to treat Chagatay as a cultural-historical entity embracing works from as early as the fourteenth century and covering all social levels of the language, source materials for this grammar have been selected from a broad area. With this we come closer in concept to Broekelmann’s Osttürkische Grammatik although we do not include Karakhanide and Mamluk-Kipchak works into our survey due to their overwhelming linguistic and to some extent cultural differences. By this we will not exclude the works of Sayf-i Sarayi, the author who,
although moved to Egypt, represented in his poems and in his Turkish translation of Sa’di’s Gulistān the language and culture of Central Asia.

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

Primary sources for this book come from all layers of the language from different historical periods. The popular tone is represented by legends and didactic works (e.g., The Story of İbrahim, Baraqa-nāma, Muqaddimatu ‘s-salat), by dervish literature (e.g., the Hikmats of Aḥmad Yasa‘ī and Hālīs), learned narrative prose by treatises, chronicles and memoirs (e.g., Yazdī’s Zafarnāma, Shaybānī Khān’s Risāla-i Ma‘ārif, Muhammad Sālih’s Sayyabī-nama, Muhammad Zahiru’d-din Bābur’s Babur-nāma, Navā’i’s Muḥḥakmatu’t-lu’gatāt), learned poetry by diwāns of religious or secular inspiration (such as the poems of Luṭfī, Gada’i, Muhammad Shaybānī Khan, Muhammad Zahiru’d-din Bābur, Ḥusayn Bāqara, Mir ‘Aliṣer Navā’i, court literature by romantic epics (e.g., Qūṭb’s Husrav u Sirin, Navā’i’s Ḥamsa), lyrical genres (Khujaṇdi’s Laṭāfat-nāma, Amīrī’s Dāh nāma, Korzāmi’s Muḥabbat-nāma), satirical works (e.g., Aḥmadī’ Contest of the String Instruments, Amīrī’s Bang-u Cağır), grammar and lexicography (e.g., Muḥammad Mahdi Khān’s Sangilāh, Ṭalīʿ Imanī’s Ābdon ‘i-lu’gat), translation literature (Navā’i’s Nāṣā ‘imu-l-mahabbat). Preference was given to Sayf-ı Saryā’i’s works for lexical precision and grammatical correctness, Shaybānī Khan’s Divān for its rich vocabulary, and Amīrī’s Dāh nāma, a disciplined, well-written and erudite work, which I consider above and beyond others, the best representative of high style Chagatai poetry.

### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>Ahmadi, Contest of the String Instruments</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Atl</td>
<td>‘Atabatu’l-ḥaqiq MS</td>
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<tr>
<td>AY</td>
<td>Aḥmad Yasa‘ī, Divān-i Ḥikmat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babur</td>
<td>Beveridge, Baburnāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>Bang-u Čağır MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BH</td>
<td>Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān, Bahru’l-hudā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BN</td>
<td>Aḥmad, Baraq-nama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brock.</td>
<td>Brockellmann, Osttürkische Grammatik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ccum</td>
<td>Gronbech, Codex Cumanicus</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPD</td>
<td>Chagatai-Persian Dictionary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dastūrn.</td>
<td>Dasturnāma MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DN</td>
<td>Amīrī, Dahānāma MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FK</td>
<td>Navā’i, Fāvā ‘idu’l-kibār</td>
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<tr>
<td>GD</td>
<td>Gada’i, Divān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hac.</td>
<td>Hacımenoğlu, Kub‘un Husrev u Şirin’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HBD</td>
<td>Husayn Bāqara, Divān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥ</td>
<td>Ḥalīs, Story of İbrahim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IM</td>
<td>Toparkh, Irāsād-‘i-mulāk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāšg.</td>
<td>Mahmud Kāšgārī, Divān lu’gat-at-turk</td>
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<tr>
<td>KBV</td>
<td>Kitāb Bāṭarat al-Vāṣīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LN</td>
<td>Laṭāfat-nāma</td>
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<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Muqaddimatu’l-adab</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mab.L</td>
<td>Ross, E. Denison, The Mabānī-l-Lughat</td>
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<tr>
<td>MM</td>
<td>İslām, Mu‘imu-l-murid</td>
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<tr>
<td>MLU</td>
<td>Modern Literary Uzbek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MN</td>
<td>Kwarazmi, Muḥabbat-nāma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQ</td>
<td>Navā’i, Mahbubū ‘l-qulub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS</td>
<td>Muqaddimatu’ ‘s-ṣalāt</td>
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<tr>
<td>MUGr</td>
<td>Modern Uyghur Grammar</td>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Navā’i, Mir ‘ali Sher</td>
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<tr>
<td>N Dict.</td>
<td>Ḵᵛazilov, E. İ. Ⱥlışer Nəvənə əxələrli təlliinin əzoxuli əxələti</td>
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<td>N FK</td>
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<td>NF</td>
<td>Nāḥcu’l-farādis MS</td>
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<td>NM</td>
<td>Eraslan Navā’i, Nasa‘ ‘imu’l-mahabba</td>
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<tr>
<td>NTM</td>
<td>Bodroglieti, Nisāb-i Türk, Manchester</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pdc</td>
<td>Pavet de Courteille, Dictionnaire turk-oriental</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qūṭb</td>
<td>Qūṭb, Husrav u Şirin</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1 In translating Sa’di’s Gulistān he made only one mistake reading ṣarq-i cahān (53v:11) as ṣarq-i ‘Glam.

2 Data in Bibliography
Rabgh. Rabğūzī, Qīṣṣu’l-anbiyā
RB Bābur Shāh, Risāla-i Validiya
RM Shaybanī Khan, Risāla-i Maʿārif
Sayf Sayf-i Sarayi, Gulistan bi’i-turki
Sang. Clauson, Sanglaḥ
ShD Shaybanī Khan, Divān
Shayb.V Vāmbéry, Die Scheibaniaede
Steingass Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary
Vāmb. Čsp. Vāmbéry, Cagataische Sprachstudien
Zaj. Zajaczkowski, Najstarsza wersja turecka Husrav u Širīn
Qūba. III, Slownik
Zam. Yüce Nür, Zamahšari, Muqaddimatu’l-adab
Zenker Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch
ZN Yazdī, Zafarnama (MS)

The Arabic-Persian Alphabet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>Roman</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>آ</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>at horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>bāb door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>pāk clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>bāt fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>šališ third</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>borc debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>č</td>
<td>sač hair</td>
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<tr>
<td>ل</td>
<td>ĥ</td>
<td>silāḥ weapon</td>
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<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>ĥ</td>
<td>šāḥ horn</td>
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<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>dād justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>ذ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>zikr recollection</td>
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<td>ر</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>bar go</td>
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<td>ز</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>rāz secret</td>
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<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>žāla dew</td>
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<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ṭās bowl</td>
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<tr>
<td>š</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>ūṭāš stone</td>
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<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ūṭāš particular</td>
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</table>
1. Orthography

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

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

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

2. Phonology

2.1. Vowels

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

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

Numbers

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<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>١</td>
<td>٢</td>
<td>٣</td>
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<td>٦</td>
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<td>٨</td>
<td>٩</td>
<td>١٠</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.1. Classification of Vowels
Chagatai vowels can be classified according to the point of articulation, velar and palatal, the line of the lips labial and illabial and the opening of the mouth open, medial, and close during the articulation.

The velar [back] vowels are: a, i, o, u, ā, ō, ū
The palatal [front] vowels are: ā, e, i, o, ū, ē, ĩ
The labial [rounded] vowels are: o, ō, u, ū, ŭ, ō
The illabial [unrounded] vowels are: a, ā, e, i, i, ē, ĩ

The open vowels are:
The medial vowels are:
The close vowels are:

2.1.2. The Distribution of Vowels
Some of the Chagatai vowels are restricted in their occurrence. The long vowels do not occur in words of Turkish origin. The vowels ā, ū, ē belong to Arabic and Persian words only. E.g., āhu (P) n. 'deer', āfat (Ar) n., 'misfortune', 'calamity', julū n. 'rising [of the sun, moon, or the stars]'. The vowels o and e, occur only in Persian elements. E.g., meva n. 'fruit', roza n. 'fast [a religious duty]'. The medial vowels o, ō and e occur only in the first syllable of Turkish words: etāk n. 'skirt', közgū n. 'mirror', orun n. 'place'.

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

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

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

2.1.3.1. Palato-alveolar Harmony
The palato-alveolar harmony requires that a word contain either palatal or velar vowels. Derivative and possessive suffixes, the sign of the plural and inflectional endings must comply with this rule. It has to be noted, however, that the Arabic orthography does not directly reveal the nature of vowels in suffixes. [There are no special characters for back or front vowels. An alif can represent an a or ā, a waw can stand for an u, ū, o, or ō, and a yod for an i or ĩ]. Only the consonants g, q and k in the suffix can give us a hint as to whether a vowel is palato-alveolar or velar. E.g., cihan-da 'in this world', ev-dā 'in the house', sūzlâ-mâk 'to speak', angla-maq 'to understand', tūsh-tiṅg 'you fell', bağı-dâ 'he tied', kitgâlî 'since I left', qil-ğân-lâr 'those who made', kel-ğân-lâr 'those who came'.

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

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

5 Or one's fortune.
There are suffixes that do not comply with the labial-illabial harmony. E.g., the third person singular and plural of the definite past tense: sordi ‘he asked’, kordi ‘he saw’, kordilar ‘they saw’, urdilar ‘they beat’; the accusative marker -ni/-ni: gulni ‘rose’ (accusative), olumni ‘death’ (accusative); the ablative case marker -din/-din: quldin ‘from the servant’, tutundin ‘from the smoke’; the third person possessive suffixes singular and plural: uyqusi ‘his dream’, künüları ‘his days’.

There are suffixes with labial vowel only. E.g., The first person plural suffix of the definite past tense: berdük ‘we gave’, qilduq ‘we made’; the interrogative particle -mu/-mi: qaytti-mu ‘Did he return?’, kelgäymû ‘Will he come, I wonder’; the gerund [verbal adverb] -gûncä/-gûncä: qaytguuncä ‘until returning’, yetgûncä ‘until arriving’.

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

2.2.1. Classification of Consonants
The Chagatai consonants are divided into:
- Stops: p t k q b d g 's
- Spirants: f s š h v z ž ĝ
- Affricates: č c
- Liquids: r l l
- Nasals: m n n
- Semivowels: u y

2.2.2. Distribution of Consonants
There is a restriction on the use of consonants especially in words of Turkish origin. The following rules apply:
(a) The phoneme ĕ may not occur in initial position.
(b) The phonemes c ž and č do not occur in words of Turkish origin.
(c) The phonemes š h v z g ĝ c 'l do not occur in initial position of words of Turkish origin.
(d) Initial n- is found only in the interrogative pronoun ne ‘what’ which often occurs with et-, aylä- ‘to make’ with its vowel dropped.
(e) Final -d and -b do not occur in words of Turkic origin.
(f) Longer consonants are rare and occur only in medial position.
(g) Consonant clusters do not occur in initial position.

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

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

Simple nouns
tag ‘mountain’
suw ‘water’
san ‘number’
elig ‘hand’
temür ‘iron’

Derivative nouns
sevüne ‘joy’ [ < sevün- ‘to rejoice’]
tiriglik ‘life’ [ < tirig ‘alive’]
temürçî ‘blacksmith’ [temür ‘iron’]
bâqis ‘glance’ [baq- ‘to look’]

Compound nouns
șâhibqirān ‘lord of the happy constellation’
çatabača ‘a Mongolian girl’
gulêbra ‘a rose-cheeked beauty’

Hyphenated nouns
el-ulüs ‘people’
keçâ-kündûz ‘night and day’
rusul-anbiyâlar ‘[all] the prophets’
ḫâdiñ-nass ‘scripture’
oğul-qiz ‘children’
3.1.1. Number
Singular and plural are no exclusive categories. A noun in the singular may refer to more than one objects [e.g., on altun ‘ten gold coins’; kop yalgan ‘many lies’]. Less frequently, a noun in the plural may refer to a single object [avliya ‘saint’, hazratlar ‘His Majesty’]. A formal distinction between singular and plural is made by Turkish, or less frequently, by Arabic devices. There is no special marker for the singular.

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

Uzun tun qalmaga anilinga gamlar, varuyagu ‘aysh icinda subh-damlar. (DN248v:7) ‘Sorrows should not stay through long nights in your presence, mornings should shine on you while you are still in revelry.’

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

Gamimni ol camaat kim vedilar, tariqingdin manga andaq dedilir. (DN254r:3) ‘Those people who felt sorry for me, spoke thus about your practices.’

3.1.1.1. Turkish Plural
The sign of the Turkish plural is -lar/-lär. It can be added to Turkish, Persian or Arabic bases. E.g., qušlar ‘birds’, atlar ‘horses’, kafılar ‘infidels’, gullar ‘roses’, gamlar ‘sorrows’, gumânlar ‘doubts’.

3.1.1.2. Arabic Plural
Arabic plural forms occur as individual lexical entries not as part of a paradigm. Often the Turkish -lar/-lär is attached to them. E.g., ma’anî ‘meanings’, mahluqât ‘creatures’, anbiyalar ‘prophets’, mala‘ikalar ‘angels’, hayvanâtlar ‘animals’, arkanlar ‘tenets’.

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

3.1.2.1. The Suffix -e: Nouns in Particular Status
The suffix -e singles out and morphologically restricts a noun. Its distribution is limited: It is used only on Arabic and Persian words. A noun with the suffix -e is a closed morpheme: It cannot take case endings, possessive suffixes or plural signs. It cannot have adjective modifiers. In the sentence it may occur as subject, nominal predicate, predicative complement, direct object [with some limitations] and adverbial of time. Nouns in the particular status indicate that something is unique, exquisite, or the opposite: isolated and negligible.

3.1.2.1.1 Subject
Faragat rûdidin tegdi sâdaye, bašarat kökidin yetti navaye. (DN249r:4) ‘From the river of leisure there came a voice. From the roots of good tidings there came a tune.’

Agar salams nazarni köz yasina, ne bolgây qaatarî darya qašina? (DN250v:7) ‘Suppose I cast a glance at the tears: What is the value of a single tear drop against [the waters of] a river?’

Bâyiktîn saya körğüzür humayê ki tê davlat tapar andin gadaye. (DN258v:10) ‘From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.’

3.1.2.1.2. Nominal Predicate
Men emdi bir gada sen pâdsane, magar cân tartqay anilinga âhe? (DN250v:8) ‘Now I am a beggar and you are a king: May a soul heave a sigh in your presence, I wonder?’

3.1.2.1.3. Predicate Complement
Manga yoq tur figare sendin özgä, sanga yoq tur nigare mendin özgä. (DN253v:5) ‘I do not have a sore wound, except you, you do not have a sweetheart, except me.’

Anga ol šir ra ara kim qalî maţzun, raûfî bar edî, maqbull va mazvun. (DN258r:9) ‘In that poem [the tone of] which remained somber she had a crawker, pleasant and friendly.’

3.1.2.1.4. Direct Object
When used as direct objects nouns with -e have no accusative marker. E.g.,

Bitidim şafhae men cân tilidin, qilîban ‘arz hircan muşkilidin. (DN243r:10) ‘I wrote a page [dictated by] the tongue of the soul. It reported of the hardships of separation.’

Çu qoyang ol harab allida gâme, bitiçî ŋez tegur bizdin salâmê. (DN246v:5) ‘When you put your foot in front of that ruin [> when you come to the presence of that wretched person] give him the letter right away and convey my greetings.’

Taşavvur manjîqin çon qildi taşdiq, bitidi nâmâe lutf ilâ ta‘liq. (DN246v:1) ‘When she confirmed the logic of imagination, she wrote a letter in fine ta‘liq script.’
3.1.2.3.2.1. The Demonstrative Pronoun bu [<‘this’]. E.g.,
Barur bat տառ va qalmas bu vigittik, qalur amma irig söz birla lülik. (DN246r:2) ‘Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But what will remain with us are rude words and meanness.’

3.1.2.3.2.2 The Demonstrative Pronoun ol [<‘that’]. E.g.,
Cu qoysang ol harab allida game, bitigni tez tegur, bizdin salame. (DN246v:5) ‘When you come to the presence of that wretched person’ give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from us.’
Ta’ammul qili ersä nukta sarfin, qilip zir-u zabar ol harf harfin. (DN251v:11) ‘When she contemplated how the points were expressed, she turned the characters upside down one by one.’

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

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

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

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

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6 Lit. ‘when you put your foot in front of that ruin’
7 I.e., putting kasra’s and fatha’s where they belonged
3.1.4.1. Primary Bases
Primary bases rarely change when case endings are added to them. The possessive suffixes, however, may cause some changes especially when applied to with weak nouns.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suy + dan</td>
<td>‘from water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ev + då</td>
<td>‘in the house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orun + i &gt; ornī</td>
<td>‘his place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kent + gācā</td>
<td>‘as far as the town’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tiriglik + nī</td>
<td>‘life [accusative]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parvardagar + ğa</td>
<td>‘for the Nourisher’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qarabaš + dan</td>
<td>‘from the servant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>almabaš + lar</td>
<td>‘ducks’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

[Samarqand va Hurasan] + da (RM1v:7) ‘in Samarqand and Khorasan’
[dunyâ va aḥirat] + ta (RM7r:1) ‘in this world and the next’
[keçâ va kündüz] + nî (RM8r:6) ‘[he mentions] night and day’

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

[muṣk ilâ ‘anbar] + 1 (Sayf182r:4) ‘its musk and ambergris’
Ki körđüm men aning [nâz u ‘ītāb] + 1 + n (DN243r:8) ‘Because I anticipate < I have experienced her caprice and chiding.’
Bu bešt türlik maḥluqat Bar Ḫudānīng [zikr u tasbih] + 1 + ğa maṣğul tururlar. (RM28r:1) ‘These five kinds of beings have been mentioning and praising the Ever-existing God.’

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

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

3.1.4.2. Case Forms

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

Bir faqir bir körkülü maqamga yetti. (Sayf73v:5) ‘A poor man reached a beautiful position.’
Yol üstündə bir esrük vikit yatır edil. (Sayf76r:10) ‘By the road an intoxicated person was lying.’

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

Dilbarim zulfı tün yüzi kün dur. (Sayf15v:12) ‘The hair of my beloved is the night,’ her face [is] the sun.’
Dāgül erlik ağizga yumrug urmac. (Sayf78r:1) ‘Bravery is not to deliver a blow upon [someone’s] mouth.’

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

Kim etip tur aēğ ağuni tiryak, tilıp tur kōknar icindä aflak. (DN25v:1) ‘He who turned bitter poison into elixir, was looking for heaven inside the poppy-head.’
Kim ay burcida yulduzni tapip tur, tikâni gul sağinip obšatip tur. (DN25r:10) ‘He who has found a star in the house of the Moon, has considered the thorn [to be] a rose and made himself to caress it.’

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

1 The exquisite qualities of a beloved’s hair is black color, ambergris or musk scent and hyacinth-like curls.
2 The beloved’s face shines like the sun, or is the sun itself.
3 He was looking for the pleasures of heavens by using opium.
4 Numeratives in numerative phrases occur only in the singular.
None of these [people] gets up and performs a two-rak'at prayer of gratitude.

three large bulbs of garlic

one piece of paper

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

(1) Adverbial of place:

This copy was written in the land of China.

Bil Bukhara muvalladi nasabim, ham Hurasan ilm-i muktasabim

(2) Adverbial of time:

Be occupied with this [thought] always. It is a pity when most of one’s time [on earth] passes in unaweseness [of Him].

Do not let yourself be distracted for even a moment. [Remember,] what is difficult will gradually become easy.

At this point his [the believer’s] entire heart is occupied with Him and his heart is accepted by God.

Entirely awake at night and occupy yourself with act of obedience [to God] since during the day you too are busy with worldly things...

(3) Adverbial of manner:

This is how His name should be pronounced, and then the suggestions of the Carnal Soul will be completely eliminated.

If your utterances [are of this nature, they will illuminate your heart.]

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

Közün yaśın aqurdı bardı maktәb. (H78v:3) 'He was [still] weeping when he arrived at the school.'

Ay šabà barsang Samarqand kellibân nә eltãgә sen, furqat va hic-ran otindin elã yuklap kätгә sen. (ShD126r:6-7) 'O, Zephyr, if you go to Samarqand what will you bring when you return? From the fire of loneliness and separation you load up and be on your way.'

The Vocative Case

Nouns in vocative use are marked by the interjections ay, aya, or ya. The Persian vocative marker -ya, [after a vowel], -a [after a consonant] affixed to mostly Arabic and Persian words is also used. A noun may also occur in vocative role without vocative markers. Vocative forms are restricted in syntactic use. They mostly serve as apostrophies and cannot fill in for other parts of the sentence. E.g.,

Ay Musalli, kālīp thāhārat qil! (MSv2:5) 'O Worshipper, come and perform the ablution!'

Baş uzā mash qilmāq, ay Āqil! (MSv4:4) 'To rub the head, O Wise one!'

Qilma īsraf, aya Sārif-i zaman. (MSv7:2) 'Do not be wasteful, O Noble one!'

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

Ay Sābānī bulbul-i šorida sen. (ShD94v:1) 'O Shabani, You are a confused nightingale.'

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

'Āqil ēlyrān dur bu qu'rātārdā biligil 'aqālì (BH 3r:8) 'The intellect is puzzled by these powers, be aware of that, O Wise One!'

Sābāniyā sanga Ḫaqq nüşrātī azaldın dur: Ravāc-i sunnat va šar-i-payambāri miɾās. (ShD27r:3-4) '[Remember,] O Shabani, the victory of the Truth has been assigned to you since eternity without beginning. [Your task is] to assert the Sunna and to enforce the Shari’a, your inheritance from the Prophet.'

Kārdgārā gādira bu nafs-i dününd saqlaqal. Fir‘aun dek ēqar etibān tašlaqal anı kanar. (ShD32r:10-11). 'O [God], Creator and Omnificent! Protect us from the base Carnal Soul. Drown him as you drowned Pharaoh and cast [his body] ashore.'

12 Ahl-i dil: a person of heart' comprises such qualities as generosity, bravery, faithfulness etc.
13 Qur. 10:90-92 [JMA, Cf. fn. 1193].
3.1.4.2.3. Accusative Case
The accusative case is the case of the direct object. Nouns in the accusative case may be marked or unmarked. For the marked forms the suffix -n/-ni is used which after the 3d person singular possessive suffix may interchange with -n. Nouns, especially non-specific or indefinite, may also occur in accusative role without a case marker.

3.1.4.2.3.1. Direct Objects Marked by -n/-ni
Definite direct objects are marked with the suffix -n/-ni. The direct object is definite under the following conditions: [Same as in Uzbek cf. MUGr. 3.1.6.4.3.2.2.]:

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

Hwaş ermaş câvrmı haddin aşurmaq, kelip qo atmaq va yani yaşurmaq. (DN244r:11) 'It is not nice to increase cruelty beyond measures: to come forth, shoot the arrow, and then hide the bow.'

Barıp men ta tışing fikrida özön, salıp men sihr ara gavyarını közdın. (DN257r:8) 'In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that, as if being under a spell, I have disregardd pearls.'

İssi tammuz künündirindä bir kün aylä issi edi kim bogazını quru-tup ağızı qaynmat edî. (Sayf121v:11-12) 'One day in the hot days of July it was so hot that [the heat] dried the throat and made the mouth boil.'

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

Camalımdin oquqay ol raqamnî, ki avval başına qoyqay qadam-ni. (DN241v:7) 'Only the person who first puts a foot upon his head [in perfect submission] will decipher the numbers from my beauty.'

Kemäci ravän ol yovun yiyinté elindän üzdi dağı ketti. (Sayf101v:1) 'The boatsman suddenly yanked the rope from the hand of that youth and went away.'

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

Qiliban muşkıni ol 'anbarin meng, chın içra qara tofqaq bilän teng (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris-scented beauty spot reduced the value of the musk to [that of] ordinary clay in the [entire] world.'

Kim etip tur ağıq aşunı tiryák, tiláp tur kıknär içindä ahiq. (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into elixir was looking for heaven inside the poppy-head.'

Köngülüni qoymay ol ruhsar şalı, dimağına salıp sadə hiyali. (DN255v:1) 'Those cheeks [of the Beloved] do not leave the heart empty. They put the phantoms of madness into its brain.'

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

Mavlana Ya'qub Çarlığina rişalısalda tahaccdını on ikki rak'at buyurup tur. (RM17v:6-7) 'Mavlana Ya'qub Çarlığı in his treatise whilst they ordered that the night prayer should be twelve rak'ats.

Men ol kün kim gümüş saziını üzdım, seni dedim köngülüni cândin üzdım. (DN244v:8) 'The day I tuned [my] saz to play] the sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I tore the heart out of [my] life.'

Qatinda qand özini elgä satıp, unutıp özini sözünggä qaṭip. (DN250r:8) 'In your presence the sugar sells itself to people. Not aware of its own essence, it mixes with your words.'

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

Tili ağıq saziı sakargä qaṭip, közi ta'riq ogün can[im]ğa atip. (DN243r:1) 'Her tongue dipped her bitter words into sugar. Her eyes shot the arrow of reproach into my soul.'

Gülub idî ki kesä yüz čevürmä. Aning ol hidmatın yüzügä urma. (DN244r:5) 'When the scent of rose water wafts toward you, do not turn your face away. Do not refuse its services.'

Düşman sani körübän ağyu 'amal içindä, da'vâ qusun tuta almas qurup bahana agü. (Sayf63v:3) 'The enemy noticing that you are carrying out a good deed, is not able to capture the bird of claim even if he sets the trap of opportunity.'

Labim nuqlin alur bolsang ağızga, čiqargül baštin ol mayning humarin. (DN254v:3) 'If you take the sweetmeat of my lips into your mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of wine.'

14 Into its innermost part.
15 It becomes a commodity so low in price that everyone can afford to buy it.
16 Ldt., throw back into its face
17 As a Muslim you are protected from your enemies while you are engaged in doing good deeds. Even the Soulkeeper Angel (Qābīzul-ārvāh) is frustrated when he comes to pick up your soul. He may even complain to God or return without carrying out his mission.
18 The Beloved and all others [nā sīva] are mutually exclusive entities.
Qalam til učini ʿanbarğa bulgap, eliği muşkni kâgidğa çolgap. (DN255r:11) 'Dipping the point of the pen into ambergris, her hands wrote on the [white] paper with fragrant black ink.'

Bu risalada aytğanın barısın qila alsa nûrûn ʿala nûrin.¹⁹ (RM8v:9-10) ‘If he could learn all [the Arabic passages] cited in this treatise, that would be the best.’

Ketür açaq kemâqa kir, yoq esâ taşqari oltur, on ârning quvva-tin qoyqul bir ârning açaqsin keltür. (Sayf100r:8-9) ‘Bring the money and climb into the boat, or else sit outside [on the shore]. Leave the force of ten persons, bring the money of one.’

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

Duʿa vaqta tazarruʿning elini kötärüp tangridan rahmat tilår sän. (Sayf93v:6) ‘In the time of prayer you raise your hands in supplication and ask God for alms.’

3.1.4.2.3. Direct Object Marked by -ti/-ti

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

Tilâd âqâd va ʿcon bolûd mavcûd, qalam tilûn etti ʿanbar âlüd. (DN252v:8) ‘He asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was there, he covered the tip of the pen with ambergris.’

Süzûngi esitip, ay can ʿhayattı, çiçarmay qand Hindûstan nabhât. (DN256v:4) ‘Having heard your words’²⁰, O, Life of the Soul, the plant of Hindustan stopped producing sugar.’

Çu körûd nânâmî mihr etti ʿhâs, qatîsrûdî eli qunduz ara âs. (DN258r:4) ‘When that sun saw the letter, she anticipated [what its message was]: Her hand added the white of the eminé [s fur] to the dark color of the beaver.’

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

Bitidim nâmâ ʿunvanî ʿihâs, bayânînmî maʿâniqa etip ìhâs. (DN256r:1) ‘I have composed a letter, its title is perfect sincerity. I have formulated my message specifically to fit the sense of this [title].’

Çu qoysang ol ʿharâb allida gâmê, bitigni têz tegûr, bizdin sałâmê. (DN246v:5) ‘When you come to the presence of that wretched person give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from us.’

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

Vafasızığ ʿhaʃtini tarma köp bitimâs čon firişa ol günâhım. (DN257v:10) ‘Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful, because the angel does not record that transgression of mine.’

3.1.4.2.3.4. Direct Object Marked by -ti/-ti

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

Tengri taʿâla alârça marhamat qîlip ol hikmatî mansûb qûldî (RM31r:8-9) ‘God the Most High had mercy upon them, abrogated that decree [and sent down the following verse].’

Yoqtî bar etmakkâ ʿyattı qudrating. (BN90v:9) ‘Your power sufficed to make the nonexistent existing.’

Mununq dek šaqqatî beç kimgâ qîlâm. (H81v:3) ‘I do not show such kindness to anyone else.’

Ol daraʃtî beç bunyàdi bilân keskân babam. (H81r:6) ‘Father, you have cut this tree [of lineage] at its very roots.’

3.1.4.2.3.5. Accusative Case Used with Passive Verbs

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

Basa Yunus Ḥanınıng ulug qizini ʿalaq salîp singlining qizini al-ganda bu baytnî aytîp yîbârîldî. (ShD121v:9) ‘Then divorcing the elder daughter of Yunus Khan and marrying the daughter of his younger sister, the following distich was recited [I recited the following distich].’

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

Ol sabadîn bu risalânî Turki [tilî] bilân Muḥammad Timûr Bâḥadûr učin aytîlî. (RM2r:3-6) ‘For that reason this treatise was composed in the Turki language for Muḥammad Timûr Bâḥadûr’ [‘I composed this treatise...’].
3.1.4.2.3.6. Accusative -ni/-ni, or -n in Dative Function
The endings -ni/-ni and -n may indicate the dative case in analogy of Persian -rā which in classical Persian was used to mark the dative case.

E.g.,
Badr kögüsini kim sâyqal bîlan berür cîlà? (BH3v:10) ‘Who with the whetstone, polishes that mirror -- the full moon?’
Ol karîmi kim tutûlgan âynî berür inclîa. (BH17r:3) ‘He is the Generous one who bestows brightness upon the moon after it has been in eclipse.’
Va muhlat ber alarâm az bûcçiq, ya’ni oğlûncâ kim alarînî saza vâ cazasîga yetkûrûr Biz. (RM35v:7-8) ‘And grant them some time, that is, until the hour of their death, and then we will give them an appropriate punishment and retribution.’
Gâr baqîsler sen menî fazîng bilä ni’ma’s-sâvâb. (BH6v:3) ‘If, by manifesting Your boundless grace, you forgive me, that is the best reward.’

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

de- ‘to call/name s.one s.thing; to choose’
ilîn- ‘to preserve’
ohîsa- ‘to resemble’
sağîn ‘to think about’
talas- ‘to fight for’
ta’ammul qil- ‘to contemplate’
tilâ- ‘to desire’
tûs kör- ‘to dream of’
yûq- ‘to collect’

E.g.,
Mînî desâng demä sen âzgâ cândîn, közûngîn yum barî cân u cihandîn. (DN253v:6) ‘If you choose me, do not talk about others. Close your eyes to life and to this world entirely.’
Nîgarîn neçâ gah oî kim ilîndî, elîg berdi murûdî kûngî tîndî. (DN254v:10) ‘He who for a while protects the image [of his beloved], after a while he reaches his goal and his heart finds ease.’

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

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

3.1.4.2.5.1. The Genitive Case Marked by -ning/-ning, -nug/-nûng
The most common form of the genitive case is made be the suffixes -ning/-ning and -nug/-nûng. E.g.,
Ol ikki imâmng sözi bolsa bir. (MM190r:14) ‘If the two imam’s words are the same.’
Közûngîn qilbasî aning camâli, daği ‘umrunning ra’s-mâli aning visali edî. (Sayf124v:10-11) ‘Her beauty was the qibla of my eyes and union with her was the capital of my life.’
Nâgah yucudînîn anaygå acal balçiqa batti. (Sayf125r:2). ‘The feet of her existence suddenly sank into the mud of death.’
Muruvvat körãdam bir faqîrînîn cirahatî uzá tuz oymaq ne öz könlümü. (Sayf142v:4) ‘I thought it would be unkind to sprinkle salt upon the wound of a destitute or upon my own heart.’

name as described in Babur’s Risâla-i valîdîya.
22 She put kasra’s and fatha’s where they belonged.
23 i.e., He suddenly passed away.
The Genitive Case Marked by -nî/-ni
It is rather frequent in the popular style. There is a mandatory order of sequence in the use of this genitive: It always precedes the possessor and no other sentence element can come between them. E.g.,

Paygâmbarnî yaşı boldi ravana (H82r:2) ‘All the while the Prophet’s tears poured forth.’

Paygambîrînî qofînî qofînî tutti. (H76v:4) ‘The Prophet took his son by the hand.’

Ham babamînî azîzu bagînda bitkân mevâsi. (81r:5) ‘I am also the fruit grown in the garden of my father’s desire.’

Alîp keldim, dedi Haqquî salâmî. (H73v:9) ‘He said: I bring the greetings of the Lord.’

Garq bolgân îşqîn daryasîgâ. (BN85r:6) ‘He was drowned in the ocean of love.’

Bu sôzîmî âhîrî dur. (BN89r:1) ‘This is my final word’.

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

Qarindasîngîzîng âlgânîn babarînî esîtîp siz kim bu tûrlûq izîrîb qîlur siz? (RM20v:7-9) ‘Is it perchance because you have just heard news of your brother’s death that you are so upset?’

‘Îşq üçün Haqqu bandasîn atîn qoypur a鲡iya. (BH12r:3) ‘Because of their love God’s servants have been named saints.’

The Genitive Case Marked by -îng/-îng, -ung/-ûng
Rarely the genitive case can also be indicated by the short version of the genitive markers: -îng/-îng and -ung/-ûng. E.g.,

Bu qasîda sanîlîng sun’in acâ’ib kûrsâtûr. (BH18v:7) ‘This qasîda reveals the astonishing artistry of the Maker.’

Kûnduzîng ruhsarînî kûn bîrla qidi bâ safâ. (BH4r:9) ‘Who, with the sun, made the cheeks of the day bright?’

Kim qîlîp tur yulduzung ayînasîn gitînâmâ? (BN9r:9) ‘Who made the mirrors of the stars bright enough to reflect the universe?’

The Genitive Case is not Marked
Quite often the genitive case is unmarked even if the base noun occurs in the role of the possessor. The base can be a single noun or an entire phrase, consisting, mostly, of coordinated nouns. The frequent occurrence of such examples is among the distinguishing features of Chaghatay morphology. E.g.,

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

Karam elî, yaqîn bil, kim qavi bazudan artuq dur. (Sayf81r:13) ‘A generous hand24, know full well, is superior to a strong arm.’

Nazar anêh ki bu sari dur, bi, köngli közgîsî qubari dur, bil. (RB 3v:12) ‘To the extent that his attention is directed to them [=to food and drink], they are dust that covers the mirror that his heart is, know full well.’

Aâa ay hunu nay u seya kâni, tîrîlgîl çasmasarînîng ravanî. (DN249v:10) ‘Hark ye, O Mine of Beauty, Amorous Glances, and Coquetry, the Bountiously Flowing River of the Source of Life!’

Nayvûkî paykanînîn yar açtî köngûl qulûsanînî lazar baqrim qanînîn rang alur alud emas. (Sh6D4v:10-11) ‘With the points of her arrows my friend has taken possession25 of the garden of my heart. The tulip patch is not stained red, it takes its color from the blood of my heart.’

The Genitive Case Used Alone
Marked genitive case forms in predicative function may occur alone. E.g.,

Biling âwînî kim tutsa bolur anîng, ra’îyyat vazîr beg kârak sul-taning (MM190v:8) ‘Know that the game animal belongs to the person who catches it, be he a common citizen, a vazîr, a beg or a sultan.’

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

The dative case is formed mostly by the suffix -qa/-ğa, -kâ/-gâ. Less frequently, the suffix -a/-â is also used.

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

24 Lit., ‘the hand of generosity’
25 Turkish atâ‘ for Arabic fatâha 2. ‘to occupy a city or a fort’
Qadding alifin dardına tegti Şabani cân ara, sen ay ṭabib em-ganmağil 'ısq dardining darmanı yoq. (ShD75r:9-10) 'In [his] soul Shabanî has come down in the pain caused by the alif-like body of yours. [Listen] you, doctor, do not exert yourself, there is no remedy for the pain of love.'
Ol ikisin lutf qügîl, dardına sen sen dava. (BHv2:5) 'Grant your grace to both, for you are the remedy for my pain.'

3.1.4.2.5.3. Dative Case with bar
With the particles bar, [yoq, dur, erûr] the dative case form indicates the possessor. E.g.,
Batiinga aning köp martaba bar, mişi-n fâns u dil u sirr gâyr bular. (RB49r:9) 'His interior consists of many levels, such as that of the [tranquil] soul, the heart, the innermost part of the heart, and so on.'

3.1.4.2.5.4. Dative to Express the Agent
With the dative case may express the agent in passive sentences. E.g.,
Qalmas andeśa-i gâyr ol dam, unutulqay sanga mahbûb aṭi ham. (RHtr:3) 'Then no concern for anything other than Him remains. Even the name of the Beloved is forgotten.'

3.1.4.2.5.5. Dative Case with Arabic Participles
3.1.4.2.5.5.1. With intransitive verbs.
Used with intransitive verbs a few Arabic participles govern the dative case to express the actual agent of a passive sentence. E.g.,
ţâlib er tilîga maṣ‘ûr durur. Vâlîdiyya bilâ maṣ‘ûr durur. (RB 2r:9) 'The tongue of the speakers [of the Truth] speaks about [his book]. It is known as the Spiritual Guide.'
Ušbular munda ki marqûm durur, zavq ila barcâğa ma‘lûm durur. (RB9v:7) 'Everything that has been recorded here will be obvious'22 to everyone of perception.'
Yigît öz quvyatîna mağûr edî. (Sayfo1tr:5) 'The youth was very proud of his strength.'

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

22 I.e., you will forget...
23 Will be known by...
3.1.4.2.5.6. Verbs Governing the Dative Case

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

bulğa- 'to dip into'
colğa- 'to write on s.th.'
colğaś- 'to move painfully, writhe, twist and turn'
bass bol- 'to become the owner of'
ḫu qil- 'to get used to'
inan- 'to believe'
isin- 'to devote oneself to, to work assiduously on'
kir- 'to enter, get s.where'
kiril- 'to enter' [without one's volition]
körün- 'to be reflected'
qal- 'to remain for s.o.'
qat- 'to mix with'
ragbat et- 'to desire to do s.th.'
râhmat et- 'to have mercy on'
sal- 'to put or cast s.th. s.where'
sat- 'to sell s.th. for; give in exchange of s.th.'
siq- 'to fit in'
tol- 'to fill' [intransitive]
tolgan- 'to breathe, coil'
tüz- 'to establish oneself according to s.th.'
tüzat- 'to speed s.o. on his way'
ucra- 'to meet'
ulan- 'to reach one's destination'
uy- 'to obey'
uyul- 'to be applied to'
üzül- 'to separate from'
yaras- 'to be fitting, becoming'
uyuvt- 'to let s.th. come near'
yet- 'to fall to s.o.'s share; to respond; to arrive'
yibar- 'to send, direct s.where'

E.g.,

Qalâm til učini 'anbara bulgap, eligi muškni kağidğa colgap.
(RB255r:11) 'The pen dipped the tip of its tongue into ambergris.
His hand, writhing [like a snake] spread musk over the paper."

Zamâne harf 'ilmîna isîndi, ıci küydi, vale qorqup qisindi.
(DN 258r:6) 'For a while she was busy with the science of the letters.
She was filled with enthusiasm but, being afraid, she restrained herself.'

Hâmeşa uyquşûlgâ qilip hû, tusüdâ kirmâyin 'umrida uygu.
(DN253r:8) 'He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life
did sleep enter his dream.'

Qatîndâ qand özini elgâ satîp, unutup özini sözüngâ qatîp.
(DN250r:8) 'In your presence the sugar sells itself to the people.
Not aware of its own essence, it mixes with your words.'

Bari ay hîrmanîn bir cavâga satqan, elig tartip ayagîni uzatqan.
(DN2477:3) 'He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain
of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.'

Şakar ornina hânzal kim berîp tur? Yaman söz yahça kim yibarîp tur?
(DN248v:2) 'Who has ever given wild gourd in return
for sugar? Who has ever sent bad words in response to good ones?'

Degin anda kelîrîn rağbat ettik, ravân suhtyad yaragîn qil ki yettüük.
(DN259r:6) 'Tell him that we desire to come. Prepare
for the meeting because we will be there in no time.'

El-ulûs rasîna kökündîn türzîn, bu hâric nağmadîn kölîngînî üzîn.
(DN260v:3) 'Throw out your roots in the ways of the community,"
separate your heart from this discordant melody.'

Bu davlat nurî köründi közümgâ, ki gardun muhtarî boldi
sözümgâ. (DN270v:4) 'The splendor of this empire was reflected
in my eyes: the celestial sphere was the customer of my words.'

Bu siştîlîr birî köklärî tolup. (Sayf6v:4) 'With these qualities
it fills [>] delights] the eyes.'

Ne kim cîqsâ tilidîn cân talaşur, ačiq söz tatîlg ağîzga yaraşur.
(DN243r:6) 'Whatever comes from her tongue, sends one into agony.
Bitter words become the sweet lips."

Otîr köp caşmadîn sayyad-i mağûn, ki tê máhî kirîr elînî bir kûn.
(DN253v:8) 'The foolish fisherman passes through many
rivers until one day he catches a fish.'

29 I.e., Dipping the point of the pen into ambergris, her hands wrote on the paper with fragrant black
ink.'
30 Establish yourself
31 Lit., mouth
32 Lit., a fish comes into his hands
3.1.4.2.5.9. Postpositions Governing the Dative Case [see 3.2.1.4.]
Quite a few postpositions govern the dative case. Most of them are Arabic participles or Persian adjectives that take their complements with the preposition ba or ta, with the dative suffix -rā or in an Izafat structure. E.g.,
Banafša boyun egdi gulqa qarsī; ačīp ‘abhar közin sünbulqa qarsī. (Sayf13v:5) ‘The violate bowed to the rose; the jasmine opened its eyes to the hyacinth.’

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

3.1.4.2.6.1. Locative Case Marked by -da/-dā
After vowels or voiced consonants the locative case marker has a voiced consonant. E.g.,
Kiristim söz bezārgā hāma teg tund išimda sarzanđīn bolmaīn kund. (DN243r:9) ‘I set myself to decorate the words fast like the pen so that her reproaches will not make me tardy in my work.’
Yasunup gul yūzungdīn baglarda, qačīp lāla ečiban taqlarda. (DN243v:9) ‘The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.’
Kōngulda ‘išing oti saldi bulqā, yana daq üsṭin sen qoymağil daq. (DN244r:8) ‘It was the fire of passionate love for you that cast confusion into [my] heart. Now do not press the branding iron upon a wound caused by a branding iron.’
Bang esītkac bu söz kōngulda tükülüp özidīn tōngulup dedi. (BC336r:11) ‘As bhang listened, the meaning of these words trickled into his heart and, losing control over himself, he said.’
Čagīr tedi menī sen sorma ay bay, ki el aqṣīda tūstūm bang elindūn. (BC337r:7) ‘The wine replied, do not even ask about me, O, Honey, my situation is quite hopeless because, thanks to Bang, I have become the talk of the town.’

Firaqında kečār har kečā yel teg, tanim bēlimga ohsās boldī qil teg. (DN259v:9) ‘Separated from me he strolls like a breeze every night. He became [thin] like a hair, resembling my body and my waist.’

31 I.e., mā siva lālih

34 The ideal shape of the Beloved was one with a waist as thin as a hair. Cf. beli qil (Sayf117v:12).
35 Mountains [taqlar] symbolize wilderness as opposed to gardens [baglār].
Köp vaqt sözdä äygü yaman tüsär. (Sayfi107r:1) ‘Many times good and bad occur in (one’s) words.’
Ol kişigä aydı kim barğil ol ikki ‘avratni munda ändägir. (NF 195r:2) ‘He said to that person: Invite here those two women.’
Karam körgüz ‘azimat markabin sür, özüngi har necük et anda yetkür. (DN249v:5) ‘Be gracious and drive on your mount and in whatever way get yourself there.’

3.1.4.2.6.2. Locative Case Marked by -tal-tä
After voiceless consonants the marker of the locative case occurs with a voiceless -t. E.g.,
Yaman ‘adat tabiättä otursa, ol andan kitmäyisär ölmäyincä. (Sayf79r:7) ‘If a bad habit becomes deep-seated in one’s nature, it will not leave, until he dies.’
Bu hälatta ne külümäk yeri durur kim küldün? (Sayf33v:2) ‘In this situation what reason is there for laughing given the fact that that you laughed.’

Note: This rule is not consistently observed. Often the suffix -dal-dä follows a noun with a final voiceless consonant. E.g.,
Quvatda va şan‘atda män andan artuqraq män. (Sayf39r:3) ‘I am ahead of him in strength and skill.’

3.1.4.2.6.3. Locative Case Marked After Possessive Suffixes
The case marker can be attached to the noun with or without the use of a connective -n-. The phenomenon does not appear to be a simple diachronic characteristic.

3.1.4.2.6.3.1. With a connective [pronominal] -n-
Alinda ne bolsa yegä azginda ne kelsä degä. (Sayf80v:5) ‘He eats whatever is in front of him, he says whatever comes to his mind.’
Ne dur hälä aning gam laškarinda, yani ağrır mu mihnät bistarinda? (DN252v:6) ‘What is his condition in the army of sorrow? Is his side hurting in the sick-bed of misery?’
‘Alä-saabäh turup başimidän taḫfifa bälmdän şaddim şesip beš altun bilän ol muğanni nazarinda qoydum. (Sayf60v:7-8) ‘In the morning I got up, removed my cap from my head and the belt from my waist and put them in front of that singer.’

3.1.4.2.6.3.2. Without a connective -n-
Caväbida dedi ol qași hâçib, kim anda parda aĉmaq bar munäsib. (DN258v:8) ‘In answer said that intimate friend whose eyebrow is the chamberlain: “It is now appropriate to open the curtain.”
Er paşimän bolup, yiğlap, Ḥâzrat-i Rasûl, ‘alaîhi’s-salam, maclisidä keldi. (RM24r:5-6) ‘The man was regretful, wept and came to the presence of the Noble Messenger, peace be upon him.’
Va cama‘at bilän oqûgan bir namazning savabin yana bir pilläsida qoqây. (RM29r:1-2) ‘And in the other pan He will place the reward for a prayer performed in congregation.’

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

- āriš- ‘to reach s.where’
- bar- ‘to go s.where’
- ełt- ‘to take s.where’
- keč- ‘to pass over to’
- kel- ‘to come’
- keltür- ‘to bring’
- kır- ‘to appear in, sit in’
- sing- ‘to be absorbed’
- qäbil tüš- ‘to qualify, excel [in an area]’
- qon- ‘to align’
- qoy- ‘to place s.where’
- sal- ‘to throw’
- tili- ‘to summon’
- tök- ‘to pour’
- tüüs- ‘to fall into’
- ündä- ‘to invite’
- yet- ‘to reach one’s destination’

E.g.,
Murid kirsä mascid yä hangāhda ol burun sağ aðað qat, çiqar bolsa sol. (MM194v:11) ‘Disciple, when you enter a mosque or a monastery, step in with your right foot, and, as you leave, step out with your left.’
Hamesa uyquşizliqqa qilip hû, tüšidä kirmäyin umridä uyqu. (DN253r:8) ‘He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.’
Tilâdî allida fînmay şabanî, bitignî berdi va feź ettî anî. (DN 246v:3) ‘He summoned the Morning Breeze to his presence at once, gave it the letter and sent it fast on its way.’

Çaman şahînda tûkîyî mevalarîn, tering saqî közidin şevelarîn. (DN268r:7) ‘Fruit [of all kinds] upon the plate of the meadow and collect amorous glances from the cupbearer’s eyes.’

Oz valânîndan çiçîçâq peşakar başîl etar qanda erîssî diram. (Sayf98v:7) ‘If a craftsman leaves his homeland, he will earn money no matter where he lands.’

Qayda barsam Hızûr Babam boldi hamrah. (AY58r:1) ‘Wherever I went, Hızûr Baba was my companion.’

Rûh u zulfung sözi guşanda barîp, qararîp guv vale sunbul qizarîp. (DN237v:5) ‘The word about your cheeks and your tresses reached the flower garden: The rose turned black and the hyacinth became red.’

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

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

3.1.4.2.7.1. The Ablative Case Marked by -din/-din
 Preferably after vowels or voiced consonants. E.g.,

{i} r kitgây âftab mahdîn, ûkûm bîrla hazrat-i Allâhîn. (BN 91r:3) ‘At the Almighty’s command light will depart from the sun and the moon.’

Yaşunup guv yûzungdîn bağlarda, qaçip fala cîqiban tağlarda. (DN245v:9) ‘The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.’

Ne boldî goy agar arz ettî hâlîn, dedi sargastalikdîn öz malalîn? (DN244v:2) ‘What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?’

31 See footnote to 3.1.4.2.6.1.

Bu kûndan song bu ûzdîn tayva etkil. (Sayf139r:2) ‘From this day on repent [and avoid] this practice.’

Agar körüngü mâna kûysa, ‘acab yoq, ki körüp taş erişy riqatîmdîn. (DN245r:7) ‘If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: The stone melts from having pity on me.’

Saçîngda sana hayran muskîldîn, balalârca ilinip öz tîldîn. (DN244r:1) ‘In your hair the comb is amazed at the difficulties it faces. Because of its own tongue it becomes entangled in troubles.’

Boyung sarvi ki nang yer suhbatîmdîn, egilgâr ‘aqibat tûz niyandexîn. (DN245r:4) ‘The [straight] Cypress of your body scorns to be in my company but it bows down at the end when it realizes the straightforwardness of my intent.’

Kelip tur bağda guldîn aşîmaq, yaraşma til tixeg têz qılmaq. (DN246r:6) ‘It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming, however, to make one’s tongue sharp like thorn.’

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

Umedîn Tengridîn ol dur ki gag gah, yarûgây közîlim yûzungdîn, ay maht. (DN251r:6) ‘My hope from God is that now and then my eyes shine with joy beholding your face, O, Moon!’

Ne boldî goy agar arz ettî hâlîn, dedi sargastalikdîn öz malalîn? (DN244v:2) ‘What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?’

3.1.4.2.7.2. The Ablative Case Marked by -tin/-tin
Qasîmga yetti ol yar-i haqiqî, bolup rangi yûgûrmaktin ‘aqqi. (DN253r:4) ‘That true friend came to my presence, its face turned red from running.’

Köngîlini cam etar ottûn bu kişî, bolmağay aning ila dozâh âsi. (RB4r:7) ‘God will spare his heart [the fear of] Hellfire. Hell will no longer be a concern for him.’

Labîm nuqîn alur bolsang aşgîz, çiqîğî başîn ol maynîng hûmarîn. (DN254v:3) ‘If you take the sweet-meat of my lips in the mouth, drive out of your head the intoxication caused by wine.’

Lek bolgây başariyattin, bîl, köngîlîgî yuqça hicabî hâsil. (RB 6r:10) ‘Yet, because of [the weakness of] human nature, one’s heart can become covered with a thin veil.’
3.1.4.2.7.3. The Ablative Case Marked by -dan/-dân
Atası ol şadaf dur kim bahalı cavhari bolgay, şadafdan ayrılırlar bolsa tapar cavhar ağır qimat. (Sayf182v:9) 'I risk my head, I drink black blood\(^\text{39}\), I sprinkle blood-colored tears: [yet] I cannot obtain the desire of my heart, O Heart, What a pity!'

3.1.4.2.7.4. The Ablative Case Marked by -tan/-tân
Tilasâng ma'rifat nûrin körärgä, içing hâli kerâk bolsa vemaktân (Sayf62r:7-8) 'If you wish to see the light of knowledge, your stomach must be empty of food.'

3.1.4.2.7.5. The Ablative Case After 3d Singular Possessive Suffixes
The third person singular possessive suffix can take the ablative case ending with or without a connective [pronominal] -n-.

3.1.4.2.7.5.1. With a connective [pronominal] -n-
Yaman is kemägäy hargiz golundan, (Sayf80v:8) 'Evil work would never come from his hand.'
Ol qadar ketti kim bularning nazardin gâlib boldi. (Sayf 51v:10) 'He walked so far that he disappeared from their sights.'
Ay sabâ keltür Samarqand dilbarindin muskboylı; Aşıq-i dilbastanıng cànga ol ta'sîr etär. (ShD46r:9) 'O, Morning Breeze bring us the fragrance of musk from the Heart-ravisher of Samarqand. It has a [beneficial] effect on the soul of the lover with an aching heart.'
Takabbur idi buyruğündin yiğar. (MM180r:7) 'Pride diverts one from [obeying] the commands of God.'

3.1.4.2.7.5.2. Without a connective [pronominal] -n-
Keçär canidin avval suda gavvas, ki tâ ahar bolur bir durrğa ol has. (DN253v:7) 'First the diver risks his life in the water so that he could later be the exclusive owner of one [single] pearl.'
Sa'âdat maykabidin mužda berîp, bașarlıq habarlarnı yibariq. (DN259r:3) 'Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, good tidings sent the news [about its being on the way].'

3.1.4.2.7.6. Verbs Governing the Ablative Case
This is a selective list of the most commonly used verbs that govern the ablative case:

- **ayrıl-** 'to be separated from'
- **avur-** 'to turn away from, to ignore'
- **ciq-** 'to leave'
- **ciqar-** 'to remove from'
- **de-** 'to tell about'
- **fariq bol-** 'to be through, to be done'
- **halas tap-** 'to be rescued from'
- **ke-** 'to pass by, to give up'
- **kesil-** 'to separate from'
- **kir-** 'to enter through'
- **kör-** 'to experience s.th. from s.o.'
- **künün-** 'to appear from'
- **mužda ber-** 'to bring good news (about)'
- **öv-** 'to pass through; to renounce'
- **qayt-** 'to return from'
- **qorq-** 'to fear'
- **qutqar-** 'to save'
- **qutul-** 'to escape'
- **saçra-** 'to jump up'
- **saqin-** 'to beware of'
- ** yiğil-** 'to abstain from'
- **tamannä körgüz-** 'to expect [s.th. from]'
- **yulun-** 'to escape'
- **yüz evür-** 'to turn away from, decline to do'
- **üz-** 'to separate from'
- **üzul-** 'to be separated from'

E.g.,
Sâbiqu'l-an'âm quldin ne hațâ kordi, 'acab! (Sayf29v:5) 'I wonder what impropriety did the former patron experience from the servant?'
Alardin ottüm qulundin ötar mâns, hamêsâ ummatiindin köz tatar mâns. (H75v:4) 'I gave them up, I will give up my son. I constantly keep my eyes on my community.'

\(^{39}\) I.e., I suffer a lot
3.1.4.2.7. The Ablative Case with Postpositions

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

*Barçağın yabşı* (MS2r:5) 'the best of all'

*Qatımda martabang barçağan* ‘ala.* (Sayf121r:10) 'In my eyes your rank is the highest of all.'

Cardinal of the past tense of the verb 'barçağan' yuqarı. (Sayf151r:13, P barzar az hama) 'In an assembly they do not sit but higher than anyone else.'

3.1.4.2.7.9. The Ablative Case to Express the Comparative Degree

The adjectival in the comparative degree is used in the comparative form with -raq-rāk. The comparative suffix, however, in such cases, is adverbal and indicates a small degree of increase or decrease as in modern Uzbek.

*Ta şanavbar saya teg sağqay ayaq wodil aldia, cīva qiiš balq içinda sarvdin çafakrak.* (ShD89r:3-4) 'Until the spruce throws itself like a shadow at your feet, may you show off in the garden more agil than the cypress,'

3.1.4.2.8. Instrumental Case

Rare in Chagatay. It is gradually replaced by the postpositions bilā, bilān, birlā, birlān. It is formed by -n [after a vowel] and -un/-ün or -in/-in after a consonant. The existig forms are mostly adverbs: baš tōbān 'head first', yūzqoyun 'face down', arqan 'on the back'. Sporadically the suffix -la occurs as formant of the instrumental case.

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

E.g.,

*Musibat ya ıgınün ünün iğlamaq.* (MM183v:17) 'To cry aloud because of misery or sickness.'

*Natängilksizin rast inandim anga.* (MM178r:11) 'I believed in him directly without [asking for] signs.'

*Munun tutsa bolur hidāyat quş.* (MM180r:10) 'By this you can catch the bird of guidance.'

*Ham arqan yaturup qoyup ot qurin.* (MM188v:17) 'Also, lay him on his back and pour ambers on him.'

*Zuhr vaqtin uyumaq hattta ol zaman içiändä balqni azar qilmaga sân.* (Sayf20v:2) '[The best service you, the king, can render is] sleeping at noon because at that time you do not hurt [your] subjects.'

*O1 biligesiz kündüüzün kım şam–i kəfleri yaqar ləcəram yağı çırəğningin ravon bolur tamām.* (Sayf21v:11-12) 'That ignorant one who by day burns his campphorated candle, will for sure waste the oil of his lamp.'

*Sol ayq üzrā olturup tüzün, qıblağə rast barmaqingünü sun.* (MS13r:5) 'Sit [on the ground] on your haunches with your left leg flat [under you] and point the toes of your right foot toward the Qibla.'

3.1.4.2.8.2. The Instrumental Case formed by -la

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

*Bu kün hülde yasa sa'y et yüz alvan ki tangla keltürür hurini rızvan.* (DN262r:2) 'Today exert yourself and omarne in hundred ways of eternal bliss, because tomorrow the custodian of paradise will deliver you one of his virgins.'

*Say lillah şakkarin erningdin, ay kαn–i namak, kim nabāt–i Mısrdin ming qaţla artq tur tuzi.* (GD223,3) 'Can you spare God from your sugar-sweet lips, O Mine of Elegance! The salt of them is a thousand times sweeter than the refined sugar of Egypt.'

*I.e., how could I shake it off
*I.e., the one whose catch got away
*I.e., establish yourself according to...
*I.e.,rendereraway
Bir ayıqanın yana ayıma mukarrar, ki ʁavani dağ bir qurla yeralar. (Sayf108v:12) 'Do not repeat what you have already said once on the ground that even sweetmeat people serve only once.'

Təmür təqqan bilak ming qurla yahşi ol edam kim kögüsda bəggə qarşi. (Sayf49v:7) 'A fist that pounds on iron is a hundred times better than an arm which is on the chest facing the Beg [and ready to serve].'

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

Ta GIS sayyad təngizda baliq tuta bilməs, dağt acalsiz baliq qurı yerdə olməs. (Sayf94v:10-11) 'A fisherman without luck cannot catch fish in the sea; a fish the final hour of which has not arrived, will not die on dry land.'

Heç iš bu kalımaşız mu tabar eməs. (RM4r:5) 'No undertaking is valid without these words.'

Har kim banq-i namaz məhallida sözəgəy, anqa əvif turur kim imansız əlamdin bərgay. (RM15v:6-8) 'It is to be feared that anyone who talks during the call to prayer will desert this world without [the security that his] faith [would otherwise provide for him in the Hereafter].'

İnəbaşız ərgə iradat yoq ol: iradat yoq ol 'ısq bili kəlməsən. (MM198v:7) 'Submission is not granted to him who has not repented. Submission is impossible if you do not come with Love.'

Note: The expanded form in -sizin/-sizin makes adverbs: ansizin 'Suddenly', cansizin 'without a soul.' E.g.,

Camad cansizin ol ne ışğa yarar? (MM197v:4) 'Without life [the body] is like minerals: What can it accomplish?'

Nətəglək rava yoq, nətəg erməs ol: nətəgləksizin rast ınandım, anqa. (MM178r:11) 'No similitude can be coined for Him, for He is unlike anything else. Say, I have come to believe in Him directly [as He is] without similitudes.'

3.1.4.2.10. Equative Case
The equative case expresses quantitative and qualitative comparisons. It may also indicate conformity or relation between the objects compared. The equative case is marked by the suffix -ça/-çə. In archaisms the suffix -layin/-layin also occurs.

3.1.4.2.10.1. Equative Case Marked with -ça/-çə
E.g.,

Mən yarağımça dast u pə urdum. (MS4r:1) 'I have done my utmost.'

Nəcə lazzat esə mayəl anca bolur, mayəl lazzətən təpəncə bolur. (RB6v:12) 'The more pleasure [one receives], the greater will be one's desire [for Him]: One's desire is in [direct] proportion to the pleasure one receives.'

Aşna ič sari taş begana, bu ravişça raviş olmas yana. (RB6r:6) 'The Friend [invited] in, the stranger [kept out]: There is no better [principle of] behavior than this.'

Bu şəkk tüsək rəkt at samıncə otuə. (MM184v:1) 'If such a doubt occurs, perform the prayer according to the number of rək'ats [you are sure that you have performed].'

Bu ıkkı gəvildə, (MM185r:6c) 'According to these two instructions.'

3.1.4.2.10.1.1. After the 3rd person singular possessive suffix
The equative suffix is attached with or without a connective -n-. Here, too, the presence or absence of the pronominal -n- is not a solid criterion for dialectal boundaries.

3.1.4.2.10.1.1.1. Without pronominal -n-
Tən ortasidan sunnat vəftiça aning vaqti turur. (RM17v:2-3) 'The time for the vəfti prayer is between midnight and the time for the sumna rək'ats of the mandatory prayers.'

Qılıçın qıl uşqa yoq anga vahm, yavutmas özgə həwd oqdin vahtm. (DN245v:10) 'He has no fear of the sword, not even as much as the tip of a hair. He is not impressed even by the flying arrow.'

Pas Tengri ta'-ala ol kişəgə kim naməznı bəş vaqət Kəbağa yuzlənəm namaz oqsə, bu bəş təqən qəribəcə savəb berür. (RM 26v:2-4) 'Consequently, if a person, with his face toward the Ka'ba, says the prayers at the five designated times, God, the Most High will grant him as much recompense as the weight of those five mountains.'

3.1.4.2.10.1.1.2. With pronominal -n-
İnəgəliça yenə mayəl artar, mayəlça mənəqət olmaqliq bar. (BH 10r:2) 'The more you are separated [from other than God], the more will [your] desire [for God] increase. You are separated

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43 Lit., I hit my hand and foot according to my ability.
[from other than God] in the measure that your desire [for God] has increased."

‘Arab ilinin (KBV5v:1) ‘in Arabic’

3.1.4.2.10.2. The Equitative Case Marked with -layin/-lāyin
In a few instances the suffix -layin/-lāyin marks the equative case.

E.g.,
Arđam ārning davlati dur bil yaqin, kim tükānmās māl erūr matlablayin. (Sayf140r:6) ‘Skill is a blessing for a man, know full well. It is an inexhaustible wealth like a hidden treasure.’

3.1.4.2.11. Comparative Case
The comparative case is the adverbial case of comparison. It is formed by the particle teg which, generally, is spelled separately. E.g.,
Tavaquq kūrgūzūp isīdā tāhsīn, erip su teg ēva oṭina taskīn. (DN261r:10) ‘Expectation showed approbation in his performance, as he, like water, extinguished the fire of passion.’
Manga berdi ki nāci dek ačīlgīn, qarasin közlərinğī surma qil-ğın. (DN261v:2) ‘He gave it to me [and said] ‘Open like the ark of Noah [after it touched land] and apply earth, as antimony, to your eyes.’
Ki davlat tūslərīngi qūldī ta’bir, malamat köz yaqing teg boldi bir bir. (DN261v:3) ‘Because good turn of fortune interpreted your dreams and blame dissipated one by one like your tears.’
Tilgān teg sanga yūz qoydi maqsūd tīləllərīngi bir bir berdi ma’bud. (DN262r:1) ‘The object of your desire turned toward you exactly as you had desired; God granted your wishes one by one.’
Ŏzūngi tа yiraq saling nazar teg, közm dur su içindā niluʃar teg. (DN262v:1) ‘Since you cast yourself far as [swiftly] as [you cast] a glance, my eyes float in water like waterlilies.’
Camalıq šuhrati har yani ketip, parti teg hürler učmaqqa yetip. (DN262v:4) ‘The fame of your beauty spread in all directions. Virgin-like fairies reached the gardens of paradise.’
Çiqardi sarv ara qumrı şağirın, samandar teg tüşūp otluq nafirin. (DN266r:9) ‘Among the cypress [branches] the ringdove sounded its lament playing her fiery flute in the mode the salamander does [running desperately in a ring of fire].’
Kôngül kim tarta dur ģam mətəmmi, qalam teg başıdın ağıl qarasin. (DN264r:2) ‘When the heart keeps wearing the livery of sorrow, remove melancholy from its head the way you remove ink from the tip of the pen.’

Muḥammad Ḥwācā beh ol kim ‘Ali teg üküš cavlan qilur may-dan ičindā. (MN295r:2) ‘Muḥammad Ḥwaja Beg is he, who like ‘Ali, displays his skills quite often on the battle field.’

3.1.4.2.12. Terminative Case
Nouns with the case ending -gaça/-gaça, mostly with verbs of motion, state or process express a point of time or place up to which an action or a condition lasted. [Rare in Chaghatay but quite frequent in modern Uzbek]: qiyamatgaça ‘until the day of resurrection’, yarım küngäça ‘until the day of resurrection’.

E.g.,
Yol yürüp keča suhība yettīlər šaharning qiyamatgaça. Navai, Eckmann p. 202) ‘They travelled at night and by morning time they went as far as the borders of the town.’
Men öz atamdin taqi atam ata atasindin payğambarağaça (RM 6r:1) ‘I [have heard] from my father, who [heard it] from his father’s father [and so on] all the way back to the Prophet...’
Tün varutuşigaça uyyaq bolup namaz qilgīn. (RM30v:6) ‘Remain awake to the mid-point of the night and pray [during that period].’
Ya Sinni bölüp har rək‘ата oquşay abirigaça. (RM18v:2-3) ‘One should divide up the Ya Sin [sura], reading one section with each rak‘at until one has read the whole sura through to the end.’

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

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

3.1.4.3.1.1. Short Possessive Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2d Person</th>
<th>3d Person</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Person</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>atam</td>
<td>‘my father’</td>
<td>‘your father’</td>
<td>‘his father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d Person</td>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>atang</td>
<td>‘your father’</td>
<td>‘your father’</td>
<td>‘their father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d Person</td>
<td>-sî/-si</td>
<td>atasi</td>
<td>‘his father’</td>
<td>‘their father’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 3d person singular -sî/-si may occur instead of -lārî/-lārî.
3.1.4.3.1.2. Expanded Possessive Suffixes

Singular

1st Person -im/-ım -um/-üm  közüm  ‘my eye’
2d Person -ıng/-ıng -ung/-üng  kozung  ‘your eye’
3d Person -i/-i  közl  ‘his eye’

Plural

1st Person -imiz/-imiz -umiz/-ümiz  közmiz  ‘our eye’
2d Person -ingiz/-ingiz -ungiz/-üngiz  közüngiz  ‘your eye’
3d Person -ları/-läri  közlari  ‘their eye’

3.1.4.3.2. Case Forms of Possessed Nouns

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

Gamimdin var desea içimdaki dağ, bulut teğ yığlagay ün tartiban dağ. (DN256v:10) ‘If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.’

Olsanım din elgidin altun piyala icgali. Can quși can köyiga ‘Anqa bigin parvaz qil. (ShD91r:8-9) ‘To drink from the golden cup from the hands of that Idol, Bird of my Life, take off and fly [steadily] like the Phoenix toward the Street of Life.’

Camalqindin munavar qil közümni. (DN257r:2) ‘Light up my eyes with your beauty.

3.1.4.3.3. Nouns with First and Second Person Singular Possessive Suffixes

Added to a noun with a first or second person singular possessive suffix the dative case ending may drop its consonant [see 3.1.4.2.3.2].

Singular

Nominative  atam  atang
Accusative  atamni  atangni
Genitive  atamning  atangning
Dative  atamga  atangga
Locative  atamda  atangda
Ablative  atamdan  atangdan
Equative  atamça  atangça
Comparative  atamteg  atangteg
Terminative  atamçaça  atangçaça

Plural

Nominative  atalarım  atalaring
Accusative  atalarımani  atalaringni
Genitive  atalarining  atalaringning
Dative  atalarınga  atalaringga
Locative  atalarımda  atalaringda
Ablative  atalarımdan  atalaringdan
Equative  atalarımça  atalarıngaça
Comparative  atalarımteg  atalarıngteg
Terminative  atalarımcaga  atalarıngaça

E.g.,

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

Ol oğlan egac yağrima ağır qamći indürdi. (Sayf45r:3) ‘When I was young, with a whip he delivered a heavy blow upon my shoulder.’

Körsım ol guşahraning cilvasının gulzar ara, canımı yüz ming tikânlarını ura dur bər ara. (ShD13v:11-12) ‘When I observe the brilliance of that rose-cheeked beauty in the garden, it keeps driving a hundred thousand thorns into my soul [while I am] among thorns.’

3.1.4.3.4. Nouns with Third Person Singular Possessive Suffixes

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

Singular

Nominative  atasi  ataları
Accusative  atasini  atalarını
Genitive  atasining  atalarining
Dative  atasığa  atalarığa
Locative  atasına  atalarına
Ablative  atasidan  atalaridan
Equative  atasiça  atalarıça
Comparative  atasıteg  atalarıteg
Terminative  atasiçaça  atalarıçaça

3.1.4.3.5. Rare Variants

-umiz/-ümiz
-ungiz/-üngiz

The 3d person singular -i/-i may occur instead of -ları/-läri.
3.1.4.4. Persian Inflectional Elements

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

3.1.4.4.1. The Izafat Marker -i

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

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

Izafat constructions my also express quality. The first element is the head and the second, the modifier. E.g., tahrat-i zahir (MS2v:6) 'external ablation.'

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

Erir sân navâhâl-i fâza û tar. (H76v:6) 'You are like a young tree, fresh and green.'

Aštâi cumla ashab-i payambar, kelištîlar barîşi cumla yaksar. (H81v:9) 'All of the Prophet’s closest companions heard [what had happened] and at once came [to see him].'


Note: Compound Izafat structures are rare in Chagatay.

3.1.4.4.2. The Vocative Marker -a

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

lit. Do not be proud of...
Köngül bimār boldi ĉānim afgār. Tabība kecmägil bu hastalar- 
din. (ShD122r:4) ‘The heart has become sick, my soul is wounded. 
O, Doctor, do not pass by these patients.’
Aql ġayran dur bu qudratlarda bilgî ‘aqlâ. (BH3r:11) ‘The 
intellect is perplexed at the powers [that created them],’ know this 
well, O Man of Intellect!’
Keltürûr uṣbu mahall istîlâ sanga Sulţan-i maḥabbat. Yaarchitecture-
RA (RB 7r:4) ‘At that moment the King of Love, O Friend, will grant you 
your destination!’
Dedilâr, al-vidâ’, ay ham-niṣīlnâr, ki körmâk emdi yoq, ay pâk-
dîlnâr. (H79r:11) ‘(Then Ibrahîm) continued, Farewell, O Class-
mates! We will not meet again. O Adherents of the Pure Faith!’

3.1.4.4.3. The Prosodic Expletives -a, ā
The prosodic expletives -a, ā have no semantic function. They appear 
at the end of prosodic lines to expand the meter with a long or short vowel. 
They are added only to Persian or Arabic words. E.g.,
Bir biringā kidr u tazvîr yana baglar hasîda. (BH17v:10) ‘It 
combines pride and fraud and behaves in the manner of the 
envious.’
Bu sanga mirâq qîlp tur qalmâqîl sen ‘acabâ. (BH18r:3) ‘Your 
father [in turn] made them your inheritance. Do not be astonished [to 
learn this].’
Bir künigâ ikki ay tutar roza, aranj üzmâynî ki har roza-
(1) (MS16r:5) ‘[As penitence] he must fast one day after another 
without missing a day for a total of two months for every [single] 
day [that he omitted or violated his fast].’
‘Ilm u ğhmat birla sen raḩmatîn berqil nasîbâ. (BH18r:5) ‘Give 
me as my share knowledge, wisdom, and [your] mercy.’
Bir mu’ašqar yaratip tur bilgî uṣbu tavhindâ. (BH19r:1) ‘He 
created an effective formula, and that, mark well, is the tavhindî 
[i.e., the words “There is no god but God.”]’

3.1.4.4.4. The Relative -ı
The relative -ı [ya-i ışarar] is added to nouns and indicate the antecedent 
of a relative clause. It is usually followed by the conjunctions ki, kim. 
[See 3.1.2.2.]. E.g.,
Itîsâli ki erîr bêmâni, bu mahall rûhqa bolqay vâqi. (RB 
6r:12) ‘Then the soul, now unhindered, will find itself in union 
with God.’
Har babâri kim kelîr bar dur hażâni käynidâ. (BH15v:9) ‘Every 
spring that comes has an autumn in its wake.’

Hatunî kim yîtûrsâ ‘iddatni (MS8v:1) ‘It is obligatory for] a 
woman whose period ceases [earlier than is usual for her, so that 
there is no possibility that it will resume] if he seeks happiness.’
Ol karimî kim tutulgan aynî berîr inçlî. (BH17r:3) ‘He is the 
Generous One who bestows brightness upon the moon after it has 
been in eclipse.’

3.1.4.4.5. The Suffix -râ in Dative Function
The Persian -ra which in Classical Persian was the marker of the indirect 
object, may occur, rarely though, in dative function. E.g.,
Ay karimâ lutf qîl sargasta-i avarârâ. (BH18v:2) ‘O Generous 
One, have mercy on me, [your] desperate and roaming [servant].’
Lutf qîl ihsân-i tavfîq bu faqir becarârâ. (BH18r:11) ‘Grant me, 
[your] poor and destitute [servant], the grace of your assistance.’
Közüm yaşi bigin tofraqqa tuştûm. Hudarâ salmaqîl meni 
nazardîn. (ShD122r:11-12) ‘I fell down into the dust like my tears. 
For God’s [mercy] do not take your eyes off me.’

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

As indicated above, it creates a closed morpheme: Words in the particular 
status are indeclinable. They cannot take case endings or any other 
suffixes such as the comparative -raq-râk, the diminutive -qina/-qinâ. 
It can occur as head of an izafat structure but cannot take the izafat 
marker -i. E.g.,
Atasi qilgan ṳcun taklife qildi aning aštiga ta’life. (RB2r:8) ‘Because 
his father proposed that he do so, he wrote a book and 
dedicated it to him.’
Hamagi-yî dil ani dost tutar, bilgî sen bû söz ara farqê bar. (RB 
9r:1) ‘With all his heart he will be in love with Him; But [realize 
that] there is a difference between these utterances.’
‘Aqlî kışînîg iši ermas, ki ‘aqlî konglî har kîmgâ bermas, 
magar bir telba yangîlî bêqararî, paresâne paresân rozagîr. (DN 
239v:7) ‘This very thing is not the doing of a wise person, because the 
wise one does not give his heart to anyone, except the one who 
is restless like a fool, distraught and distressed.’

51 Cf. Čl. P. urâ qafa ‘he said to him’
3.1.5. Formation of Nouns
In Chagatay nouns are formed by suffixes, prefixes, and by composition.

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

3.1.5.1.1. The Suffix -ći/-cä
Originally a diminutive suffix. Some of the derivatives show that. In a few instances the suffix indicates relationship with the equative case ending. E.g.,

- biläkça 'handcuffs' (Sang. 149v:8)
- avunçä 'comfort' (Rabğ. 98,19)
- äskinkça 'gloating, malicious pleasure' (Rabğ. 175,12)
- zärđça 'yellowish' (Babur133v:8)
- saručça 'yellowish' (AH84r:23)
- alačça 'checkered' (Pdc29)
- qarinčä 'ant' (Pdc403)
- ağačça 'lady' (Pdc24)

3.1.5.1.2. The Suffix -caq/-çäk
It forms diminutives, names of tools, containers, and places. E.g.,

- alincaq 'forehead ornament of a horse' (Sang.17v:18)
- ämcäk 'nipple' (Rabg. 240,20)
- bâkçak 'little prince' (Babur40r:12)
- bicaq 'knife' (Sayf69r:1)
- bürçäk 'lock [of hair]' (AH30a:3)
- öröümçäk 'spider' (Kaşg. Brock. 136)
- tufurçäk 'spittle' (Pdc 238)
- qarincaq 'ant' (Kaşg. Brock. 148)
- alcaq 'humble' (Sayf35r:7)
- kökkäk 'good, beautiful' (Pdc472)

3.1.5.1.3. The Suffix -ći/-çä
It forms, mostly of all, agent nouns and adjectives. E.g.,

- tilänčä 'beggar' (Sayf91v:3)
- čapunçã 'advocate guard' (Babur66v:9)
- qavğunçä 'pursuer, chaser' (Babur14r:12)
- du'ãçä 'he who prays [for others], humble servant' (Sayf184r:4)
- tāvâçä 'camel driver' (Sayf167r:5)
- taquçä 'servant' (Sayf77v:1)
- qaraqçä 'rover' (Sayf183v:9)
- tâmrurçä 'blacksmith' (NTM11r:11)
- qurçä 'maker of weapons' (Babur120v:2)
- taqurçä 'farrier' (NTM15r:9)
- oynağuçä 'player' (NTM15r:2)
- odaçä 'office-keeper' (NTM5r:6)
- kürâguçä 'cup-bearer' (NTM11r:1)
- yurtçä 'quarter master' (Babur197v:3)
- çalguçä 'musician' (NTM14v:9)
- culabçä 'bowl' (NTM13v:2)
- ahtatçä 'master of the horse' (NTM10v:8)

3.1.5.1.4. The Suffix -çil/-cil
It indicates association of some kind with the base word.
- tüşânçil 'eagle' (Pdc234)
- açgïl 'whitish' (Pdc252)
- siçuçil 'common buzzard' (Pdc365)
- baliqçil 'common heron' (Desturn. 56,3)

3.1.5.1.5. The Suffix -çin/-çin
It forms, mostly diminutives.
- öpcin 'coat of mail' (Babur161r:8)
- qalçaqcin 'wild goat' (Zam. 406a)
- biliçcin 'quail' (AH36a:14)
- orçin 'district' (Babur25r:5)
- toçurçin 'a board game' (AH65a:11)

3.1.5.1.6. The Suffix -çuq/-çük
It forms diminutives, names of tools, adjectives.
- bulgçuq 'dark, foggy' (Pdc177)
- ağarçuq 'chess, or nard' (AH16v:2)
- qaburçuq 'box' (AH68r:19)
- taqarçuq 'sack, bag' (AH64v:11)
- bâbçuk 'pupil of the eye' (AH195,3)
- munçuq 'glass beads' (Sayf158v:2)
- çaguçnuq 'small falcon' (AH105,3)
3.1.5.1.7. The Suffix -daš/-daš
It expresses a companion or a mate.
yoldaš ‘companion’ (NTM6r:7)
qarindaš ‘brother’ (Sayf45r:10)
boydaš ‘of the same height’ (Vamb. Čsp. 133,8)
kökáltas ‘foster brother’ (Babur26a:1)

3.1.5.1.8. The Suffix -laq/-läk
It indicates an area or a location. It also forms adjectives.
avlaq ‘hunting ground’ (NTM9v:4)
sinlaq ‘graveyard’ (IM175)
oltlaq ‘pasture’ (MM188v:15)
avaqlaq ‘a little’ (Babur4r:18)
ayvlaq ‘extremely [great]’ PdC540
yumalaq ‘round’ (PdC550)
yapalaq ‘owl’ (Babur281r:11)
qušlaq ‘winter quarter’ (Sang. 17r:13)
ayylaq ‘summer quarter’ (Sang. 297v:25)

3.1.5.1.9. The Suffix -layin/-läyin
It is an equative suffix [see 3.1.4.2.10.2.] indicating exact comparison.
bülbülayin ‘like a nightingale’ (Jes.103,13)
arslanlayin ‘like a lion’ (AH18,8)
qumlayin ‘like sand’ (Ilm. 498,8)
šuturlayin ‘like a camel’ (Jes.47,6)

3.1.5.1.10. The Suffix -li/-li
It creates adjectives often in replacement of derivates in -liğ/-lig. Its variant is -lu/-lä. Added to verbal nouns in -iğ/-lig it forms [present] participles [see 3.6.8.3].
biligli ‘learning, knowing’ (Sayf170v:5)
kaliğli ‘ready to come’ (‘AH39,13)
baqilği ‘looking’ (‘AH31,6)
oğuliqi ‘reading’ (MM197r:3)
çiğliqi ‘leaving’ (MM197r:4)
hoq iliğli ‘humiliating’ (MM144v:4)
yürüşliqi ‘passing, walking’ (MM179v:3)
ayzuqili ‘sinful’ (Sayf50r:4)
bahali ‘valuable’ (Sayf98r:9)
yürükli ‘brave’ (AH93a:17)
árkiqi ‘mighty’ (Sayf176r:7)
küçüqi ‘strong’ (Sayf156r:11)

atli ‘named, called’ (Sayf46v:13)
atlı ‘mounted on horseback’ (Sayf167r:2)
yülü ‘pregnant’ (Sayf145r:12)
körkülü ‘beautiful’ (MM177v:9)
mihlű ‘coined silver’ (MM191v:14)
yazuluq ‘sinful’ (MM194r:9)

Note: A special group of derivatives are based on modified nouns [adjective > noun such as köp mäli, or noun > noun, such as hamza yürükt]. 52 E.g.,
köpmalli ‘rich’ (Sayf59r:2)
aç közli ‘greedy’ (Sayf141r:5)
künäs yüzli (Sayf124v:12) ‘sun-faced’
hamza yürükl ‘lion-hearted’ (Sayf7r:5)
ağır bahali ‘precious’ (Sayf105r:10)
fitna yüzli ‘malicious’ (Sayf9v:4)
qamal yüzli (Sayf61v:4) ‘moon-faced’

3.1.5.1.11. The Suffix -liğ/-lig, -liğ/-lüg
It forms adjectives which indicate that a thing or a person is ‘related to, belongs to’, or ‘is associated with’ something.
atlığ ‘named, called’ (IM5v:3)
biliğlı ‘wise’ (Qub Zaj. 32)
bitiğlı ‘written’ (MM197v:12)
bahalığ ‘valuable’ (MM182v:)
borcluğ ‘insolvent’ (MM190 v:4)
mängilıç ‘similar’ (RM3r:1)
sifatlığ ‘of [a certain] quality’ (MM181v:2)
suhalıq ‘doubtful’ (MM190r:6)
takaburlıq ‘proud’ MM180r:6)
vafalıq ‘faithful’ (MM180r:11)

Note: A special group of derivatives are based on modified nouns [adjective > noun or noun > noun, see above]. E.g.,
qaba yuzluq ‘with an ugly face’ (Babur68r:1)
beş künluq ‘[a] five-day [period]’ (Babur50r:8)
buland boyuluq ‘tall’ (Babur18r:3)
šakar sözluq ‘sweet talking’ (DN249v:11)

52 Some of the noun > noun bases are bahavrihi compounds equal in meaning to the derivative forms, arslan yürükt ‘lion-hearted’
3.1.5.1.12. The Suffix -liq/-lik, -luq/-lük
It forms most of all abstract nouns, names of occupations and professions.
agırlık ‘weight’ (RM26v:4)
arıqlık ‘purity’ (MM180r:18)
əslıq ‘crop’ (MM192r:6)
bandalıq ‘a person’s service to God’ (RM25r:1)
bəslamaqlıq ‘a beginning’ (182r:2)
baylıq ‘greatness’ (Sayf150v:11)
bədəblülük ‘improper conduct’ (MM194v:2)
bətablıq ‘weakness’ (RM33v:7)
čınlıq ‘truthfulness’ (RM4v:1)
haźiblülük ‘love of God’ (MM199v:5)
kažılıq ‘negligence’ (RM41v:4)
uqımlulquq ‘the legal status of a resident’ (MM187r:16)
namazlıq ‘prayer carpet’ (MM180v:6)
netələq ‘similitude’ (MM178r:11)
pəkəlq ‘purity’ (RM20r:10)
əğərlüq ‘theft’ (RM34v:9)
qəbululuq ‘acceptance’ (MM196r:14)
quıllıq ‘service’ (RM18v:1)
raşlıq ‘truthfulness’ (RM4v:1)
şədənlıq ‘happiness’ (RM20r:9)
tirilıq ‘life’ (DN249v:10)
ulugluq ‘height’ (MM184v:5)
uyalıq ‘brotherhood’ (MM201v:2)
uzaqılıq ‘probation period’ (MM102v:10b)
əyaqınılıq ‘intercourse’ (MM186v:12)
yawuzluq ‘wickedness’ (MM182v:6)
şədənilıq ‘lordship’ (RM13v:7)
pərəşənilıq ‘misery, distraction’ (DN252r:5)
kışışızlıq ‘loneliness’ (DN252v:7)
kənənilıq ‘truthfulness’ (Sayf25v:9)

yolum ‘wading place’ (Babur30v:3)
atələm ‘step’ (KBV12v:6)
ölmə ‘death’ (Sayf58r:11)
tələm ‘much, many’ (MM191v:5)
tolul ‘a leather bag’ (NTM10v:1)
ulam ‘continuously’ (MM167v:17)
yarım ‘half’ (Sayf122v:1)

3.1.5.1.14. The Suffix -ma/-mə
It forms verbal nouns that can denote concrete objects. The derivatives may also occur as adjectives.
qavurma ‘fried meat’ (PC412)
toğa ‘birth’ (Rabğ. 182,15)
isitma ‘fever’ (NTM14r:6)
əgəmlə ‘curve, curvature’ (Rabğ. 444,23)
çəldə ‘turban’ (NTM14r:8)
salma ‘snare, noose’ (NTM6v:11)
əzəmə ‘filtered or strained wine’ (Pdc356)
təjmə ‘all’ (MM181v:4)
toğa ‘a slave born of a slave girl’ (NTM13r:5)
yarəmə ‘groats’ (NTM13v:7)

3.1.5.1.15. The Suffix -mač/-məc
Rare. It occurs mostly in names of food items.
qurmac ‘dried cheese’ (Pdc427)
qoğrəmac ‘roasted barley’ (Kasğ. Brock. 158)
bulamaq ‘a kind of flour soup’ (Sang. 141r:19)
tutmac ‘vermicelli’ (Kasğ. Brock. 221)

3.1.5.1.15. The Suffix -mağ/-mək
It forms nouns to express classes of people, animals, parts of the body, plants, clothes and tools.
charımaq ‘children’ (Kasğ. Brock. 20)
uşmaq ‘servants, hunters’ (Kasğ. Brock. 226)
arğıamaq ‘sumpter horse’ (NTM9r:7)
bursıamaq ‘badger’ (Kasğ. Brock. 44)
barmaq ‘finger’ (Pdc146)
başmaq ‘shoe’ (NTM90r:2)
boğmaq ‘choker’ (Pdc172)
caqmaq ‘flintstone’ (Kasğ. Brock. 50)
örmək ‘web’ (Vamb. Csp. 188,11)
qarmaq ‘fishing hook’ (MQ172,7)
3.1.5.1.18. The Suffix -n, -an
The derivatives are abstract nouns based on verbs. They are also used in concrete meaning.

- san ‘number’ (MM184v:1)
- adın ‘other’ (MM185v:12)
- aqin ‘torrent’ (Sayf83v:13)
- åkin ‘sown area’ (MM188v:4)
- biğin ‘groin, kidney’ (KBV4v:5)
- igrin ‘whirlpool’ (Pdc122)
- bütün ‘whole’ (Pdc163)
- öngin ‘other’ (MM177v:4)
- yağrın ‘shoulder blade’ (Sayf45v:3)
- tüğün ‘knot’ (RM20r:7)
- tutun ‘smoke’ (Sayf83r:9)
- uzun ‘long’ (RM34r:10)
- çibin ‘fly’ (Sayf118v:5)
- qiran ‘destruction’ (Pdc445)
- tikân ‘thorn’ (Sayf65r:6)
- åkin ‘sown area’ (MM188v:4)
- tikin ‘planted areas’ (MM188v:5)
- qulan ‘wild horse’ (DN232v:5)
- oğlan ‘son, child, youth’ (Sayf10r:13)
- ärün ‘male’ (MM177v:15)
- tołun ‘full’ (Sayf15r:13)

3.1.5.1.19. The Suffix -nê, -anê, -înê/-înê, -unê/-înê
qorıncê ‘fear, danger’ (KBV39r:9)
ökünê ‘regret’ (MM193r:9)
sevünê ‘joy’ (Sang. 80r:11)
ûrîncê ‘fright’ (Pdc57)
söküncê ‘reproach’ (MQ54,14)
qilinê ‘deed, action’ (MA9,1)
umanê ‘hope’ (MA85,6)
küvâncê ‘pride’ (Pdc461)
urunê ‘bribe’ (MA115,5)
sagîncê ‘haven’ (IM53r:7)

3.1.5.1.20. The Suffix -ng
The derivatives are adjectives and nouns.

- yalang ‘bare’ (Sayf58r:2)
- özdâng ‘beautiful; a mistress’ (Sayf 77v:1)
- yasang ‘broad, wide’ (Pdc526)

3.1.5.1.16. The Suffix -man/-mân
It forms concrete nouns the very essence of which is associated with the activity expressed by the base verb.

- çakmân ‘mantle, cloak’ (Sayf186v, A5,6)
- tegirmân ‘mill’ (NTM9v:10)
- köçmân ‘nomad’ (Pdc464)
- cüçümân ‘rather sweet’ (Babur285v:13)

3.1.5.1.17. The Suffix -mişi/-mişi
The derivatives are nouns, abstract and concrete.

- qaramişî ‘a treating of a disease’ (Pdc409)
- yasamişi ‘arrangement’ (Pdc52)
- yağlaamişi ‘a smearing with grease’ (Pdc52)
- tâgişmişi ‘the offering up of a gift and prostrating before a king’ (Pdc217)
- tamaçamişi ‘a state of anguish’ (Pdc217)
- sögdámisi ‘desire to rest’ (Pdc358)
- qurmişi ‘installation of a machine’ (Pdc428)
- tâgamisi ‘quickness, hurry, presentation’ (Pdc216)

3.1.5.1.17. The Suffix -mtul/-mtûl, ımtul/-ımtûl, -umtuł/-ümtûl
Diminutive formants used with names of colors.

- qizîmtul ‘reddish’ (Mab. 87,17)
- yaşîmtul ‘greenish’ (Mab. 87,17)
- qaramtul ‘blackish’ (NF 191)
- sarîmtul ‘yellowish’ (Sang. 332v:27)
- ağımtul ‘whitish’ (Sang. 44r:20)
3.1.5.1.21. The Suffix -raq/-räk
It is added to adjectives to change [increase or decrease] a little the quality it indicates. It is also the grammatical marker of the comparative degree of adjectives [see 3.3.2.1.2.2.].

- asahraq 'the most correct' (MM184v:1)
- asağaraq 'a little below' (KVB13v:2)
- azraq 'a little' (KVB19v:21)
- 'azizrāk 'more precious' (MM177r:1)
- ādīrzāk 'higher' ('Ath26,23)
- baštaraq 'aside, apart' (Babar 113r:13)
- qaviraq 'more important' (MM185v:3)
- qisqaraq 'a short summary' (KVB11r:21)
- yahširaq 'better' (KVB19v:3)
- yāqrāk 'best' (MM191r:16)

3.1.5.1.21. The Suffix -saq/-sāk
Etymologically the derivatives are adjectives from verbs in -sa/-sā.

- aqsaq 'lame' (NTM9r:5)
- sarimsaq 'garlic' (PdC226)
- tirsāk 'elbow' (MM180v:13)
- bağırsaq 'intestine' (LA60)
- ýuksāk 'high' (MA23,6)
- qursaq 'stomach' (MA232,7)

3.1.5.1.22. The Suffix -sil/-sl
- tütsi 'smoke' (PdC222)
- artuqşi 'more than usual' (Sayf26r:2)
- ayyruqş 'different' (Sang. 57v:4)
- yansi 'side' (MA167,2)

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

- tügsiz 'hairless' (KVB20v:15)
- balsiz 'without honey' (KVB20r:6)
- sa'adatsiz 'unhappy' (Sayf143r:9)
- sağıssiz 'countless' (Sayf3r:4)
- sansiz 'immense' (Sayf3r:4)

- şakksiz 'doubtless' (Sayf99r:11)
- qanatsiz 'wingless' (Sayf173v:1)
- bantsiz 'without a builder' (MM178r:12)
- ǧı̄čı̄bātsiz 'evident [< without a veil]' (MM178r:8)
- ḥatnasiz 'uncircumcised' (MM191r:13)
- inabatsiz 'unrepented' (MM198v:7)
- 'ılmisiz 'without knowledge' (MM186r:1)
- nişansiz 'without a sign' (MM192v:14)
- qariğisiz 'shoreless' (MM179r:3)
- ḥacatsiz 'having his wish unfulfilled' (IM2v:3)
- tübsiz 'bottomless' (MM179r:3)

Note: When in adjectival role this suffix may have a labial variant after syllables with round vowels. E.g.,
- ta'allumsuz 'without learning' (MM195r:13)
- adabusuz 'improperly [rendered service]' (MM194v:1)
- köçüşsiz 'with no need to set off' (MM197r:6)
- yunuğusuz 'without being in the state of ritual purity' (MM181v:12)

3.1.5.1.24. The Suffix -sizin/-sizin
Extension of -siz/-siz with the instrumental -in/-in [see 3.1.4.2.8.]. Mostly the derivatives occur in adverbial role.

- suwsizin 'without water' (KVB20v:17)
- çansizin 'without life' (MM197v:4)
- nätäglikszin 'without similitudes' (Sayf178r:11)
- nıyatsizin 'without having declared one's intention' (MM186v:6)
- otrüssuzün 'without performing the internal sitting' (MM187v:5)
- qira'atsizin 'without the recitation from the Qur'ān' (MM185r:10)
- qulavuzzuzün 'without a guide' (MM193v:17)
- yönüzün 'in disregard of one of the alternatives [i.e., turning one's left or right cheek to the ground]' (MM194r:16)
- zarûratüzün 'without being compelled' (MM186r:14)

3.1.5.1.25. The Suffix -suq/-sük
- tangsuq 'wonderful, rare' (Sayf73v:7)
- bağırsuq 'entrails, intestines' (Sayf145r:4)
- yüksük 'thimble' (PdC547)

3.1.5.1.26. The Suffix -š
Very productive. Formant of verbal nouns indicating the action itself or the result of the action. In modern Uzbek it is also the means to form the second infinitive from all four stems (see MLU 3.1.9.2.1.2.5.).
3.1.5.29. The Suffix -z
It forms names of objects that occur in pairs. Also, it creates abstract nouns from verbs. Some of these abstract nouns are also used as adjectives.

- ağiz ‘mouth’ (Sayf:12)
- boğaz ‘throat’ (MM:191:5)
- boğuz ‘throat’ (Sang: 136:12)
- ikiz ‘twins’ (MA129)
- keyiz ‘felt’ (Qub Hac.: 4533)
- kiğiz ‘small’ (KBV:11v:6)
- mängez ‘face’ (MM:188:18)
- münţüz ‘horn’ (NTM:12v:9)
- omuz ‘shoulder’ (PcD:81)
- öz ‘self’ (MM:179v:6)
- sâmiz ‘fat’ (Sayfi:6)
- söz ‘word’ (Sayf:43v:4)
- tiz ‘knee’ (MM:180v:18)
- uz ‘skillful’ (Sayf:10v:2)
- yätziz ‘perfectly correct’ (MM:191r:13)

3.1.5.30. The Suffix -vel, -avul
Mongolian suffix applied to Turkish bases.
- yangavul ‘flanker’ (ML p.24)
- qaravul ‘guard’ (ML p.24)
- čapavul ‘raid’ (Sang: 271v:15)
- yortavul ‘raider’ (Sang: 342v:8)
- yasavul ‘executive officer’ (NTM:5:6)
- čindavul ‘rear guard’ (NTM:4v:8)
- sızavul ‘herald’ (ML p.24)

3.1.5.31. The Suffix -sa/-sä
- engsä ‘nape’ (KBV:6v:1)
- umsa ‘hope’ (KB6v:10)
- bôksa ‘waist’ (PcD:173)
- ölûksa ‘corpse’ (Sang:86v:7)
- yâlpsa ‘fan’ (MA97,8)

3.1.5.2. Formation by Prefixes
Together with loan words from classical Persian elements of word formation were borrowed into Chagatai. Most of them were restricted to Persian materials, some, however, spread over to Turkish words.
3.1.5.2.1. The Prefix haṁ-
It indicates coexistence, joint agents, people sharing the same view.
  haṁavāz `speaking in the same tone’ (DN262r:)
  haṁdam `companion’ (Sayf119v:9)
  haṃdost `partner’ (DN259v:2)
  haṁdard `partner in sorrow’ (NIV148)
  haṁnafas `confidant’ (GD91:2)
  haṁnisīn `companion’ (GD111:4)
  haṃruh `an intimate friend’ (GD49:2)
  haṁzābān `of the same language’ (NIV149)
  haṁsaya `neighbor’ (ShD135r:1)
  haṁraḥ `fellow traveller’ (ShD42r:1)
  haṁrabz `close friend’ (ShD103v:8)
  haṁṣuḥbat `friend, companion’ (ShD124r:13)

3.1.5.2.2. The Prefix saṁ-
It indicates top quality, highest rank, first position.
  saṛāb `fountainhead’ (MM196r:11)
  saṛāgāz `prelude’ (NII54)
  saṛanĉam `conclusion’ (ShD86r:2)
  saṛbāz `soldier’ (Sayf45v:9)
  saṛhwaḥ `drunk’ (Sayf55r:13)
  saṛfītana `ringleader’ (GD37:1)
  saṛmāya `capital’ (ShD170v:12)
  saṛmasṭ `very drunk’ (ShD145v:2)
  saṛvaqṭ `bed’ (Sayf12v:10)
  saṛvar `preeminent’ (MM176v:14)
  saṛmanzil `the first station’ (GD76:5)

3.1.5.2.3. The Prefix ṣaḥ-, ṣāḥ
It indicates excellence of kind, superiority in quality or rank, uniqueness.
  ṣaḥbāz `royal falcon’ (ShD128r:3)
  ṣaḥpar `the longest feather in a bird’s wing’ (NII517)
  ṣaḥbalt `the royal distich of a ghazal’ (NII544)
  ṣaḥrāḥ `main road’ (ShD81v:9)
  ṣaḥsuvaṛ `an excellent horseman’ (ShD26v:12)

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

3.1.5.3.1. Determinative Compounds
In compounds of this type one element, mostly the first, determines [specifies, describes] the other. The derivative includes the thing referred to. It is within the semantic boundary of the word. E.g.,
  ḍaṃmaṣara n. `fountain’ (DN 249v:10)
  ḍastgāh n. `seat’ (DN 257v:6)
  guḷbarg n. `rose-leaf’(DN 270r:6)
  ṣabnām `dew’ (GD41:3)
  ābroy n. `honor, dignity’ (DN253r:10)

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

3.1.5.3.2.1. The first element is a noun, the second, and adjective. E.g.,
  dhilhafta `a broken-hearted person’ (GD186)
  ḍilaṭa n. `someone with a sad heart’ (DN270r:5)
  ḍaḥṭiparēsān n. `one who is distressed in mind’ (H81v:10)

3.1.5.3.2.2. Both elements are nouns. E.g.,
  maḥḥabapēsā `one whose profession is caring love’ (DN257r:4)
  anbārsar n. `ambergrishead’ (DN262v:11)
  guḷandām n. `a slender, delicate person’ (DN 269r:11)
  guḷṟang n. `rose-colored’ (GD110:5)
  guḷīzār n. `rose-cheeked’ (GD110:27:4)
  guḷruḥṣar `rose-faced’ (GD173:4)
  māḥpayaḵar n. `whose face is like the moon’ (258r:5)
  sarvṭaṅmat n. `straight like a cypress’ (DN249v11)
  sarvṛqadd n. `cypress-bodied [beloved]’ (H77v:4)
  ṣabrāṅ ṣaṅ ṣāṅkāl n. `sweet-tongued’ (H78v:3)

3.1.5.3.2.3. The first element is an adjective, the second, a noun. E.g.,
  pādkī n. `adherent of the pure faith’ (H79r:11)
  paresṇāroṣgār n. `one who is afflicted with troubles’ (DN270r:5)
  saṃmāṣār n. `innocent’ [< he whose drink is pure’] (DN258r:7)
  saṃbītaraḥ ṣaṁbhāta n. `steadfast’ [he who walks firmly’] (GD192:4)
  tāṅṣāro ṣaṅ ṣāṅkī n. `a person whose subsistence, allotted by Providence is scanty’ (DN 252r:11)
  farḥunda-saṅ ṣaṅ ṣāṅkāl n. `one whose company is auspicious’ (DN262r:10)

farḥunda-maqtam n. `one whose arrival is auspicious’ (DN248v:9)
Note: Many Persian derivative suffixes were borrowed into Chaga. Since they form, mostly, adjectives, [which then may occur as nouns], list them in the section on formation of adjectives. [see 3.3.]

3.2. Postpositions

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

3.2.1. Primary Postpositions

3.2.1.1. With the Nominative Case

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

3.2.1.1.1. The Postposition ara ‘into, with’

Çu aldî nâmâni elin uzatip, alurda muşık ara şandalin qa (DN251v:9) ‘When she took the lettuce reaching for it with hand, she added sandal fragrance to the scent of musk.’

Kim alip tur ağızga gök terin, bilip tur huşun ara şakarni š (DN 257v:2) ‘He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mouth appreciates in beauty the sweetness of sugar.’

Çu körđî nâmâni mihr etti ibsâs, qatištirdi eli qunduz ar; (DN258r:4) ‘When that sun set eyes on the letter, she anticipates what its message was. Her hand added the white of the ermit fur to the gray color of the beaver.’

3.2.1.1.2. The postposition bigin ‘like’

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

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

3.2.1.1.3. The postposition bilâ, bilân ‘with, together with’

Labing tuttum ki bermäş ihtiyyârî, könülün asrağil tî bilâ bârî. (DN244v:3) ‘I understand that your lips do not grant any options. Sooth the heart at least with words.’


Dedi, ‘Ol benava bulbul ne ištä, ki boldî kam bilan canî sirištä. (DN252r:4) ‘What happened to that destitute nightingale that his life was molded with sorrow.’

Bâstânding aning sütî bilâ dağî ulâyding mânim qatimda. (Sayf 15v:5) ‘You were nourished with her milk, and grew up in my presence.’

3.2.1.1.4. The Postposition birlâ, bîrlân ‘with, together with’

Bitidi nâmâ alun suyî bîrlân, vafa u mihr, rasm u hüyi bîrlân. (DN259r:2) ‘She wrote a letter with golden ink, with faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.’

Manga körğüzmişün Tengri hwad ol kün, ki tofraq bîrlâ bir bolgay zalamîn. (DN242r:7) ‘May God never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with common dust.’

Havâ bîrlân havas râyîna barğan, zalâlat makr va alîndin qarar-gan. (DN239v:8) ‘With expectation he follows the judgment of passion. [His face] is turning black as a result of tricks and ruses of aberration.’

Uşol damda yâtîstîlär ikâvlân, kirip bardî atasi bîrlâ oğlan. (H 77r:1) ‘Soon they arrived. Father and son entered [by the gate].’

3.2.1.1.5. The Postposition dek ‘exactly like’

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

"Yaşi daryâ bigin har yanî barîp, içdidin ‘umr âcîgîni çiqarîp. (DN 246v:9) ‘His tears like a big river [that burst its banks] ran in all directions bringing forth from his inside the bitterness of life.’"
Kim qaža yatkandā nadān dek bolurlar aşklyā. (BH16r:3) ‘For when the Divine Decree manifests itself, the wise will be ignorant.’

‘Iлим ejrî kınduz va cahlî dur qaranqı keča dek. (BH20r:3) ‘Knowledge is [like] daylight, ignorance, like the dark of night.’

Kim zumurrad dek emas har neča sabz ołgay gîya. (BH15r:9) ‘Just as grass will never be equal to emerald although it, too, is green.’

Ṣubh-i ‘alam dek munavvar ham kînâs dek bâşa. (BH18v:8) ‘It illuminates the word like the dawn. [It is] also serene and pure like the sun.’

Qızıl gul dek yuzunguz zaفارan dek atilganda bolup dur sâน haçan dek. (H78v:5) ‘Your face like red rose now is like saffron. In the season of blooming you are like autumn.’

Va taqlar rag-i rayan dek bołgay, ya’ni uṣaq qumlar dek. (RM36v:10-36v:11) ‘When the mountains will become like shifting sand, that is fine grains of sand....’

Ṣafq dek köz yasîdîn badapaymây, tanیدîn kîrîgzîzî har kün yângî ay. (DN25r:9) ‘A wine-drinker consuming his tears red like the color of the dawn. [The One] who, through his body, shows the new moon every day.’

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

Mening dek ay kök üstidâ yoq tur, bu kün kör kim ne yergâ yâtti halîm. (DN24r:6) ‘There is no moon like me in the sky. Look today to what level my rank has risen.’

3.2.1.1.6. The Postposition içrâ ‘in, within, into’


Kim bu gułsan içrâ tapti bulbul-î faq’îm nav. (BH22r:4) ‘When in this garden the nightingale—my inspiration—hits upon a melody.’

Har bîri içrâ filtr qilgay miz. (MS3r:5) ‘We will consider each one.’

Salîp sahr içrâ ‘îsq āvâzasînî, aĉîp yuzigâ gâm darvâzasînî. (DB240r:1) ‘He spreads the rumor about [his] love all over the town. He opens the gate of sorrow before his face.’

Sening köyungdîn, ay körk içrâ bağım, başim gar barsa barmaqay ayagîm (DN244v:5) ‘From your quarter, O, My Flowergarden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.’

Yüzûng ḳalî salîp ot içrâ fillîf, fusun qilmaqa aĉîp labrâng til. (DN244r:3) ‘The mole of your face sprinkles pepper upon the fire and your lips open the tongue to perform magic.’

3.2.1.1.7. The Postpositions ilâ, ilân ‘with, together with; and’

Ṣar ilâ zaahirî arasta dur, ġayrdin başîni perâsta dur. (RB9v:3) ‘[Join the group of those] whose behavior is governed by the Law and whose heart is cleansed from other [than God].’

Husn ilâ halq ara fasana durur, kim ki korsâ ani devâna durur. (RB6v:3) ‘For his beauty is a legend among the people. Whoever beholds him, becomes a madman.’

Haqq ta’ala sevar ani ki mudam kîşi Ḫaqân cînhiga subh ilâ şam. (RB3v:8) ‘God, the Most High, loves the person who watches, morning and evening, has his face turned toward Him.’

Taṣavur mantiqîn çon qildî taṣdiq, bîtîdî nâmec lutf ilâ ta’liq. (DN246v:1) ‘When he verified [with his heart] the logic of [his] imagination, he wrote a letter with graceful characters.’

Gar sorrar sen yazuğümî ‘adî ilâ va hasrata. (BH6v:4) ‘If, by exercising your harsh justice, you ask me to render account of my sins, woe is me.’

Bar durur kınduz bilân keča sabah ilân masâ. (BH15v:10) ‘Day followed by night, morning by evening.’

Dost birîn yahsilîq ġyâs, duşman ilân yahsiraq. (BH13v:9) ‘To treat a friend well is meritorious, to treat an enemy well is even better.’

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

Aning ilâ yoq qîlur va anîng ilâ bar qîlur. (BH13r:14) ‘With [that Power] He annihilates and creates.’

3.2.1.1.8. The Postpositions kebî, kâbi, kâbin ‘like’, ‘as’

Kečâlîr bidâr bol ancüm kebi uyguni qoy. (BH16v:5) ‘At night be vigilant. Like the stars, refrain from sleep.’

Lit., no matter how green it is

I.e., He surrenders to sorrow.
Yangı aynı kim qilur ay başında sayqul kebl. (BH3v:9) ‘Who, at the beginning of the month, makes the new moon [the shape of] a whetstone?’

Ay Şabani, nav käbin har şubdäm qilg il navâ. (BH12r:11) O Shabani, like a reed, sing [of the sorrow of separation] every morning.

3.2.1.10. The Postposition şifat ‘like’

Yā nahāl bigin sahiker er, yā sary şifat hamēsa āzād. (Sayf 177v:8) ‘A person must be either generous like the palm tree, or always uncommitted like the cypress.’

Men yigirmi altı yasda savda qildim, Mansur şifat didar ucun gayga qildim. (AY p.72) ‘At the age of twenty-six I became mad in love. I was shouting like Mansur51 for the vision [of God].’

Qulni körüm hizmat qilip qu’i boldum, tofray şifat yol üstüda yoli boldum. (AY p.106) ‘When I saw a slave, I became his slave and served him, like dust I was his road upon the road.’

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

Qaçči Haşab čarigi ‘adam qal’ası tapa. (Sayf181r:11) ‘The army of Ethiopia fled toward the fortress of annihilation.’

Kısı kim kık tapa taş atas. (Qtb p.167) ‘The person who throws stones toward the sky.’

Zikirdin zakirga bu uns açur ol, bu unsdin taʃakur tapa käcič ol. (MM198v:12) ‘Recollection makes intimacy accessible to the Recollector. From intimacy he progresses to contemplation.’

Basqa qabarqya yaqin kelğända, kafši yā sarmozani čiqarip ölügün yuzi tapa, hurmat bilä andaq olturqay kim aning tiriqligi-gid ałturgan bolqay. (RM45v:9-45v:2) ‘And upon reaching the tomb, they should remove their shoes or overshoes and sit down facing the dead with the same respect that they used to demonstrate when these deceased were alive.’

3.2.1.12. The Postposition teg ‘like’

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

Hamēsa sayə teg kungā mulazim bolup erişmäki boynına lazim. (DN258v:1) ‘She is always in attendance to the sun, like a shadow. It is vital that it shine upon her shoulders [all the time].’

Gamimdin gar deşä içimdäki düq, bulut teg yilğaygan in tartiban dâq. (DN256v:10) ‘If the rain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.’

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51 The cypress is “free” (ażad) because it does not bear fruit.
52 Manur Hallaj (858-922)
53 It was dawning.

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Reference to the opening lines of Rumi’s Masnavi.
Meni sen körögây sen özgä hargiz, pari teg közungä uçqay camalim. (DN242r:2) ‘You will never see me in any other way. Like a fairy, my beauty will fly into your eyes.’

Muhammed Êwaca beg ol kim Ali teg üküüs cavân qilur maydan içindä. (MN295r:2) ‘He is Muhammed Êwaca Beg, the one, who like Ali, displays his skills very often on the battle field.’

Sahe ðel teg ‘ûmr baqasi keçti. (Sayf41v:4) ‘The rest of [our] lives has past like the desert wind.’

Kâyıklar teg kezip etip cigar ëun, gïmi taq va qizil yäşi ñabar-ëun. (DN259r:3) ‘He is strolling like a deer absorbed in thoughts. His sorrow is a mountain, his tears, the fruit of the jujube [tree].’

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

İserat qil samangha kim açilsun, nişar uçun diram yanglıjä saçilsun. (DN266v:6) ‘Order the jasmine to open and spread like silver coins scattered in a feast.’

Biti tek emdi tarihini kätib, erû tarihí uçun zâbû vácb. (DN271v:5) ‘Mark right now the copyist: to preserve the date it is necessary to put it on record.’

Taqi Bizing qasimizda muhâyya’ turur kafrêler uçun dardin âzâblar. (RM36r:5-7) ‘And We have with Us and ready harrowing tortures for the kafrs.’

İsq uçun Adam ata bir cav bahâna qildi bil. (BH11v7) ‘Know that for the sake of love Adam, our father, disobeyed God on the matter of a grain of wheat.’

Qoy dâgul çuban uçun ay zu-funun, balki çuban qoylara hidmat uçun. (Sayf40r:11) ‘The sheep are not for the sake of the shepherd O, Master, but the shepherd is for serving the sheep.’

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

Aning uçun barça mursallargâ boldi pişvâ. (BH10r:10) ‘That is why he is the leader of all messengers.’

3.2.1.1.14. The Postposition üzä ‘on, upon’

Qurup çimbân üzä sahâna hos taht. (Qub p.204) ‘They put up a royal throne on the grass.’

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

Ḥabar bardî Allah kalami bizä: Tayammum qiling tep arîq ver üzä. (MM183r:7) ‘God’s Words have informed us: “Perform the tayammum upon clean soil.”’

Ħalq-i chân maskan uçun ḥak erûr. Yattim esa ver üzä ne bâk erûr? (AC325v:2) ‘To obtain a dwelling place, the people of this world humiliate themselves to the ground. What harm, then, if I too lie on the ground’?

Kûyäv epni üzä qizning ayağ. (Sayf138v:2) ‘The girl’s legs are upon the shoulders of the bridegroom.’

3.2.1.1.15. The Postposition üzä ‘on, upon’

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

Qanaṭin yaydí kök üzrä ḥavâsil, firâq-i bâl ulusqa boldi häšil. (DN267v:3) ‘The pelican spread its wings in the sky and a time of leisure was granted to the people.’

Top-tola kordî mala’ik mây veüz fave favc. (BH9r:7) ‘He saw many angels in hosts above the waves.’

3.2.1.1.16. The Postposition yanglıj, yanglıq ‘like, similar to’

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

Çiçayin yer içindä nala yanglıq, kafâni qanda bulâq lala yanglıq. (DN244v:11) ‘Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry and stain the shroud with blood [red] like tulips.’

Ravza yanglıq hüsün başgida yangaçi när erûr. (Sayf180v:12) ‘In the garden of beauty which is like the garden of paradise, her cheeks are [reddish] like the pomegranate.’

Ikkî rûhsarî erdi mah yanglıq. (H73v:2) ‘His two cheeks were like the moon.’

64 You cannot help noticing my beauty.
65 I.e., red
66 Split into two halves by the Prophet when he needed two witnesses to prove that he was the true messenger.
Körüp bir gülün yel yangılıg erişmä, savurmağıl köngülning rözağarın. (DN254v:6) ‘Beholding a rose do not rush there like the wind. Do not scatter the household of the of heart.’

Note: The pronoun base [only demonstratives occur] is in the nominative case when followed by yangılığ. E.g.,
Kim ki esitsa bu yangılıg sözni, taştısi dur anga mä’ill özünü. (RB 6v:5) ‘A person who hears such words about him will surely find himself attracted to him.’
Uşbu yangılıg tartişi ‘alamda aygıl kim qilur. (BH5v:11) ‘Tell me, who in this world can prepare such a compound?’

3.2.1.2. With the Genitive Case
Most of the postpositions that occur with nouns in the nominative case, take pronouns, demonstrative or personal, in the genitive case. See dek, ilä, kebi, sari, ücün above.

3.2.1.3. With the Ablative Case [see 3.1.4.2.7.7.]

3.2.1.3.1. The Postposition burna ‘before’

łuftan namazdın burna (MS15v:3) ‘before the night prayer’
zavaldın burna ‘before noon’ (MS15r:3)

3.2.1.3.2. The Postposition burun ‘before’

Agar tang yaqin bolsa, vitr namazını tahaccuddin burun ougu­gay. (RM17v:3-4) ‘If dawn arrives early, he should perform the witr before the tahajjud prayer.’
Haqq ta’al barça aşıyani yaratmasdin burun. (BH5r:8) ‘Before God, the Most High created all things.’

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

3.2.1.3.3. The Postposition cudä ‘separated from’

Ay Şabanı ol möğul hacring köngülđä saqlağil, näyläsun andin cudä köngülüm ara şabar va şikeb. (ShD22v:1) ‘O, Shaban, keep in your heart your separation from that Moghul beauty. Without it why would I have tolerance and patience in my heart?’

Ham ‘ała’iq ham hala’iq dunyä seymäkdi cudä. (BH3r:3) ‘Separated from family, people, and love for this world.’

3.2.1.3.4. The Postposition öng ‘before’

Başçadin öng qilmiş erdi Mustafaing rühin. (BH5r:6) ‘Before all else the Eminent and Excellent Lord created the Spirit of Mustafa.’
Yemäkdisin öng æl yup taqi songra ham. (MM194v:8) ‘Wash your hands before eating and also after.’

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

3.2.1.3.5. The Postposition öngin ‘other than; except’

Biling lä ilaha temək ne bolur: İdidin öngin yoq çigay bay qilur. (MM177v:3) ‘You must know what là ilaha means. [It means that] no one save the Lord makes one poor or rich.’
Tişilär ayası taqi yüzündin öngin bilgü ‘avrat tükäl özldin. (MM 180v:16) ‘Know that all parts of a woman’s body except the palms of her hand and her face are considered pudenda.’

Note: The phrase İdidin öngin occurs also as the technical term for mä sıvâ’ıläh ‘other than God’ and can take the ablative case ending. E.g.,
İdidin öngindin yüzün äwrübän, idi utru kulli äwürmäk yüzü. (MM179r:12) ‘One must turn away from everything other than God, and orient oneself entirely to Him.’

3.2.1.3.6. The Postposition özgä ‘other than’

Manga yoq tur figäre sendin özgä, sanga yoq tur nigäre mendin özgä. (DN253v:5) ‘I do not have a sore wound other than you, you do not have a sweetheart, other than me.’
Sendin özgä yoq turur ‘alamda Rahman u Rahim. (BH7r:2) ‘Other than you, there is in this world no Beneficient One, no Merciful One.’
Ol ḥatun kirdi ersä, tutup, öüp, cima’din özgä qılğanlarni qildi. (RM24r:2-3) ‘When the woman entered [his store], he took hold of her, kissed her, and did everything with her short of having intercourse.’
3.2.1.3.7. The Postposition song 'after'

_Uyğandın song_. ğon tüz olturğay, bu duťanı oquğay. (RM11r:5) 'After awakening, when he sits up, he should recite the following prayer.'

_Basa vítr namazini tahaccuddin song oquğay_. (RM17v:1-2) 'And he should perform the witr prayer after the tahajjud prayer.'

_Bu kündän song_ bu işdín tabva etkî, qılıp eygü 'amal canňatka ketgîl. (Sayf139r:2) 'Starting today repent and give up this thing, do good deeds and go to Paradise.'

_Musafer timpahé bilmak sorup salam sufradin song erūr olturup_. (MM194v:3) 'One must learn a traveler's condition by asking him about it after the reception meal, while the company is still seated.'

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

3.2.1.3.8. The Postposition songra 'after'

_Ol haramîlar maqribdän songra_ keliq qâilâ urup mâl và ni'mat ketürdîlar. (Sayf12v:6-7) 'After sunset the highway robbers came, attacked the caravan and took away merchandise and goods.'

_Nafîdin songra_ ki bar ilâlakah, munda yetkäda esit bu dur râh. (RB7v:10) 'After the negation comes [the phrase] but God. When you reach this point here is how [you should proceed]. Listen well!'

_Bu kündän songra_ acildi châning, savuq day ëllasidin cüştì caning. (DN266r:5) 'From this day on your world is in bloom; your life is out of the forty day cold.'

_Bir nečä kündän songra_ kördî kim qalq aning üstünä yiçilip turur. (Sayf88v:2) 'A few days later he saw that people were gathering around [the beggar].'

3.2.1.3.9. The Postposition taš 'outside of'

_Altâ farzdur biling namazdän taš_. (MS10r:6) 'There are six mandatory duties outside the prayer.'

3.2.1.4. With the Dative Case [see 3.1.4.2.5.9.]

3.2.1.4.1. The Postposition ohsâš 'like, similar to'

_Va başgîning hay'atâni namazda olturğan kišîlärğä ohsâš halq qılıp turur--tağlar va taşlar dek kim bir yerdâ olturup tebrân-mây tasbih aytyurlar_. (RM27v:5-8) 'And the appearance of others--such as mountains and rocks, which stay in one place and do not move--He has created so that they resemble people who are performing the sitting in the prayer and are saying the tasbih.'

_Firaqında keçâr har keçä yel teg tanım helmeğä ohsâš boldi qil teg_. (DN259v:9) 'Separated from me he strolls like breeze every night. He has become like a [single] hair, resembling my body and my waist.'

3.2.1.4.2. The Postposition qarsî, qaršî 'opposite to, facing; toward'

_Ani ol aqar suwğ qarsî yürtitgä sân_. (KBV63v:17) 'Make it [the horse] walk against the current of that river.'

_Banaʃa boyın egi bulgâ qarşı_ acîp 'abhar közin sunbulgâ qarşı_. (Sayf3v:5) 'The violet bowed to the rose [and] the jasmine opened its eyes to the hyacinth.'

3.2.1.4.3. The postposition tegru 'until'

_Neçäga tegru_ sorar sen mendin emdi bu şaбар. (BH9v:8) 'Now, how long will you keep asking me about this [journey]?'

_Sahargä tegru_ namazğa turur edî. (Sayf63r:4) 'He was at his prayers until morning.'

_Ancâga tegru_ eygü ating hayár üzä qalq sözlänän el tilindä châning dilavari. (Sayf122v:3) 'Until that time your name will survive with good attributes and you will be called the valiant hero of this world.'

3.2.1.5. With the Locative Case

3.2.1.6.1. The Postposition keđin 'after'

_Yarîmî kim qalur ayaqîng yu, Anda keđin tamam bolur bu vuzu_. (MS7v:5) 'With the half that remains, wash your feet. This done [< after this] the vuzu' is complete.'
Cihanî Haqq *varatmisdin kedin*. (Qurb294) ‘After God created this world.’

Yaqin bir temișdâ ikinîn yâtûr, taqî *anda kedin* taşahhud kättûr. (MM184r:14) ‘If you are sure about one do the second and then perform the taşahhud.’

*Üs emdidân kedin bel bağalaşyn.* (Qurb153) ‘From now on we will make a great effort [in our service].’

3.2.1.6.2. The Postposition *ön* ‘before’ (see 3.2.1.3.4.)

Asîg qımlas ol kop ökünç yésâ song, âr ol kim ongarsa icin mun-da ön. (MM193r:9) ‘To have regrets when it is too late is of no avail. The [wise] man rectifies his condition while there is still time.’

Munung orta otruşa ön birisi, taqî bir sônginça, ây şâhibhûdâ. (MM185r:6a) ‘One of these recitations should be performed before the internal sitting, the other one after it, O Well-guided One!’

3.2.1.6.3. The Postposition *song* [see 3.2.1.3.7.]

Song otruṣda *qadru’t-taşahhûda* song ketür ikki sacda, cavâb us, sa’ll. (MM183v:4) ‘In the last sitting position after a time as long as is required to pronounce the testimony formula, make two prostrations.’

3.2.2. Secondary Postpositions

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

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

Banağa *saçing allida* aëlîmey, uyattin başini yuqari qîlmay. (DN 250r:10) ‘The sweet violet does not bloom in the presence of your hair. Out of shame it does not raise its head.’

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

*Mürimi allidin* ta ötti ol zulf, nesimîn muşavvaş dur dimâği. (DN 239r:6) ‘Since those tresses swept by Müirim’s face, the breeze they generated perplexed his brain.’

3.2.2.3. The Postposition *arasında* ‘among; between’

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

Farz *bîla* sunnat arasıda. (RM14v:9) ‘Between the farz and sunna [rak‘ats].’

Padşahlârûng arasında mân oq tur mân gâdâ. (BH11r:11) ‘Among kings, I alone am a beggar.’

Cabîlîr ara ‘âlim oltorsa anga oðhîr, bir şam‘-î munavvar dur köçüzur arasında. (Sayf170v:9-10) ‘If a learned man sits among the ignorant, it is like lit candle among the blind.’

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

Çarîging allida Sultân ‘Ali bin Musa Rîzâ erdîlîr. (RM 5v:6-7) ‘Sultan ‘Ali bin Musa Riza was at the head of the army.’

Maşe‘îl-î kîbîrdûn kop kısi alarning allida kelip erdîlîr. (RM 5v:7-8) ‘Many distinguished sheikhs came up to him.’

Cu qoysang ol *harab allida* game bitigni fez tegûr, bizdîn saîmê. (DN 246v:5) ‘When you come to the presence of that wretched [person] give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from us.’

Tilâdî *aşugup allida* şabrang, vidâ‘ê körgûzûp atlandi dîltang. (DN270r:5) ‘Wasting no time she asked for her dark bay horse, bade good-bye, and, with a sad heart, mounted [her horse].’

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

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

(b) Idiom: *allida tilî- ‘to summon’

Tilîdî allida tîmîyay şabani, bitigni berdi va fez etti anî. (DN 246v:3) ‘She summoned the Morning Wind to his presence at once, gave it the letter and sent it off right away.’
3.2.2.9. The Postposition ֳhaqqiqa ‘in the interest of, in relation to, toward’

Malikning šafaqäti aning ֳhaqqiqa daqiq artuqraq boldi. (Sayf 21r:6) ‘The inclination of the King toward him increased even more.’
Ol zamän beglarindän bir beg bu taʃa haqqiqa gåyat i’tiqad bağlap daqiq mubah bolup idrär mu’ayyan qildi. (Sayf28v:7) ‘One of the Begs of those days developed close ties with this group, became their friend and established an allowance for them.’

3.2.2.10. The Postposition icn(d)ä ‘in, within, inside’

Qaranγuluq icndä tapilur āb-i hayvä. (Sayf66r:3) ‘The water of life is to be found in the darkness.’
Iši yoq muhtasibnig ay icndä. (Sayf49v:1) ‘The officer of weights and measures has nothing to do inside the house.’
Ol diyänatda şuʃi va saʃi, şar icndä vaʃi va ham vaʃi. (MS10r:2) ‘In matters of religion he is wise and clear-sighted. In matters of the Law he is comprehensive and correct.’
Bahr icndä qaṭrani ki qildi durr-i bahaha. (BH4r:7) ‘Who makes a drop [of water] in the sea a precious pearl?’
Uzun tün qalmaγa allingda şamlar, yarugay aşicn dä subhdamlar. (DN248r:7) ‘May sorrow not stay in your presence for long nights. May mornings dawn upon in luxury and pleasure.’
Muvabbab tapi anda iši qazin, mufassal icnä bir bir bayânin. (DN252r:1) ‘There he found the secrets of love laid down in chapters with statements disclosed in paragraphs.’

Idioms: ol kün icndä ‘that day’
 tarafu’l-ayne icndä ‘in the twinkling of an eye’

3.2.2.11. The Postposition haźratina ‘to, to the presence of’

Keræk qul da’ima taqšíri uzrin kätürgay hväcasining haźratina. (Sayf3r:2) ‘It is necessary that the servant always bring to the presence of his master excuses for his inefficiencies.’
Hamin kim tapti varic hazratina, tavazu’ qildi va qoydi qatina. (DN243v:2) ‘As soon as it arrived to the presence of the Friend, it greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.’

68 Lit., while you enjoy food and company
Bir köp yauqli qul Ḥaqq taṣalā ḥazratina kelep... (Sayf2r:12) 'A very sinful servant came to the presence of God, the Most High.'

3.2.2.12. The Postposition ḥidmati(n)da 'in the presence/service of'

Vaqt bolur kim nadimlărgă sultan hidmatinda kis bilan altun tegar. (Sayf24r:9) 'There are times when in the presence of the King a bagful of gold comes to the hands of the servants.'

Elig yup özdin di hidmatingda, arıqliq lafin urmay hazratıngda. (DN244r:2) 'The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.'

3.2.2.13. The Postposition känınă 'after'

Kişi kün yоgra ham kırıssé bolmas, safahat känınă erıssă bolmas. (DN246r:1) 'One cannot interfere in his actions day after day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.'

3.2.2.14. The Postposition känıdīa 'in the wake of'

Har baharı kim kełür bar dur ḥazâni känıdīa. (BH15v:9) 'Every spring that comes has an autumn in its wake.'

3.2.2.15. The Postposition orınna, orningă 'in the place of, for'

Agar ottuz altığa tegsă tewă, mahâz orningă ämdı bint labün, (MM18r:16) 'If the number of additional camels goes as high as thirty-six, give a bint labün instead of a [bint]-mahâz.'

Şakar orınna hanzal kim berıp tur? Yaman söz yahşiğa kim yibarp tur? (DN248v:2) 'Who has ever given wild gourd in return for sugar? Who has ever sent bad words in response to good ones?'

3.2.2.16. The Postposition qașina, qașiğa 'to the presence of, to, at'

Žiyâfath fikri čon tustî bašinga, tapuççilarnı ündändim qașiğa. (DN268v:2) 'When the thought of the banquet occurred to me, I called the servants to my presence.'

Kirip keldi qașiğma ol dilǝrар, yüzı andaq ki muškin pardada ay. (DN268v:8) 'The beloved entered and came to my presence; her face was like the moon upon a black curtain.'

3.2.2.17. The Postposition qaši(n)da 'in the presence of, at'

Taği Bizing qašımizda muhayyi' turur kafırlar üçün dardnăk 'azablar. (RM36r:5-7) 'And We have with Us and ready harrowing tortures for the kafirs.'

Üç kişi Ḥazrat-i Payğambar, 'alaihi-s-salām, qaşida keldilär. (RM39v:4-6) 'Three people came to the noble Prophet, peace be upon him.'

Yüzı gül saçı sunbul sarv-qadd azâdalar qaşida, közı bâdâm dahanı günça dek şahzâdalar qaşida. (H77v:4) '[The goblet that comes round] to the rose-faced, hyacinth-haired, cypress-bodied noble ones, to the almond-eyed, bud-mouthed princes.'

3.2.2.18. The Postposition qaşidin 'from the presence of, from'

Yātištī Ḥaqq qaşidin Cibra'il baz, mānı aldıḡa keldi qildi parvâz. (H75r:7) '[Then] Gabriel again set out from the Divine Court and came flying to me.'

3.2.2.19. The Postposition qatina 'to the side of, to'

Bir ahmaq kiśining közi aşırī edî. Baytar qatına barıp aytî. (Sayf147r:10) 'The eyes of a fool were hurting. He went to see a veterinarian and said to him.'

Hamin kim tapti yari hazratina, tâvazu' qildi va qoydı qatina. (DN243v:2) 'As soon as he arrived to the presence of the Friend, he greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.'

Barçaşı munung qatina keldilär. (Sayf14v:13) 'All of them came to see him.'

Da'vānî qazi qatina eltırlär. (Sayf33v:4) '[People] take their claims to the Judge.'

Ol qavm kim andan zulm körüp edilär barça munung qatina kelep taqvıyat qildilär. (Sayf17r:4) 'All those people who had experienced ill treatment from him, came to this [sultan] and gave him support.'
3.2.2.20. The Postposition qatinda ‘at the side of, by, with’

Bir baqqalning süfilar qatinda bir necha ağaçsi borç yığıldı. (Sayf 85r:11) ‘The sufis ran up an account of a few coins at the grocer.’

Bəsləndəng aning süti bilan dağı ulqayding mənim qatinda. (Sayf14v:6) ‘You were nurtured with their milk but grew up at my side.’

Sən tana ‘um icində qayğung yoq, çon tapuğə qatinda özəng əqoq. (Sayf 77v:1) ‘You live in influence and have no worries as there are many goodlooking servants at your side.’

Öydə bolsang bu ilbiyatların qil. Yoq dur israf ariq qatida, bil. (MS8r:1) ‘When you are at home, take the measures enumerated above. Know that you should not waste [water even] at the side of a flowing source of water.’

Kəlib ləqələ baș qoyguq qatinda, buzulmaqışğa yuq qoyguq sitamlar. (DN248r:11) ‘The name of sorrow will depart from the book of life. The numbers will draw to the total of the heart.’

3.2.2.21. The Postposition qatı(n)din, qatı(n)dan ‘from the presence of, from’

Qəcan sürsə qulun Təngə-qatından. (Sayf57v:13) ‘When God drives away his servant from His presence.’

Amiri araşıq sən köç yagı birlə, sen ol gulni ki bərmasun qatımdin. (DN245r:10) ‘Amiri, nurture that rose with the oil of the eye so that it never leave us.’

İttifaq tüşti kim qatımdan safar etti. (Sayf135v:8) ‘It so happened that he embarked on a journey from our circle.’

3.2.2.22. The Postposition üstü(n)də ‘upon; over’

Paftalıq toşak bigin qar üstündə yattuq yalıng, kećä kündüzü barabər üstəmə tondu savuq. (ShD79v:3-4) ‘We were lying naked on the snow soft like a cotton mattrasse. Night and day at a stretch cold froze me over.’

Menin dektə ay kök üstündə yoq tur, bu kün kör kim ne yergə yellə həlam. (DN242r:6) ‘There is no moon like me in the sky. Look to day to what level my situation has risen.’

Va har kim yatqay kim subh aning üstədə tuulu' qilgə. (RM 19v:8-9) ‘Anyone who goes to bed and [without getting up to pray] stays there until dawn rises over him.’

Mağar laf urdi gul bilməy nihən, kim ağnatting tikən üstədə anı. (DN244r:6) ‘Did the rose, not knowing discretion, engage in idle talk that you rolled it around upon thorns.’

Idiom: Ayaq üstədə tur- ‘to rise’

Ya'ni, ayaq üstədə turmaq naməz üçün (RM33v:10-34r:1) ‘That is to say, [during night hours] it is very difficult to rise for the prayer.’

3.2.2.23. The Postposition üstinə ‘onto, upon’

Köngüldə əşəq or saldı buləq, yana dəq üstinə sen qoymağil dağ. (DN244r:8) ‘The fire of your love cast confusion into [my] heart. Do not press again the branding iron upon the wound made by a branding iron.’

Pəresən köngüldə ağıır əvər can, sirişki kəhrəbə üstinə marçan. (DN259r:10) ‘The precious life is very heavy for his distraught heart. His tear drops are like coral beads upon [his] amber-colored face.’

3.3. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives describe objects by their quality, quantity or relationship. They have no special word-class markers. We identify them more by their syntactic function than by their forms. Some derivative adjectives, however, can be identified as adjectives without grammatical context by their means of derivation.

3.3.1. Syntactic Function of Adjectives

Chagatay adjectives may occur in the following syntactic roles:

3.3.1.1. Adjectives in Attributive Position

Adjectives may occur in attributive position, i.e., they may modify nouns in Modifier > Head structures. E.g.,

- sarbasta rız ‘innermost secret’
- ranglıq guflar ‘colorful presentation’
- altun vaqqar ‘a golden page’
- bətəf namazı ‘invalid prayer’
- ‘aqil er ‘a wise man’
- qarənggü kečə ‘dark night’

44 MS has ‘gəyz’
3.3.1.2. Adjectives in Predicative Position
Adjectives may occur in predicative position in the following roles:

(a) either as subject complements. E.g.,
   Sen ol ündin pareşan bolma ay gul! (DN238r:10) ‘Do not be
distraught by that voice, O Rose!’
   Kimining sözüleri mavzun u şirin. (Sayf185v:6) ‘The poems of
some are well-proportioned and sweet.’

(b) or as object complement. E.g.,
   Qilih xubbotnim hamdamlar dami garm. (DN234r:10) ‘The talk
of people of the same conviction make the conversation warm.’
   Ani sen cumla şa’ir kambari bil. (Sayf185v:10) ‘Know him the
smallest of your servants.’

3.3.1.3. Adjectives Modified by Adverbs
Adjectives can be modified by adverbs. E.g.,
   köp yazuqlı qul ‘a very sinful servant’
   engân bilgısiz ‘very ignorant’
   şayat ħwas ‘very pleasant’

3.3.1.4. Adjectives Allow Formation of Degrees
Qualitative adjectives may have comparative, superlative, absolute or
intensive forms created by inflection or by syntactic means, or both. E.g.,
   sendan yahşıraq ‘better than you’
   eng äksık qul ‘the lowliest servant’
   musûkdan ubğuraq ‘bigger than a cat’
   andan yahşıraq ‘better than that’

3.3.1.5. Adjectives Occur as Appositions
Appositions immediately precede the nouns they refer to. They may also
be attached to the noun by the Izafat marker -i. Less frequently,
appositions directly follow the noun in juxtaposition. E.g.,
   Telbâ Şabani furqa tığa yansa na ‘acab? (ShD145r:1) ‘If
Shaybani, the fool is consumed by the fire of separation, no one
should wonder.’
   Sarayı Sayf-i beçara ‘Sayf-i Sarayı, the unfortunate one.’
   Luqman-i haqim ‘Luqman, the physician’
   qul ‘Imadi ‘Imadi, the servant’
   Haqq ta‘ala ‘God, the Most High’
   Sayf-i Sarayı qul ‘Sayf-i Sarayı, the servant’

3.3.1.6. Adjectives Occur as Modifiers in Izafat Structures
In descriptive Izafat structures adjectives may occur as second elements.
E.g.,
   rah-i rast ‘straight path’
   ša‘r-i nihani ‘hidden law’
   sayyad-i magbzun ‘unwise fisherman’
   yar-i hamzil ‘true friend’
   bitig-i ‘asgaza ‘love letter’
   mäh-i taban ‘shining moon’

3.3.1.7. Adjectives as Bases for Word Formation by Derivation
Adjectives can serve as bases for nominal as well as verbal derivation. E.g.,
   eygülük ‘goodness’
   bâhiq ‘greed’
   bayit- ‘to enrich’
   ong ‘to heal’
   tür ‘to come to life’
   tüzât- ‘to establish’

3.3.1.8. Adjectives Substantivized [see 3.3.2.2.]
Adjectives can occur substantivized and have all the morphological and
functional characteristics of a noun including inflection for cases
and possession. E.g.,
   Sâgga sağlıq yâtât. (Sayf 177r:8). For the right one its being right
suffices.’
   Aygulârga bu yamanîn tegmâsûn. (Sayf110v:2) ‘This wickedness
of yours should not reach the good ones.’
   Bilişâr birlâ ħwas ariqgâ zindan ki yiğler birlâ bolqânça gulis-
tân. (Sayf168r:10-11) ‘For the enlightened to be in prison among
acquaintances is better than to be in paradise with strangers.’

3.3.1.9. Adjectives Modified by Measures
Adjectives can be modified by expressions of measurements. The
adjectival phrase as a whole may modify a noun. E.g.,
   Yâsimiz teng u bir ikki ay kücük ham. ‘We are of the same
age, he may be one or two months younger.’
   vämtiš vaşar bir qari er (Sayf133r:7) ‘a seventy years old man’
   Qatîmitızda yuiq vaşar bir qari er bar. (Sayf132r:10) ‘There is a
one hundred years old man in our presence.’
   vaši yetmişdâ yetkân bir qari er (Sayf133r:7) ‘a seventy years
old man’
3.3.1.9. Adjectives with Complements in Case Forms
Adjectives may require their complements in case forms other than the nominative case. [See 4.4.2.]
- tıkänlärğä yauq ‘close to the thorns’
- qanına sa’i ‘thirsty for his blood’
- yüzüülmğa ḥayran ‘admiring my face’
- ıştın farîq ‘done, free from work’
- kişiğä dostgir ‘helping someone’
- otqa girîftar ‘captive in the fire’

3.3.1.10. Adjectives Used as Verbless Clauses
Adjectives can occur in absolute [unconnected] use as the realization of a verbless clause to express state, status, or attending circumstances. E.g.,
Yürüdüm ev sari men zar u girîyan, qilib parvana teg özümni biryân. (DN235v:11) ‘I progressed toward the house, tearful and bitter. I scorched myself, as the moth [in the flame of the candle].’

3.3.2. Classification of Adjectives
3.3.2.1. Semantic Classification
By their meanings adjectives can be divided into qualitative and relative adjectives.

3.3.2.1.1. Qualitative Adjectives
Qualitative adjectives specify a noun by its quality [size, color, shape, consistency and temperature]. Since qualities occur in different degrees and can be compared, qualitative adjectives are gradable. E.g.,
- şirin ‘sweet’ > şirin söz ‘sweet [pleasant] words’
- az ‘small’ > az ot ‘small fire’
- muşkil ‘difficult’ > muşkil iš ‘difficult work’
- ‘aça’lb ḥalat > ‘strange condition’
- yaḫşi farzand > ‘good farzand’

3.3.2.1.2. Relative Adjectives
Relative adjectives specify a noun by its relationship to place or time. They are mostly derivative adjectives formed from nouns. Relative adjectives cannot be compared. E.g.,
- qadîmi ‘old, ancient’ > qadîmi divâr ‘old wall’
- qışlaqdaki ‘being in the winter quarter’ > qışlaqdaki mâl ‘cattle in the winter quarter’
- elindäki ‘being in his hand’ > elindäki ekmäk ‘bread in his hand’
- eli altîndäki ‘being in his service’ > eli altîndäki qavm ‘his vassals’

3.3.2.2. Gradable and Nongradable Adjectives
Chagatay adjectives can be divided into gradable and nongradable categories. Gradable adjectives indicate qualities of different degree or intensity. By definition only adjectives expressing qualities belong to this category.

Chagatay grammars distinguish three degrees of adjectives: positive, comparative and superlative.

3.3.2.2.1. The Positive Degree
There is no special grammatical marker for the positive degree. E.g.,
- belgili fâris (Sayf7r:8) ‘an outstanding horseman’
- yaman temûr (Sayf15r:6) ‘iron of bad quality’
- yângi qumâş (Sayf93v:10) ‘a new robe’
- rah-i rast (DN258v:5) ‘a straight path’

3.3.2.2.2. The Comparative Degree
There are two ways to form the comparative degree in Chagatay.
(a) With the comparative marker -raq/-râk:
- Ganîrâk kim esâ muhtâcrâk tur. (Sayf19v:4) ‘He who is richer is more in need.’
- Munung yağılân sözî sâning toğri söçûngdân yahîraq turur. (Sayf9v:1) ‘The false words of this [ważîr] are better than my true words.’
- Bu kâğızpara kim [anda] Tengri ta’âla atî bolgay alardin açîraq kelgäy. (RM8v:5-7) ‘The piece of paper with the name of God the Most High on it will be heavier.’
- Mening heç kişim ölêm dûr, va lekin mança bir nemä vâqî bollup turur kim yûz qatla qarindašlar olğändigîn yamanaq turur. (RM10v:9-21r:1) ‘None of my relatives has died, but something has happened to me that is a hundred times worse than the death of one’s brothers.’

Note: Adjectives with the suffix -raq/-râk may indicate a little greater or a little smaller quality [as in modern Uzbek]. Often they occur as adverbs.
- Qur’ânînî ähastaraq oqup, harf harfini bilgîrța tartîb bilan oqûgîl. (RM30v:8-9) ‘Recite the Qur’an quite slowly, enunciating each sound in proper sequence.’
- Agar uzunraq sursa bilsa, oqûgî. (RM17r:10-17v:1) ‘If he knows a longer verse, he should recite it.’
(b) The adjective with no marker occurs with the ablative case of the name of the thing to which something is compared. E.g.,
Körüp tur ta yanyaqin sari dida, bolup tur almadin könğlüm guzida. (DN257r:7) ‘Ever since my eyes looked toward your face, my heart has been a preferable simile for the apple.’
Ne kim desâm yüzing dur andin artuq, könğül allida la’lîng candin artuq. (DN263r:4) ‘Whatever I call it, your face is more than that; in the presence of the heart, your ruby [lips] are [worth] more than life.’
Haşm sendân külê durn. (Sayf100v:7) ‘The enemy is stronger than you.’

3.3.2.1.2.3. The Suplative Degree
The suplative degree is expressed in several ways.
(a) With the particle eng ‘most’ and, rarely, engân ‘very much’ placed before the adjective. E.g.,
eng äksîk qul (Sayf46r:12) ‘the lowest servant’
engân qisqaqûq (MM187v:15) ‘very short’

(b) The adjective is substantivized and put in possessive relationship with the name of the group out of which an individual stands out. The possessor may be without the genitive case marker. E.g.,
Baylarning yahısıraqi ol durur kim faqîrlar quyûsun yegay daqî faqîrlar yahısıraqi ol durur kim baylardan köz yumgay. (Sayf 158v:6) ‘The best of the rich is the one who cares about the poor and the best of the poor is the one who disregards the rich.’
Aning teg oqidi šîr-i nihanî, ki toymay qalû dur elning yamani. (DN258r:8) ‘She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil people would not comprehend it.’
Va elning yahısısi ol dur kim kişi ani da’im qîla tura alğay, agarci az bolsa. (RM32v:1-2) ‘Yet it would be the best for people to pray every night, even if only a little.’
Ibadatlarning yahısıraqi Qur’ân oqumaq turur. (RM9v:9-10r:1) ‘The best of services [to God] is to recite from the Qur’ân.’

(c) The adjective follows a noun with the postposition ara ‘among’
bar payğambar ara ulûq (MS2r:6) ‘the greatest of all prophets’

3.3.2.1.2.4. Intensive Forms of Adjectives
The intensive or absolute form of the adjective indicates a high degree of a quality with no reference for comparison. It is very closely related to the suplative degree. The difference being that the suplative degree indicates ‘the best among many’, the intensive, ‘the very best’. There are several ways to indicate intensive degree of adjectives.

(a) By adverbs of intensity such as kämil ‘perfect’, köp ‘many’, asru ‘very much’. E.g.,
bir kämil bilîgi er (Sayf23v:5) ‘a most learned person’
bir köp yazuqî qul (Sayf11r:11) ‘a most sinful servant’
asru badnâm (ShD85r:13) ‘of very bad repute’
asru köp (ShD79v:2) ‘very much’

(b) By repetition. E.g.,
Daşî bilîgil usûb yataq yahşî yahşî: uqlamasız çagdavul köpîn ozar. (ShD50r:12-13) ‘Know also that this bed is very comfortable. If the guard does not sleep, he gets ahead of many.’
Haçîmlar yemâkni keç keç yerlûr. (Sayf168v:10) ‘The wise eat very seldom.’
Ta’alluq dur ki sen şam hamdami sen, anı tark et ki hwaş hwaş âdami sen. (DN241v:1) ‘Dependence is at work when you associate with sadness. Abandon it because you are a cheery person.’
Aykönğül dunya şamidin tolganur sen pêc pêc, şändin ayru kimsa bilmîs bevafa dur keç keç. (ShD27v:4-5) ‘O, heart, you are suffering terribly because of the concern about this world. Besides you nobody knows that [this world] is most unfaithful.’
Kişi andak kãrêk dur fâllî-i yar. Ushol yar šaqqu dur hwaş-hwaş zamanîn. (ShD104v:8) ‘This is how a person should be in search of his Beloved. The fervent desire for that Beloved is the very best of my time.’

(c) By reduplication of the first syllable:
ap-qaq (MA p.91) ‘clear white’
beşbatar (ShD79v:2) ‘worse’
bom-boz (ML18) ‘very light blue’
bom-boş (Zenker229a) ‘entirely empty’
cûp-cûqur (MLXIV-117) ‘very deep’
köm-kök (PdC477) ‘entirely blue’
qap-qara (PdC392) ‘entirely black’
qip-qirimizî (PdC443) ‘entirely red’
qip-qizil (ShD105r:9-10) ‘very red’
sap-sag (ML83:8) ‘quite healthy’
saptarig (MLXIV-117) ‘very yellow’
sar-sabz (ShD6v5) ‘fresh green’
tip-tek (Sayf17v10) ‘quite upright’; ‘motionless’
top-toqi (Babur10v7) ‘perfectly straight’
top-tola (ShD6v17-8) ‘completely filled’
tup-tuz (Babur10v6) ‘perfectly flat’
yam-yasili (ML18) ‘very green’
yap-yasili (MabL835) ‘very green’
yus-yumri (Sang343r2) ‘perfectly round’

E.g.,
Şufi va zahid va mavla ‘iśqdin bеgаna dur, ‘iśq durdī top-tola
dur vil bizing mayhаnamiz. (ShD6v8) ‘The sufi, the abstinent,
and the sheikh are strangers in the matter of love [whereas] our
tavern is entirely filled with the dregs of love.’
Qip-ğizil mayni kоrаr mаn cur‘аdа, ay la‘i-l lab, da‘има cur‘а
labindin ḥadd-дин аsти sormаqım. (ShD105r9-10) ‘I see red red
wine in my drinking vessel, O Ruby of theLip. My constant pulling
at the lips of the drinking vessel has gone beyond measure.’
Bil ki dostlar yah kebi cismimini tongurdurdu savuq. Yahdin ham
beş hatar dur asru kуydürdu savuq. (ShD79v1-2) ‘Know friends
that cold froze my body like ice. Worse than the ice, cold burned
me very much.’
Sunbul-i zulfim tararda bolsa kоp der mаn Allah, tаzа va
sar-sabz bolsun savr’il bустаnim маним. (ShD86v4-5) ‘When she
is combing her tresses curly like hyacinths I keep saying “Allah”71.
May the cypress of my garden be fresh and green.’

3.3.2.2. Substantivization of Adjectives [see 3.3.1.7.]
Adjectives are very often used as nouns without any change in form. In
this role they can take plural markers, possessive suffixes, and case
endings, mostly in this order. They can be abstract or concrete nouns.
When they constitute the second element of a possessive structure, the
possessor should be, preferably, in the genitive case. E.g.,
Agar baş içe oltursang čalip čeng, beyiklаrdа tuzıp boyung teg
аhаng. (DN263r11) ‘If you sit in the garden playing the harp,
creating tunes in high altitudes [harmonious] like your body.’
Bu savuqning sаrhini qilsa qalam yuz yil tamam, yuzда birin
qilmагy kim asru kоp bolди savuq. (ShD79v11) ‘If the pen
goes on describing the nature of cold for a hundred years, it would
be [only] one hundredth [of the true story] so mighty was the cold.’
Ay muhаrifar begi bir kez yаna аyгұлгәрә bu yarmaning teгmа-
sın. (Sayf110v2) ‘O, Chief of Thieves! Your wickedness should
not hurt the good, not even once.’

Note: Often the nouns kii ‘person’ and nаmа or nа ‘аrса ‘thing’ are used
to substantivize adjectives. E.g.,
şadiq kii (ShD86v13) ‘the truthful or the truthful one’
bay kii (Sayf150r3) ‘the rich’
eski kii (Sayf102v5) ‘the old’

3.3.2.3. A List of Most Commonly Used Adjectives
Adjectives constitute a rich category in Chagatai. Persian and Arabic
loans contribute substantially to the abundance of items in this word class.
The versatility of Arabic participles and the productivity of Persian
derivative means, especially present stems, turned Chagatai into a useful
tool for classical poets bent on describing nuances of feelings, colors,
fragrances, natural phenomena, and subtleties of meanings. The following
is a selective list of most commonly used Chagatai adjectives
[native Turkish words and foreign loans]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Russian</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>anan</td>
<td>‘easy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aciq</td>
<td>‘bitter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqyr</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ariq</td>
<td>‘pure, purified; hallowed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aq</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aqsaq</td>
<td>‘lame’</td>
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<tr>
<td>az</td>
<td>‘little’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berk</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bos</td>
<td>‘soft; empty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buzuk</td>
<td>‘destroyed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cansiz</td>
<td>‘lifeless’</td>
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<tr>
<td>cahk</td>
<td>‘split open’</td>
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<tr>
<td>cin</td>
<td>‘last’</td>
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<tr>
<td>eskil</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
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<tr>
<td>farаvan</td>
<td>‘overwhelming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kece</td>
<td>‘late’</td>
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<tr>
<td>miskil</td>
<td>‘difficult’</td>
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<tr>
<td>olug</td>
<td>‘dead’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qaranggu</td>
<td>‘dark’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qari</td>
<td>‘old’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

70 Variant topsari ‘very yellow’ (Pc333)
71 To ‘drive away thoughts of other than God, especially in an effort to ward of Satan’s temptations.’
3.3.2.4. Formation of Adjectives

In discussing formation of adjectives we must keep in mind that there are no strict boundaries between nouns and adjectives on the one hand, and adjectives and adverbs on the other. Derivatives of adjective formation may occur also in the category of adverbs or nouns. Rarely though, adverbs may also turn up in the list of adjectives. Adjectives are formed by morphological and syntactic means. Of course, the storehouse of adjectives is also enriched by category change, lexicalization, and borrowings from Persian and Arabic.

3.3.2.4.1. Formation by Suffixes

It is useful to discuss derivative suffixes of Turkish and Persian-Arabic provenance separately. The reason for keeping them apart is that while most of the Turkish suffixes can be used with bases of any kind, Persian suffixes do not always accept Turkish bases for forming adjectives.

3.3.2.4.1.1. Turkish Suffixes

3.3.2.4.1.1.1. The Suffix -daki/-däki

The locative case ending -da/-dä + -gî/-gi, -qî/-ki [velar form are receding, and the front forms are used instead as in Modern Uzbek, or Turkish] is used to indicate the location the object named by the noun. The base noun mostly has a possessive suffix. The plural ending turns them into nouns.

By nature derivatives created by this suffix are not gradable and cannot be modified by adverbs. They have no intensive forms.

könglüngdäki (DN260v:2) `that which is in your heart'
başındaqî (Sayf15r:3) `those who are on the top of [the mountain]'
eliningdäki (Sayf163v:5) `that which is in your hand'
yiraqdaqilâr (Sayf55v:5) `those who are far'

E.g.,

Mâning cânîmda dur könglüngdäki âh, köngülîn bar köngül içînî cân râh. (DN260r:2) `The sighs of your heart are in my soul inasmuch as there is a pathway from one heart into another.'

Qaçan kim tüünsâ nälingdäki al, qilî cêksang ol dam qîndan halal. (Sayf163v:5) `When the ruse [you hold] in your hand runs out, it is proper to pull the sword from its sheath.'

Mâl va mî`mat alip ol taq başındaqî haramîl maqarasina kirip atasi yerîna olûrdî. (Sayf15r:3) `He took merchandise and goods, retired into the cave of the highway-robbers on the top of the mountain, and occupied his father’s place.'
Yığındaqlar böylə huzurda dağlı yığındaqlar başıratsız yıraq-da. (Say55v:5) ‘Those who are far away are so close and those who are close, are far away beyond visibility.’

3.3.2.4.1.1.2. The Suffix -liq/-lik (see 3.1.5.1.12)
Originally it forms abstract nouns. In Chagatai, however, many of the derivatives created by this suffix are adjectives.

atliq (DN25r:1) ‘having the name of’
bağliq (DN25r:5) ‘tied’
başaralıq (DN25r:3) ‘auspicious’
çıraylıq (NTM15r:5) ‘beautiful’
fahımlıq (NTM15r:8) ‘intelligent’
ğamılıq (DN25r:7) ‘sorrowful’
Kayılıq (NTM12r:1) ‘drunk’
pahtalıq (ShD79v:3) ‘cotton [adj.]’
qarılıq (ShD83r:12) ‘old age’
qılıq (NTM15v:1) ‘hairy’
yatlıq (DN25r:1) ‘ashamed’

E.g.,
Pahtalıq toşak bigin qar üstidä yattuq yalinq, kekä kündüzi barabar üstümä tondu savuq. (ShD79v:3) ‘We lied naked on the snow as if on cotton mattresses. For one night and day at a stretch my body was frozen over.’
Saçindin ‘anbar erur köp uyatlıq, qara qul dur sanga bir ‘anbar atlıq. (DN25r:2) ‘Because of your hair the ambergris is put to shame. What is called ambergris, is an unskilled servant of yours.’
Sa’dat mavkabidin mużda berip, başaralıq babarlarnı yıbarip. (DN25r:3) ‘Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, sending good tidings [about its being on the way].’
Saçimda bar mu dur başlıq hiyali, necük tur ol paresanlıqda hali? (DN25r:5) ‘Is his imagination tied to my hair? How is his condition in being so distraught.’

3.3.2.4.1.1.3. The Suffix -lıq/-lik
aylıq (DN26v:2) ‘monthly’
egərlıq (NTM6r:3) ‘saddled’
quylıq (DN26r:3) ‘auspicious’
ranglıq (DN27r:7) ‘colorful’
yatlıq (DN26v:2) ‘ashamed’
yarağılıq (DN26v:3) ‘equipped’
yazlıq (DN26v:11) ‘summerly’
munınglıq (H75r:3) ‘sorrowful’

E.g.,
Dedim, “Ay quylıq ağızlıq qarinım, till sirin yarağılıq hamışın-im.” (DN26r:3) ‘I said: O my companion of auspicious mouth, my associate blessed with a sweet tongue!’
Yüzüng hwarsëd ünküning zakatı, qamarga birbân aylıq barâ-ti. (DN26v:2) ‘Your face is the alms tax levied on the beauty of the sun, it grants the monthly patents to the moon.’
Bu erdi söz çu qildim ihtiyatı, ki, yazlıq yerda yay suhbat bısañin. (DN26v:11) ‘This was the message, when I was able to pay heed: Spread the carpet of companionship in a summer place.’
Habar qildi yetip bir hwâca aylıq, eligi maya sarðın uyatlıq. (DN26v:2) ‘Along came a merchant on horseback: his hands were bashful on account of his wealth...’
Erur bu rangli güftar muşkil, emäs aşan hiyali bar muşkil. (DN27r:7) ‘This colorful speech is difficult, it is not easy, because the thoughts [it contains] are ambiguous.’

3.3.2.4.1.1.4. The Suffix -li/-li, -i/-i [see 3.1.5.1.10]
cirâhatlı (Say85v:7) ‘wounded’
haybatlı (Sayf102r:2) ‘frightful, fearsome’
‘ızzatlı (Sayf29r:10) ‘respectable’
küçü (Sayf100v:7) ‘strong’
körkülü (Sayf7r:11) ‘beautiful’
müşahatlı (Sayf9v:5) ‘well-meaned’
yazuqlu (Sayf34v:7) ‘accused’
yükli (Sayf145r:2) ‘pregnant’

E.g.,
Mu‘allim bolmasa haybatlı, ay yär, saqâlañdan tutup oğlanlar oynar. (Sayf102r:2) ‘If the teacher is not authoritative, O Friend, the boys will grab his beard and dance [around him].’
Fitna yüzüll rast sözden bol yıraq, músahatlı yalgpandan yahşı-raq. (Sayf9v:4-5) ‘Keep away from the truth that has a cunning face. A well-meaned lie is better than that.’
Bir faqir ävädâsi yükli edî. (Sayf145r:2) ‘The wife of a pauper was pregnant.’

Note: The suffix -li/-li, -i/-i is often added not to a single word but to an adjective + noun structure of modification to characterize a person or an object as a possessor of something. E.g., [aç > köz] + li:
3.3.2.4.1.6. The Suffix -şifat, -şifat
gulşifat (Sayf66r:1) ‘like flowers’
şabnamsşifat ‘like dew’

E.g.,
Gah bolur uryân aşağlar, gah käyârât gulşifat. (Sayf66r:1). ‘Sometimes the trees are naked, sometimes they are dressed up like flowers.’

3.3.2.4.1.7. The Suffix -siz/-siz ‘without’
This suffix is also the formant of the privative case [see 3.1.4.2.9]. After syllables with a labial vowel the forms -suz/-süz occur.
amalsız ‘(MM186r:1) ‘without action’
ariğsiz (MM179r:5) ‘without action’
asâîsîz (DN 265v:6) ‘without benefit’
banisiz (MM178r:12) ‘without a builder’
gülgünâsiz (DN265r:5) ‘without make-up’
haâdsiz (Sayf11v:2) ‘immense’ [< without bounds]
hicâbsiz (MM179r:8) ‘evident’ [< without a veil]
köçûsûz (MM197r:6) ‘with no need to set off’
nişansiz (MM192v:15) ‘without a sign’
rangsiz (NTM9v:7) ‘colorless’
burûfsuz (MM199v:2) ‘without sounds’
saçsiz (NTM4r:5) ‘hairless’
yaminsiz (DN254v:7) ‘without an oath’

E.g.,
Ne hçâcat kim qasam kîrgây arağa, yaminsiz bilgî lîşqning yasarîn. (DN254v:7) ‘What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without reference to the right.’

Yûzî gülgünasîz çânlarğa âfat, ayaqthin bas bari hûsn u lajâfat. (DN265r:5) ‘Her face without make-up is a disaster for the living: Her entire being, from head to foot, is [perfect] beauty and grace.’

Asîsîz ‘umri savdav kçêcêlî teg, qara kûnlêrî yaldê keçsî teg. (DN 265v:6) ‘His useless life is like the night spent in melancholy: His dark days are long like the longest night of the winter.’

3.3.2.4.1.5. The Suffix -mângiz ‘like’
From the noun mângiz ‘face’.
bûlbul-mângiz (Qûb199) ‘like a nightingale’
cannat-mângiz (Sayf181v:10) ‘like Paradise’
kûl-mângiz (Sayf181v:13) ‘like ashes’
kûm-mângiz (Qûb34) ‘like the sun’
qav-mângiz (ShD182r:7) ‘like straw’
qu-mângiz (ShD182r:6) ‘like a swan’
shams-mângiz (Sayf167v:11) ‘like the sun’
musâfar-mângiz (MM179r:3) ‘like travellers’

E.g.,
Bu cumla hala’îq musâfar-mângiz (MM179r:3). ‘All creations are like travellers.’


Tîli bûlbul-mângiz ham mângzi gûzar. (Qûb199) ‘Her tongue is like a nightingale, her face, like a flower garden.’

The sinister side of a matter should be recognized not in reference to the right side but on its own merit. The opposite cannot be a prompter of good things. When Satan says ‘Do not say Allah’, you do not respond by pronouncing God’s name because your meritorious action would be prompted by Satan. The Tradition says: ‘God Loves the right side in everything even in putting on one’s shoes or when one begins to chew.’ (Muhammad Shuybâni Khân, RM1v:7-8). However, the position of the left side should not be the cause (zubut) of our beginning things on the right side.
3.3.2.4.1.2. Persian Suffixes
Adjectives with Persian derivational suffixes are mostly loan elements in Chagatay. Only in a few cases appear these suffixes with Turkish bases. Chagatay owes its lexical riches to adjectives and nouns with Persian suffixes.

The majority of these suffixes are stems of Persian verbs. Mostly the present stem is used for this purpose. Although the derivatives created by the present stem are adjectives, they are also used as agent nouns. The past stem, that originally was the past participle of the verb, was also used, in a few cases, as means to form adjectives. The derivative indicated a state or condition which came about as a result of the accomplishment of the base verb of the suffix.

3.3.2.4.1.2.1. The Suffix -ālūd [old past participle of ālūdan 'to stain']
- anbar-ālūd (DN 252v:8) 'stained with ambergris'
- šītāb-ālūd (Steingass733b) 'hasty'
- ḥaṭā-ālūd (Steingass95b) 'stained with crimes'

E.g.,

Tilādī kāgīd va čon boldi mavcūd qalām tilini etti 'anbar-ālūd.
(DN252v:8) 'He asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was there, he stained the tip of the pen with ambergris.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.2. The Suffix -ānā
The suffix -ānā in Persian forms adverbs to express the way how an action was carried out. Its meaning was expanded and applied to the agent as adjective. In Chagatay most of the derivatives with -ānā can be used also as adverbs. [Cf., Gar otursa bizing bilan qazı, turuban 'āsīq-ānā raqs urur. (Sayf159v:12) 'If the qazı were sitting with us, he would stand up and dance in an amorous way.'
- 'āsīqāna (Sayf141r:13) 'amorous'
- gustahāna (H85v:2) 'impudent'
- ḥwabālūd (Steingass478b) 'sleepy'
- masbūqāna (MM182v:6) 'in the manner prescribed for latecomers'
- turkāna (DN269v:5) 'Turkish'

E.g.,

Ayağ alip içtiq turkāna tilni, kótārdi qizlar77 ilān mu'tadilni.
(DN 269v:5) 'She took a cup and absorbed the Turkish language; she exalted both the new wine and its tempered form.'

Note: The derivative šukrāna [< given as a token of thanks] has become a noun meaning 'gratitude', specifically, a gift given in gratitude in response to a felicitous piece of news such as the Beloved's arrival. E.g., Šukrāna dep bu can u kōngulini nişāt etāy, sunbul saçıng naśimin agar keltűrür šaba. (GD113) 'Calling them a gift for the good news I would sprinkle my life and my heart [as gold coins] if the Morning Breeze brings the scent of your hyacinth-like hair.'

The following derivatives produced by -ānā have also become nouns:
- devāna (BN85r:2) 'madman' [< dev 'demon']
- gustahāna (BN91v:9) 'insolently'
- mardāna (Sayf11r:5) 'valiant, brave'

E.g.,

Dedi, mardāna bol yalğuz qulunum sanga kelgān dur. (H77v:7)
'He said, Be brave my only foal! it is to see you that our guest has come.'
Bar ekān dur bir 'acab devāna, 'išq maydanıda ol mardana. (H 85r:2) 'There was a strange madman, a brave in the arena of love.'
Dedi Musā sān nečük devana sān, 'arz etip nācük ki gostahāna sān (BN91v:9) 'Then' Moses said (to Baraq), "What a madman you are to talk so insolently!"'

3.3.2.4.1.2.3. The Suffix -īn
This suffix indicate a quality derived mostly from concrete nouns.
- ātāsin (ShD159r:10) 'hot, fiery'
- anbarin (DN268v:6) 'ambergris-color'
- čirkin (Sayf121r:13) 'ugly'
- rangin (DN262v:11) 'colorful'
- muskīn (DN268v:8) 'musk-color'
- šīrin (H80v:8) 'sweet' [< šīr 'milk']

E.g.,

Boyī šimšād rangin 'arizi gol, labi 'unnāb muškīn sači sunbul.
(DN262v:11) 'Her body is [straight] like the box-tree, her colored face is a rose, her lips are red like the jujube-tree, her black and fragrant hair is [curly] like hyacinth.'

77 Cf. P. duftar-i raz 'grape, wine'

78 Endearing word for child.
Falak qoydī enginā 'anbarīn ħal, ayaqī ayy baṣīdın qildī ħalhāl. (DN268v:6) ‘The sky put an amber gris-color beauty spot upon its cheek and made an ankle-ring from the new moon.’

Qilmā Shābānī vaqt-ī šahār āh-ī ātāsin, kim tūmāsin bu ahl-ī ‘Iraq ol šarārīma. (DN159r:10) ‘Shabani, do not have a fiery sigh before dawn’ lest the people of Iraq are caught up in the [shower of] sparks [I exhale].’

3.3.2.4.1.2.4. The Suffix -nāk
The suffix -nāk makes adjectives from nouns expressing a sensation, such as pain, sorrow, anger, and others.

'dardnāk' (RM36r:6) ‘harrowing, excruciating’
'gāmnāk' (ShD90r:12) ‘said, sorrowful’
'nāmnāk' (ShD88v:11) ‘wet, filled with tears’
'soznāk' (AC323v:2) ‘burning’

E.g.,
Bar Biznīn qatīmīzdā dardnāk 'ażāblar. (RM36r:6) ‘We have in our presence harrowing tortures.’
Nālarālarīm 'ud bigīn soznāk. (AC323v:2) ‘My sound burns like the blaze of the aloe-wood.’
Cīqqi fīgān ol dil-ī gāmnāktīn; ṧūti bu nūh parda-ī aflaktīn. (AC323r:10) ‘Sobs of complaint burst from my sorrowful heart and flew beyond the nine veils of heaven.’
Könglīm oldtī gūnācīn aqīlgāndīm čākkrāk; ʾaškī tolūn šabzalārīn kōzīlarīm nāmnakrāk. (ShD88v:11) ‘My heart is torn open more than an unfolding rosebud. My eyes are filled with tears more than the grass covered with dew.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.5. The Suffix -vār
'Iraqīvār' (DN269v:2) ‘from Northern Persia’
'mārdānawār' (ShD159r:1) ‘as befits a man’
sazawār (AC322v:) ‘worthy of’

E.g.,
Isārat qildī con ol ḥusn zaynī. 'Irāqīvār men tuttām ḥusaynī. (DN269v:2) ‘When that ornament of beauty ordered me with a gesture [to recite a poem], as a poet from Northern Persia I chose the ḥusaynī mode.’
Bu Shābānī har šahār yannaq turur mārdānawār. Ḥacr oṭīdin nā qīlur taqī muqulčīnzādā. (ShD159r:1-2) ‘This Shabani is burning every morning as befits a [valiant] man. What does just one Moghul child do through the state of separation.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.6. The Suffix -ārāy [< -ārāst ‘to ormate, decorate’] dīlārāy (DN268v:8) ‘beloved’
maclisārāy (DN231r:3) ‘decorating the company’

E.g.,
Kavākib orda va ol ortāda ayy; muğanī zuhra va ol maclisārāy. (DN231r:3) ‘Stars are there and he is the moon among the stars. The musician is Venus and he is the gem of the company.’
Kirip keldi qašmīga ol dīlārāy, yūzi andaq ki muşkin padada ayy. (DN268v:8) ‘The Beloved entered and came to my presence; her face was like the moon upon a black curtain.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.7. The Suffix -amez [ < amihtān ‘to mix, mingle’] rangamezlıq (DN271r:3) ‘the art of mixing colors’
üzrāmez (DN249v:6) ‘inclined to forgive’

E.g.,
Bitidīm nāma etip ʾamānī fūz, sārasā dard āmmā ʾüzrāmez. (DN249v:6) ‘I wrote a letter, moving the pen fast. It was pain beginning to end, but was mitigated by excuses.’
Qalamğa berdi žihning tezliği, anga ʿogrāti rangamezlıği. (DN271r:3) ‘Your mind bestowed speed upon the pen and taught it the art of mixing colors.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.8. The Suffix -angēz [ < angīhtan ‘to excite’] dardangēz (DN253r:2) ‘pitiable, pitiful, exciting sympathy’
nišātanangēz (DN248v:10) ‘causing cheerfulness, raising the spirit’
šu’laangēz (ShD131r:12) ‘producing flames’
šu’badangēz (AC325r:11) ‘juggler producing magic tricks’

E.g.,
Ḥirmān-ī aqlīmī yaaqtīng šu’laangēz aṭlābān; körmedām vašlingī bir dam har šahār-ḥez aṭlābān. (ShD131r:13) ‘You scorched the harvest of my brain making it flare up in flames. I was not in union with you not even once although I would rise up early every morning.’
Afa ʿay mihrī dardangēz qīlān, icīnā nālarānī fūz qīlān. (DN253r:2) ‘Hark ye, whose love excites pity, who have sharpened the complaints in your heart.’

99 After the ṭahārāt āḏrā prayser.

*9 Just by not being here.
Har nafase šu badaangez men. Maclis-i sulfanda šakarrêz men. (AC325r:12) 'I can produce a (new) magic trick at any moment. I am eloquent in the company of kings.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.9. The Suffix -bâr [< bârdan 'to rain down']
atasbâr (ShD83r:1) 'showering fire'
ghuhabâr (Sayf29v:2) 'eloquent' [< 'showering jewels']
šâkarbâr (HB137b) 'sweet talking' [< 'spreading sugar']

E.g.,
Ayä aqîlî tangiz sózi ghuhabâr! (Sayf29v:2) 'Listen you whose intellect is like the sea and whose words are eloquent.'
Àhî atasbârîn boldî qaranqû 'ålame, ay köngül cahl äylä kîm yîtsûn falakgä tozlaring. (ShD83r:1) 'From the fire-showering sighs the world has become dark. O, Heart, exert yourself so that your dust may reach the sky.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.10. The Suffix -bâz [< bâhtan 'to play, risk']
hydrobâz (Nâva'i, Dict.IV-208) 'magician'
sarbâz (Sayf45v:9) 'soldier'
'îsâbâz (Nâva'i, Dict.II-74) 'lover, addicted to love'

E.g.,
Kûymagên 'îsîqî cîra ermâs 'îsâbâz, 'aşıq ermâs ol ki ermâs cângudaz. (Nâva'i, LT-154-16) 'He who does not burn in passionate love is not addicted to love. He is not a lover who does not melt his soul in fire.'
Bûyla şarîf etti 'umrun ol sarbâz ne yegây qis daqî be käygây yaz. (Sayf45v:9) 'The soldier spent his life with these [concerns]: What will I eat in winter and what will I wear in summer?'

3.3.2.4.1.2.11. The Suffix -band [< bastan 'to tie']
cigarband (H75r:2) 'dearly loved' son'
payband (Nâva'i, Dict. II.578) 'encumbered, fettered'
zabanband (DN270v:11) 'mute in amazement'

E.g.,
Sanga söz fayzi bolmay bir zaman band, sözüng sièri qilip elni zabanband. (DN270v:11) 'For you the benefit of words never stops flowing, not even for a moment; the magic of your words renders people speechless.'

Dedi bizni tanîmay sân cigarband, erûr sân, ay azîzîm bizgä farzand. (H75r:2) 'Together they answered, 'Do you not recognize us, dear? You are our son, O Precious One!''

3.3.2.4.1.2.12. The Suffix -bös [< bûsîdan 'to kiss']
haqbos-lug (Nâva'i, Dict.III.406) 'kissing the dust, visiting'
paybos (DN269r:1) 'kissing someone’s feet'
zanmibos (Nâva'i, Dict.614) 'kissing the ground' [a ritual act]

E.g.,
Yûzini achi ol davlat 'arûsî, elîg berdî sa’adat paybosî. (DN269r:1) 'The bride of happiness unveiled her face and the kissing of the feet' of felicity took place.'
Dayr arâ isma’ naqis âylàyin, but sucîdina zanmibos âylàyin. (Nâva'i, Dict.614) 'Let us do less maligning in the tavern. Let us kiss the ground when we prostrate in front of the idol.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.13. The Suffix -côy [< custan 'to look for']
fitnacoy (AC323r:4) 'quarrelsome'

E.g.,
Tanbûra-i ganzagarî fitnacoy macma’i ol sâzgä keltürî röy. (AC323r:4) 'The coquetteish and quarrelsome Tanbûra turned to the assembled string instruments.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.14. The Suffix -dår [< dastan 'to hold']

This suffix expresses that the referent holds or works with the object or possesses the quality expressed by the base noun. Most of the derivatives are used as titles or qualifications.

âbadâr (DN269v:3) 'brilliant' [< âb 'lustre, splendor']
mas’aladâr (Sayf161r:6) 'torchbearer'
pardadar (DN265r:1) 'doorkeeper' [confidant]
kamandar (DN326v:5) 'archer'
vanâdâr (Sayf121r:8) 'faithful'

E.g.,
îcîdî pardadarî Zuhra bolsun, muhâlînî čiqarîp ‘üzr qolsun. (DN265r:1) 'Inside the planet Venus should be the doorkeeper; she should single out the opponents and ask them to leave.'
Oqudum la’î teq bir şîr rângin, láîî và ābdâr và nárîhî sangin. (DN269v:3) 'I recited a poem colorful like a red and white flower: it was delicate, brilliant, and its price was heavy.'

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81 Lit., scatter jewels like raindrops
82 Lit., ties the tongues of people
83 I.e., being in the presence
84 Warrior or hunter with the most prestigious weapon.
Dedi Gicak, "Hurdak-i ayyar men, sätz içidä rind-i kamändär men. (AC326v:5) "Then Ghijak spoke: I am a smart mischiefmaker. Among string instruments I am an intoxicated archer."

Çağmından man säni yar-i yaftdar, valekin bilmädím bölyä cafakar. (Sayf121r:8) "I have considered you a faith friend. I did not know that you were such a tyrant."

Taşvasız "alım közsüz maş’ aladarga ohsar. (Sayf161r:6) "A wise man without piety is like a blind torch-bearer."

3.3.2.4.1.2.15. The Suffix -doz [< doňtan ‘to sew’]
cândoz (AC326v:6) ‘heartrending [< piercing the soul]’

E.g.,
Gazam oqi navak-i cändoz erür, nälalarım barça cigarsoz erür. (AC326v:6) "The arrows of my amorous glances are lances that pierce the soul. My plaintive voice burns people’s lives."

3.3.2.4.1.2.16. The Suffix -gir [< girtan ‘to take’]
damangir (Nava’i, Dict., I, 499) ‘appealing for justice’ [< ‘holding on to s.o.’s skirt’]
dastgir (DN270v:5) ‘help, support’
dilgir (ShD122v:13) ‘annoyed, displeased, despondent’
sabgir (ShD31r:4) ‘vigilant’

E.g.,
Bu Camiş oldi çanim dastgiri, ki boldum şir r multıning amiri. (DN270v:5) "This Jamshid was the supporter of my life, and I became the prince of the kingdom of poetry."

Ay nasım-ı subh ol köngüm muradiğa degil, bu Şabanını necä hacroingä dëlga şen. (ShD122v:13) ‘O, Gentle Breeze of the morning, for the desire of my heart tell [me] how long will you keep Shabani despondent in your absence.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.17. The Suffix -hwan [< hwanadan ‘to read’]
ğazalhwan (DN266r:8) ‘reciter of amatory odes’
şabhwán (DN266r:8) ‘singing at night’
qisşahwan (Nava’i Dict., IV, 56) ‘story-teller’

E.g.,
Bolup bulbul çaman içindä şabhwân, ünidin aşıip gullar yüz alvan. (DN269r:8) "In the orchard the nightingale was the singer of the night; from her voice a hundred sorts of flowers burst into bloom."

Çazalhwân boldu bustan içrä durrac, köngüldin şablarni qildi täräc. (DN266r:8) "In the garden the francolin became the reciter of amatory odes and robbed the heart of its patience."

3.3.2.4.1.2.18. The Suffix -hwäh [< hwastan ‘to desire’]
havähwäh (DN263v:5) ‘adherent, devotee’
üzrhwâhüm. (DN257v:8) ‘apologist’

E.g.,
Qutulmay qağudin gar furqatında gamgingin özga bolsa ‘üzrhwâhüm. (DN257v:8) ‘I do not wish to rid myself of sadness in your absence if other than grief because of you is my apologist.’

Içîmdin ötrü cikqay nala va ah, yüzüng hwaršedin bûlup havâhwäh. (DN263v:5) ‘From my inside complaints and sighs emerge, since I am an adherent of the sun of your face.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.19. The Suffix -navâz [< navâtan ‘to caress’]
dîlnavâz (DN260v:7) ‘mistress’
barbatnavoz (Nava’i, Dict., I, 215) ‘a harper’

E.g.,
Sanga yüz qoyğusı dur dîlnavazing kelip baş törügüsi dur sarvînâzing. (DN260v:7) ‘Your mistress will for sure turn toward you. With head held high your sweetheart will surely come.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.20. The Suffix -paş [< paşidan ‘to scatter’]
durrpaş (Nava’i, Dict., I, 518) ‘scattering pearls’
guharpas (DN255v:1) ‘scattering pearls’

E.g.,
Közümning kirpüki boldi guharpas, qalam teg har haştina qoyuban baş. (DN255v:1) ‘The eyelashes of my eyes were shedding gems. Like a pen I bowed to every character.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.21. The Suffix -paymâ[y] [< paymûdan ‘to measure’]
bâdâpaymây (DN259r:9) ‘wine-drinker’
cahanpayma (Nava’i, Dict., I, 111) ‘travelling all over the world’

E.g.,
Şafaq dek köz yaşidin bâdâpaymây, tanidin körgüzup har künn yängi ay. (DN259r:9) ‘He is a wine-drinker consuming his tears red like the color of the dawn. His body reminds one the new moon everyday.’

85 Lit. he who takes the hand of those who have fallen
86 Lit. your stately cypress
Yar erur can ierc, sen gafil vafe istap ani, keca-kunduz el kibi bulmaq cahampayma na sud. (Navav'i, Dict., I,572) 'The Beloved is inside the heart. But unaware of this, what is the use of travelling all over the word night and day like the wind.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.22. The Suffix -pōš [< pōšidan 'to put on, cover']
curmpōš (ShD73r:9) 'forgiving'
ḥircpōš (Nava'i, Dict., III,400) 'derivative'
parniyānpoš (DN263r:7) 'wearing a garment of fine painted Chinese silk'
sabzpōš (Nava'i, Dict., III,11) 'donning a green garment'

E.g.,
Dami kim bolsa [dar]ya parniyānpoš, tamadduh qilsa hasak etmagay coș. (DN263r:7) 'The sea, when it dons its garment of fine colored Chinese silk, is not going to be agitated by the chaff's [selfserving] praise.'
Barca cismim hacr otdin res u marhamlq mamuq, ittisalidin men-i 'uryanny derlar hircpōš. (Nava'i, Dict., III,400) 'From the fire of separation my entire body is covered with wounds and elixir-soaked cotton-balls. For union with her they call me, the naked, the one covered with a dervish robe.'
Ne gorqa dur qazi bilan mutfi qadaqning curmpošin? Ahmad safa'ati turur, sultan-i 'alam curmpoš. (ShD73r:11-12) 'Why are the Qazi and the Mutfi afraid of the sin of the cup? [After all they should realize that] Ahmad is the intercessor and the Sultan of the World is the forgiver.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.23. The Suffix -ras [< rasidan 'to arrive']
fiyradras (AC322r:7) 'he who answers a call for help'
dastras in dastraslik (DN242v:3) 'a having access to'

E.g.,
Eskidin kirdi ol 'Isa nasafslig ki tappti kûn qasinda dastraslik. (DN242v:3) 'Through the door entered the individual with Jesus's breath, who was granted access to the presence of the sun.'
Munisim ol Yar-i biyali, va bas. Ol edi fiyradima fiyradras. (AC322r:7) 'The vision of my Friend was my comforter; there was no one else. It was He who responded to my call for help.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.24. The Suffix -rez [< rihtan 'to pour']
bargrez (Nava'i, Dict., I,218) 'fall, autumn'
gulrez n. 'flowered silk material'
ḥunrez (Nava'i, Dict., III,218) 'killer'
šakarrez (AC325r:11) 'scattering sugar'

E.g.,
Har nafase šu' badaangez men, macis-i sulṭanda šakarrez men. (AC325r:11) 'I can produce a [new] magic trick at every moment. I am eloquent in the company of kings.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.25. The Suffix -afroz [< afrohtan 'to light up']
dilafroz (Nava'i, Dict., I,485) 'cheering up the heart'
maclisafoz (DN266v:2) 'one who brightens up the party'

E.g.,
Barip bulbulni qilin maclisafoz: degin, "Ahang tüz, kim bolid navroz." (DN266v:2) 'Go and bid the nightingale brighten up the party; tell him: Tune [your instrument], for the new year festival is here.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.26. The Suffix -sâz [< sâhtan 'to make']
damsaz (DN263v:3) 'friend, confidant'
čarasaz (DN260v:10) 'provider of remedy'
fusunsaz (DN269r:4) 'conjurer, worker of spells'
karsaz (Nava'i, Dict., II,128) 'effective, creative'
sultansaz (AC324v:8) 'lier'
qiissasaz (Nava'i, Dict., IV,56) 'story-teller'

E.g.,
Va gar ev iercu salsang masnad-i naq, boluban 'ay aç na birla damsaz. (DN263v:3) 'And if you establish your seat of affection in the house occupying yourself with anything during the feast...'
Muğanın sihr ara boldi fusunsaz, čiqardı hari eligidin bir avaz. (DN269r:4) 'The singer, spellbound, worked magic: he pulled melodies from his sleeves one after the other.'
Başarāt kegisi dur hıdmatinga sa'adat boləsi dur čarasəzing. (DN260v:10) 'Good news will surely come to you. Felicity will be your provider of remedy.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.27. The Suffix -soz [< søhtan 'to burn']
cansoz (Nava'i, Dict., I,592) 'heart-rending'
cigarsoz (AC326v:6) id.
dilsoz (Nava'i, Dict., I,490) id.

Lit., hands
Lit., to your presence
3.3.2.4.2.1.3. The Prefix bar- [< bar ‘upon, on, over’]
  barbad (H77v:2) ‘destroyed, ruined’
 барçoş (DN234v:7) ‘agitated’
 бартар (RM31v:6) ‘at the side, aside’
 барқар (ShD2r:1) ‘established, existing’

E.g.,
  Andin oldı cutum ‘alam barsar. (ShD2r:1) ‘Through him the entire word came into existence.’
  Buzup barbad qildı necā yārdı hanınlarnı. (H77v:2) ‘He ruined and destroyed families in many places.’
  Басимд лабаран май na’sihi hıs, berip yüz iš iebra tund va barçoş. (DN234v:7) ‘The excitement caused by the wine took intellect from my head. The ocean of a hundred poems emerged, agitated and vehement.’

3.3.2.4.2.1.4. The Prefix be- [< be ‘without’]
  bebadab (AC325r:5) ‘ill-mannered’
  bečan (DN258r:2) ‘lifeless’
  bečara (H77v:5) ‘helpless’
  begumun (MM178r:6) ‘without doubt, certain’
  bekas (H77v:5) ‘destitute’
  behayå (AC325r:3) ‘shameless, impudent’
  behadd (DN265r:11) ‘endless’
  behırad (AC326r:11) ‘fool’ [< without understanding]
  bemadar (BN91r:2) ‘ephemeral’
  bemihir (DN270v:6) ‘without the sun’
  bemurad (BN86r:8) ‘without intent’
  benamaz (RM29r:9) ‘he who does not perform the five prayers’
  bēqarar (RB324v:6) ‘restless’
  beqivas (BN85v:7) ‘immense’
  berava (Sayf182v:11) ‘without splendor’
  besabab (BN85v:9) ‘without motive’
  betaqayar (DN247v:9) ‘unchanging’
  betaqalufr (DN264r:11) ‘unaffected, simple, frank’
  bedard u ranc (DN271v:9) ‘without pain and trouble’
  beşwaş adj. (DN247v:3) ‘spontaneous’
  beşmarıq n. (DN259v:10) ‘a being sick, ailing’
  benavā adj. (Sayf187r:4) ‘destitute’
  be sar-u barg (DN242r:5) ‘destitute, confused’
  bevafa (Sayf180v:6) ‘faithless, deceitful’

E.g.,
  Sirr bilmayın qazı neteg dayr-i muğannı der ḥarb? Gar bilsa erdi mastnı olgay edı anı bados. (ShD73r:10) ‘Without knowing the secrets, how come the Qazı calls the house of the magi ruins? Had he known the drunk, he would have lifted him upon his shoulder.’

Lit., tossed to the winds
3.3.4.2.1.5. The Prefix gayr- [<gayr ‘without’]

Frequent in Classical Persian. In Chagatay it is mostly treated as a noun.
It occurs either as a secondary preposition or takes the noun with possessive suffix.

- gayrdost (ShD23v:4) ‘enemy, rival’
- gayrmqisd (MQ21r:14) ‘not intended’
- gayr ahli (Sayf13r:7) ‘a lowly person’

E.g.,

- Tarbiyat gayr ahliqa qilmaq gunbad üstündä qoz qoymaq ti (Sayf13r:7) ‘To educate a lowly person is like putting walnuts the tope of a dome.’
- Yolni yürüümäy kırğän itär va gayrmqisd yergä yetär. (N 21r:14) ‘He who enters upon the path which he has not travel before, loses his way and arrives to a place he did not intend to go’

3.3.4.2.1.6. The Prefix hwaš-

- hwašavaz (Sayf98r:11) ‘having a pleasant voice’
- hwašâhan (ShD161r:10) ‘having a pleasant tone of voice’
- hwašâbad (ShD156r:10-11) ‘a tasty sort of wine’
- hwašbû (ShD141v:11) ‘having a pleasant fragrance’
- hwašguvar (ShD155r:5-6) ‘easy of digestion’
- hwašmaqal (Sayf46v:2) ‘of agreeable speech’

E.g.,

- hwašnam (ShD144v:11) ‘having a good repute’
- hwašräy (Sayf106v:6) ‘having good judgment’
- hwašvaqt (Sayf59v:9) ‘happy; safe’

E.g.,

- Hwašdilbar va hwašaqi, hwašâdadâ hwašaqiq män tâšalab va miskin ol ḥurrâm va azâda. (ShD156r:10-11) ‘A delightful heart-ravisher, an obliging cupbearer, tasty wines, and tasty leftovers: my lips are thirsty. I am miserable while she is happy and free from care.’

3.3.4.2.1.7. The Prefix nā- [<nā ‘no’]

- naahl (BH4v:5) ‘lowly, mean’
- nacins (Sayf120r:8) ‘ignoble, lowly’
- naḥalaf (Sayf161r:8) ‘worthless’
- naḥwaš (MM180r:9) ‘unpleasant’
- nakas (Sayf87v:12) ‘base, worthless’
- nâmavzûn (Sayf115r:7) ‘displeasing, offensive’
- nâmurâd (ShD118r:7) ‘disappointed’
- nápak (RM20v:2) ‘impure’
- närâsida (H81r:8) ‘child’ (< ‘not fully grown’)
- näravâ (MM192r:7) ‘unjust’
- násâzä (H80v:9) ‘improper’

E.g.,

- Bevâfâlärin umed tutğän kisi naahl erür. Ot va yel topraj va su tarkibiða bolsa baqa. (BH4v:5) ‘He who sets his hope on what is not constant is not worthy of being called a man, for there is no permanency in the compounds of fire and air, or earth and water.’
- Sizâ bârgây ummatîngi qâdirim roz-i caza, ham keûrgây garî ummatîn otär kî násâzä. (H80v:9) ‘My Omnipotent One will entrust you with the fate of the Community on the Day of Retribution. He will even forgive, (upon your intercession,) those members of the community whose service was unworthy.’

3.3.4.2.1.8. The Prefix šahib- [šahib-i ‘the owner of’]

Originally the first element of classical Persian iżâfat-structures created on the pattern of Arabic status constructus of the same function. [The Persian hudand for šahib was rare in Chagatay.]

- šahibcamal (Sayf10r:11) ‘beautiful’
- šahibdavlat (Sayf5v:13) ‘wealthy’
- šahibhuda (MM185r:6a) ‘well-guided’

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81 I.e., for ever, because Minuchîr will never be remembered as a tyrant
82 I.e., the khamsa, the five epics of Nizamî
3.4 Pronouns

There are twelve pronouns in Chagatai: personal, reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, deictic, interrogative, indefinite, universal, collective, assertive, negative, and relative.

3.4.1. Personal Pronouns

In Chagatai personal pronouns constitute a suppletive system: First and second persons in the singular and plural are original personal pronouns, while in the third person singular and plural the demonstrative pronouns ol, olar fill in for the missing grammatical entities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Persons</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>men ‘I’</td>
<td>biz ‘we’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>meni ‘me’</td>
<td>bizni ‘us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>mening ‘my’</td>
<td>bizning ‘your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>manga ‘to me’</td>
<td>bizgå ‘to us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>mendå ‘in me’</td>
<td>bizdå ‘in us’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>mendin ‘from me’</th>
<th>bizdin ‘from us’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>~ mendân id.</td>
<td>~ bizdân id.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>mening teg ‘like me’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>mençä ‘according to me’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ meningçä id.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privative</td>
<td>mensiz ‘without me’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Persons</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>sen ‘you’</td>
<td>siz ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>seni ‘you’</td>
<td>sizni ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>sening ‘your’</td>
<td>sizning ‘your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>sanga ‘to you’</td>
<td>sizgå ‘to you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>sendå ‘in you’</td>
<td>sizdå ‘in you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>sendin ‘from you’</td>
<td>sizdin ‘from you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ sendân id.</td>
<td>~ sizdân id.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>sening teg ‘like you’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>sençä ‘according to you’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ seningçä id.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>senin ‘with/through/by you’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privative</td>
<td>sensiz ‘without you’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ senszin id.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Third Persons:</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>ol ‘he, she, it’</td>
<td>alar ‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>ani ‘him, her, it’</td>
<td>alarni ‘their’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>aning ‘his, her, its’</td>
<td>alarning ‘theirs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>anga ‘to him, her, it’</td>
<td>alarga ‘to their’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>anda ‘in him, her, it’</td>
<td>alardå ‘in them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>andin ‘from him, her, it’</td>
<td>alardin ‘from their’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ andan id.</td>
<td>~ alardan id.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative</td>
<td>andaq ‘like him, her, it’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equative</td>
<td>ançä ‘like him’</td>
<td>alarcä ‘like their’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>anin ‘with him, her, it’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privative</td>
<td>ansiz ‘without him, her it’</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~ ansizin id.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
E.g.,

Men emdi bir gada sen pâdâhê, magar cân tartqay allingda ahe? (DN250v:8) ‘I now am a beggar and you are a king. May a heavy sigh in your presence, I wonder!’

Meni sen şamî teg küdûrmêng ne? Cafa va cavr etäkin türmêng ne? (DN257v:3) ‘What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty [upon me]?’

Kördüm avlâ vaqt bir zâlin uyur, aytîm ol fîna uyusa yâşi-raq. (Sayf120v:6-7) ‘I saw a tyrant sleeping at noon-time. I said [to myself]: He is a manace, it is better if he sleeps.’

Yûzung bergây manga, ay hûn baği ‘inayat körûzûp yarlig nişâni. (DN251r:10) ‘May your face, showing mercy, give me the sign of your command, O, Garden of Beauty.’

Notes: (1) For the first person singular, out of modesty, the words banda ‘servant’, kamîna ‘the lowliest person’, bu faqir-i haqir ‘this wretched poor’, bu qil ‘this servant’ are used. E.g.,

Mundaq aytur faqir-i haqir. (RM1v:4) ‘Thus spoke [I] the poor and wretched [Muhammad Shaybânî Khan].’

(2) The genitive case of the first and second persons and of the demonstrative pronouns ol, alar acting as personal pronouns for the third person, may occur as meni, seni, bizi, sizni, ani, and alarnî [short or apocopated forms of the genitive marker, see 3.1.4.2.5.2.]. E.g.,

Mâni ‘aybimni yav gaffar-i sattar. (H81v:8) ‘Cover [for] my sins, O Most Forgiving God, the Concealer of Sins!’

Biri aydi seni mungluq atang mân. (H75r:3) ‘[Then one of them] continued, “I was your concerned father.”’

Içim küdî alarnî sozialîgâ. (H75r:5) ‘When I heard their words [I suffered as if] my inwards had caught fire.’

Ani kâtida yâmiî ming firiştâ. (H82v:1) ‘Behind him came seventy thousand angels.’

Tanur mu sän mâni cân dilimini? (H76r:2) ‘Do you know, (my boy), the beloved of my soul and heart?’

(3) The first and the second person personal pronouns are used as predicative words in nominal sentences. E.g.,

Men ol it men ki gar yûz qatta sûrsâng, yûz evûrmân agarîl yûz evûrsâng. (DN251r:3) ‘I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].’

Sen navqul-i handan sen, mân bulbul-i nalân mân kim hacrîng ara isim faryad ilä afgan dur. (ShD34v:11) ‘You are a beaming fresh rose, I am a supplicating nightingale: Separated from you I spend my time in moaning and lamenting.’

Mân ol şubh-i sa’adat mân, ki Çingîs kókidîn toğdum: Qaçañ kim tâbrisân yel teg Timur şamî-çi oçar mendin. (ShD120r:3-4) ‘I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis. When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Timur goes out as I pass.’

(4) The predicative words men and sen may directly follow the subject pronoun or may be attached to them through the particle ök [see 3.9.2.1.] for emphasis. E.g.,

Sân ök sen yaratîgan bu yer kôk kûn ay. (MM176v:6) ‘You are the one who have created this earth, sky, sun and moon.’

Safar hêcat ermâs, sân ök sân hêcâb. (MM197v:6) ‘There is no need to travel: You yourself are the veil.’

Sân sän ol laskarda saflar özgân er, er daminda erdâmîn körûzûgân er. (Sayf7r:9) ‘You are the man who breaks the lines of the [enemy’s] army, who shows his skill facing those who are [also] skilled.’

(5) The dative case with yoq or bar expresses possession (i.e., the subject’s having or not having something). E.g.,

Manga yoq tur fîgare sendin özgâ, sanga yoq tur nigârê mendin özgâ. (DN253v:5) ‘I do not have a sore wound other than [what I inflicted upon] you, you do not have a sweetheart, other than me.’

(6) In the dative case sporadically the forms sangar ‘to you’, angar ‘to him’ may occur, especially in early manuscripts. E.g.,

Tewâ, uy kárâk aî, qatîr, ya hîmân alur berga mân ter yarin kûn sangar. (MM191v:1) ‘[Suppose] someone takes your camel, cow, horse, mule or donkey and says, “I will return it to you tomorrow.”’

Angar mângzâgân yoq, qamûdîn ariq. (MM178r:14) ‘Nothing is like Him, he is unrelated to everything.’

(7) Instead of sîlâr the form silâr may occur, as in colloquial Uzbek today. E.g.,

Nâ ba’îsdîn silâr ota gîrîftâr? (H75r:5) ‘Why are you captive in the fire?’
(8) Personal pronouns may be subjects [agents] to gerunds in -p. E.g.,
Sen unutup mahbubatpeşalarını, sağınıp qandağı andeşalarını.
(DN257r:4) ‘You have forgotten the lovers anticipating the anxieties of those days.’

(9) Personal pronouns may be used with imperatives for emphasis. E.g.,
Meni sen körüm ‘aciz kim qavi dur mahbubat payasında dast-gahim. (DN257v:6) ‘Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.’

(10) The genitive case form may occur in substantival role. E.g.,
Çu men boldum sâning gamni uzatma, bu savdada meni ‘alam-ga satma. (DN260r:7) ‘Since I became yours do not prolong the sorrow. In this transaction, do not sell me to the entire world.’

3.4.2. Reflexive Pronouns
3.4.2.1. The Pronoun öz ‘self’
The most frequently used reflexive pronoun in Chaghatay consists of the noun öz ‘essence, self’ and the possessive suffixes to indicate person and number. In the first and second persons the suffixes conform to the rules of labial harmony [i > u; i > ü]. In the third person there is no labial harmony. E.g.,

\[\text{Sing. 1. özüm ‘myself’ Plur. 1. özümiz ‘ourselves’}
\[\text{2. özüng ‘yourself’ 2. özüngiz ‘yourselves’}
\[\text{3. öz ‘himself’ 3. özleri ‘themselves’}
\[\text{‘herself, itself’}

E.g.,
Agar alîsa özümüngi alsun. Har iš qisla Hûdayîm özî bilsün...
(H74r:4) ‘But if He is determined to take [one of these three boys], let Him take mine. Whatever my Lord does, He should know that…’

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

Üstadi taqi bildi kim özindan artuq dur. (Sayf39r:10) ‘His master also knew that [the young man] was stronger than him.’

Eliq yup özidin su hidmatinda, arîqîq láfin urmây hazratinda.
(DN244r:2) ‘The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.’

Öz özümü aytîm. (Sayf115v:4) ‘I said to myself.’

Note: (1) The reflexive pronouns can be inflected for cases. These are the forms of the dative case:

Sing. 1. özümü ‘to myself’ Plur. 1. özümizgâ ‘to ourselves’
2. özüngü ‘to yourself’ 2. özüngiz ‘to yourselves’
3. özü ‘to himself’ 3. özleri ‘to themselves’
‘herself’ 3. özü ‘to itself’

E.g.,
Qilip gam elîdin hay’añını tagyrî, etip ‘išq ayanîn özügâ tafsir.
(DN253v:4) ‘He changes [his] figure because of [his] sorrow and makes for himself a commentary of the verse of love.’

(2) In case form they are used to form reflexive verbs and verbal phrases:
özûn bar ham ur- ‘to mess up oneself’
özügâ kel- ‘to come to, regain consciousness’
özîdîn ket- ‘to be deeply moved’
öz Özügâ ta’ammul qili- ‘to meditate to himself’

E.g.,
Saçim az bas ki özîn urdu barham, sâning hâling bigin dur vaqte darham. (DN260r:1) ‘My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].’
Aqar sayalba dek yas közlürdin, ketîp qaldi sabâba özüldirin. (H82r:3) ‘The tears gushed from his eyes like torrents. (On beholding this) the companions were deeply moved.’
Ta’ammul qildi bir nam öz Özügâ, qalâm fillîn actî söz yuzgâ.
(DN246r:11) ‘For a moment she meditated to herself [and then] opened the tongue of the pen in the face of the words.’

(3) Öz with no possessive suffix can precede a noun to express “own”.
The possessive suffix on the noun that follows indicates the person. E.g.,
Cihan sultanî öz kâramîndan yazuqin bagıslap azad qilsa ne bol-gay edî. (Sayf13r:4). ‘What difference would it make if the King out of his generosity forgave his sins and set him free?’

\*I.e., he put to writing what he had formulated in her mind
3.4.2.2. The Pronoun ḫwad ‘self’
Persian ḫwad ‘self’ occurs in two functions: as a reflexive pronoun and as a pronoun of identity. It is a closed [indeclinable] morpheme: no personal or possessive suffixes can be added to it. Also, it does not form an Izafat construction with the pronoun or noun it relates to.

As a reflexive pronoun it occurs with personal pronouns or with finite verbs indicating the person of the agent. E.g.,

‘Inād etīp anqa bulqasāmgaylaw, vale isāftīn ḫwad aṣmāgaylaw. (DN271v:3) ‘They show no defiance and do not interfere; but they themselves do not go beyond what is just.’

Sān ani yūz aqāqa alip sān, qudrat bīla ḫwad yaratmayip sen. (Sayf148r:7) ‘You have purchased him for one hundred dinars. You did not create him yourself by [your creating] power.’

As pronoun of identity it is used for emphasis. In this role in the majority of cases it follows the noun it emphasizes. E.g.,

Kišānīng paktīda kōngli tarīt, husn ḫwad pākdamāntīqīn artar. (UjM307v:4) ‘A person’s heart is attracted to those who are pure. One’s beauty itself increases if one lives in purity.’

Manga kōrqūmsūn Tenger ḫwad ol kūn, ki tōraq bīlā bīg būlqay zulaqm. (DN242r:7) ‘May God Himself never make me see the day when my [source of lifegiving] water is equal in value with dust.’

Ay Husayınī yetmās ol ay sening faryādīngā, čarh u ancum ḫwad emās dardīngā darman qīlgū dek. (HβXXI:7) ‘O Husayni, if that moon does not answer your call for help, it is most likely that the firmament and the stars themselves are no remedy for your ailment.’

‘Qiličīn qīl učīqa yoq anqa vahm, yavutnas özīgā ḫwad oqdin vahm. (DN245v:10) ‘He has no fear of the sword, not even as much as the tip of a hair. He does not let fear get to him even when he faces an arrow.’

3.4.2.3. The Pronoun kāndū, kāndī, kāndū özī ‘self’
Rarely though, the pronoun kāndū ‘self’ is also used. Sometimes it occurs together with öz + a possessive suffix: kāndū özī or contracted, as kānd-

özī. These pronouns are declinable: kāndūsi, kāndūsīnī, kāndūsīndā, kāndūlūrī, kāndūzīndīn, and so on. E.g.,

Kārāk bolsam anqa mān kāndū kelsūn. (Qṭb,94) ‘If he needs me, he himself should come.’

Ne tīlāsāng sānga berāyīn. Sen manga kendūzūngīnī cuftīnlārdūrlīgīl. (NF76v:2) ‘Whatever you wish, I will give it to you. Agree to be my wife.’

Aḥmaq ol kāndūsī turūrī kīm kandū özīnin barčānīn artuq kūrsā. (NF74v:74v:7) ‘Fool is that person who regards himself more than anyone else.’

Kāndūnā rāhī qilmān dā ‘in qurtula bilmās ol māsāqqatdan. (Sayf92r:5) ‘He who has no mercy on himself, will never be able to get rid of difficulties.’

Mān turūrī mān bu qīn ičrā uftalā ‘ācīz bolup, ol ulāsu tūn va kūn kandīnī zavqinda tutar. (Sayf180r:9) ‘I am bogged down in this adversity incapacitated (while) she is having fun night and day all the time.’

3.4.3. Reciprocal Pronouns
The reciprocal pronouns are: bīr bīri⁹, bīrī bīrī⁹, bīrī bīrī⁹, bīrī bīrīsī⁹. They are declinable. The case markers are attached to the second element. E.g.,

Ḥikāyatlar ulāsū bīrī bīrīgā qulaq salmāy yīrlāvčīlar yīrgā. (DN 234v:1) ‘Stories were going from one to the other. People did not pay attention to the songs of the singer.’

Fīraqīdīn kōrīp cāvr u sīfāmīnī, sīgīstūrūrī bīrī bīrīgā ġamnī. (DN 236:10). ‘I suffered abuse and oppression because of her absence, adding one sorrow to the other.’

Bīrī bīrīgā bay’ī durūst qabīzī sārt uśol maqīs ičrā, kōngīlūgī kāmīs. (MM191v:13) ‘The selling of one for the other is correct. Note [however,] that [the items purchased] must be taken into possession at the moment agreement on the transaction has been reached.’

Idioms: bīrī bīrī songīnčā (MM186r:8) ‘one after the other’

bīrī bīrīsīnī gūlāfīf (MM187v:2) ‘contradicting one another’

bīrī bīrīgā māńgār (MM196v:14) ‘they resemble each other’

bīrī bīrīgā yāqīn (ShD80r:9) ‘close to one another’

bīrī bīrīsīnī sīr- (GD38,6) ‘to question one another’

⁹ Lit., Let yourself be married to me.
3.4.4. Possessive Pronouns

The genitive case forms of the personal pronouns constitute the possessive pronouns. They occur in adjectival ['my'] or substantival ['mine'] forms. They have full and short [apocopated] variants. The short forms are not used in substantival function.

The noun governed by a possessive pronoun most of the time carries a possessive suffix equivalent in person, and, with some limitations, also in number. Postpositions which follow a noun in the nominative case [see 3.2.1.1.] usually require possessive pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Full forms</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>mening</em> 'my'</td>
<td><em>bizning</em> 'our'*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sening</em> 'your'</td>
<td><em>sizning</em> 'your'*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aning</em> 'his, her, its'*</td>
<td><em>alarning</em> 'their'*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short [apocopated] forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Singular</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>meni</em> 'my'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>seni</em> 'your'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ani</em> 'his, her, its'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E.g.,

*Mening išimgä ohasil ol hıkayat, ki Harūndin qilurta el rivayat.*  
(DN232r:6) 'The story that people narrate about Harūn [ar-Rashid] resembles my case.'

*Aning teğ körgüzür söz rahnamūni ki tapti bir 'arab yazida sünü.*  
(DN232r:8) 'The roadmap of stories' thus represents: A Bedouin came upon [some] water in the desert.

*İsim ištägil ter bu künk săn məning, yarin ištägil mən išting ter səning.*  
(MM191r:18) 'Let us suppose that] someone says to you, "Do my work today and I will do your work tomorrow.'"

*Biling awni kim tutsa bolur aning, ra'iyyat, vazir, beg käräk sultänning.*  
(MM190v:8) 'Know that a game animal belongs to him who catches it, be he a [common] citizen, a vizier, a lord, or a sultan.'

Note: In the first person the forms *mānim* 'my, mine' *bizim* 'our, ours' *sizing* 'your, yours' are also used. E.g.,

*Bizim cinsimizgä la'iq dągıl sultan ẖidmatindä yalqan sözləmäk.*  
(Sayf9r:9) 'It is not appropriate for people of our class to lie in the presence of the King.'

*Gar otursa bizing bilan qazı turuban ẖaşıquna raqs urur.*  
(Sayf 59v:11) 'If the Judge were [here] sitting with us, he would jump up and dance like someone who is in love.'

*Agar sizing cahingiz bilan bir cihat hasıl bolsa camıyiyat-i hətir ücün'azım minnat bolğay.*  
(Sayf25r:10) 'If through your position an allowance could be worked out for a piece of mind it would be a big favor.'

3.4.5. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Chagatai distinguish the position of objects in relationship to the subject. Their values are relative and mutually exclusive: An object can be close or remote. Anything that is not close is remote and anything that is not remote, is close. A third option, close but not as close as, is present in popular literature [see 3.4.5.2.].

Demonstrative pronouns can occur in adjectival [modifier] function. Only the singular forms participate in this role: *bu šimşād 'this cypress', bu sifatlar 'these qualities'. Demonstrative pronouns in substantival role have plural forms in -lar/-lär: **Bular dağı čarık yapar qarsı yarıdlar.**  
(Sayf 110v:13) 'These also prepared an army and moved out against them.'

3.4.5.1. The Demonstrative Pronouns *bu* 'this' and **ol** 'that'

These demonstrative pronouns have full nominal inflection. The case forms do not have an equal distribution. Some of the adverbal forms are paralleled with postpositional forms. The latter gradually take over the functions of the cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Equative</th>
<th>Terminative</th>
<th>Comparative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bu</strong> 'this'</td>
<td><strong>muni</strong> 'this [acc.]'</td>
<td><strong>muning</strong> 'of this'</td>
<td><strong>munga</strong> 'to this'</td>
<td><strong>manda</strong> 'here'</td>
<td><strong>mudun</strong> 'from here'</td>
<td>~ <strong>mündan</strong> id.</td>
<td><strong>mucqa</strong> 'as [much as] this'</td>
<td><strong>munçaqa</strong> 'up to this'</td>
<td><strong>mundaq</strong> 'like this'</td>
<td><strong>munun</strong> 'by/with this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ol</strong> 'that'</td>
<td><strong>ani</strong> 'that [acc.]'</td>
<td><strong>anig</strong> 'of that'</td>
<td><strong>anga</strong> 'to that'</td>
<td><strong>anda</strong> 'there'</td>
<td><strong>andin</strong> 'from there'</td>
<td>~ <strong>andan</strong> id.</td>
<td><strong>ancęa</strong> 'as [much as] that'</td>
<td><strong>ancağa</strong> 'up to that'</td>
<td><strong>andaq</strong> 'like that'</td>
<td><strong>anin</strong> 'by/with that'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*I.e., a narrator*
Plural  
Nominative  
bular 'these'  
alar 'those'

Accusative  
bularni 'these [acc.]'  
alarini 'those [acc.]'

Genitive  
bularning 'of these'  
alarning 'of those'

Dative  
bularga 'to these'  
alarga 'to those'

Locative  
bularda 'among these'  
alarda 'among them'

Ablative  
bulardin 'from these'  
alardin 'from those'

Notes: (1) Bu 'this' (see 3.1.2.3.2.1.) and, less frequently, ol 'that' are used as definite articles especially with proper names. E.g.,
Rızq üçün cahd qil kerák qilma, berur ol bir va bar 'azza va calla. (Sayf17r:s:1) 'Whether or not you exert yourself to obtain your sustenance, God the One and Ever Existing, the Most High and the Most Majestic will grant it to you.'

Bu Harâning dâniš ahli har nečâ 'ây etșângiz qayda kim bolsa Şâbânî ol Samarqand aızular. (ShD42v:7-8) [You] learned men of Herat it does not matter how much you blame me. Wherever Shaybani may be, he is longing for Samarqand.'

Dedi, "Netsün kiši bu muhâlardâ, ki küc birlân özünü saldı balağâ?" (DN245v:7) 'She said, "What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition brings trouble upon himself?"
Bu Şâbânîning sevâri şar'i dur, aning üçün kožidin yâş aqitur. (ShD5r:9) 'Shaybani's beloved is the Law. That is why he lets his tears flow from his eyes.'

(2) The locative case forms munda 'here' and anda 'there' may occur with verbs of motion to indicate destination [see 3.1.4.2.6.4.]. E.g.,
"Ne der sen munda gar keltûrsâm anî, nihûta inândâm ol ûneni?" (DN258v:7) 'What would you say if I brought him here? If secretely I invited that miserable person?'
Dêgin anda keltûrgâ rağbat ettûk, ravân şubhat yaraqin qil ûyettûk. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessites for the reception because we will be there in no time.'

(3) Rarely, the locative case anda 'there' may also occur as an indirect object [see 3.1.4.2.5.8.]. E.g.,
Cavabida dedi ol qasî ẖâcibi, kim anda parda ẖâcma bar munâsib. (DN258v:8) 'In answer said [that intimate friend] whose eyebrow was like a chamberlain: It is now appropriate to open the curtain.'

(4) Predicative compounds are, as a rule, preceded by the demonstrative pronouns bu, ol, or by the interjection ay (see 4.1.5.).
"Tišm lûûsidin ol közt daryâ, qîyarur mu falak yangîlî suray-yâ? (DN252v:2) 'From the pearls of my teeth will that ocean-eyed [beauty] produce the Pleiades as the sky does?'
Vafaşiţ dilrubâ sâm, ay belq qil! (Sayf117v:12) 'You are [surely] an unfaithful heart-ravisher, O [Beauty] with the waist [thin] like a hair.'
Ol yüzi ay kim cihatîn câni dur. (Sayf179r:10) 'The moon-faced [beauty] who is the life of this world.'

(5) The pronoun ol is part of the relative conjunction kim ol [cf. Persian ki an]. E.g.,
Faravân dard-i dîl körozûp anda, qilip şarhi kim ol şîqmas gumanda. (DN243r:11) 'In it I presented plenty of complaints about my situation the exposition of which did not leave place for doubts.'

**Touched by the majesty of God manifest in the perfection of the Law.**
(6) Mundağ ‘like this; such’ and andağ ‘like that; such’ are equative forms used mostly in the popular style. E.g.,
Böldi İsmâ’il babam minada qarabași, anbiyâlarğa ḥudâni mun-
dag erûr ševâsi. (İj81r:4) ‘Ismâ’il was my Father’s servant while my father was still [unborn] in the shell. Such is God’s way with His Prophets.’
Tîláp alsun kî sizni bir ḥudâdin, otûnsûn sizni andağ âsnapîn. (İj 79r:5) ‘(Go and tell Muḥammad) to ask God to restore you to him, to implore Him to return you to him since He is such a good friend.’

(7) The privative forms mûnsiz ‘without this’ and ansiz ‘without that’ and their expanded versions mûnsizin and ansizin also occur mostly in adverbial function. E.g.,
Kîngâ kîm însaf yoq insân emâs, mûnsiz atvârîda czu nûqsân emâs. (Naîvâ’sî, Dict.,II,355) ‘He who has no sense of justice, is not a real man. Without this there is nothing but deficiency in his manners.’
Mûfarrih şevâli nûzûk dilârâm, qîta bîlmâs edî ansiz dil âram. (Say70r:11). ‘He is a delicate heartsoothing [beauty] with exhilarating coquetitious glances without whom the heart would not be able to rest.’

3.4.5.2. The Demonstrative Pronouns bol ‘this’, şol ‘this, that’
The pronouns bol ‘this’ [opposite of ol ‘that’] and şol ‘this’, ‘that’ [not as close as bol and not an opposite of ol] are frequent in popular literature. They modify nouns in the majority of examples but occur also independently in predicative use. They have no plural form. E.g.,
Laşkar-i İslâmîni čâksâm qızîl börk üstînâ, bolgûsî yavar Madina kîșvârîndin şol Habîb. (ShD15r:10-11) ‘When I bring the forces of Islam against the people of the red cap, the Friend from the land of Madina will surely be my helper.’
Bol süzûmî qîmlâding bol kîn bacây (BN90v:5) ‘You did not grant my wish today.’
Bol ișîngâ ol ișîng sâdiq emâs. (BN90v:8) ‘That act of yours is not consistent with this one.’
Şahlîgâ bol işîng la’îq emâs. (BN89v:7) ‘This act of yours is not becoming the status of a king.’
Yoq ersâ hâlmîz bol dur pârêșan. (İj75r:4) ‘But now we are in this pitiful state.’

Idioms: bol dam ‘now’
bol kûn ‘today’
bol damda ‘now’

3.4.6. Deictic Pronouns
Deictic pronouns are emphatic demonstrative pronouns. They point at specific referents [objects, facts, points] leaving no doubt about the identification: ‘this very’, ‘that very’, ‘this same’, ‘that same’. They often invite the listener to look at or carefully consider the referent. There are three sets of emphatic pronouns. They all are declinable, but in actual use none of them constitute a full paradigm.

3.4.6.1. The Pronouns uşîbu, uşol or uşâl
The deictic particle uș [see 3.9.3.] prefixed to the demonstrative pronouns bu and ol can occur both in adjectival and in substantival use. They are declining although their paradigm is incomplete. The most frequently used forms are:

Singular
Nominative uşîbu ‘this same’  uşol ‘that same’
Genitive uşmunung ‘of this same’
Dative uşmunuğa ‘to this same’
Locative uşmunda ‘just here’  uşanda ‘just there’
Ablative uşmunda ‘just from here’  uşandîn ‘just from there’
Equative uşmunça ‘quite this much’  uşançâ ‘quite that much’
Comparative uşmundaq ‘just this much’  uşandaq ‘just that much’

Plural
Nominative uşbular ‘these same’
Accusative uşbularîn ‘these same’ [acc]
Genitive uşbularîn ‘of these same’
Ablative uşbulardîn ‘just from them’
Equative -
Comparative -
E.g.,
Vaşî bâginda hîrâmân tûn edm tâ’us teg, uşbu kûn çörgâr mânî çon mar canan furqâfî. (Sayf125v:5-6) ‘Yesterday, in the garden of our meeting, I walked pompously like a peacock. This very day the absence of the beloved makes me twist and turn like a snake.’
Tang atmazdîn uşbu kârâk niyyâtî. (MM186v:9) ‘One must state one’s intention [to fast] before dawn.’

I.e., the Prophet Muḥammad
Aşar qildi manga gulning cami; yoq esä män usol topraq män bil. (Sayfır:9) ‘The beauty of the rose has affected me. Otherwise I am the same clay as I have been.’
Ay Şabanı uşbu makhur dunyada şar’iini qilsang dâ‘iim buldung calal. (ShD6v:8-9) ‘O, Shabanî in this frowned upon world if you do His Law, you will always find majesty.’

3.4.6.2. The Pronouns in ‘this’, an ‘that’
The Persian demonstrative pronouns in ‘this’, an ‘that’ are also used, especially to indicate exact opposites. The third option we have in Turkish is not available in Persian. E.g.,
Agar ol gavhar-i darya, tâlab qil, elingâgî kîrgây. Yînâ ol bolğay va in ham, vale nâ an nâ in bolğay. (ShD176v:6-7) ‘If that is the pearl of the sea,101 search for it and it will come into your hands. Again, it will be that and also this, but it will be neither that nor this.’102

3.4.6.3. The Pronouns hamîn ‘this very’, hamân ‘that very’
The Persian pronouns hamîn ‘that very, that same’ and, less frequently, hamân ‘this very, this same’ are also used as emphatic or assertive demonstrative pronouns. They are not declinable, have no plural form and occur rarely in substantival use. E.g.,
‘Isa aşıkin Hicazeti etîp kîltûrsâ yana hamân aşık tur. (Sayf 139v:2) ‘If they take Jesus’ donkey [for a pilgrimage] to Hijaz, it will be the very same donkey [when it returns].’
Nê bilğay sen bu daryaning bapayâni hamîn bolğay: Buğär aśmân bolğay kafî-i darya zamin bolğay. (ShD176v:4-5) ‘How would you know that the dimensions of the sea are exactly these: the sky is fog, and the earth is the palm of [your] hand.’

3.4.6.4. The Pronouns with the Particles oq/ök ‘indeed, verily’
The demonstrative pronoun oq followed by the emphatic particle [see 3.9.3.] oq constitutes a deictic pronoun. The pronoun bu does not share this feature. E.g.,
Ol oq kitâbdarîn çiqarîp taşnîf qildim. (RM2r:8) ‘I drew upon those same books and composed [this manual].’

Note: The particle ök is also used with the second person singular personal pronoun sen ‘you, indeed you’ for the purpose of emphasis. E.g.,
Safar hâcat emmâs sän ök sän hicîb. (MM197r:6) ‘There is no need to travel [in quest of Him], you yourself are the veil.’
Sän ök sän yaratgân bu yer kök kûn ay. (MM176v:6) ‘It is you who created this earth, the sky, the sun and the moon.’
Avval va A’hir sen oq sen; barça ‘alamda ‘ayan. (ShD3r:3). ‘You are the first and you are the last: It is obvious all over the world.’

3.4.7. Interrogative Pronouns
Interrogative pronouns can be divided into three groups: (1) Kim ‘who’ and its cases forms; (2) Ne ‘what’ and its derivatives; (3) Pronouns based on the root qa-.

3.4.7.1. The Pronoun kim ‘who’
The interrogative pronoun kim and its plural form kîmlâr occur only in substantival use. It is declinable and follows the paradigm of inflection of nouns. E.g.,
Kim habar berdi sanga kim sen böri oğli sän? (Sayf14v:6) ‘Who told you that you are the cub of a wolf?’
Kim qîlp tur bu falakînu hû tâbaq bûtun ayaq? (BH3r:4) ‘Who made these heavens in nine layers from the highest point to the lowest?’
Sab-i mi’râc ani dozarda kîrdüm: Bular kîmlâr bolur dep anda sordum. (H74v:10) ‘On the Night of the Ascension I beheld them in Hell. Who are these [creatures], I asked.’

The following case forms of kim occur: kîmning ‘whose?’, kimgä ‘to whom?’, kîmä ‘to whom?’, kîmân ‘from whom?’ E.g.,
Kîmga qilaýım sänîng elingdân fiyrâd? (Sayf33v:9) ‘Whom should I complain to about what you do to me?’
Yadgari qalsâ kîmning âgyî ați, olmâs ol âr kîmän bolsa bu şifat. (Sayf6v:11) ‘He who leaves behind a good name as a monument, will never die if he has these qualities in him.’

3.4.7.2. The Pronoun ne ‘what’
The pronoun ne ‘what’ occurs alone, in case forms, in derivatives, in grammatical phrases and in idioms. It is a frequently used morphological item. Without case ending it can be the subject or predicate of the sentence. In the role of a direct object it takes no case marker. Put before a noun it can serve as an emphaziser ‘what a...’ E.g.,
Ne vaqi' boldi? (RM21r:2) ‘What has happened?’
Körür men har kečä tüstä qara zuñfingi zancir teg: ne keltürğä bu bašımğa ‘acak ol tüş paresañi.’ (Mavliana Islaq in Sayf179v:8) ‘I see every night in [my] dream your black tresses as chains: What [calamity] will, I wonder, the disheveled one of that dream bring upon my head?’
Ne debän men ani közdin salayin, köngül aldim, barip ham cân alayin. (DN240r:3) ‘By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?’
Meni, ay baht, ‘amda tempaking ne? Cirhañat üstida tuż sepmäking ne? (DN244r:7) ‘O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt over my wounds?’

The following case forms of ne occur: nečä ‘how much?’; nečäga ‘to what extent?’; negä ‘why?’; nedän, nädin ‘why?’; nätäg ‘how’ E.g., Haqiqatda Haqqa inangan kiši nätäg halı bolur üküüs külgügü. (MM179r:10) ‘[It also proves] how a person who truly believes in God will abstain from much laughter.’
Raž-i ‘işçimi nätäg bilgaylär, ay arami-i cân, zahid va mavlī va qazi sayğ mutfi va bašt. (ShD17r:5-6) ‘O, Serenity of my Life! How would the abstinent, the master, the judge, the shekh, the magistrate and the preacher know about the secrets of my life?’
Malamats qiblasidin yüz evürmäs, baqla nečä ta’n ursa, dam urmas. (DN245v:8) ‘He does not turn his face away from the qibla of blame, however much people criticize him, he does not say a word.’
Dib darim nečäga tegrü men qulun qinda tutar? Män qilič mu män, ‘acak kim meni ol qinda tutar. (Sayf180r:7) ‘How long will my heart-ravisher keep me, her servant, in pain? Am I a sword, I wonder, that she keeps me in the sheath?’

The following derivatives of ne are in use: nečük ‘how?’ (< nečä ök); nečin ‘why?’ (< ne üçin); netük ‘how?’ (< nétä ök); nاغ ‘why?’
E.g., Hükmama qavлина nečük muňalafat qilayin? (Sayf99r:6) ‘How could I oppose the words of the wise?’
Nečün munça kőp yalgän sözler sözlägäy? (Sayf42r:11) ‘Why does he tell so many lies?’
Netük men avurayin öz şamimdir, ki pulaşı erigay otluq damimid. (DN256v:8) ‘How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.’

Basa ‘ulamä iňtiläf qilib tur kim namäzningsan bës vaqtänn nåğü artuq äksük bolmadi. (RM25v:6-8) ‘But learned men differ as to why there are only five prayer times, not more or less.’
Huṣaräs cahlın bilıp nåğü raham ayładim anga? Devanalarga tüzgändim devana emdi mâń dur mâń. (ShD136v:12) ‘Why did I have mercy on the ignorant of Khurasan after learning about them? I resembled the madman and now I myself am a madman.’

The following phrases based on ne are in use: ne türlüg ‘in what way?’; ‘what kind of’; ne miqdar ‘how much?’; ne yüzün ‘in what way?’; ne yosunluq ‘how?’; ‘by what method?’; ne yoldan ‘in what way?’; ne yärädä ‘where’? E.g.,
Ne yerdä kim ganc bar, anda yilan bar. (Sayf158v:5) ‘Where there is treasure, there is snake.’
Männing cânina ne otluq fiğılanlar, sääning köngülinda ne türlüg gumanlär. (DN257r:5) ‘What fiery wailing for my soul. What kind of doubts in your heart!’

Idioms:
ne aşiq ‘what is the use of’
ne ḥacät ‘what is the need of’
ne hasil ‘what is the outcome of’
netsün ‘what should he do?’ [with accusative case]
neyläyn ‘what could I do?’
ne ‘acak no wonder’
ne debän ‘on what account’
E.g.,
Ne ḥacät kim qasam kirdäy araga, yamänsiz bilgili isingning yasar. (DN254v:7) ‘What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without a reference to the rights.’

Note: Ne and some of its derivatives, in combination with the conjunction kim are often used to introduce a simple comparison or a hyperbola. E.g.,
Eliğä ḥatt sözü durr-i şamin teğ, ne ḥatt kim ol nigärıştan-i cin teğ. (DN255r:5) ‘In the hand was the letter, its words were like costly pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.’
Ḥatt içrä saldi köz ol tün çiräği, netük kim tün içändä kün çiräği. (DN245v:4) ‘When that Candle of the Night glanced into that

930 i.e., the moon
letter, it was like the lamp of the day appearing in the [darkness of the] night.'

Tüzülip saryo boyuŋ ešikimdin, kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä
çäni. (DN251v:1) 'May Your cypress-like body rise at my door and
enter like soul enters the body.'

3.4.7.3. The Pronouns Based on the Stem qa-
The following pronouns, based on the stem qa-, occur in Chagatay:
qaçan 'when; whenever [i.e., never]'
qay, qayu 'which'
qaysi 'which'
qanda 'where'
qandäğ 'how'
qayda 'where'
qani 'where'
qayan 'where to'
qandin 'where from'
qaydin 'where from'

E.g.,
Erur dunyañ fañi, bu mäi, mamlakat, qani mäi Qarun, qani ol
karam. (MM188r:2) 'The world is transitory as are riches and
possessions. Where [today] is the wealth of Qarun? Where is that
ditch [that swallowed him and his wealth? All are gone].'
Gahir kim qisla yizin kün huvağda, qaçan hwad sayga bolgay
anda payda. (DN255v:9) 'Sometimes when the sun discloses its
face, would ever a shadow make an appearance there.'
Fasalinng öngindin songinçay quyu surat tüşı saçda-i sahvnä
kätir. (MM184v:2) 'Make propitiatory prostrations for any [of the
omissions] enumerated anywhere in this chapter.'
Qani 'aqxim, qani fahmim, qani fikrim, qani nümus yangaqing
alini kõrgä manga nümus usändan dur. (ShD33r:12-13) 'Where
is my mind, where is my understanding, where is my thought,
where is my honor? My honor comes right then when I behold the
vermilion color of your cheeks.'
Bag va bustän içra kõp tur sarvlar, ay bağban! Lëk mundaq cil-
vagar sarvi hipiräman qayda dur. (ShD41v:5-6) 'In gardens and
orchards there are many cypresses, O Gardener. But where is such
a brilliant walking cypress?'
Kafirlar qayda kirür. (IM4v:3) 'Where do the infidel go?'

Ay faqir qanda kitär sän bu yol qattü yol durur. (Sayf58r:4)
'Hey, poor man, where are you going? This is a difficult road.'
Hec bilmän bu ot mânim ävimä qandañ tüstü. (Sayf38r:9) 'I
don' t know from where this fire got to my house.'
Qaysi davlat muning dek bolgä? (RM42r:2) 'What happiness can
be as great as this?'
Mihmaningiz qaydin dur, ay Säh? (H76v:2) 'Where is your guest
from, O King!'
Kä sızdin aylif qandañ bola míx, yaruq dunyada qandañ kün
körä míx. (H79r:3) 'For how will we get along without you? What
will our lives be like in this bright world?'
Qaçan qopsa va Tengrini yad qisla bir tgüün aeliğay. (RM20r:6)
'When he gets up [at night] and mentions God'[s name] one of the
knots becomes undone.'

3.4.8. Indefinite Pronouns
Indefinite pronouns come from various segments of Chagatay. We present
them in the following groups:

3.4.8.1. Nouns in the Function of Pronouns
Nouns used as indefinite pronouns are declinable. Most of the time,
however, they occur as subjects of the sentence [i.e., in the nominative
case].

(a) kiši 'one, someone'; 'no one' [with negative verbs]
E.g.,
Tabarruk birlä cân ta'yiçi qildim, kiši çön bilmädi özümni bil-
dim. (DN242v:7) 'I turned it into a sacred relic, a protective
charm for [my] soul since I knew myself as no one [else] did.'
Dedi, 'Netsün kiši bu mutbağä, ki küc birlän özün saldı balä-
ğa? (DN245v:7) 'She said, 'What could one do for this hapless
person who, by his own volition, cast himself into trouble?''
Kiši kün toğra ham kirişsä bolmas safağät käyniñä erișsä bol-
mas. (DN246r:1) 'One cannot interfere with his actions after
day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.'
Bu ins pari quzluquin din yeg ol: Iði yigimishinden yigisla kiši. (MM
179r:6) 'The best service men and fairies can render is to avoid
what [our] Lord has forbidden.'
Qunut qalsa angsa ruku'da kiši qayıtmasdıñ urğay suçûdğa
başı. (MM185v:7) 'If [the worshipper] has omitted the qunut
supplication and remembers [this omission] during the bow, he
should lower himself and put his head down in prostration without
going back [to perform the qunüt].'
(b) kimärsä, kim ersä, kimsä ‘someone’; with negative verbs, ‘no one’.
E.g.,
Näghah eşikdän bir kim ersä kirk bašarat kätürdi. (Sayf18v:10)
‘Suddenly someone came in through the door and brought some good news.’
Kim ersä eşgün daği sufrasın açuş körmadı. (Sayf93r:13)
‘No one has ever seen his door or his table open.’
Tört kışi tört kim ärşädän qorqar. (Sayf25v:11)
‘Four people are afraid of four [types of] people.’

(c) nemâ, nemärsä, nemâğinä ‘something’
E.g.,
Baytärga nemâ kelmäs. (Sayf147r:13)
‘The veterinarian is not to blame.’
Agar munung dék nemärüsär köngülğa keçšä zikr ornidä bolur.
(RM3r:10) ‘If such things occur in one’s mind, the zikr is still in place.’

(d) ne kim ‘whatever’
E.g.,
Çu mazmûni sarâsar boldi ma’tüm, ne kim [er]đi mubham boldi mañhum. (DN255v:10)
‘When its content became entirely known, anything that was doubtful before now was completely understood.’

(e) fulân ‘someone, a certain, such and such’
E.g.,
Munga fulân kim äršä sökti. (Sayf77v:9) ‘Someone cursed him.’
Fulan tağ bašinda. (Sayf12v:1)
‘On the top of such and such mountain.’

3.4.8.2. Adjectives in the Function of Pronouns
bašqa ‘other’
barça ‘all’
ba‘zi ‘some’
neçä ‘some’
önğin ‘other’
özgä ‘other’
yana ‘other’

3.4.8.3. Numerals in the Function of Pronouns
birär ‘some, a certain’
biräv ‘someone’
E.g.,
Barçañ razi qildim illa ḥasûndûn razi qila bilmädim. (Sayf15v:8)
‘I could please all, except the greedy whom I was not able to please.’
Va özgälar kim yer yûzidä yûrûtürvä va safar qîlûrûl. (RM38r:10)
‘And others who move on the surface of the earth and make trips.’
Ol kim malikning haqqi edi ba‘zisin adä qildi. (Sayf35v:6)
‘He paid back some of what he owed the king.’

3.4.8.4. Pronouns with Possessive -i/-i
barisi ‘all’
barçaši ‘all’
biri ‘someone’
E.g.,
Barçaši munung qatina keldilär. (Sayf14v:13)
‘All came to join him.’
Tiši näräsañ cunub ḥatnasiz boğüzlasa biri, ḥalal ol, ýättiz. (MM191v:13)
‘If a female, a preadolescent boy, an unclean or uncircumcised person slaughters an animal, the slaughter is lawful and fully acceptable.’

3.4.8.5. Pronominal Phrases with bir
bir kiši ‘someone’
bir kim ärşä ‘someone’
bir nemâ ‘something’
bir neçä ‘some, a little, a few’
bir nang ‘something’
bir šamma ‘some, a little’

Lit., No [blame] comes to the veterinarian.
E.g.,

Tayammum neteğ qilğu sorsang aṣit, ayitgil taqi bir kişi bilmäsä. (MM182v:17) ‘If you want to learn how to perform the tayammum, listen and [then] instruct those who do not know how.’

Biır neçe šari‘atin胃肠 ahkamların kâtümärlik İslam erur, bi lyaqın. (MM178r:1) ‘Know full well that by keeping [only] a few of the regulations of the Law one will achieve resignation to the Divine Will.’

Bu oğlannıng körkülü aşafından bir şamma vaft qildi. (Sayf 14v:2) ‘He described some of the beautiful traits of this youth.’

3.4.9. Universal Pronouns

Universal pronouns are formed by the particle har ‘each, every, any’ placed before indefinite pronouns:

har kim (ShD15v:6) ‘whoever’
har kim ki (DN248v:3) ‘whoever’
har kimğa (DN250v:11) ‘to whomever’
har kimsä (ShD15v:12) ‘whoever’
har kişi (RM21r:6) ‘whoever’
har qaçan (RM15v:8) ‘whenever’
har qanda (DN234v:7) ‘wherever’
har qayand (GD66,5) ‘wherever’
har qayda (ShD19v:2) ‘wherever’
har qayısı (ShD183r:13) ‘whichever’
har ne (DN7r:3) ‘whatever’
har neca (ShD7r:3) ‘however much’
har nrecük (ShD173r:6) ‘however’
har nemä (RM44r:1) ‘everything, anything’
har nemärsa (RM39r:8-39v:1) ‘everything, anything’
har sari (DN262v:5) ‘everywhere’

E.g.,

Har nemärsa kim ilgari yibäsängiz Qiyamatğa özinqiz üçün ğa‘atdin va yaḥsilqdın. (RM39r:8-39v:1) ‘[You will find with God the reward] for any acts of obedience and good deeds that you send ahead of you for yourself for the [Day of] Resurrection.’

Sevar sevgucini har kim ki bolsa, sözı har neca kim ‘alamğa tolsa. (DN248r:3) ‘To the loving lover whoever he may be [and] however much his repute may have filled this world.’

Vale ol martaba har kimğa yetmas, bu savadaga tamanna aşiq et-mäs. (DN250v:11) ‘But that rank is not granted for everyone. To have false hopes in this transaction\(^{165}\) is of no avail.’

Berür tağ adamı karlıq nişani, ki har ne desänge aytur ol ham ani. (DN248v:4) ‘The man of the mountain\(^{166}\) displays the signs of deafness. Whatever you say, he keeps saying the same thing.’

Fiqh ahlı man‘ etar har geyda bolsa ‘aşiq, kim bularning qası-da‘ilm u hunar köp boldi ‘ayb. (Sayf19v:3) ‘The jurists [of Islam] interfere wherever there is a lover because in their eyes learning and art are a major disgrace.’

3.4.10. Collective Pronouns

barça (RM41r:5) ‘all, everyone’
barça ‘alam (ShD12v:2) ‘all, everyone’
bari nemä (RM8v:9) ‘all’
haña (H77v:1) ‘all’
birğa (ShD114v:7) ‘together’
bari (MM176v:15) ‘all’
bütün ‘the whole’
bar ‘all there is’
cumla (Sayf3v:13) ‘all’
tegmä (MM181v:4) ‘all’
tegmä kişi (MM177v:13) ‘everyone’
tökäl (RM2r:2) ‘all’

E.g.,

Yügürur cumla sâning nafting üçün amr tutup. (Sayf3v:13) ‘All run around following the order [to work] for your benefit.’

Şukur qilğu tün kün tazarru‘billa aning ummati qilmişında barı. (MM176v:15) ‘Night and day we all must give thanks in humble supplication for His creation of this Community.’

Barça ‘alam bolsa bolsun duşmanım sen bar bol. Düst sen bol-dung nağ bolğa bolsa el duşman manga. (ShD12v:2) ‘Let the entire world be my enemy and you be the ever existig. Since you are a friend, what difference does it make that [all the] people are my enemies?’

Bolmasun hargiz hiçalım balki ma‘ṣuqdin cudaa. Ḥwas yarasür birğa bolsa da‘ima ol can u tan. (ShD114v:6) ‘Perhaps my thoughts should never be separated from the Beloved. It is becoming for the soul and body to be always together.’

Tükäl dunya mali yığar, ne aşiq? Ölär özgälärğa qalur ol yana. (MM180r:2) ‘Of what benefit is it to him to accumulate he goods of he entire world? [In time] he will die and they will remain in the hands of others.’

\(^{165}\) Consider the double meaning of savadasi ‘madness’ and ‘transaction’.

\(^{166}\) The echo.
3.4.11. Assertive Pronouns

There are two kinds of assertive pronouns: multal and paucal. These are relative terms. Multal pronouns indicate an amount or a quality somewhat more, paucal pronouns indicate an amount or a quality somewhat less than usual.

3.4.11.1. Multal Assertive Pronouns

artuq (Sayf155v:3) 'more'
arturaq (Sayf28:11) 'a little more'
köp (H80v:9) 'more'
köprak 'more and more'
ança (MM189v:17) 'that much'
munça (MM179r:14) 'this much'
neçä köp (Sayf89r:11) 'however much'
talay (Pdc203) 'much, numerous'

E.g.,
Cavr köp qilmä quigä, ay ḫwäsäs! (Sayf148r:13) 'Do no inflict much cruelty upon the servant, O Master!'
Köp kelürär mání ziýarat qilmäga. (Sayf74v:2) 'Many come to visit me.'
Māšlaḥät körmdäim dağı arturaq sözlämgä. (Sayf28r:11) 'I did not see it reasonable to say more.'

3.4.11.2. Paucal Assertive Pronouns

az (Sayf171v1) 'few'
az buçuq (RM35v:7) 'some, a little'
azraaq (RM37v:6) 'less'
azraqca (RM14r:3) 'a little less'
aksük (Sayf155v:3) 'less'
kam (Nava'i, Dict.,II,93) 'few'
kantar (Sayf185v:10) 'less'

E.g.,
Az az yiğlsa ḫaylä bolur. (Sayf171v1) 'Little drops make an ocean.'
Muhlat ber alarni az buçuq (RM35v:7) 'Give them some respite.'
Meni emdi halaketti fir'aqing, šikèb az va faravan isṭilaqing. (DN263v:6) 'Now your absence drove me to destruction; patience is little, and the desire for you is overwhelming.'

3.4.12. Negative Pronouns

3.4.12.1. Based on hec

hec kim 'no one'
hec kisi 'no one'
hec nemä 'nothing'
hec narsä 'nothing'
hec qaysi 'no one, none'

E.g.,
Zāhidlärgä hec nemä bermägil. (Sayf71v:1) 'Do not give anything to the abstinent.'
Aning dardidin etmäy hec kim yäd, yätip dardina gah gah nala firyađ. (DN240r:2) 'No one is mindful of his pains. Now and then words of complaint come to his relief.'
Namaz buzmas ol ham väcib qilmäs ol, taqi hec narsä väcib qilmäs. (MM183v:11b) 'Such an omission does not invalidate the prayer, impose a necessary duty, or require any other action.'

3.4.13. Relative Pronouns

Both the Persian ki and the Turkish kim, when used as relative pronouns, may require the suffix -i on the noun they refer to [see 3.1.2.2.]. Mostly Arabic and Persian words occur with this suffix.

ki 'who, what, that'
kim 'who, what'

E.g.,
Har bahärä kim kelür bar dur ḫazänä käynä. (BH15v:9) 'Every spring that comes, has an autumn in its wake.'
Yel ki der män bilingiz, shüb-i azaining yeli dur. (BH19r:9) 'Know that the wind I speak of is the wind of the morning of eternity.'
Bu mala'ıkä ñi bar dur törtäni qildä guzin. (BH20v:4) 'From among the already existing angels he chose four [archangels].'

3.5. Numerals

Chagatai has a full set of Turkish numerals. Sporadically numbers from Persian and Arabic also occur, especially in numbering chapters of poems or counting the elements of the ritual prayers. Numerals share grammatical features with nouns and adjectives, and, to some extent also with adverbs.

3.5.1. Cardinal Numbers

The cardinal numbers are divided into two groups: simple and compound.
3.5.1.1. Simple numbers

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bir</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ikki [~ iki]</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>üc</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tört</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>beş</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>altı</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>yetti [~ yet]</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>sakkiz [~ sekiz]</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>toqquz [~ toqquz]</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>on ming</td>
<td>10000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yüz ming</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with conjunctions:

səkkiz yüz va on üç (MS16v:6) ‘eight hundred and thirteen’
ming ikki yüz va yigirmə üc (MS17r:4) ‘one thousand two hundred and twenty-three’
yüz taqi toqsan altı (MM189r:17) ‘one hundred and ninety-six’

The following Persian numerals occur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>sad</td>
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<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>hazar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10000</td>
<td>tuman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100000</td>
<td>lāk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cardinal numbers generally precede the noun they modify. The noun is preferably in the singular. E.g.,
yüz fitna (DN256r:11) ‘a hundred ruses’
on altun (Sayf68v:11) ‘ten dinars’
toqsan toquz nāma (RM8v:1) ‘ninety-nine documents’

3.5.1.3. Approximate numbers are expressed by putting two numbers in sequence taking the lower number first. E.g.,
Tuğla taşminan on tört on beş qar a bolgai. (Babur 47r:11) ‘Its length is about fourteen or fifteen ells.’

3.5.1.4. In dates cardinal numbers are used starting with the higher figures. The last element may be in the locative case or followed by the postposition ičrə. E.g.,
Bu daftar kim bolup tur Mişr qandi yetti yüz elli tört ičrə tigand. (MN312r:6) ‘This book that turned out to be as sweet as [double refined] Egyptian sugar, was finished in [the year of] seven hundred and fifty four.’
İdī berdi tavfiq bu bir qač kalam, oruç ayi ičrə bitildi tamam. Tarih yetti yüz on üç erdi yili salamun ‘alaikum ‘alaikum salam. (MM201v:3-4) ‘The Lord granted me Divine Aid to compose these few words. This work was completed in the month of the Fast in the year seven hundred and thirteen. Peace be upon you, upon you be peace.‘
Mundaq aytur faqir-i haqir... Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣābi‘i ibn Abī ‘I-Ḥayr Ḥan... kim [anga] bu tarihi toqquz yüz on üçda Ḥurāsan

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*I.e., false*
3.5.1.5. In fractions cardinal numbers are used. The denominator is in the ablative or locative cases while the numerator takes the nominative case. E.g.,

'İki ming ikki yüz ham vigirmə үç. Erdi vaqqı kuz.' (MS 17r:3-4) ‘This copy of the book was written in the land of China. The pen [that wrote it] was in the hand of Faqrı Tahir. It was in [the year] one thousand two hundred and twenty three of the Hijra. It was in the autumn.’

3.5.2. Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed from cardinal numbers by the suffixes -inçə/-inçə [after consonants] and -inçə/-inçə [after vowels]:

birdinçə ‘first’

ikkinçə, ikkinçə ‘second’

üçünçə ‘third’

törtünçə ‘fourth’

beşinçə ‘fifth’

altıncı ‘sixth’

yedincı, yetinçı ‘seventh’

sekkiz Nichols, seksinçə ‘eighth’

toküzüncü, toquzunçı ‘ninth’

onuncı ‘tenth’

Note: (1) ‘First’ is also expressed by avval, avvalığı, burunun, avvalin, and ilk. E.g.,

Keçər çanidin avval suda ğayvvas, ki tə āhar bolur bir durrga ol  الماضي. (DN253v:7) ‘First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single pearl.’

İkkinçə rak’atda bu ayatı oquqay. (RM17r:4) ‘In the second rak’at he should recite the following verse.’

Üçünçə kün alar muhakam uruşti. (Sayf138r:8) ‘On the third day they had a big quarrel.’

Ay Şabani dilbəringin avvalın aşna eding, muhtasib masni nə qılqay kim aləstədın yar mən. (ShD111v:12) ‘O, Shaban you have been the first acquaintance of your heart-ravisher. What can the inspector do about [me] the drunk person considering that I have been a friend since the beginning of times.’

(2) Signal words indicating sequence in a list come from ordinal or cardinal numbers, adverbs or conjunctions. E.g.,

Avvalı ayatından songər ayat kelgınca on yıl keçti. (RM31:3-4) ‘Ten years passed between the [coming of] the first and the last verses.’

Birli ol kim mēl yiğdırı dağı yemədı, ikkinçli ol kim ‘ilm oqıdı dağı ‘amal qilmədi. (Sayf160v:10) ‘The first is the one who collected wealth but did not enjoy it, the second is the one who studied but did not use his learning in his actions.’

Qavasın bilgili. Avval istifəh, anda kədin a’üz birlə fałah. Başdəhu bi’smiliha va amin. (MS12v:1-2) ‘Know what the recitations are: First is the opening orison, second is the supplication for protection, the third is the “in the name of God” and the Amen. Agar artuq aksūk yaqın bilmişəng, erər avvalı Adam, Muḥammad songər. (MM176v:11) ‘Even if you do not know them all by name, [know at least that] Adam was the first, and Muhammed, the last.’
Note: Parts of the ritual prayer, especially the prostrations are counted by Arabic numerals. E.g.,

Bu avval, bu şanlı, bu şalist teyû, kârâk qilsa saclû bîlû atayu. (MM 185v:3) 'This is the first, this is the second, this is the third: One must carry out the prostrations knowingly and counting.'

A less frequently used set of ordinal numbers is formed by the suffix -lançi/-lânçî:

- bîrlânçî ‘first’
- ikîlânçî ‘second’
- üçîlânçî ‘third’
- törtîlânçî ‘fourth’
- beşîlânçî ‘fifth’
- altîlânçî ‘sixth’
- yetîlânçî ‘seventh’
- sekizîlânçî ‘eighth’
- toquzzîlânçî ‘ninth’
- onlânçî ‘tenth’

Note: The final cowel of the suffix -lançî/-lânçî may be dropped. E.g.,

Biri yuzun yumaq, ikinçi ailing, tutuš tirsakî birîla yumaq, biling! Ğîncî bağa mash et taqi törtîlânçî açaqni topuz birîla yuq rast ailing. (MM180v:13-14) ‘The first is to wash your face, the second, to wash your hands. Know that [by washing your hand we mean that] you must wash all the way up to your elbows. The third is to wipe your head, the fourth, to wash your feet, including your heel. [Carry on these duties and] you will be acting properly.’

3.5.3. Collective Numbers

The majority of the collective numbers in use are formed by the suffix -av/-âv. [The paradigm is incomplete. One of Muhammed Shaybani Khânî’s ghazals [140v:12-140v:8] has the following forms:]

- birâv ‘one altogether, someone’
- ikâv ‘the two together’
- uçâv ‘the three together’
- törtâv ‘the four together’
- beşâv ‘the five together’
- altâv ‘the six together’
- yetâv ‘the seven together’
- sekizâv ‘the eight together’
- toquzâv ‘the nine together’

E.g.,

Uşbu dam keldi birâv bên qatîga. (Shayb. V56-29) ‘At that very moment someone came to the presence of the Khan.’
Siz ikâv bir ataning oğlî siz. (Shayb.V180:49) ‘The two of you are the sons of the same father.’
Aga hava va havasîn bîkulli desâng otây, šarîhâna tûrûndâ muğan birla ikâv. (ShD140r:13) ‘If you say I wish to pass over desire and passion once and for all, you and the tavern-keeper, the two of you, will be on the seat of honor of the tavern.’
Sabaniya sanga bas usbu koy-i pîr-i muğan; qalur aranîl ayaqinda sigil us toquzzav. ‘O, Shabanî the quarter of the elder of the magi is sufficient for you. The [gifts of] nine remain at thee feet of the saints.’

Note: Rarely -ägu/-ägû, the archaic form of -av/-âv is also represented in Chagatay:

Ay kongul boldung bizî sen pur hunar, kel ikägû baralî subh sahar. (ShD47v:8-9) ‘O, Heart, You have become full of virtues for us. Come, let us walk, the two of us, [joined like] morning and daybreak.’

Rarely the suffixes -avla/-âvlâ or -avlan/-âvlân are used. [The series is not complete].

ikâvlâ, ikâvlân ‘both, the two together’
uçâvlâ, uçâvlân ‘the three together’

E.g.,

Uşol damda yâtîstîlî r ikâvlân. (H77r:1) ‘At that moment they both arrived.’
Bâqa baqa ikâvlân öyğä keldi. (H76v:1) ‘Looking around they both entered the house.’
Uçâvlân birin cânîn alur mân. (H73v10) ‘I will take the soul of one of these three [boys].’

The suffixes -la/-lâ, -ala/-âlâ, -lasî/-läsi, -alasî/-alâsi also occur:

- ikâlla, ikâllâsi ‘both, the two together’
- uçâlla, uçâllâsi ‘the three together’
- törtallâ, törtâllâsi ‘the four together’

E.g.,

‘Âsiq bilâ ma’suq ara bir qil bolsa, ol ikîllâsi hargiz anî üzmäs emîs. (ShD180r:6) ‘If there is one hair between the Lover and the Beloved [that ties them together], the two of them would never break it.’
3.5.4. Distributive Numbers
Distributive numbers are partly formed by suffixal derivation, partly by case forms or by repetition.

3.5.4.1. In suffixal derivation the suffixes -ar/-är (on consonantal bases) or -sar/-sär (on vowel bases) are used:

birär 'one each'
likšär 'two each'
ücär 'three each'
törtär 'four each'
beşär 'five each'
altišär 'six each'
yettišär 'seven each'
säkkizär 'eight each'
toqqazar 'nine each'
onar 'ten each'

E.g.,
Ay mu’mīnlâr, cuftlaning ol kim sızkâ ḥwaṣ kelgäy ḥatunlardan ekkisiär taqı ucår cuftlaning taqı törtär cuftlaning. (NF96v:16-97r:1) ‘O Believers, marry two from women whom you like, marry three or marry four of them.’

3.5.4.2. The instrumental case forms of cardinal numbers also occur in the role of distributive numbers. E.g.,
Mogulning çapqunčisi birin ikin čerigning keynidin kelip. (Babar 19v:1) ‘The Moghul raiders followed the army one by one or two by two.’
Veale billi, qıyamat kūndindâ birin birin cumlasindin sorulûg turur. (MM193v:7) ‘But know that on the day of Resurrection you will be asked about all [of your indulgences] one be one.’

In idioms:
Bešin vaqt namâz (RM25r:6) ‘the five daily prayers’

3.5.4.3. Cardinal numbers repeated may serve as distributive numbers.

bir bir 'one by one'

E.g.,
Sabāni yurti ḥaqqinda base emgâk körüp tün kün. Bu emgâkdi̇n musulmânlar, tuaš tâbâ bir bir bu dandânim. (ShD109v:11-12) ‘For his fatherland Shabanî labors a lot night and day. Because of this labor I shed my teeth one by one.’
Andin song bir bir mangîp masîd sarî bağay. (RM15r:5) ‘Then he should leave [his house] and [with other worshippers] set off for the mosque one by one.’
Muvabbâb tâpti anda iśq râzin, mufašal îciða bir bir baγânîn. (DN252r:1) ‘She found in it the secrets of love laid out in chapters with statements disclosed in paragraphs.’

3.5.5. Multiplicative Numbers
The following words are used to express multiplication: ança [equative of ol], qurla [< qur ‘weapon’], qaṭla [< qat ‘layer’], martaba [< Ar. ‘step’], navbat [< Ar. ‘turn’], tâ [< P. ‘fold’], vaqt [< Ar. ‘time’]. E.g.,
Taqî quî yâ ayyuha’l-kâfiruna-nî yâti qaṭla oqugay. (RM10v:7) ‘And he should [also] recite: Say, O kafirs…seven times.’
Qırq qaṭla bu tâbîhî aytqay. (RM14v:2) ‘He should pronounce the following tâbîh forty times.’
Necâ navbat bu andîsâni qîldim. (Sayf24v:9) ‘Several times I entertained this thought.’
namazni beš vaqt Ka‘baγa yîzlânîp oqusa…(RM26v:2-4) ‘if he recites the prayer five times turning his face toward the Kaaba…’
Men ol it men ki gar yûz qaṭla sûrsang, yûz evûrmân agarî yûz evûrsang. (DN251r:3) ‘I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].’
Bir aytqanî yana ayta mukarrar, ki hâlînî daγi bir qurla yerlâr. (Sayf10v:9) ‘Do not repeat what you have already said once. Consider, people serve you halva only once.’
Yûz ança bolsang ârîkdâ bilîp köp tûlî al ârdâm. (Sayf18v:3) ‘Even if you are a hundred times better in valor knowing many kinds of ruses and skills.’
Tâmûr tögğan bilak ming qurla yahşi ol eldân kim kögsâda bag-ga qarsî. (Sayf45v:7) ‘A fist that pounds on iron is a thousand times better than hands at the chest in the presence of a lord.’
Qavisî kundâ uc navbat yemâk yer. (Sayf84r:7) ‘The stronger one ate his meal three times a day.’

Idiom: karraṭa va marraṭ ‘many times’, e.g.,
Karrât va marraṭ bu maslahatînîn kim aytur sân fizk ettîm. (Sayf 156r:7) ‘I have considered this matter that you are saying many times’
3.5.6. Indefinite Numbers

Some of the indefinite numbers are also used as adjectives [see 3.4.8.2.]
The most frequently used indefinite numbers are:

az  ‘few’
barça  ‘all’
bari  ‘all’
faravan  ‘many’
köp  ‘many’
neçä  ‘few’
öküs  ‘many’
bir neçä  ‘a few’
cami  ‘all’
cumlä  ‘all’
tamam  ‘whole’
telim  ‘much, many’
tükäl  ‘entire’
tümän ming  ‘a great many’

E.g.,

Kim avval surati quldi padidar, bu išda surat u ma’ni bari yär. (DN271r:5) ‘The former brought into view forms, but in this work of art [of yours] form and meaning, both, are [inseparably together like two] friends.’

Bu kün tuttum ‘Uṭārid teg alamdin, dam ẓaraylar bari lavh u qalamdin. (DN271v:2) ‘Today I understood something from the pain like that of Mercury: All the people will be more concerned about the tablet and pen.’

Mahabbat babidän tartip neçä fašl, uzun ẓumär amma ičidä vašl. (DN261v:1) ‘From the chapter of caring love he pulled a few paragraphs; it was a long scroll but in it there was [a description of] union.’

Tümän ming rang berding bir qaradän, kötärding ẓin mišalini aradin. (DN271r:2) ‘You presented endless number10 of colors from black [ink] and brought forth examples of Chinese [painting].’

Meni emdi haflak ettı firaqing, šike az va faravan ilitating. (DN263v:6) ‘Now your absence drove me to destruction; patience is little, and the desire for you is overwhelming.’

Acun raḥti tilär men tilä kırğı, eihan süfi bari tašíla kırğı. (DN264v:8) ‘I wish that the goods and chattle of this world be also brought up; that all the wool in the world be teased.’

3.5.7. Numeratives

Numeratives are counting words that specify an object through a common characteristic of the group of objects it belongs to. They are nouns with full meanings. In this role, however, they occur only in the singular.

The following is a selective list with illustrations of the most frequently used numeratives:

3.5.7.1. baš ‘head’
   üc baš sarimsaq (KBV62v:8) ‘three bulbs of garlics’
   yeti ulug baš sarimsaq (KBV67v:5) ‘seven large bulbs of garlics’

3.5.7.2. batman ‘batman’ [a measure of weight].
   bir batman buğday (ShD121r:8) ‘one batman of wheat’

3.5.7.3. pāra ‘piece’
   bir pāra anzarūt (KBV24r:6) ‘a piece/dose of Persian balsam’

3.5.7.4. pärça ‘piece’
   bir pärça kağizpāra (RM8v:1) ‘one piece of paper’

3.5.7.5. qirba ‘waterbag’
   bir qirba suw (KBV18v:20) ‘a bag of water’

3.5.7.6. rak‘at ‘prayer-unit’
   ikki rak‘at išrāq namazi (RM16v:6) ‘a two-rak‘at sunrise prayer’

3.5.7.7. tiš ‘clove’
   üc tiš sarimsaq (KBV30r:1) ‘three cloves of garlics’

3.5.7.8. zarr ‘an atom’
   bir zarr mihr (DN245v:6) ‘an atom of love’

3.5.7.9. zarra ‘an atom’
   bir zarra şafa (ShD84r:1) ‘an atom of purity’

3.6. Verbs

3.6.1. Morphological Elements of Verbs

Verbs occur in finite or nonfinite forms: Qaytti ‘he returned’ is finite because it tells us about concrete things: the agent [3d singular], the time [past], aspect [definite] and status [completed] of the action. Qaytgan is
nonfinite, because it does not reveal the agent or the concrete status or aspect of the action. What it says about time [sometime in the past] or status [hearsay] does not constitute a complete agent related expression. Finite verbs create verbal predicates in the sentence while nonfinite verbs mostly occur in nominal role, including the function of nominal predicates.

The finite verb consists of a stem, a tense and/or mood marker, and a personal ending. E.g., qayt-tı-m ‘I returned’. The subject can be included for precision or emphasis: Men qayttım ‘I returned’. The definiteness of the statement has been decided by the choice of tense [-di forms].

The nonfinite verb consists of a stem and a nominal formant. E.g., qayt-gan ‘a returning in the past’; qayt-maq ‘to return; a returning.’

Negation of both verbs takes place on the stem: In case of finite verbs exclusively [qayt-ma-di ‘he did not return’], in case of nonfinite verbs, alternating with negative particles or negative auxiliaries [qayt-gan e-mañ, qayt-ma-gan].

More importantly, finite verbs, for a complete expression, are directly dependent on a subject, agental or grammatical. A nonfinite verb may have no subject or its subject may be expressed by syntactic structures [qayt-ma-q ‘a returning’, amıring qaytmağ ‘the returning of the prince’]. Both the finite and nonfinite verbs can have complements: adverbs, direct objects, indirect objects [tex qaytmaq ‘a fast return, to return fast’, šahrga qayt-gan ‘having returned to the city’].

3.6.2. Verbal Stems

Verbs and nouns are closed categories; to enter from one category into the other can generally happen through nominal or verbal derivation. There are, however, a few cases where a noun, without derivative elements, is used as the equivalent verbal stem. E.g.,

\[
\begin{align*}
ač & : (Sayf101v:8) & \text{‘to go hungry’} & < \text{ač ‘hungry, hunger’} \\
ağrı & : (Sayf147r:10) & \text{‘to ache’} & < \text{ağrı ‘pain’} \\
keğ naïš & : (MA122-7) & \text{‘to consult’} & < \text{keğ naïš ‘consultation’} \\
kuräś & : (Sayf38v:12) & \text{‘to fight’} & < \text{kuwäś ‘fight’} \\
qari & : (Sayf81r:5) & \text{‘to grow old’} & < \text{qari ‘old’} \\
qor & : (NTM7r:) & \text{‘to be afraid’} & < \text{qorq ‘fear’} \\
qol & : (MM192r:16) & \text{‘to ask for’} & < \text{qol ‘hand’} \\
tọqış & : (PdC240) & \text{‘to meet’} & < \text{toqış ‘clash’} \\
tüz & : (Sayf136v:2) & \text{‘to arrange’} & < \text{tüz ‘flat’}
\end{align*}
\]

(d) CVC stems [many, selective list]

\[
\begin{align*}
baq & & \text{‘to look’} \\
bar & & \text{‘to go’} \\
bat & & \text{‘to sink’} \\
ber & & \text{‘to give’} \\
bił & & \text{‘to know’} \\
bol & & \text{‘to be’} \\
bül & & \text{‘to find’} \\
čak & & \text{‘to draw’}
\end{align*}
\]


- **CVC stems (few)**
  - elt- 'to bring'
  - ört- 'to cover'
  - ürk- 'to start up'

- **CVCC stems (few)**
  - qorq- 'to fear'
  - sanč- 'to put on the spit'
  - tart- 'to draw'
  - türt- 'to cut through'
  - yanč- 'to bore, pierce'
  - yänc- 'to smash'
  - yirt- 'to rend, tear to pieces'

- **VCV stems (few)**
  - aya- 'to grudge'
  - oqi- 'to recite'
  - ődā- 'to pay'
  - ula- 'to join'
  - uyu- 'to sleep'

- **CVCV stems**
  - bāzā- 'to adore'
  - büyű- 'to grow'
  - qari- 'to grow old'
  - tani- 'to recognize'
  - tilā- 'to wish'
  - toqi- 'to weave'
  - toşā- 'to spread, lay out'
  - yara- 'to fit'
  - yūri- 'to go, walk'

- **CVCVC stems (few)**
  - äşišt- 'to hear'
  - ayir- 'to split'
  - inan- 'to believe'
  - isli- 'to hear'
  - unut- 'to forget'
  - buyur- 'to command'

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**3.6.2.1.1. Impactive Derivations**

There are a few verbs, mostly monosyllabic with a vowel base [see Brock. Oste. Gr., p.188] that have recognizable derivational elements which, however, long have not been productive. There are very few data available and the nature of the derivation and the function of the isolated derivational means are not always easily evaluated.

- kö- 'to see'  
- to-d-/to-y- 'to eat one’s fill'  
- to-annihi-late'  
- ya-q- 'to burn'  
- ke-l- 'to come'

**3.6.2.1.2. Foreign Stems**

Arabic and Persian words are introduced into the verbal system through means of verbal derivation, e.g.,  

- azāra- 'to hurt'  
- azālā- 'to respect'  
- farmānla- 'to order'  

In a few examples the foreign word, preferably a noun, is directly used as a verbal stem. E.g.,

- ağaz- 'to begin' (Qūb63r:4)  
- nazar- 'to take coquetts airs' (MA38,7)  

**3.6.2.1.3. Augmented Stems**

Closed, mostly monosyllabic, verbs are often expanded by a vowel. Many of them survived in Modern Uzbek and are used parallel with the original verb.  E.g.,

- san- 'to count' (MM184r:12)  
- sāmir- 'to grow fat' (Sayf71r:3)  
- sora- 'to ask' (H76r:2)  
- sos- 'to stretch' (Bay38r:1)  
- söy- 'to love' (DN25or:5)  
- tālbār- 'to act foolishly' (Pd265)  
- tut- 'to flare up' (BN87v:6)  
- tūz- 'to arrange' (Sayf185v:8)  
- yalqi- 'to be fed up with' (Sang336r:3)  
- yiğra- 'to be angry with' (Sayf140r:11)
3.6.2.2. Grammatical Derivations

Grammatical derivations bring about forms that constitute structural elements in the verbal inflection. The derivatives are not part of the lexicon, although some of them may be listed as entry words or may be included in the word entry.

3.6.2.2.1. Negative Stems

Negative verbal stems are formed by the suffix -ma/-mä added directly to the positive stem. E.g.,
- kelma- ‘not to come’ [< kel-]
- qaymtma- ‘not to return’ [< qayt-]
- tartmä- ‘not to pull’ [< tart-]
- sağmäna- ‘not to think’ [sağın-]

3.6.2.2.2. Passive Stems

Passive stems are formed by means of the suffix -l, -il/-il, -ul/-ul added to the positive stem. Stems ending on an -l have the suffix -n, -in/-in, -un/-ün in the passive form.

3.6.2.2.2.1. Stems in -l, -il/-il, -ul/-ul

- aol- ‘to open, to be opened’ (DN246r:6)
- ayil- ‘to be related, told’ (MM195r:2)
- ayirl- ‘to be separated’ (DN248v:1)
- ayitil- ‘to be said’ (RM3v:8)
- ağıl- ‘to be bent’ (MM184v:5)
- awwrul- ‘to revolve’ [< to be turned] (MM199v:8)
- bitil- ‘to be written’ (ShD178v:10)
- buzul- ‘to be invalidated’ (MM183v:9)
- kesil- ‘to give up’ [lit. to be cut off] RM2v:3
- kiril- ‘to be introduced’ (MM251v:7)
- münül- ‘to be ridden’ (MM179v:5)
- oqul- ‘to be recited’ (RM2v:3)
- qutul- ‘to be spared’ (RM37r:3)
- sälül- ‘to be separated out’ (MM198v:13)
- tapil- ‘to be worshipped’ (RM42v:2)
- tapul- ‘to be found’ (Sayf105r:8)
- tifil- ‘to stop’ (MM181v:1)
- tirl- ‘to live’ (MM193v:3)
- tıkül- ‘to spill’ (MM194v:10)
- tutul- ‘to get stuck’ (MM176v:3)
- tüžül- ‘to rise’ (MM251v:1)
- urul- ‘to be cast’ (MM188v:16)

- üzül- ‘to be separated from’ (MM192v:17)
- yiğil- ‘to accumulate’ (Sayf85r:11)
- yiqil- ‘to collapse’ (Sayf26r:5)

E.g.,
- Çihanı yarugay çani türilgäy, türilgär sanina atı kirilgäy. (DN251v:7) ‘May his world light up, may his soul come to life, and may his name enter the list of those who are alive.’
- Kelip tur bağda guldin acliqmaq, yaraşmas til tıkän teg tëz qilmäq. (DN246r:6) ‘It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming [, however,] to make one’s tongue as sharp as the thorn.’
- Münnülklär ma-işat üçün islâmsa nisâb bilgii uşbu tewâda beşi. (MM188v:16) ‘Carnels which are not ridden and do not work for their owner are subject to taxation if there are at least five of them.’
- Ayrlilgär gam ati cân daftarindin, köngül cam’ina tariqilgär raqamlar. (DN248v:1) ‘The name of sorrow will be deleted from the journal of life. The numbers will be drawn to the total of the heart.’
- Bu fursat barça vaqta tapulmas. (Sayf 105r:8) ‘This opportunity is not to find every time.’

3.6.2.2.2.2. Stems in -n, -in/-in, -un/-ün

After stem final -l and -r- and after a vowel in monosyllabic stems the mark of the passive voice is -n, -in/-in, -un/-ün.

- alın- ‘be held back, be stemmed’ (MM181r:17)
- arın- ‘to be cleansed’ (MM177v:2)
- bilin- ‘to be known’ (ShD100r:3-4)
- bulun- ‘to be found’ (MM182v:1)
- körün- ‘to be seen’ (RM31v:10)
- qilin- ‘to be made’ (MM188v:13)
- yän- ‘to be eaten’ (MM190v:15)

E.g.,
- Pista ağzi birlä lafe tartsa bir mim-i matin, qil tabassum kim bilinsün günça handanım mànüm. (ShD100r:3-4). ‘If a solid mim flashes a smile with its pistachio mouth, return the smile so that my laughing rose bud be revealed.’
- Kaftar ati mu’min bulup tasmiat qilip tegdi yenmans, ay såhib-raşad. (MM190v:15) ‘If an unbeliever shots his arrow, then becomes a believer and, pronouncing the name of God, touches [the animal which he has shot], the game animal cannot be eaten, O, Faithful One.’
Ayit la ilaha, arinsun tiling. (MM177v:2) ‘Recite la ilaha that your tongue may be cleansed.’

3.6.2.2.3. Reflexive Stems
Reflexive verbs express actions that the subject carries out on himself, or does for himself, in his own interest [= middle voice]. Reflexive stems are identical with passive stems formed with the same suffix. A few reflexive verbs have also passive meaning. E.g.,
ban- ‘to bind oneself’ (MM198v:2)
bázân- ‘to adorn, ornament’ (NF308:11)
bólün- ‘to rid oneself of s.th.’ (MM179r:4)
tayan- ‘to lean on’ (NF16:11)
körün- ‘to seem, to appear’ (Sayf63r:10)
isn- ‘to be occupied with’\(^{111}\) (DN256r:6)
qisîn- ‘to restrain oneself’ (DN258r:6)
quyûn- ‘to wash oneself’ (MM182r:9)
salîn- ‘to sway’ (Sayf182r:1)
saqlan- ‘to hide [oneself]’ (Sayf18v:)
maqîn- ‘to take care of oneself’ (Sayf14v:10)
sevûn- ‘to rejoice’ (DN252r:3)
sîgin- ‘to take refuge’ (Sayf33v:8)
tîlàn- ‘to beg’ (Sayf86v:9)
yun- ‘to wash oneself’ (MM181:1)

E.g.,
Tâning ham tapîsun bir baş ayağını, til achip sözung tındursun qulağıni. (DN260v:2) ‘Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ears.’
Munung teq quyûnu kûrûk üç yoli, taqux surgû arqa, kögûz, baš qoli. (MM182r:9) ‘You must wash three times in this manner. Then you must scrub your back, chest, head, and arms.’
Sâyûnmâk yqo kûrûp duşim olusin: kalsår çon bizâ ol davr ayağ. (Sayf46r:6-7) ‘There is nothing to rejoice about the death of [our] enemy since the cup that goes around in that circle will for sure come to us.’
Tângridân öçgâ sîginur yeçim qalmadi. (Sayf33v:8) ‘I do not have left other place of refuge than God.’
Zamahe ğârî ‘iilinma isîndî, içi küydi, valq qorqup qisîndî. (DN 258v:6) ‘For a while she was busy with the science of characters. She was filled with enthusiasm but, being afraid, she restrained herself.’

3.6.2.2.4. Intensive Stems
A group of intensive stems are formed by the suffixes -q/-k, -iq/-ik. E.g.
aziq- ‘to roam aimlessly’ (Eckm. Gr. p.73)
birîk- ‘to unite’ (MM177v:11)
oğrûk- ‘to congregate’ (MA165-6)
qaçiq- ‘to run for one’s life’ (Eckm. Gr. p. 73)
qiziq- ‘to heat up, become quite red’ (Zenker,728a)
sìnîq- ‘to be utterly defeated’ (MA159-5)
siziq- ‘to leak intensively’ (MA130-5)
turûq- ‘to stop and wait, halt’ (Sayf36r:2)
uq- ‘to understand’ (MM179v:14)

E.g.,
Qanâ’at bilâ är ulâsu ‘aziq: Äšitgîl bu sözni, ayyâ ‘aqil, uq! (MM 179v:14) ‘A man possessed of contentment is always beloved [of God]. Heed these words, O Wise One, and [seek to] understand them.’
Hwacâ bu sözünng cavâbîna qorqup turuçtî. (Sayf36r:2) ‘The Khoda was afraid of giving a [positive] answer and waited a while.’
Bu uc birikibân bolur, bil, imân. (MM177v:11) ‘When these three are together, that is the faith, know full well!’

3.6.2.2.5. Frequentative Stems
A few frequentative verbs occur with the suffix -ű./-ülä, -qula/-kula.
E.g.,
atqula- ‘to shower arrows upon the enemy’ [cf., atqulaš ‘fierce fight’ PdC 5]
şapqula- ‘to be engaged in a hand to hand fight’ [cf. NT capqulast ‘hand to hand combat’ for Persian cang-i samâr 15v:7]
tartqula- ‘to fight’ [cf. tartqulas- ‘to fight against one another’ Babur, 373v:4]

3.6.2.2.6. Reciprocal Stems
Reciprocal verbs presume at least two agents whose simultaneous actions are directed against one another. Formally they are the same as the cooperative stems [‘to do something together’].
bâsiš- ‘to defeat one another’ (MA198-2)
bozuš- ‘to destroy one another’ (MA144-4)
câkiš- ‘to pull one another’ (Sayf157v:8)
körüs- ‘to embrace one another’ (Sayf118v:1)
mâŋzas- ‘to look alike’ (MA115-5)

\(^{111}\) Lit., to warm himself up
3.6.2.2.8. Similative Stems
Similative stems are formed by the suffixes -sü/-sü, -sun/-sün. The derivatives express incomplete, illusive or apparent actions. This formation was quite productive in the Karakhanid period. In Chagatay only a few examples exist:

- umsun- 'to despair' (PdC81)
- ulugsun- 'to grow' (MA170-4)

3.6.2.2.9. Desiderative Stems
Desiderative verbs indicate the subject’s desire to carry out the action. They are formed by the suffix -sa/-sä. E.g.,

- körša-t- 'to show' (BN87r:2)
- külümäsä- 'to smile' (PdC 476)
- öğürüsä- 'to wish to have a mate' (MA17-8)
- qapsa- 'to grasp' (MM182r:14)
- suwsa- 'to be thirsty' (MA99-10)
- susa- 'to be thirsty' (Sayf153r:12)

E.g.,
Körür miskin susamis uyusunda tamaat yer yüzün tutmiş aqar su. (Sayf153r:12) ‘A thirsty poor person sees in his dream that running water covers the entire surface of the earth.’
Üwuš erkän ök yu, songiča beri taqi basni qapsayu mashe et ari. (MM182r:14) ‘Do the ablution while your limbs are wet. Grasp your head with both hands and rub it thoroughly.’
Qudratingni köršät, ay qudrat-numa! (BN82r:2) ‘Exercise your power, O Omnipotent One!’

3.6.2.2.10. Causative Stems
Formation of causative verbs constitutes a vital part of Chagatay verbal expression. There are more than a dozen derivative suffixes productive in the classical period. Many of them survived in modern Turkic languages, especially in modern Uzbek.

3.6.2.2.10.1. Causative Stems in -ar/-är
- čiqar- ‘to produce, pull out’ (DN252v:2)
- ketar- ‘to remove, eliminate’ (DN242r:9)
- qaytar- ‘to return’ (Sayf124r:12)

E.g.,
Tazarrū' birlā, ay hwāca muzaffar, ĥarāmi altununq qaytarma-yisar. (Sayf124r:12) ‘Just because you keep lamenting, O Glorious Master, the highway robber will not return your money.’
3.6.2.2.10.2. Causative Stems in -dur/-dür
bildür-  ‘to inform’ (RM29v:6)
ışindür-  ‘to warm up’ (DN247v:6)
kayıduration-  ‘to get, to don’ (MM196v:4)
küdürüduration-  ‘to burn, to burn up’ (DN257v:3)
ozduduration-  ‘to go beyond a certain point’ (RM30v:7)
ofürduration-  ‘to kill’ (MM180r:12)
qaldur-  ‘to raise’ (MM194v:5)
sindur-  ‘to break’ [transitive] (KBV41v:22)
soldur-  ‘to make wither’ (MM199r:2)
söndur-  ‘to extinguish, to put out’ (Sayf115v:9)
tindür-  ‘to make listen’ (DN260v:2)
toldur-  ‘to fill’ (NTM15r:5)
tongdur-  ‘to freeze [transitive]’ (ShD79v:1)
urundur-  ‘[for the horse] to toss up the head’ (KBV41v:22)
uyaldur-  ‘to bring shame upon s.o.’ (DN247v:7)
yandur-  ‘to turn around’ (ShD79v:5)

E.g.,
Bil ki döstler yağı kabi cismimni tongdurdu savuq. Yahdim han beş batar dur asru küdürüdös savuq. (ShD79v:1-2) ‘Know, friends that cold froze my body like ice. It is much worse than ice, because this cold burned [me] very much.’

Kötürgân sihr eliğin söz yüzüdün, uyaldurğan közümü öz yüzüdün. (DN247r:7) ‘He has lifted the hands of magic from the face of the word. He put my eyes to shame by his own face.’

Meni sen şam’teg küdürüdömgeng ne? Cafa va cavr etakin türmâking ne? (DN257v:3) ‘What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?’

Taning ham tapinsun bir baş ayaqını, til achip sözgä tindursun qulagını. (DN260v:2). ‘Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ear.’

Neçün sen meni körüp şam’ni söndürdüg? (Sayf115v:9) ‘Why did you put out the candle when you saw me?’

3.6.2.2.10.3. Causative Stems in -qar/-kär; -ğer/-gär
ötkär-  ‘to carry out, fulfill’ (BN85v:10)
qutqar-  ‘to save’ (Qutb p.146)
qutgär-  ‘to save’ (NF85r:13)

E.g.,
Ötkärür erdi sözünü mäh säl, kelmas erdi Haqq taalğa malal. (BN85v:10) ‘For months and years God carried out his requests; the most high never wearied of them.’

Taği mâni Firaunnung ‘azabindan qutgärül.’ (NF85r:13) ‘And save me from the cruelty of Pharaoh.’

3.6.2.2.10.4. Causative Stems in -ur/-ûr
artur-  ‘to increase’ (Sayf150v:8)
asur-  ‘to skip, pass by’ (Qutb, Zaj. 143)
bîtur-  ‘to finish’ (MM184r:15)
êmür-  ‘to drown’ (Nava’i, Dict., IV, 484)
cüür-  ‘to make someone drink’ (KBV41r:7)
ërûr-  ‘to lose’ (RB8r:2)
kâcur-  ‘to lead’ (MM179r:7)
kâtür-  ‘to perform’ (MM181v:13)
oçür-  ‘to put out, extinguish’ (Pdc50)
tatür-  ‘to make s.o. taste s.th. (H75v:6)
tegur-  ‘to send, transmit’ (MM177r:2)
tüsür-  ‘to knock down’ (Sayf11r:9)
yasur-  ‘to hide’ (Qutb, Zaj. 74)
yatür-  ‘to lay down on the ground’ (MM188r:17)
yetür-  ‘to bring, drive, reduce to’ (H75r:4)

E.g.,
Cu quosang ol härâb allida gâmê, bitignî fêz tegur, bızdin salame. (DN246v:5) ‘When you come to the presence of that wretched [person] give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from me.’

Yüzün dağlagaqlar qubârgalanın ham arqan yaturup quyup ot qorîn. (MM188r:17) ‘His face and his side will be marked with a branding [tool]. Also, he will be laid on the ground and the embers of Hellfire will be poured upon his back.’

Hafakatgâ yetürdi nar-ı sozan. (H75r:4) ‘The Burning Fire’112 has reduced us to this condition.’

112 i.e., hell
Mun‘âttî dağî dûşman cãrîsînä kirîp bir nêcä bahadûr arînlar-nî tîşürû. (Sayîf11r:9) ‘He said this and then drove into the hostile army and knocked down a few valiant soldiers.’

3.6.2.2.10.5. Causative Stems in -ğuz/-gûz

kîrîgûz- ‘to make someone enter s.th.’ (DN248v:11)
körîgûz- ‘show, demonstrate, display’ (Sayîf164r:7)
tîrgûz- ‘to bring to life’ (RM9v:7)
tûrgûz- ‘to place, set up’ (Bay41v:25)

E.g.,

Çu körîgûzî mahabbatî yûz alvan, tûkâtî nâmânî va qîldî ‘unvan. (DN246v:2) ‘Having manifested [her] love in a hundred ways she completed the letter and wrote the address on it.’

Bitig berdi va cân kîrîgûzî tangä, ûhbar berdi tîrgîlîkîn badangî. (DN248v:11) ‘It handed over the letter and made life enter the body. It brought news to the body about living.’

3.6.2.2.10.6. Causative Stems in -quร/-kür, -ğur/-gûr

tûrgûr- ‘to make stand up’ (Babur100r:16)
yatîgur- ‘to let sleep’ (Rabg. 232.11)
yäktîkûr- ‘to make reach’ (ShD104v:12)
yetkîrû- ‘to get s.th. s.where’ (DN249v:8)

E.g.,

Tikîlîp anda çon yetkûrdî özûn, elînä berdi va başlîdî sözûn. (DN249v:8) ‘When he got himself over there, he stood straight, gave the letter in her hands and began his message.’

‘Işîqîng bîlîb Sabani ‘alamda boldî maşhûr, yäktûrdî dard-i haçring har yîrgâ dastânîm. (ShD104v:2) ‘Because of your love Sabani became renowned all over the world. The pain caused by your absence took my story everywhere.’

3.6.2.2.10.7. Causative Stems in -t

arît- ‘to clean’ (RM12r:10)
âksît-t- ‘to eliminate’ (MM180v:4)
bâlgûrt- ‘to manifest, show’ (MM179v:9)
işlât- ‘to make work’ (MM191v:2)
kângît-t- ‘to extend [a row]’ (MM184v:9)
tuhtat-t- ‘to stop’ (PdC 223)
körstît-t- ‘to show’ (RB2r:1)
qarîrt- ‘to blacken’ (ShD83v:4)
qarart- ‘to turn one’s eyes to’ (H75r:11)
qaynât-t- ‘to boil’ (Sayîf121v:12)
sûrt-t- ‘to rub’ (MM182v:4)
ûvsât-t- ‘to wet [one’s beard]’ (MM181r:7)
ûarat-t- ‘to create’ (MM176v:2)
yîglît-t- ‘to make cry’ (H78r:3)
yûrût-t- ‘to carry out’ (H79r:9)

E.g.,

Bu Şabûni quaşinînî mihrêbîda taptî murad, yeqsä yuzûngûn qarartur bu Banî Hašim menîn. (ShD83v:3-4) ‘This Shaban has found his goal in the prayer-nerve of his head. Had it not been like that, the Son from the House of Hasim would have blackened my face.’

Aşîttîm Cîba-i ‘ilîm-uşbu sözûn, yumup qaraştîmadîm alarqa közînî. (H75r:11) ‘When I heard these words from Gabriel, I closed my eyes and put (my parents) out of my mind.’

Namazgâ käîîgîlî sûrû’ qîlmadîn sûrû’ qîlsâ bu sâff kengîtîp. (MM184v:9) ‘One should arrive for the prayer before it begins. If it has already begun, one will not cause a disturbance if one takes a position at the end of a row.’

3.6.2.2.10.8. Causative Stems in -tur/-tûr

açtûr- ‘to cause to open’ (Sang.31r:18)
barîstûr- ‘to reconcile’ (BN87v:9)
kêtûr- ‘to bring’ (H75v:6)
keltûr- ‘to bring: to produce’ (DN243v:6)
oûtûr- ‘to kill’ (Qub, Zaj. p. 123)
qarîstûr- ‘to mix’ (KVB41v:18)
qatiştûr- ‘to mix s.th. into or with s.th.’ (DN258r:4)
ulaştûr- ‘to join s.th. with s.th.’ (Qub, Zaj. p. 197)
uîlîstûr- ‘to hand out, to distribute’ (Qub, Zaj. p. 203)

E.g.,

Labîng allîda el cân keltûrîlîr, köçûngînî körûp îmân keltûrîlîr. (DN243v:6) ‘People bring their lives to the presence of your lips. Upon seeing your eyes they bring forth the Faith [from a sincere heart].’

Çu körđî nâmânî mihr ettî iîrsâs, qatiştûrdî celi qunduz ara astî. (DN258r:4) ‘When that sun saw the letter, she anticipated [what its message was]: Her hands added the white of the ermine[‘s fur] to the gray color of the beaver.’

Garîbînî taš bîlî oltûrmûn zinhîr! (Qub, Zaj. p. 123) ‘Do not kill a stranger with a piece of stone.’

Mangâ icîçat bergil kîm bu väzîrîn oltûrâyîm. (Sayîf34v:9) ‘Give me permission to kill this vizier.’
3.6.3. Substantive verbs
Substantive verbs express the existence of the subject either without qualification or with some added aspects such as sudden, unexpected emergence, prevailing states, or circumstances.

3.6.3.1. The Substantive Verb bol- ‘to be’
The full paradigm is used, even the negativative in -isar/-isär, which is rather rare. It is also used as an auxiliary verb in many roles within the verbal inflection. E.g.,

Saçının savadasındın holdum za'if, başıma tuştı ‘acab nāzuk ḥiyāl. (ShD94r:10-11) ‘From the fascination with her hair I was powerless.’

Bu kın topraq bol andan burunraq kim ärtä gil täning topraq bolgây. (Sayf77r:6) ‘Turn into dust today before tomorrow your clay body will become dust.’

3.6.3.2. The Substantive Verb ol- ‘to be’
Oghuz variant of bol-. The full paradigm is not used: forms of the definite past, imperative [oğil] and gerunds [ołuńca, olup] occur. E.g.,

Zulf va yüzüngdīn oldi har subh va şam uyaman. bilmän nädin bolup tur rīstasız oţqa yanmaq. (ShD75r:12) ‘It was because of your tresses and your face that one was awake every morning and every evening. I do not know why it happened: burning in fire without [being tied with] a rope.’

Nafis hamrahligiñden sen kezär sän mast olup, mast oldung usbu dunya mayidın emdi ayil. (ShD95v:2-3) ‘Accompanied by the carnal soul you roam the land intoxicated. You have become intoxicated from the wine of this world: now sober up.’

3.6.3.3. The Substantive Verb yürü- ‘to walk’
In the sense of ‘exist, lead a life, move around in a certain state, carry on’ the verb yürü- ‘to walk’ are used. E.g.,

Yüzüzm ışvarṣedidin ḥayran yürü mü? Bolup bir zarra sargardan yürü mü? (DN252r:8) ‘Doesn’t he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn’t he move perplexed?’

Tətāvve boyun mashi, bilgil, uyä! Yawuzluqñi ädgün yürügül, yuya. (MM182v:6) ‘Know, brother, that wiping your neck is [also] a supererogatory act. Live righteously, washing away wickedness.’

Nečä kim minmägä ẖazir teväm yoq yürü män şadmän qarnım közüm toq. (Sayf58r:7) ‘Although I do not have camels ready to ride, I am happy, my stomach is full and my eyes satisfied [with what I have.]’

3.6.3.4. The Substantive Verb tüş- ‘to fall’
To express a sudden occurrence or a change of conditions the verb tüş- is employed. E.g.,

Ne kim vahm u başir baṭalğa tüşär, uşol cumladın pâk, munaz-zah, ariq. (MM178r:15) ‘He is independent of whatever may occur in fantasy, memory, or imagination.’

Köp vaqt sözde a wygląda yaman tüşär. (Sayf107r:1) ‘Often good and bad occur in one’s words.’

Bolur bir ağa har kün muqabil, tüşür tur ol nazar ‘ilmidä qâbil. (DN254r:6) ‘He is facing a moon every day and has become an expert in the skill of observation.’

3.6.3.5. The Substantive Verb kel- ‘to come’
An occasional emergence or accidental existence can be expressed by the verb kel- ‘to come.’ E.g.,

Tewä yüz tqüq gîrîq beşindä zakat mahāz ikki hiqqa kelür bu uç at. (MM189r:13) ‘On one hundred and forty-five camels the tax is a single [bint]-mahāz and two ẖiqqa, that makes a total of three [camels].’

Baytarga nemä kelmäs. (Sayf147r:13) ‘The veterinarian is not guilty.’

Kelür şarşar bıqin ötti sitamlar, bi ḥamdi’llah ki kečti barça ğamlar. (DN266r:4) ‘[The times of violence] came and passed like a wild howling wind, praise be to God, all the sorrow are gone’

Bu pilla kim namaznîñ savabı anda bolgây ağır kelgây. (RM 29r:5) ‘The pan with the reward for one single prayer would be [still] heavier.’

3.6.4. Defective verbs
Chagatay has three defective verbs: er- ‘to be’, e- ‘to be’ [variant of er-], and dur- ‘to be’.

The existing inflectional forms of these verbs with illustrations will be listed later.

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113 Lit., weak
114 Lit., head
115 Cf., P. qfādañ ‘to fall’ [> ‘to occur, come about’]
116 Cf., P. amadan ‘to come’ [> ‘to be’]
3.6.5. Finite forms

Finite forms of verbs indicate the person [first, second, third] and the number [singular or plural] of the subject. A finite verb consists of a stem, a theme and the personal signs, e.g., kel-gây-mân ‘I will come’, bar-di-ng ‘you went’, qil-ay-in ‘let me do’.

3.6.5.1. The Voluntative Mood

The voluntative mood has one person, the first, two numbers, the singular and plural, and two aspects, the positive and the negative. It expresses that the agent intends, suggests, volunteers, prefers or desires to carry out or not to carry out the action.

In the first person singular the mark of the voluntative base is -ay [after a consonant] or -y [after a vowel]. The signs of the first person are -in/-in or -im/-im which are often dropped. If that happens, the voluntative base is used as the form of the first person singular.

### First Singular

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Voluntative Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alâyın</td>
<td>‘let me take, I wish to take’</td>
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<tr>
<td>avîräyın</td>
<td>‘let me turn away, I wish to turn away’</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>čiqâyın</td>
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<tr>
<td>qolâyın</td>
<td>‘let me request, I wish to request’</td>
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<tr>
<td>salâyın</td>
<td>‘let me cast away, I wish to cast away’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aytâyım</td>
<td>‘let me tell, I wish to tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baqâyım</td>
<td>‘let me consider, I wish to consider’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelâyım</td>
<td>‘let me come, I wish to come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâtirâyım</td>
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<tr>
<td>olturâyım</td>
<td>‘let me sit, I wish to sit’</td>
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<tr>
<td>qilâyım</td>
<td>‘let me do, I wish to do’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etây</td>
<td>‘let me make, I wish to make’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Example

Ya esîk ač rêvan čiqîp kitâyım  (Sayf60r:1). ‘Or open the door so that I may walk out and leave.’

Darî ičîp za’îf bolup harâyım hattâ sülâhînî i’tiqâdi mana artuqraç bolgay.  (Sayf58v8). ‘I intend to take drugs, look sick and [then] go so that the Sultan’s compassion toward me be greater.’

Hindân pûlûd alîf Halâbûgâ kelâyım.  (Sayf92v:8) ‘Transporting steel from India I intend to come to Aleppo.’

Čiqâyın yer ičîdîn nala yangîq, kafanî qangâ bulgap lala yangliq.  (DN244v:11) ‘Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry’ and stain the shroud with blood [red] like tulips.’

Ne debân men ani közûn salâyın, kôngul aldım, barîp hâm can alâyın.  (DN246r:3) ‘By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?’

Netûk men avirâyın öz gamîdin, ki pulad ergiy olûq darâmîdin.  (DN256v:8) ‘How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.’

Bu nazîk târîhlar kelmâs kîsîdîn, netûk men naql etâyî Manî iîdûn.  (DN271r:4) ‘These fine designs do not come from common people: how could I talk about the work of Manî?’

Mân bir närsä aytâyım.  (KBV2r:7) ‘I want to say something.’

Mân dağı nâmegûnî qîlaq, nâm ilîgî rîsîn sanga anî berây.  (BN86r:4) ‘I will also do whatever you say. Whatever you ask for, I will give it to you.’

b. Negative [rare]. It is built on the negative stem in -ma/-mä:

bolmâyın ‘let me not be, I do not wish to be’

čiqmâyın  ‘let me not emerge, I do not wish to emerge’

qutulmâyın ‘let me not escape, I do not wish to escape’

qilmâyın ‘let me not do, I so not wish to do’

### Example

Neçük men qilmâyın emdi du’a ‘arz, kim özgâ elgî väcîb tur manga farz.  (DN270r:11) ‘Now how couldn’t I offer up my prayers since what is a necessary duty for others, for me is mandatory.’

Kirişmîm söz bezârgâ hàma teg tund ışîmdâ sarzanîsînî bolmâyın kund.  (DN243r:9) ‘I set myself to [choose] decorative words fast as the pen, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.’

Qutulmây qayûgûnî gar furqâtînîdî gambarînân özgâ bolsa ‘uzrîwahîm.  (DN257v:8) ‘I do not wish to rid myself from sadness if in your absence other than grief because of you is my apologizer.’

Ol hûsn gancîna men vèrêna bolmây nedâyîn, la’î-serâhînî anîgî durândîn bolmây nedâyîn.  (ShD123r:10-11) ‘I do not wish to be the ruin for the treasures of that beauty, I cannot help it.’

---

111 The meaning of those suffering from the torment of the grave.
Remembering your thirst-quenching lips I do not wish to be a unique pearl, I cannot help it.'

In the first person plural the mark of the volunmtative mood is -alî/-âli [after a consonant], and -î/-îl [after a vowel]. The personal signs are -ng or -m:

First plural

Positive
içâlgû 'let us drink, we wish to drink'
tûsâlgû 'let us spend the night, we wish to spend the night'
kîtalû 'let us go, we wish to go'

E.g.,
içâlgû badani gullar solisar, tanimiz 'aqibat topraq bolisar. (MN309r:7) 'Let us drink wine [for] roses will wither and at the end our bodies will turn into dust.'
Barîp anda tûsâlgû kim sizgâ savuq zurmat bermagay. (Sayf 90:13). 'Let's go and spend the night there so that cold would not harm you.'
Ne yatur sän yatasî yer dâgul tur kîtalû. (Sayf136V12). 'Why do you rest here? This is not the place to lie down. Let's go!'

Note: The personal ending may be omitted:
barali 'let us go, we wish to go'
qilaî 'let us do, we wish to do'
sözîlî 'let us speak, we wish to speak'
uralî 'let us beat, we wish to beat'

E.g.,
Parda bîlî sözîlî. (AC323r:6) 'Let us rather talk in melodies.'
Yamandîn qilali ihtirâz. (AC328v:8) 'Let us keep away from evil.'
Ya Muhammad, âmdî barîp ucmâqni tafrarruc qilali. (MN30,15) 'O, Muhammad, let's go now and enjoy Paradise.'
Nala va rindning kusin biz urali bu favr mayhâna ga qilsaq guzar. (ShD48v:10) 'Let us beat the drum of laments and debauch and in this fashion let us be on our way to the tavern.'

Negative [rare]:
bîlîlîgû 'let us not know, we do not wish to know'

E.g.,
Sen ve biz dinî ilâp mast oltalî, bîlîlîgû biz kufr va din va hayr va šarr. (ShD48v:11) 'Let us, you and I, drink [some] wine so that we become intoxicated and not able to see the difference between unbelief and religion, good and evil.'

3.6.5.2. The Injunctive Mood

The Injunctive mood has one person, the second, and one number, the singular, and one aspect, the positive. The mark of the Injunctive mood is -a/-â, [after a consonant] and -ya/-yâ, [after a vowel]. They are directly added to the positive stem. The injunctive can be reinforced by the second personal pronoun or by the adverb kâd, ket 'very much'.
bîlî 'you should know'
kâcâ 'you should pass'
qila 'you should do'

E.g.,
Ne tafrarruc dir bîlî sen dostum. [N70d] 'You should know what a pleasant sight that will be, my friend.'
Sadra gâcâ sen náz ilâ dostum. [N64d] 'You will proudly proceed to the seat of honor, my friend.'
Asiz qilgan ergâ sän âdgu qila, karamming başı bu erur, ket bîlî. (Ath19v:3-4) 'Do good to the man who does wrong to you. This is the highest act of generosity, know full well.'
Taqî bîlîlî ansârî oğlanlarî olup bız tirildi muni kâd bîlî. (MM 178v:7) 'Know also that the sons of his companions died and rose again, mark this well!'

3.6.5.3. The Imperative Mood

The imperative expresses direct orders to the second person and indirect orders, injunctions, admonishments, or prohibitions to the third person. It has two persons, the second and the third, and two numbers, the singular and the plural, and two aspects, the positive and the negative.

The base of the imperative mood is the verbal stem, positive or negative. In the second person especially, the stem itself is used as one of the imperative forms. Both the second and the third persons have personal endings to mark the person and number of the imperative.

3.6.5.3.1. The Second Person

There are several ways to form the second person of the imperative: basic stem + zero ending, and basic stem + the endings -îng/-ing, -îngiz/-ingiz, -gîl/-gil, -gîn/-gin.
The second person singular personal pronoun can be added for emphasis. It can be placed either before or after the verb. Sometimes the admonitory particle -a/-á is attached to either the stem form or to the suffixed forms in -gül/-gil.

3.6.5.3.1.1. The Second Person Singular
3.6.5.3.1.1.1. The Stem Form
As in many modern Turkish idioms [Uzbek, Kazakh, Azeri, and others], stem forms express direct orders, or, in the negative, direct prohibitions. They contain no morphological means to indicate greater intensity or higher social level. Versified manuals often use this form in giving instructions to students. E.g.,

Positive:
üz  'cut off'
keltür  'bring'
ketür  'bring'
oltur  'sit'

E.g.,
Köngül käyninin barangdin umed üz, ki hargiz egri eşi bolmağay tüz. (DN241r:11) ‘Cut your hope from following the heart because the crooked will never be a match to the straight.’
Qutn keltür qulağıma qatayım. (Sayf60r:10) ‘Bring some cotton so that I may plug my ears.’
Ketür açıca kemâgâ kır yoq esâ taşqari oltur. (Sayf100r:8). ‘Bring [your] money and sit in the boat or else sit outside (on the shores).’
Dedi qabiz yoq ersä munda keltür, özüm ham aldida tärmlüıp oltur. (H75v:5) ‘(Then) the Soul-taker spoke saying: “Since that is the case bring your son, and you yourself sit here in his presence and watch.”

Negative
[The negative is often prohibitive or adhortative: ‘you should not’, ‘you must never’, or ‘you better not’. In CPD negative imperatives are often translated by Persian prohibitives. E.g., oynama (15r:3) ‘do not play’ P. mabaz; kitmâ (11r:8) ‘do not go’ P. maraw.]
uzatma  ‘do not prolong’
salma  ‘do not cast’
satma  ‘do not sell’
bolma  ‘do not be’
tutma  ‘do not take’

E.g.,
Meni desâng demâ sen özgâ çandin, közüngni yum barî çan u çihândin. (DN253v:6) ‘If you choose me do not talk about others. Close your eyes to life and to this world entirely.’
Çu men boldum sâning gamni uzatma, bu savdâda meni ‘alamâ satma. (DN260r:7) ‘Since I became yours do not prolong sadness, in this transaction do not sell me to the world.’
Aşıqqan er bilân yoldâs bolma. (Sayf78r:9). ‘Do not be a road companion to a person who is in a hurry.’
Yilannı quyruqından tutma. (Sayf99v:1) ‘Do not grab the snake by the tail.’
Qoyma Baburnî bu hîrmân bîrlâ, çara qil dardığa dârmân bîrlâ. (RB2r:3) ‘Do not leave Babur in distress. Cure his pain with [your] remedy.’
Camalîndin munavvar qil közümni, esîtma el sözün, esît sözünni. (DN257r:2) ‘Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.’

Note: The particle -êili-êil may be added to the base form of the 2d imperative for polite expression. [Cf. Modern Uzbek -Êil]: E.g., lêmağan bolsang Şabani, bar-Êil ol mayânağa, kim usõl gûlûna sürat câmidin bolgil ‘âqil. (ShD95v:4) ‘Shabani, if you have not quenched your thirst yet, go to that tavern, so that you may be enlightened by the cup of that same rosecolor image.’
Bu köngülning körgûsinin ur-Êil Ayyûb sayqalın, sahr-i Ayyûbça munasib bolmağay hargiz safal. (ShD96r:4-5) ‘Apply Job’s polisher to the mirror of your heart. The ignoble one [whose mirror is not polished to reflect God] is not suitable to the patience of Job.’

3.6.5.3.1.1.2. Forms in -gül/-gil
Originally an emphatic form of the second person singular imperative. The suffix comes from qil ‘do it!’. E.g., qayt + qil ‘return for sure’, bar + gül ‘do go away’. It occurs with both the positive and the negative stems: qaytmağil ‘do not return’, barmağil ‘do not go’.

Positive
âtêl  ‘do, carry out’
beklâgil  ‘keep’
çiqargil  ‘pull out’
ketkil  ‘go’
işâgil  ‘do (my) work’
tutgil  ‘take’
E.g.,
Bu kündan song bu ḫūṣ ṭavba ṭakil, qılıp ḫegü 'amal cannatkā ketkil. (Sayf139r:2) 'Repent [and keep away] of this sin starting today. Do good deeds and go to heaven.'
İsim iṣlägil ter bu kün sān mānang. (MM191r:16) 'Do this work for me today, you say.'
Adab beklāgil, seni beklār adab. (MM194r:1) 'Keep [the tenets] of good manners, and the good manners will keep you.'
Bir yarim fatman10 bīrā ġusl ātkil. (MS7v:4) 'With half a batman water perform the major ablation.'
Çığarāğil mu'amma muṣkilādīn, ki yâzıp tuq qašqım el tilidin (DN26v:8) 'Pull me out from the crux of this riddle because my ears are deafened by peoples' tongues.'

With the admonitory suffix -a/-ā:
Vâcib ol haqiqat vâcib tutğila. (MM183r:16). 'It is a necessary duty, a real necessary duty, observe it!'
Bular ġusli sunnati bilip qîlgila. (MM182r:6) 'The washing of these [parts of the body] is a traditional duty, perform it.'

Note (1): In MM183v:16 the phrase kâd bîla is glossed by bilgilâ.

(2) The positive imperative is often supported by adverbs such as kâd 'very much', köp 'excessively', muṭlaq 'surely', râvān 'without delay':
Muni kâd saqîngîl inabat kâtîr. (MM193v:10) 'Think well about this and be repentful.'
Ay ḫwāca quliungga kōp yîgirmâ. (Sayf148r:6) 'O, Master, do not be too angry with your servant.'
Altîncî namazdan qîmqa. Farz bilgil bularnî sen muṭlaq. (MS 10v:6) 'The sixth is to conclude the prayer. Be sure to regard the above mentioned duties.'

Negative
bermâgil 'do no give'
qîlmağil 'do not make'
bolmağil 'do not be'
âyîlmağil 'do not make'
baqmağil 'do not pay attention'
qoymağil 'do not put'
ôtmâgil 'do not pass'

E.g.,
Köp ġрог bermâgil mango, ay yâr. (Sayf114r:3) 'Do not give much advice to me, O Friend!'
Fəzîhât qîlmağil özûngî 'undâ, ki hargiz qîlmaðî sâde bu savdâ. (DN241v:2) 'Do not make a disgrace of yourself on purpose, because this transaction never yielded profit.'
Bu âşî yoq havasqa qoyma bunyad, tâkānmâs dard u ġamdin bolmağil sâd. (DN241v:8) 'Do not put your foundation upon passion without essence. Do not be glad about endless pain and sorrow.'
Mundaq olğaç muni târk âyîlmağil, hâshî olqây sângâ tâ lazzat-ı dil. (RB5r:7) 'Having reached [this stage], do not ever give it up so that the pleasure of heart may be your reward.'
Baqmağil sözlayûcîning âşiqâ, âzînî qoy, nazar etelî sözîgâ. (RB 2v:4)'Pay no heed to the person who is speaking. Disregard him. Consider [only] what he says.'
Kûngûlâ 'işiqîn oti saldi bulqaq, yana dâq üştînâ sen qoymaqîl dâg. (DN244r:8) 'The fire of passion for you planted disturbance in the heart. Do not press the branding iron against the scar made by a branding iron.'
Gar desâm ay ahtar-i sa'd ôtmâgil ta'cîl ilâ, der ki öz sayrîda qilmas kakvâb-i sayyîr maks. (HBD22,4) 'When I say, O, Star of Felicity, do not pass in a haste! She says, the planets do not rest in their orbits.'

3.6.5.3.1.1.3. Forms in -ğin/-gin
The imperative forms in -ğin/-gin for the second person [mostly on positive stems] are rather frequent. Judging from its use in Modern Uzbek, it probably belonged to the popular level of Chaghatay.

Positive
[Quite a few occurrences in CPD: qoyğin 'leave [it alone]' P. bîğär 7r:10; keltūrğin 'bring [it here]' P. biyâr (10r:10); saqîlgîn 'scatter!' P. bipâş (14r:1)].
degin 'say'
talaşqîn 'fight'
tutqun 'take, keep [the fast]'
tûzqîn 'arrange'
ulasqîn 'meet'
unutqîn 'forget'
üzqîn 'separate from'

10 For batman
3.6.5.3.1.1.5. Forms in -dek
Positive
içdek ‘drink’
bititkek ‘write’

E.g.,
İstâguncâ bâda içdek zahr davrân bazmida. (Navâ’î FK50r:7)
‘Rather than asking for wine, drink poison at the banquet of the Time.’

Bititkek emdi tarihini kâtib erur tarihî üçün zahhî vâcib.
(DN271v:5) ‘Scribe, put down now the date [of completion of this work]. It is necessary to record it by its date.’

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.1.6. Forms in -i/-i
The personal pronoun sen may occur after this form for emphasis.

Positive
qoli ‘seek’

E.g.,
Gam yemä dardînggâ darmân qoli sen qîlgay davâ. (BH12r:7)
‘Do not be sorrowful [but] seek remedy for your ailments and He will heal them.’

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.2. The Second Person Plural

3.6.5.3.1.2.1. Forms in -ng, -îng/-îng, -ung/-îng
Positive
aling ‘take’
bling ‘know, be aware’
ögrânîng ‘learn’
soyung ‘strip off’
sûrîng ‘drive’
alîp keling ‘bring’
E.g.,

Olar milki bersa ħalal boš aling. (MM190v:9) ‘It is their property, it is appropriate for you to accept it.’

Ay ğızlarim erdäm oğrânim. (Sayf139v:4) ‘O my sons, learn some skills!’

Buyurdı kim tonun soyung dağı bu kentdän sürün. (Sayf 110r:5) ‘He ordered them to strip off his clothes and drive him out of this village.’

Ol malik buyurdu kim Macnuni alip kele. (Sayf125v:11) ‘That king ordered: “Bring Majnun to my presence!”’

3.6.5.3.1.2.2. Forms in -ngiz/-ngiz, -ingiz/-ingiz, -ungiz/-üngiz, -unguz/-ünguz

Positive

[kelingiz (CPD3r:3) ‘come!’ P. biyâid; kirîngiz (CPD3r:4) ‘come in!’ P. dar âid]

baqingiz ‘observe’

körüngiz ‘watch, behold’

tutungiz ‘hold’

qîlingiz ‘do’

qoyunguz ‘place, put’

bîlingiz ‘know’

E.g.,

Öfka bilân ol qiya baqsıın körüngiz. (Sayf127r:11) ‘Behold his angry look from the corner of his eyes.’

Ay musulmanlar çırığı main mânm yulumda tutungiz. (Sayf75v:4) ‘O Muslims, hold a lamp to [light up] my way.’

Dedi, ay İbrahim canım kelingiz, main kögsümğa bașiŋiz qoyunguz. (Hj80r:10) ‘Then (the Prophet) addressed him (saying), “Come, İbrahim, my dear and put your head on my shoulder!”’

Negative

[A connective -y- may be inserted between the negative stem and the imperative ending].

almangiz ‘do not take’

demângiz ‘do not call him [a falcon]’

külmangiz ‘do not laugh’

qomangiz ‘do not bother’

qorqmâyîngiz ‘do not be afraid’

qoymangiz ‘do not put’

sormangiz ‘do not ask’

tegmângiz ‘do not touch’

E.g.,

Ay qarındaqlar netâyîn¹²⁰ ușbu cah u dunyâni tegmângiz endi manga asru za’îf men ugarip. (ShD18r:11-12) ‘O, Brothers, there is nothing I can do about this rank and these world[ly values]. Do not touch me now, having grown old I am very weak.’

Qorqmâyîngiz, kim bu ortada bir mân mâm kim elli kisiğâ cavâb bergâyım. (Sayf102r:9, P. andid a madârîd) ‘Do no be afraid for in this group I alone would stand up against fifty people.’

Ay sa’îrlar, anqanî kîp qomangiz: quşlar kîdâ bolup tur qu mângiz. (ShD18r:6) ‘O, Poets, do not put down Phoenix all the time: Among birds she has become like a swan.’

Har ne dengiz, demângiz sünçar anga, anqâ dur, sünçar bigin yandurmângiz. (ShD18r:4) ‘Whatever you call her, do not call her a falcon. He is a phoenix, do not make her return like a falcon.’

3.6.5.3.1.2.3. Forms in -nglar/-nglar, -inglar/-inglar, -unglar/-ünglar

Positive

bilînglar ‘know’

bitînglar ‘write’

oqunglar ‘read’

qalînglar ‘stay, remain’

soranglar¹²¹ ‘ask’

E.g.,

Dedi, ay ham-sabaqlar hwaş qalînglar, kitâr mâm fânî dunyâdin bilînglar. (Hj75v:7) [Ibrahimîn] answered, ‘O class-mates, farewell to you! Know that I am taking leave of this transitory world.’

ئيّار ژمان کیپ soranglar ham anannî köngînî. (Hj79v:7) ‘Any time you come, ask about my mother’s heart.’¹²²

3.6.5.3.1.2.4. Forms in -ngızlar/-ngızlar, -ingızlar/-ingızlar, -ungızlar/-üngızlar

Positive

bilîngîzlar ‘know’

sorunguzlar ‘ask’

E.g.,

Halq-i ‘alam bilîngîzlar mâm anî nabirasi. (Hj81r:5) ‘People of this world, realize that I am [also] one of [Ismâ’îl’s] descendants.’

¹²⁰ Netâyîn ‘there is nothing I can do about...’ takes the accusative case.

¹²¹ Expanded stem sor- interchanging with sor- as in Modern Uzbek [see 3.6.2.1.3.]

¹²² I.e., console my mother
3.6.5.3.2. The Third Person
3.6.5.3.2.1. The Third Person Singular
3.6.5.3.2.1.1. Forms in -sun/-sün

Positive

tutsun 'should/may keep'
aysun 'should/may say'
bolsun 'should/may be'
quvansun 'should/may rejoice'

E.g.,

İki eligini köksidä tutsun, ham adab birlä boynü tüz tutsun
(MS13r:2) 'Women should place their hands [one upon the other]
across their chests. They should also stand with their bodies upright
as they have been taught.'

Käräk oynap aysun käräk kärtülüp. (MM192v:7) 'May he say it
in jest, or in earnest.'

Sultan yaşi uzun bolsun. (Sayf9r:5) 'Long live the King.'

Mänı aldında yor kölgüm quvansun, körüp qaddingi mihrim
lahtza qansun. (H76r:7) 'Walk ahead of me that my heart may
rejoice, that my love may be quenched for a moment by beholding
your body.'

Negative

tegmäsün 'should/may not befall'
bilmäsün 'should/may not know'
korgümäsün 'should/may not show'
barmasun 'should/may not go'
körümäsün 'should/may not show'

E.g.,

Äygülärä bu yamaning tegmäsün. (Sayf110v:2) 'May your evil
deeds not befall upon good people.'

Hec kim ärssä männı yahşi yaman hälämdän bilmäsün. (Sayf
24v:12) 'No one should know about my good or bad situation.'

Mäga körgüzmasıyn Tengeri hwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlä bir
bolgay zalam. (DN242r:7) 'May God Himself never make me
see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value
with dust.'

Amiri asragil köz yağı birlä, sen ol gulni ki barmasun qatimdiän.
(DN245r:10) 'Amiri, nurture that rose with the oil of [your] eyes'
so that it never leave your presence.'

Note: The apocopated form in -su is represented by bolsu 'should/may
be' [only in the positive]. E.g.,

Ruž-i rayhan-i Cannat u Rüzvan Haqqdın aning sarıga bolsu
ravan. (MS2v:3) 'May the breath of the sweet basil of Paradise
waft toward him [carrying] God's blessings.'

Sän ök sän yaratgan bu yer kök kün ay, bu küz qış käräk yaz
käräk bolsu yay. (MM176v:6) 'You, indeed, are the creator of the
earth, the sky, the sun, the moon, the fall, the winter, as well as the
spring and the summer.'

öküş bolsu az (MM183v:9) 'be it many or few'

3.6.5.3.2.1.2. The form in -u/-ü is represented by berü 'should/may give'
[negative is not attested]. E.g.,

Ki körüm men aning näz u itäbin, kečiksäm anda kim berü
caväbin? (DN243r:8) 'For I have witnessed her coquettish
behavior as well as her expression of displeasure. If I am late, who
is there to account for [my tardiness]?'

3.6.5.3.2.2. The Third Person Plural
3.6.5.3.2.2.1. Forms in -sunlar/-sünlar

Positive

oynasunlar 'should/may risk'
qalsunlar 'should/may stay'

E.g.,

Ayar bolsa çarigdän mäli sultan, neçük baš oynasunlar tärk etip
çan? (Sayf22v:6) 'If the King begrudges his wealth from his
soldiers, how would they risk their heads giving up their souls?'

Zahidlärä hec nemä bermägil kim zahid qalsunlar. (Sayf71v:1)
'Do not give anything to the abstinent so that they stay abstinent.'

Negative

etmasunlar 'should/may not make'
tilamasunlar 'should/may not demand'

E.g.,

İltiýät ettim kim manga qad etmasunlar. (Sayf 18r:13) 'I took
precautions so that they make no attempt on my life.'
3.6.5.3.2.2.2. The form in -ular/-ular is represented by kelsülär 'should/may come'. [Negative is not attested]. E.g.,

Buyurdı şah kim elning bilgälärin oqunguz kelsülär tep birgä barin. (Qutb, H.4100) ‘The king ordered [his men] to proclaim that the wise of the land, all of them, should get together.’

3.6.5.3.2.2.3. The form in -deklär is attested by bitidäklär 'should/may write'.

[Negative is not used.] E.g.,

Cunünümündin pariyorymğa gar savdā aşar qilsa, bitideklär közi konglüm qošidin töksä qan ta'vəz. (Navā, Ərnəkliär 14,5) ‘If due to my madness melancholy assails my fairy-faced beloved, you should write an amulet when her eyes draws blood form the pair of cups of my heart.’

3.6.5.4. The Definite Past Tense

The definite past tense expresses a past completed action the occurrence of which is certain. The grammatical marker of the definite past is -di/-di, -du/-dū after vowels or voiced consonants, or -tli/-tī, -tul-/tū, after voiceless consonants. The person is indicated by the possessive type personal signs. E.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kördüm</td>
<td>‘I saw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kördün</td>
<td>‘you saw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kördi</td>
<td>‘he saw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keldim</td>
<td>‘I came’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kelding</td>
<td>‘you came’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keldi</td>
<td>‘he came’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plur.             |                   |
| kördük            | ‘we saw’          |
| kordungüz         | ‘you saw’         |
| kördilär          | ‘they saw’        |
| käldük            | ‘we came’         |
| käldingiz         | ‘you came’        |
| käldilar          | ‘they came’       |

| Negative          |                   |
| Sing.             |                   |
| körmädım          | ‘I did not see’   |
| körmäding         | ‘you did not see’ |
| körmädin          | ‘he did not see’  |
| kelmädım          | ‘I did not come’  |
| kelmäding         | ‘you did not come’|
| kelmädi           | ‘he did not come’ |

Plur.  
kürmädül ‘we did not see’  kelmädül ‘we did not come’
körmädingiz ‘you did not see’  kelmädingiz ‘you did not come’
körmädlär ‘they did not see’  kelmädlär ‘they did not come’

E.g.,

Yarudü biğərənin köz üzən alvān, qarangguludə taptı āb-i hayvan. (DN242v:8) ‘From her writing his eyes brightened: In the darkness he found the water of life.’

Yangindän tutup bu şirən qoqum. (Sayf 94r:5) ‘I grabbed him by his sleeves and recited this poem to him.’

Yana unuttum özümni bolup sanga maşgül. (Sayf115r:5) ‘I forgot about myself because I was occupied with you.’

Bir orman yanında qondilar. (Sayf63v:9) ‘They camped by the side of a forest.’

Cihan sənining üzən ol qadar mi tar bolup edi kim oğrliq etmədə ilə Tangrı avında? (Sayf57r:4) ‘Is this world indeed so tight for you that you could not burglarize any other place but the house of God?’

Bittidi nəmə altun suyi birlän, vafa u mihr, rasm u hüyi birlän. (DN259r:2) ‘He wrote the letter with golden ink, with the rite and custom of faith and love.’

Zamənə harf ‘ilmində isəndi, içi kuydi, vale qorqup qisindı. (DN258r:6) ‘[The Beloved] wrote a letter with golden ink, with faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.’

1. In the first person the personal pronoun placed after the verb may be used for emphasis. E.g.,

Ki kördüm men aning nāz u ‘itābən, keçiksəm anda kim burə cavabın? (DN243r:8) ‘For I have witnessed her coquettish behavior as well as her expression of displeasure. If I am late, who is there to account for [my tardiness]?’

Note: Concerning examples from the İrşadu‘l-mulük we must remember that in interlinear translations words or word groups are individually translated and the data obtained are not always indicative of the usage in normal compositional style. E.g.,

Tiladim mən kim ant içkəy. (IM7v:3) ‘I wanted him to take an oath.’
šart qildug biz (IM4v:8) ‘we set the condition, we stipulated that’
2. The definite past tense may occur in the same function as the aorist for a more forceful statement. E.g.,

Ravan qildi falak con cam-i Camshed, aqiqlanip qizarip ciiti ḫwarshed. (DN242r:11) 'When the sky set in motion the cup of Jamshid, the sun came forth shiny and red.' or: 'When the sky sets in motion the cup of Jamshid, the sun comes forth shiny and red.'

3. The definite past tense may express dynamic future, as in Modern Uzbek [MLU 3.6.6.3.1.2.2.11.1.] E.g.,

Degin anda kelūrga raqbat ettük, ravan šubbat yaraqin qil ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time.'

Ḥarām iļiyindā daği ḫarāmī artīngda. Agar kitting yettık va agar qalqeing qilding. (Sayf56r:3) 'The sanctuary is ahead of you, and the bandits are behind you. If you go you will reach there; if you stay [here] you will die.'

Tānburā dek yüzü qilay paymał, aylađi oglanlar ani dastmał. (RB324r:8) 'I will trample a face like Tānburā's under foot, so that servants will [be needed to] scoop it up with their hands.'

Ol kiši kim seni čalar biguča qaldi balā dastida ol oğuča. (RB 327r:3) 'The person who learns to play will be captive in the hands of misery until he dies.'

3. With a verb expressing a command the definite past tense is used to form pseudo-passive sentences. E.g.,

Ol oğrilar begi buyurdı tonun daği yüz ağač bilan bir farva berdilir. (Sayf110v:4) 'The chiefman of those thieves ordered that one hundred silver coins and a fur coat be given [to the poet] [he ordered his treasurer to give the poet one hundred silver coins and a fur coat.]'

Buyları, kim anlarning asbāb-l ma’asini avvalki qa’ida üzā mühayyā qildilar. (Sayf29v:11) 'He ordered that their stipend be established according to the previous arrangement. [He ordered the treasurer to establish the stipend of those people] according to the former arrangement.'

Buyları bir yahşi hilat bilan ol hamyān altunni faqirqa berdilir. (Sayf 21r:7) 'The king ordered that a robe of honor with a bag [of money] be given to the poor man. [<The king ordered [his treasurer] gave the poor man a robe of honor with a bag of money.]

4. The definite past tense may express the result of a past action existing in the present. [It is equivalent to English present perfect tense]. E.g.,

Mening dek ay kök üstidā yoq tur, bu kün kör kim ne yergā vätti ḫalim. (DN242r:6) 'There is no moon like me in the sky. Look today to what level my rank has risen.'

Bu kün tuttum tamami til bolayin, ne til bliran labing 'uzrin qolayin. (DN250v:3) 'Today I realized that I must find the perfect tongue. With what tongue should I ask forgiveness from your lips?'

Ya Rabb közfürün al bu köngül daṇın manga, kim boldi köz balasi bilan mubtala köngül. (Sayf83v:12) 'O Lord, take vengeance on my eyes on behalf of my heart, mind you, because it is due to the calamity brought about by the eye that the heart has become afflicted.'

Kirištîn sız bezärgâ ḫāna teg tund, išimda sarzaniştin bolma-yinin kund. (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to [choose] ornate words fast as the pen, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.'

Muḥammad ol ki bu aklär-i vala aning ucün yaratti Haqq ta’ala. (DN229v:7) 'He is Muhammad for the sake of whom God the Most High has created these heavenly bodies.'

5. The definite past tense occurs in idiomatic use.

(a) In suppositive role:
Ču tebrândi ol ikki čerik ravan, deding kim yiqlügusur du dur bahan. (ZN25r:14-15) 'When the two armies suddenly marched out you most likely thought that the world was about to collapse.'

Ne boldi gey agar arz ettî hâlin, dedi sarqastalikin öz mafalin? (DN244v:2) 'What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?'

Ne boldi zavq ucun gar yolda turдум sâning birlan bir ikki hâr urдум? (DN241r:5) 'For fun I stopped on the road and exchanged a few words with you. What about it?'

(b) With bolgay to express indefiniteness.
On ming evlük kiši ciitti bolgây, şahr lar şayad alardin tolgay. (ShN132:18) 'About ten thousand persons with families moved out. You probably could fill cities with them.'

Lit., you could have said
3.6.5.5. The Conditional Mood

The conditional mood expresses a present or future action the occurrence of which is bound to a condition of different degrees.

3.6.5.5.1. The Present Conditional

The grammatical marker of the present conditional is -sa/-sä. The person is indicated by the possessive type personal signs. E.g.,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kör- ‘to see’</th>
<th>bar- ‘to go’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kör&lt;sam&gt;</td>
<td>bars&lt;sam&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kör&lt;sang&gt;</td>
<td>bars&lt;sang&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kör&lt;sä&gt;</td>
<td>bars&lt;sä&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kör&lt;sär&gt;</td>
<td>bars&lt;sär&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kör&lt;sängiz&gt;</td>
<td>bars&lt;sängiz&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kör&lt;sälär&gt;</td>
<td>bars&lt;sälär&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Negative      |             |
| kör<mäsäm>    | bar<mäsam>  |
| kör<mäsang>   | bar<mäsang> |
| kör<mäsä>     | bar<mäsä>   |
| Plur.         |             |
| kör<mäsär>    | bar<mäsär>  |
| kör<mäsängiz> | bar<mäsängiz>|
| kör<mäsälär>  | bar<mäsälär>|

1. The present conditional can occur in conditional sentences without a conjunction or with the conjunctions gar, agar. E.g.,

ORYUŞRA beş yumurtqani alurğa kük bili sulţan, navkarlari tutup sançar yigirmi qaznî bir şişgä. (Sayf 31r:9) ‘If the Sultan orders to take five eggs by force, his officials grab twenty goose and put them on one spit.’

VALİ bir açaqızdësəng berür cân, oqu ahméd desəng yüz oqigä. (Sayf 137v:10) ‘If you ask him for one coin, he would rather give up his life. If you ask him to say “praise be to God”, he would says it a hundred times.’

AGAR tandîn desämb bir hâksâre ne körgiâng eșikindäğ ünârâ. (DN250v:5) ‘If I tell about a person that he is humble, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?’

AGAR sen anda töksâng yergä žala, men alur men közümdän munda lala. (DN260v:4) ‘If you spill drops of dew on the ground there, here I get tulips from my eyes.’

AGAR yazidâqı basqa qumları incı bolsa, tilâncûrînme közî tolmagay. (Sayf 156v:6) ‘[Even] if all the sand[grains] in the desert turn into pearls, the beggars would not be satisfied.’

AGAR körlûng mangä köysä, acab yeq, ki körüp taş erigay riqqatîmdän. (DN245r:7) ‘If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.’

YÜZÜM ayînasîndän gar dam ursang, körgiâng közüngä gah gah himâyim. (DN242r:3) ‘If you talk about the mirror reflecting my face, my phantom image may appear to you’ from time to time.’

2. The conditional mood occurs also in temporal meaning. Instead of agar ‘if’ the conjunction qaçan ‘when’ may be used in such sentences. E.g.,

QAÇAN can algic düșman arîssä, acal baglarr yûgûrgänning ayağän. (Sayf95r:6) ‘When the Soultaker enemy comes, death ties the ankles of those who run [away].’

OL safardan kelsám ‘umrunning bûqiyasın bir yerđä ortup keçürgay män. (Sayf92v:2) ‘When I return from that voyage, I will settle down in one place and spend the rest of my life there.’

QAÇAN kim tükânsa elingdäki aqîqê čaksäng ol dam qînîndän ḥalal. (Sayf163v:5) ‘When you are out of tricks, its proper for you to draw [your] sword from the sheath’
6. The present conditional ersâ of the defective verb er- ‘to be’ [see 3.6.5.15.1.3.] placed unchanged after the inflected verb forms the conditional of the definite past. E.g.,

Yengilik qildim ersâ [gar cafanî, sen ağır almağı köngüngä ani. (DN247r:8) ‘If I was off-handed in inflicting cruelty [upon you], do not take it too much to [your] heart.’

Note: The auxiliary ersâ ~ esâ may be attached to the definite past form in which case it loses the initial vowel: bermâdî + esâ > bermâdîsâ. E.g.,

Con el bermâdîsâ129 vaštî olâr mân uš cafâ birtâ. (Sayf183v:11) ‘Since I had no chance of achieving union with her I will surely die as a result of that cruelty.’

Cannat mängiz bázâdisâ ol dâm özün cahan, raqs urdi ‘asîqana yürüp çarç çambari. (Sayf181v:10) ‘Then the world adored itself to look like paradise. The circle of heaven danced moving amorously.’

7. The inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging bolur constitute one of the possibilitive forms. E.g.,

Köngül közü ûr ani bilsâ bolur, iêindákini payda qilsa bolur. (DN247v:4) ‘The heart is a mirror, it is possible to realize that. It is possible to find out what is in its inside.’

Bala mıhnat aqış hayatça sabab, munun tutsa bolur hidayat quşı. (MM180r:10) ‘Misfortune, misery, and bitter experiences are means to [the devout] life. Through them one can catch up with the bird of guidance.’

Hükum qilsa bolur, biling, mustaqîf, ‘amal qilsa bolur tutup qayisi. (MM190v:1) ‘Know that when they make a legal decision they are in agreement. It is [only] in [certain] practices that they differ.’

8. The inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging bolmas ‘is not [possible]’ constitute one of the prohibitive-exhortative forms. E.g.,

129 Cl. P. dast dâdan ‘to have a chance’
Kişi kün yogra ham kirişi bolmas, sañhat käynina erişi bol
mas. (DN246r:1) ‘One cannot interfere in his actions day after
day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.’

Qızıl altun ki vaşfin qilsa bolmas, ani küdyürmänınča bilsä bol
mas. (DN247r:10) ‘The red gold the quality of which cannot be
established by description, cannot be known until you burn it.’

Kişi desä sevür men ursa bolmas, bu yazuqdin anı öltürüsä bol
mas. (DN247v:11) ‘If a person says, “I love” he should not be
beaten.’ He should not be executed because of this sin.

9. The present conditional, often introduced by the conjunction ki,
appears in subjunctive role. E.g.,

Otär körüldä har dam bir dilaray, tilär közi ki korsä bir yangi
ay. (DN254r:7) ‘Every moment a beloved occurs to his mind. His
eyes are eagerly waiting to behold a new moon.’

3.6.5.5.2. The Past Conditional

The past conditional expresses conditions that existed in the past with the
implication that they did materialize or does not exist any more.

The past conditional has a compound form. It consists of the inflected
forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging erdi, the
definite past tense of the auxiliary er- ‘to be’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Stem Sing.</th>
<th>körsä-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körsäm erdi</td>
<td>‘if I had seen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körsang erdi</td>
<td>‘if you had seen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körsä erdi</td>
<td>‘if he had seen’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Plur. | körsäk erdi | ‘if we had seen’ |
|       | körsängiz erdi | ‘if you had seen’ |
|       | körsälär erdi | ‘if they had seen’ |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Stem Sing.</th>
<th>barsa-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>barsam erdi</td>
<td>‘if I had gone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barsang erdi</td>
<td>‘if you had gone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barsa erdi</td>
<td>‘if he had gone’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plur.

| barsaq erdi         | ‘if we had gone’ |
| barsangiz erdi      | ‘if you had gone’ |
| barsalar erdi       | ‘if they had gone’ |

Negative Stem Sing.

| körmäsäm erdi       | ‘if I had not seen’ |
| körmäsäng erdi      | ‘if you had not seen’ |
| körmäsä erdi        | ‘if he had not seen’ |

Plur.

| körmäsäk erdi       | ‘if we had not seen’ |
| körmäsängiz erdi    | ‘if you had not seen’ |
| körmäsälär erdi     | ‘if they had not seen’ |

Negative Stem Sing.

| barmasam erdi       | ‘if I had not gone’ |
| barmasang erdi      | ‘if you had not gone’ |
| barmasa erdi        | ‘if he had not gone’ |

Plur.

| barmasaq erdi       | ‘if we had not gone’ |
| barmasangiz erdi    | ‘if you had not gone’ |
| barmasalar erdi     | ‘if they had not gone’ |

Forms of the past conditional occur in conditional clauses of complex
compound sentences to express an unreal, impossible, or unfulfilled
condition. The verb in the main clause is mostly in the past optative
tense. E.g.,

Ay camal’ing macisindä išäm erdi cäm-i may, ta qiymatga
tegi ‘aqfiłını hayran qilga män. (Sh113v:12-113) ‘Could I but
drink up the cup of wine at the banquet of your moonlike beauty, I
would make my intellect amazed to [the day of] resurrection.’

Bu kişiśing biligi bolsa edir, ahmaq bilän iši bu yergä yetmägy
edi. (Sayf108r:6) ‘Had this person possessed some wisdom, his
case with this idiot would not have gone so far.’
Ayağın tofrاغın gar tapsam erd, ani elning közdin vapsam erd, yüzüm altunğa tutğay erd ani, közdä asrağay erd niñäni. (DN250v:9) ‘Had I but got hold of the dust your feet were walking on, had I but covered it from people’s eyes, my face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.’

The past conditional form can express unfulfilled desires. The conjunction käs-ki introduces sentences of this type. E.g.,

Har gadalar teg eşikdä qilmağil sen dar ba-dar, bolsam erd, käs-ki men eşikändä ḥakrak. (ShD89r:9) ‘Like all the beggars at the threshold don’t make me wander door to door. Could I but be a most insinufract speck of dust at your doorstep?’

3.6.5.5. The Optative Mood

The optative forms express an action or a state the occurrence of which is desired, expected, guessed, suggested or ordered. They fall in two full paradigms with a variety of alternate forms and are very frequent. They have two tenses, the future and the past.

3.6.5.5.1. Future Tense of the Optative

It is formed from positive or negative stems by the thematic morphemes -gay/gäy [after vowels or voiced consonants] or -qay/-käy [after voiceless consonants] and the personal pronouns to indicate person and number. In the third persons only the number is marked: -lar/-läär in the plural and its absence in the singular. There is a set of apocopated thematic morphemes in -qa/-kä, -ga/-gä the use of which is quite common. The morpheme -ä/ -ä (< -qa/-kä, -ga/-gä) is less frequent and has special semantic features.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Plur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgây män</td>
<td>‘I will see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgây sän</td>
<td>‘you will see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgây</td>
<td>‘he will see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgây biz</td>
<td>‘we will see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgây siz</td>
<td>‘you will see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgâyylär</td>
<td>‘they will see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barğây män</td>
<td>‘I will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barğây sän</td>
<td>‘you will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barğay</td>
<td>‘he will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barğay biz</td>
<td>‘we will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barğay sız</td>
<td>‘you will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barğayylär</td>
<td>‘they will go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of the future tense of the optative:

1. The future optative most of the time expresses a future action without indicating or implying necessity, inevitability, or intensity. E.g.,

Ay şäba barsang Samarqand kelibän nä eltägä sen? (ShD126r:6) ‘O, Zephyr, if you go to Samarqand, what will you bring on your return?’

Boyung sarvi ki nang yer şubbatimdin, eğilgay ‘aqibat tüz niyatimdin. (DN245r:4) ‘The [straight] cypress of your body scorps to be in my companionship but it bows down at the end, when it realizes the straightforwardness of my intent.’

Gavvašliq netag qila sen bolmayin fänä, šahr-i vucūd ara sen özüngni beçara qil. (ShD97v:4-5) ‘How can you dive for pearls without annihilating your Self? In the city of existence make your Self totally helpless.’

2. It very often occurs in admonishments, exhortations, or preachings. E.g.,

Qilmağil sen namazda taqsi, tā Qiymatda bolğä sen dilgil. (MS3v:4) ‘Do not be remiss in your prayers or you will be filled with horror on the day of resurrection.’

Bu manzildin angru yürüp vätğa sän, ayitmaq häcat yoq körüp netgä sän. (MM199r:10) ‘You must go beyond this station in order to reach [your destination]. There is no need to tell you [the way]; just look and you will know what to do.’

3. It is used to express intent, resolve, or determination. E.g.,

133 The forms män–men, sän–sen are alternating. Popular works mostly have -men, -sen.

134 I.e., in this world.
Boğaz yergâ bolsa biçaq türükâ sız. (MM191r:14) ‘If its [i.e., the animal’s] throat is turned toward the ground, cut it with your knife.’

Menî sen körmägây sen özgü hargiz, pari teg közinga uğây camälim. (DN242r:2) ‘You will never see me in any other way. My beauty will draw your attention like a fairy.’

Keräk andaq ki köngüldâ mutlaq qalmaqay hêc ta’alluq, cuz Hâqq. (RB5r:13) ‘It is important that absolutely no attachment, but attachment to God remain in one’s heart.’

6. It is used as a form of the gnomic future to express a generally recognized truth, or a periodically returning event. E.g.,

Har qacân mûni mudäm etgây sen, yenä bir martabagä yetgäy sen. (RB8r:5) ‘As long as you persist in this, you will reach a higher degree [of perfection].’

Eksângân hâyr urluqini biçä sân, kûzagain ne qoysang anî iückä sân. (Sayf 5r:2-3) ‘You will reap the ears of corn you have sown. You will drink what you have put in [your] jar.’

Kamâli-nâfs kîsi bilyay ki mard-i rahbân bolgay. (ShD177r:4) ‘Only the man with vision of the road knows what perfection of Self is.’

Har kim biyânat bilân tîrîgây, hisab vaqtinda ellâri tîrîgây. (Sayf25v:7-8) ‘Anyone who lives in treachery, will face the reckoning with trembling hands.’

7. It is used to express promises, vows, and pledges. E.g.,

Visâlim ûwandin ol ışta tóyqay, kî canîni elig üstidä tutqay. (DN24v:6) ‘[Only] the tired one will eat his fill at the spread table of union with me, who holds his soul in the palm of his hand.’

Camâlimdän qoqây ol raqamni ki avval basına qoqây qadam-ni. (DN24v:7) ‘Only the person who first puts a foot upon his head will decipher the numbers from my beauty.’

8. Sometimes it expresses a habit. E.g.,

Ahnînda ne bolsa yegây âğinda ne kelsa degây. (Sayf80v:5) ‘He eats whatever is in front of him, he says whatever is in his mouth.’

Oqû alhamd desâng yiz ouqây. (Sayf137v:10) ‘If you tell him to recite a Thanks be to God, he would recite it one hundred times.’

Men ol buibil emâs men, ay gül-andam, ki bir dam bargisiz tâqây men aram. (244v:6) ‘I am not that nightingale, O Beloved

5. It often conveys a command, an injunction, or an ordinance. E.g.,

Ol yagî sîrtgây keçä kündûz. (KBV19r:12) ‘You [sic] should smear on that ointment night and day.’

Sen bu cagliq bilä bas qilmaqay sen, tark qilmaqani havas qilmaqay sen. (RB8r:7) ‘Do not be satisfied with this much. Never be willing to abandon the pronouncing of the zikr.’

4. It is very frequent in expressing hope, desire, or wish. E.g.,

Umedim ol dur, ay sârv-i samanbar, ki yetgây vasil bagidin manga bar. (DN245r:2) ‘My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cyprus, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.’

Umedim Tengridim ol dur ki gah gah, yarugay közlârim yuzung-din, Ay Mah! (DN251r:6) ‘My hope from God is that now and then my eyes may shine with joy beholding your face, O, Moon.’

Mangä körgüzmüsün Tengri hwad ol kün, ki tofrak birä bîr bolgây zalâm. (DN242r:7) ‘May God Himself never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with dust.’

Közüm Çayhuni üzä köprü bağladım qâsdin, bu arzuâda ki tüs-kiây bu köprüldin guzarî. (ShD176r:4) ‘Over the the Jayhun river I raised a bridge using an eyebrow in the desire that by chance she may cross that bridge.’

Oqup uqqaqandag köp savâb olqay, nam nivisandâgä savâb olqay. (MS16v:3) ‘He who has read and mastered [this book] will obtain ample recompense. So will he who only copies it.’

Uzun tün qalmaqay alingda gamlar, yarugay ayş içindä subhdamlar. (DN24v:7) ‘May sorrows not stay in your presence for long nights. May mornings dawn upon you in luxury and pleasure.’

Uzatgây sen saeçindin vasil tünin, uçurqay sen kelip hicran tütûn-in. (DN251r:7) ‘That by your hair you prolong the night of union, that coming to me you dissipate the smoke of separation.’

The second person marker can be omitted in case the verb occurs as an imperative.
with a delicate body, that finds rest even for a moment without rose leaves.'

9. It is used in sentences expressing assessment, estimation or guess. E.g., Qaysi ganc bolgay aning teg, avliyalar andur dure: Biri Sipnaq, biri Qilisc, biri Turkistan sari. (ShD1745:10) 'What treasure could be like that [in the ruins]: the saints reside there. One [of those cities] is Sipnaq, one is Qilisc, and one is Turkistan.'

Qurgan din darya bir oq atimi bolgay. (Babur 4r:8) 'From the fortress the river is at about a bowshot distance.'

10. It is frequent in similes, hyperbolas, metaphors. E.g., Netik men avurmayin oz gamimdin, ki pulad eriqay otlug damim- din. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'
Atasi ol sadaf dur kim bahali cavhari bolgay. Sadafdan aylur bolsa tapar cavhar aqir gimat. (Sayf89r:10) 'Her father is that shell that has a precious pearl. The pearl obtains a high value [only] after it is separated from the shell.'
Agar konglung mana kaysa, acab yoq, ki korup tas eriqay riqqatimdin. (DN246r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

11. It also expresses a supposition. E.g., Ne hacat kim qasam korgay araga, yaminsiz bilgil isiningga yasarim. (DN245v:7) 'What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without [a reference to] the right.'
Tuzali templik hayin algin, ne degay el daqi ahiy uyalgin. (DN260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Be ashamed at the end of what people say.'
Negi kerak kisi har cayi andaq, ne bar yegay cu bolsa rayi andaq. (DN245r:8) 'What he is needed for, that is his position since his philosophy is to eat whatever there is.'

12. It occurs in the main clause of conditional complex sentences. E.g., Sening koyungdin, ay kork icra bagim, basim gar barsa barma- gay ayaqim. (DN244v:5) 'From your quarter, O, My Flowergarden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.'
Gamimdin gar desa icimdaki dag, bulut teq yilaq say un tartab- dan. (DN256v:10) 'If the pain I feel could talk about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'
Agar qat qayin bolsa, vit nanabat tashquddin burun ocu- gay. (RM17v:4) 'If dawn arrives early, he should perform the witty prayer before the tahajjud prayer.'

13. It may be used in the main clause of concessive complex sentences. E.g., Sanga korguzmagay ruh zulf va halim, agar yuz qatla bolsang paymalim. (DN242r:1) 'To you my tresses and my beauty spot do not show their faces even if you are trampled upon under my feet a hundred times.'
Agar tandin desam bir haykare, ne korgay esikinde guber. (DN250v:5) 'Even if I tell about a person that he is humble, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?'

14. We find it, rarely though, in final clauses: Daru iciyp zaif bolup barayim hatta sulanving itiqaq mango arturqay bolgay. (Sayf58v:7) 'I take some medicine, become weak and then go [to the banquet of the Sultan] so that his good will toward me may increase.'
Muradim ol durur hur dam ki qilsam tun va kuni qullu, ki rahat tapga men ahar usol ranc-i garan birla. (ShD161v:3-4) 'My intention is that I do service every moment night and day so that I find ease finally in this heavy pain.'

3.6.5.2. Past Tense of the Optative Mood

The past tense of the optative mood is created by the forms of the future optative and the definite past tense forms of the auxiliary e-, er- 'to be':

Positive

Sing.
korgay erdim
korgay erding
korgay erdi
Plur.

You should know what the left side is without reference to the right side. The author suggests the value of absolute knowledge. God loves when we begin our actions on the left side. [M. Shaybani Khan, Risale].

About how they knew you.

137 One of the ways of execution by the Mongols of Hulaqai was to let the victim, wrapped in a rug, be trampled upon by galloping horses.

138 The Lover is warned not to build any hope on the principle that cruel treatment by the Beloved could be a sign that she takes an interest in him.
had been able to observe the lines and the beauty spot of your face at the meeting, you could have learned about my situation.

Içmâgay erdi̇n tana 'um davrîda câm-i vi̇al bîlsâm erdi̇ hircîn bolur bu davran özgaça. (HBD42,6) 'I would not have drunk from the cup of union in the time of enjoyment, had I known how time would change due to separation from her.'

Bu kişînîn bilgî bolsa erdi, âhmaq bilîn işi bu yergâ yetmâgay edî. (Sayf108r:6) 'Had this person possessed wisdom, his case with the fool would not have gotten as far.'

Ayaqîn tofrağîn gar taspam erdi, anî elnîn közînîn yapam erdi, yûzîm altûnîa tutgây erdi anî, közîdâ asragây erdi nîhânî. (DN250v:10) 'Had I but found the dust your feet were walking on, had I covered it from people's eyes, my face would have considered it as gold and would have preserved it secretly in its eyes.'

(2) It is also used to express a coveted but unfulfilled desire. Often the Persian desiderative particle kâski is used to support the desiderative meaning. E.g.,

Yetmâs eligm çon visâlînîn etûkînî, kâski qûlây erdi gum meni yer yûzîdînîn parvârdîgar. (Gâda’16r 2) 'Since my hand does not reach the skirt' of union with you,' I say: O, had the Nourisher eliminated me from the surface of the earth.'

3.6.5.6. The Aorist
The action or state expressed by the aorist is not bound to a specific time or to a concrete location. Nor is it determined as to aspect, or status. This permits the speaker to use the aorist in a great variety of functions. The aorist is formed from verbal nouns in -rî; -ar/-âr, -ur/-ûr [positive, see 3.6.5.6.] and -mas/-mâs [negative, see 3.6.5.7.] with the personal markers -mân, -sân, -bîz, -sîz, -lär/-lär.

The aorist has present, past, indirect past tenses and conditional forms.

3.6.5.6.1. The Present Tense of the Aorist
The present tense of the aorist names the action related to an agent with no reference to a particular time. It provides no information as to aspect, status, or mood.

Positive

141 Variant of tofraq.
142 Those who are in need reach for the skirt of the one they hope to get help from.
143 I.e., I am not able to secure your help.
Sing.
korş mân 'I see'
korş sân 'you see'
kör 'he sees'
barur mân 'I go'
barur sân 'you go'
barur 'he goes'

Plur.
kör birz 'we see'
kör sîz 'you see'
körârlâr 'they see'
barur birz 'we go'
barur sîz 'you go'
barurlâr 'they go'

Sing.
körms mâns 'I don’t see'
körms sân 'you don’t see'
korms 'he doesn’t see'
barmas mâns 'I don’t go'
barmas sân 'you don’t go'
barmas 'he doesn’t go'

Plur.
körms birz 'we don’t see'
körms sîz 'you don’t see'
körmsârlâr 'they don’t see'
barmas birz 'we don’t go'
barmas sîz 'you don’t go'
barmasurlâr 'they don’t go'

Since the aorist does not have a point of time or time frame specifically assigned to it and is devoid of aspects and status, in actual usage it may assume diverse time, mode, and status characteristics.

(1) Therefore the present tense of the aorist often expresses habitual actions. E.g.,

Sahargâhi barur men, bil, harâbât. Ne der sen zahid-i şahib-karamât? (ShD25v:4-5) ‘Early mornings, be aware of this, I go to the tavern. What do you say, abstinent, possessor of [the ability to perform] miracles?’

Labing tabassum ilâ äylâ tîrgûzûr kî Mâsih. Zahi tabassum-i şirîn, zahi kalam-i fâsih. (ShD29r:8) ‘With a smile your lips bring one to life again, like the Messiah. What a sweet smile! What an eloquent speech!’

(2) The present aorist often indicates established unchanging facts. E.g.,

Hûsrav u Sa’dî va Hâfiznâ ná aytur sen cavâv: Tâng emâs tur šakkar va qand va ‘asal bîrlâ ‘unnab. (ShD21v:1-2) ‘How can you challenge Khusraw [Dhilavi], Sa’dî or Hâfiz? The jujube is not equal to sugar, rock candy, or honey.’

Özûngi qîlma asru bê sar-u barg, kim egîlmê sening sari nîham-lîm. (DN242v:4) ‘Do not feel too distressed just because my branches do not bend in your direction.’

Malamet qiblasîdîn yûz evûrmê, hâla’îq neça ﬂa’n ursa, dam urmas. (DN245v:8) ‘He does not turn his face away from the qibla of blame, however much people criticise him, he does not say a word.’

Cîhânga qaysî cân keldi qulunum olmâyin qalmas. Aciğîan lala gül yasmin tabassum solmâyin qalmas. (îIî77r:6) ‘My boy, every soul that has entered this world will not stay here, will not escape death. The tulip, the rose, the jasmine, and the smile, once they have blossomed, will surely wither.’

(3) The present aorist is used to express a general truth. We often find it in proverbs. E.g.,

‘Iﬂa oti saldî Šabani konglîdî ol qildi ah kim tütün paydâ bolur har vâyda kim köydî kahab. (ShD23r:3) ‘The fire of love flared up in Shabani’s heart. He let out a sigh because smoke appears in every place where kebab is burning.’

Kîsî desâ sevûr men ursa bolmas, bu yauqudin anî ötûrsa bolmas. (DN247v:11) ‘If a person says, “I love” he should not be beaten. He should not be executed because of this sin.’

Yaz fasîlîda qurugan kökârûr. Zâhid va soﬁ qalar ta’di qurup. (ShD23r:12-13) ‘Whatever dries in summer, will green out [when spring comes]. The abstinent and the mystic remain dry like stone.’

Körâr men ‘ıﬂa ara yûz miyênat u ranc, bafe, ranc körmâyin tapmas kişi ranc. (ShD28r:12-13) ‘Being in love I experience a hundred sufferings and pains. But without experiencing pains one cannot find the treasures.’

(4) It is used in conditional-temporal sense. The condition or time is taken for granted. E.g.,

Davlât tilîr siz barçangîz davlat esîkkê kelingiz, andin burunraz kim degay davlat siz haza ﬁrâq. (ShD80v:12) ‘If you want good fortune, come to the threshold of good fortune before good fortune tells you, the time is here for separation.’

(5) It also expresses progressive or repeated present actions. E.g.,

Lovers should not be treated as madmen who are chained and children would throw stones at them. (See ‘Aynî, Taddıshîhî).
As Mamur Hâllâj was.
La'ling bilä tışingning hacında, ay moğulcin, har lažza kirpu-kimdin marcan va durr $s$_äçar $m$än. (ShD112v:11-12) 'Being away from your lips and from your teeth, O Moghul Beauty, from my eyelashes I constantly scatter corals and pearls.'

Ol närgiş-i mastana közmüdä $uç$_ar har dam, köngüm qušin avlarğa asru ßez va laçin sen. (ShD120r:9-10) 'That intoxicated narcissus flies into my eyes every moment. In hunting the bird of my heart you are immensely fast and [skilled like] a falcon.'

'Aşıq üçün män bilir men yär cafası kop turur kecá kündüz $ş$_ukr $e$tär $m$n $ül$ sol qadar ihsan üçün. (ShD121r:1-2) 'I know that the cruelty of the friend is excessive toward the lover. I say thanks night and day for this much generosity.'

Agar davlat $ç$irağıni yarutsam heç tàng ermäs, ki očkän $Ç$ingiz $ç$am'i biling $b$_eglär $y$_anar $m$endin. (ShD120r:1-2) 'If I relight the lantern of the empire no one ever should be amazed, since as you, lords, full well know, through me he dying candle of the House of Chingis flares up again.'

(6) For a vivid narration of past actions, the present aorist is used instead of the definite past.  

Ulusni $b$_aşlap $a$_ltur mukl va táb $İ$skandar, ki himmat ilä tegär tȧc va sarvari miras. (ShD17r:1-2) 'Leading his people Alexander took countries because it is through good efforts that leadership becomes your legacy.'

(7) The present aorist is also used to express future actions. E.g.,  

Agar sen anda köröşgän någah $ä$zär, men $e$sitip bolur $m$en munda afgär. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'

(9) Present progressive or continuous actions also are expressed by the present aorist. E.g.,  

Ne dur $h$alı aning $g$äm laşkarında, yanı $a$ğr $r$m mu mihmat bista-rinda? (DN252v:6) 'What is his condition in the army of sorrows? Is his side aching in the sick-bed of misery?'

Yüz $t$_ümän 'ud teg $y$_anar $m$en nå sababdin da'ıma: $ç$an moğul-cin $ğ$a$r$ra-ı tarrarını bir bir $e$tar. (ShD31r:12-13) 'I constantly burn like a hundred times ten thousand [pieces of] aloe [wood]. For what reason? Because the Moghul beauty unties her locks one by one.'

(10) The negative aorist often serves to convey an admonishment, or a reminder. E.g.,  

Men ol bulbul $e$rnäs $m$en, ay gulanđam, ki bir dam bargsiz tap-gay $m$en ãräm. (DN244v:6) 'I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, who could find rest without [rose] leaves even for a moment.'

Qalamardin $d$_urust ermäs rīvāyat, ki $ş$ığmas tillārgāl $o$_l hīkāyat. (DN248v:4) 'It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.'

Ki $q$almas $â$dami bir $b$_uyû birılän, arīg yoq tür $h$ameša suyi bir-län. (DN254r:2) 'Because a human being does not prevail in one and the same habit. The irrigation canal does not keep its water for ever.'

Note: Chagatay verbal inflection contains a few Azerbaijani forms. The most striking grammatical loans occur in the paradigm of the Aorist:

(a) Azerbaijani form of the positive aorist in -am/-âm. E.g.,  

Qişsanı qilma uzun zulf-i mu'ânbardin yana, gorgaram andin uzunraq bolmağay afşanamiz. (ShD62r:1) 'Of the scented tresses do not make the story long. I fear that my narrative will not be longer than that.'

Ol $H$usayni tili birìa $a$yturam bir neça söz, bu Şabäniğa madadci boldi $ç$warизма mänûm. (ShD100r:5-6) 'I say a few words with the tongue of Husayni. My Khwarizmi has become the helper of Shabani.'

(b) Azerbaijani form of the negative aorist in -man/-mân. E.g.,  

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsâng, yüz $ë$vûrnâm $ä$garçë $y$üz evûrsâng. (DN251r:3) 'I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head although you turn away yours.'

Özüm özümüni $b$jîlmän, bu tûnla $y$arım $h$ulman, vah zulfidin parešin, $y$a rabb mângad nadin dur? (ShD53v:11) 'I do not know
myself, tonight I do not find my friend. Ah, distraught by her tresses, O God! Why does this happen to me?

Heç bilmän bu ot mànım avıma qandan üstü. (Sayf38r:8) 'I have no idea from where this fire fell upon my house.'

3.6.5.6.2. The Past Tense of the Aorist
The past tense of the aorist consists of the aorist theme, positive or negative, followed by the inflected forms of the definite past tense of the auxiliary verb er-.

It expresses habitual, repeated, or continued past actions or states with no closer modal, status, or aspect characteristics.

Positive

Sing.

körär erdim 'I saw'

körär erding 'you saw'

körär erdi 'he saw'

Plur.

körär erdük 'we saw'

körär erdingiz 'you saw'

körär erdilär 'they saw'

Barur erdim 'you went'

Barur erding 'you went'

Barur erdi 'he went'

Barur erdük 'we went'

Barur erdingiz 'you went'

Barur erdilär 'they went'

Negative

Sing.

körmäs erdim 'I did not see'

körmäs erding 'you did not see'

körmäs erdi 'he did not see'

Plur.

körmäs erdük 'we did not see'

körmäs erdingiz 'you did not see'

körmäs erdilär 'they did not see'

Barmas erdim 'I did not go'

Barmas erding 'you did not go'

Barmas erdi 'he did not go'

Barmas erdük 'we did not go'

Barmas erdingiz 'you did not go'

Barmas erdilär 'they did not go'

Uşbu sırrını bilmäsün dep kizlar erdim da'ımä aşkara qildi aḥır dana-i durdanamız. (ShD61v:11) 'I always hid my secret so that she may not learn it. At the end, however, a grain of my unique pearl disclosed it.'

Vah uzun tün dilbarım hircanimi tartar edim, surat-i naqşin konguldä çakkali zarzar edim. (ShD103v:6-7) 'Woe, long nights I suffered from the absence of my Beloved, I was desperate to paint the picture of her face in my heart.'

Har yıl ming yıgaç qafar qilur erdi, ayağ ve baş yulang, ve hec şahıda on küdin artuq turmas eder. (NF87v:23) 'Every year he would travel a thousand miles barefooted and bareheaded. And he would not stay in any city more than ten days.'

Bir kün bu sultan maclisinin Şahnama kitabin oğur edilär. (Sayf16r:7) 'One day in the company of the King they recited [from] the book [entitled] Shahname.'

(1) The past tense of the aorist sometimes indicates that the action was attempted, or intended but, in fact, was not carried out. E.g.,

İssi tammuz künülärind bir kün aylı iüssi edî kim boğazını quru-tup ağınız qaynatur eder. (Sayf121v:11) 'One day in the hot [month of] July it was so hot that [the heat] dried out the throat and brought the mouth to boiling.'

Gar közümne yaşış bir dam aqmayın tınsa edî, kuydürürd erdi biling 'alamını bir aḥım yaqip. (ShD17r:12-13) 'If my tears had ceased to flow for a moment, one sigh of mine would have set fire to this world and burned it down.'

3.6.5.6.3. The Indirect Past Tense of the Aorist
The indirect past of the aorist handles indirect, unconfirmed information, either what the speaker heard from someone else, or what he himself discovered but could not obtain certainty about it.

This tense form consists of the aorist theme, positive or negative, followed by the inflected forms of the indirect past of the verb er- or e-to be.

Positive

Sing.

körär ermiş män 'I guess I saw'

barur ermiş män 'I guess I went'

\[151\] I.e., my tears
people anywhere know the secret of this point? Open the secrets of points, [after all] you are my elder of the magi.'
Sizing yunmaqingeniniz man kordum arsa bildim kim man hafta qilur ar mish man. (NF86v:4) 'I observed [the way you performed] your ablation and realized that I probably was in error.'

3.6.5.4. The Conditional of the Aorist
The conditional of the aorist is based on the aorist theme, positive [ + r] or negative [-mas/-mas], followed by the inflected forms of the conditional of the verbs er- or bol-.

It is used in conditional clauses of complex sentences to express present or future simple conditions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative</th>
<th>Positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormas ermis man 'I guess I did not see'</td>
<td>barmas ermis man 'I guess I did not go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormas ermis san 'I guess you did not see'</td>
<td>barmas ermis san 'I guess you did not go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormas ermis 'I guess he did not see'</td>
<td>barmas ermis 'I guess he did not go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormas ermis biz 'I guess we did not see'</td>
<td>barmas ermis biz 'I guess we did not go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormas ermis siz 'I guess you did not see'</td>
<td>barmas ermis siz 'I guess you did not go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormas ermislar 'I guess they did not see'</td>
<td>barmas ermislar 'I guess they did not go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E.g.,
'Asıl olğanlı der ermislar bası nadden kişi, qatralar közmum yaşı- din kelsa danlı bolg man. (ShD134r:9) 'Many would call ignorant those in love.'
When my tears fall drop by drop, I wish I was a wise man.'
Nafsi modifiers kişi dur har zaman dunyaaparast, ay direğe - kong-
luŋa tüşmis ermis gor va kafan. (ShD119v:5-6) 'The person who
loves his self' always appreciates this world. Alas, the grave and
the shroud apparently did not occur to his mind.'
Bu nukta sırırını hargiz kişi qayda blur ermis? Aça ber nuka
sırıını maming pir-i muğanım sen. (ShD112r12-13) 'Did ever

153 Cf. MM200v:10-11
156 i.e., his carnal soul
(3) The conditional of the aorist is also used in concessive sentences. The concessive clause uses the conjunction **gar** or may not need a conjunction at all. E.g.,

\[
\text{İnär bolsa qayadan bir ağır taş, keräk kim ketmägäy 'árif yolundan. (Sayf80r:9) 'Even if a heavy boulder rolls down from a rocky mountain, the mystic does not go out of its path.'}
\]

\[
\text{Tuz etmäkni unutmas kalb gar yuz qo var bolsang, yana qay-tarmas ol yüz. (Sayf 175r:1-2) 'The dog does not forget the gratitude for sustenance'\textsuperscript{157} even if you chase him away a hundred times, it does not turn its face away [from you].'}
\]

### 3.6.5.6.5. The Optative of the Aorist

The optative of the aorist expresses an anticipated future action. It consists of the aorist base of the main verb followed by the inflected forms of the optative of the auxiliary **bol**- 'to be'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köär bolgay</td>
<td>'I am to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>män</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köär bolgay</td>
<td>'you are to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sän</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köär bolgay</td>
<td>'he is to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köär bolgay</td>
<td>'we are to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köär bolgay</td>
<td>'you are to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>köär bolgay- lar</td>
<td>'they are to see'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{157} Lit., salt and bread

---

\[
\text{Lutf duşmandag körgüzür bolsang, dostuq şartın ol tamam qilur. (Sayf16r:7) 'If you show kindness to the enemy, he will carry out the necessities of friendship.'}
\]

\[
\text{Aning vasfin sorarlar bolsa mändän, nişânsızdan habârsız ne degây raž. (Sayf5r:13-5v:1) 'If they ask me about His qualities, how could an ignorant report about one who has no characteristics.'}
\]

\[
\text{Ay tarsalar, agar bu kimärsälär birli la'nat qilüsür bolsangiz, qyamatça tägi yar yûzinda tärsa urüği qalmaqay. (NF72v:9) 'O, Christians! If you go on cursing one another with this people, by the time the resurrection is at hand, no offspring of Christians will remain.'}
\]

(1) The second person of the conditional of the aorist is also used to express indirect commands. E.g.,

\[
\text{Sunnatı neçä dur bilir bolsang, keçä kündüz anı qilur bolsang. (MS13v:6) 'You must know how many sunna [rak'ats] are required in one day [and, having learned that] you must perform them.'}
\]

(2) The conditional of the aorist is used in temporal sentences. The conjunction **qaça** 'when' may introduce the temporal clause. E.g.,

\[
\text{Oq qaçaq yadan čigär bolsa yana kemläs. (Sayf169v:8) 'When the arrow is released from the bow, it does not come back.'}
\]

\[
\text{Farıža qalur bolsa buzur namaz. (MM183v:9) 'When a mandatory prayer is left out, the prayer is invalidated.'}
\]
Plur.  
körmiş bolsay  'we are not to see'
barmas bolsay  'we are not to go'
körmiş bolsay  'you are not to see'
barmas bolsay  'you are not to go'
körmiş bolsaylar  'they are not to see'
barmas bolsaylar  'they are not to go'

E.g.,  
Ta'riq-i 'ışqida ol kim özün bilir bolsay, habarni saqi va dilbargâ qilmamiş tamam. (ShD107v:11-12) 'He who is to know his Self in the path of love, apparently has not told the full story to the cupbearer and the heartavisher.'

(1) The optative of the aorist may express an eventual condition [that may arise, could occur, or chances are happens] in the conditional clause of a complex sentence. The clause may use the conjunction agar. E.g.,  
Ya Muhammed, agar çarıgda namaz qilur bolsang, hala 'iqni eki tâ'ifa qilg'il. (NF20v:9) 'O, Muhammed, should you lead the prayer in the armed forces, split the soldiers into two groups.'

3.6.5.7. The Indirect Past Tense

The indirect past tense expresses a completed action which is present at the speaker's time. There is, however, some lack of certainty about the agent or the action, or both. This can result from the crowded reliability of the source of our information. We heard about an incident but we did not witness it ['as I hear']. Or we observed the result of an action but only guessed how it came about ['I gather'].

This is a fine distinction which is not always realized by individual authors who may use it in the role of definite past, or past perfect. It is comparatively rare and occurs mostly in poetry. E.g.,

Positive

Sing.
körmiş mân  'I have seen'
barmiş mân  'I have gone'
körmiş sân  'you have seen'
barmiş sân  'you have gone'
körmiş  'he has seen'
barmiş  'he has gone'

Plur.
körmiş biz  'we have seen'
barmiş biz  'we have gone'
körmiş siz  'you have seen'
barmiş siz  'you have gone'

E.g.,
Ta'riq-i 'ışqida ol kim özün bilir bolsay, habarni saqi va dilbargâ qilmamiş tamam. (ShD107v:11-12) 'He who is to know his Self in the path of love, apparently has not told the full story to the cupbearer and the heartavisher.'

Nâ aradan ná ulusdan ná uumaqdan ná parı, sun'-î Hâqq yazmîş seni, ay körkülü sultânîn mânum. (ShD99v:12-13). 'Not from [our] neighborhood, not from [our] people, not from [our] race, not [even from the] fairies: The artistry of God has painted you, [I believe] O My Beautiful Emperor.'

Manga belgürdi emdi ittiğâding, bar emrîs zulfuna cîn li'tiqâding. (DN247v:2) 'Now your alliance has been revealed to me. Your faith in my tresses was apparently sincere.'

Sanga ol zamzama behwast emrîs, bar âhangi ki qilding rast er-mîs. (DN247v:3) 'For you that chant may have sounded spontaneous: Any tune that you produced was correct.'

Közârîngning fannîdîn bildim, cîn ermîs bu maşal: Har kÎsîning kim kîşiğä rahîmi yoq, îmanî yoq. [GD124v:10] 'From the art of your eyes I knew that the proverb was apparently true: He who has no mercy, has no faith.'

'Umrida mişkin Gada hê cîrêmîs 'İsrat yûžin; dard üçûn goya varatmîş lar men qallaşin. (GD153r:6) 'In his life poor Gada
never saw the face of carefree enjoyment. Is it, I wonder, that I the worthless being, have been created for suffering [alone]?

Mânî lâskarda asîr etti Hanining dîlbârî, kım azâl köyînda yazmîsh dur bu türîlg taqrîrîn. (ShD116r:2) ‘The heart-ravisher of Herat made me a captive by her military forces. This confession was put in writing in the village of eternity without beginning.’

Avîyalar sarvari ol šâh-i Türkistan emîş, yâr yûzüni nurî tut-şan mah-i Türkistan emîş. (ShD68v:12-3) ‘The leader of the saints [people say] was the King of Turkistan, the one whose light shines upon the face of the earth was the moon of Turkistan.’

Cannat-i ma’vå deqân baq-î Samarqand emîş, Kavşa-r a’îfâ deqân ab-î Samarqand emîş. (ShD70v:6-7) ‘What is called the Blue Paradise is the garden of Samarqand. What is called the most exquisite Kauhar [river] is the waters of Samarqand.’

Hayr va šâr deqîl anîng zulf va yûzin, biri nuraštân ve biri mär emîş. (ShD71v:1-2) ‘Call her tresses and her face Good and Evil: One is the radiant [sun], the other is a snake.’

Note: In the first and second person of the singular Azeri forms are also met with: E.g.,

Sâhâna dur dîlbârîm yôq tur özmüdâ bir dâmîm, âhîm otîn köp yaqmîšam közdâ yaqmeam nâ ‘amîm. (ShD100r:7-8) ‘My heart-ravisher is imperial, not a single breath is left in me. I let the fire of my sighs burn too long. What an ocean is in my eyes formed by my tears.’

Mânî ki zulfun dâmîda asrî ‘âçîz bolmîsham, ‘arîzingning üstîdîa sunbullaringni tartma sen. (ShD116v:12). ‘Since I have become utterly helpless in the net of your tresses, do not pull your hyacinths over your face.’

Aning teg bolmîsham hayrân sanga kim körümüms közmüm ‘âlamda diyár. (GD119r:4) ‘I am so much amazed at you that I do not notice the [wonderful] lands in this world.’

3.6.5.7.1. The Conditional of the Indirect Past Tense

The conditional of the indirect past expresses eventual conditions in the past: ‘if something perchance happened,’ ‘if someone eventually did something.’

The forms of the conditional of the indirect past theme in -mîş/-mîş followed by the present conditional of the verb bol- or er-.

Positive

Sing.

körmîş bolsam ‘if I saw’

körmîş bolsangiz ‘if you saw’

körmîş bolsa ‘if he saw’

Plur.

körmîş bolsaq ‘if we saw’

körmîş bolsangiz ‘if you went’

körmîş bolsalar ‘if they saw’

barmîş bolsam ‘if I went’

barmîş bolsangiz ‘if you went’

barmîş bolsa ‘if he went’

barmîş bolsaq ‘if we went’

barmîş bolsangiz ‘if you went’

barmîş bolsalar ‘if they went’

Negative

Sing.

körmîmîş bolsam ‘if I did not see’

körmîmîş bolsangiz ‘if you did not see’

körmîmîş bolsa ‘if he did not see’

Plur.

körmîmîş bolsaq ‘if we did not see’

körmîmîş bolsangiz ‘if you did not see’

körmîmîş bolsalar ‘if they did not see’

barmîmîş bolsam ‘if I did not go’

barmîmîş bolsangiz ‘if you did not go’

barmîmîş bolsa ‘if he did not go’

barmîmîş bolsaq ‘if we did not go’

barmîmîş bolsangiz ‘if you did not go’

barmîmîş bolsalar ‘if they did not go’

E.g.,

Kim ki körmîş bolsa bir küm ay yüzyüngi dunyâda, ölsä daği, bil yaqin kim zarrâ-e armanî yôq. (GD124v:9) ‘If someone saw your face one day in this world, even when he dies, know full well, he does not have a speck of sorrow.’

Emdi kım bilîr bu dağî oğrîlarden kelim özîni ‘ayyîrlîq sûratîna ta’biya qilmîş bolsa, furşat vaqtiında anlarçâ habar qilsa. (Sayf 103r:8-10) ‘Now who knows, this also may be one of the thieves. Suppose he has [only] disguised himself and when the opportunity arises he will alert the rest.’

158 Reference to the Blue Saray, a four-storey palace in Samarkand mentioned in Shaybâni’s Divân.
3.6.5.7.2. The Optative of the Indirect Past Tense
The optative of the indirect past tense expresses a future action that will be completed by a future point of time indicated either by another action or by adverbials of time. It consists of the indirect past theme followed by the inflected forms of the optative of the verb bol-

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<th>Negative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Plur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körümsüz bolgay</td>
<td>körümsüz bolgay</td>
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<tr>
<td>män</td>
<td>biz</td>
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<tr>
<td>körümsüz bolgay</td>
<td>körümsüz bolgay</td>
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<tr>
<td>sän</td>
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<tr>
<td>körümsüz bolgay</td>
<td>körümsüz bolgay</td>
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<td>lar</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I will have seen'</td>
<td>'I will not have seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'you will have seen'</td>
<td>'you will not have seen'</td>
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<td>'he will have seen'</td>
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<td>'you will have seen'</td>
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<td>'they will have seen'</td>
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<td>'he will have gone'</td>
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E.g.,
Tek otur kim sänəng atang ağır ta aständan tâbrängänçä keräk mänim atam cannatka körümsüz bolgay. (Sayf150r:11-12). 'Just you wait! By the time your father crawls out from under heavy stones, my father will have entered heaven.'
Kim kim bu altı kim ärsä haqqında yaman söz aytur bolsa, özängä zulm qilmiş bolgay. (NF61r:10) 'Whoever says something bad about these six people, will bring great punishment upon himself.'

3.6.5.7.3. The Past Perfect Tense
The past perfect tense expresses a past action that was completed by a past point of time indicated by another verb or by an adverbial. It consists of the indirect past theme followed by the inflected forms of the definite past of the verb er-. In relative clauses it may indicate the past time with emphasis on the result of the action present or effective at the time the statement is made.

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<th>Positive</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Plur.</td>
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<tr>
<td>körümsüz erdim</td>
<td>körümsüz erdim</td>
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<td>körümsüz erding</td>
<td>körümsüz erding</td>
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<td>körümsüz erdi</td>
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<td>'he had not seen'</td>
<td>'he had not gone'</td>
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Sing.
körümsüz erdim    'I had seen'
körümsüz erding   'you had seen'
körümsüz erdi     'he has seen'

Plur.
körümsüz erdük    'we had seen'
körümsüz erdingiz  'you had seen'
körümsüz erdilär   'they had seen'

Sing.
körümsüz erdim    'I had not seen'
körümsüz erding    'you had not seen'
körümsüz erdi      'he had not seen'

Negative          |
Plur. körəməmiş er-dük
körəməmiş er-dingiz
körəməmiş er-dilar

Sing. körəməkə mân
körəməkə sân
körəməkə dur

Plur. körəməkə biz
körəməkə siz
körəməkə durlar

Positive

I am seeing’
I am going’
I am going’

‘you are seeing’
‘you are going’
‘you are going’

‘they are seeing’
‘they are going’

Cumlaşi mu’allim avında erkän ol ävnüng saqfini täbratmiş erdi. (NF330,5) ‘When all of them were in the teacher’s house, he shook the roof of the house.’

Bildir taqi mân bu Mada’în şahringa kelmış ärdim. (NF139,12) ‘Make it known that I had arrived to these two cities.’

Bir kün Abî Hanîfa əlturmış erdi Kavfanıng ‘əlimləri birlə. (NF188,10) ‘One day Abu Hanîfa was in session with the learned men of Kavfa.’

Qaçan kim Qaydum atlıq, yärgä yattılar äsää bir taş aldı taqi bu oğul ‘amminî ol taş birlə əlturmış ärdi. (NF170r:13) ‘When they159 reached the place called Qaydum, this boy took a stone and killed his uncle with that stone.’

3.6.5.8. The Progressive Mood
The progressive mood indicates the action in progress. It has two tenses: the present and the past. The basis for this paradigm is the locative case of the infinitive in -maq/-mâk. Rare in Chagatay but quite frequent in modern literary Uzbek.

3.6.5.8.1. The Present Tense of the Progressive Mood
An action in progress in the present time may be indicated by the present tense of the progressive mood.

It consists of the Locative case of the infinitive, positive or negative, and personal endings of the pronominal type.

159 I.e., the boy and his uncle
3.6.5.9. The Present Perfect Tense

The present perfect tense expresses a past action the result of which plays a role of some kind in the present, e.g., *sanga kelğan dur* 'he is here to pick you up' [<he has come for you], *rozi bergan* 'he is providing for' [the entire world] [<he has given provision to feed the entire world].

The present perfect tense consists of the past participle in *-gan/-ğan* followed by personal endings of the pronominal type. In the third person the predicative particles *dur, durlar* may occur. It has two negative forms: Negative I is formed from he negative participle created by the particle *-ma/-mā*, negative II, from the positive participle followed by the inflected negated forms of the verb *är-, er-, or e-.*

Note: The predicative particles *dur* and *durlar* in the third persons can be omitted.

### Positive

**Sing.**
- körmäktä edim ‘I was seeing’
- körmäktä eding ‘you were seeing’
- körmäktä edi ‘he was seeing’

**Plur.**
- körmäktä edük ‘we were seeing’
- körmäktä edingiz ‘you were seeing’
- körmäktä edilär ‘they were seeing’

**Negative**

**Sing.**
- körmämäktä edim ‘I was not seeing’
- körmämäktä eding ‘you were not seeing’
- körmämäktä edi ‘he was not seeing’

**Plur.**
- körmämäktä edük ‘we were not seeing’
- körmämäktä edingiz ‘you were not seeing’
- körmämäktä edilär ‘they were not seeing’

E.g.,

Atam ‘Umar Şayḥ Mirzâ rî‘âyat qîlip edî va hańûz rî‘âyat qîliga maqaṭa edî. (BN52r:9-10) 'My father ‘Umar Shayh Mirza had respected him and still was respecting him.'

### The Perfective Mood

Tenses built on the participle in *-gan/-ğan* belong under this heading. They do not constitute a fully developed system and have no clearly defined position in the Chagatay verbal inflection. Some of the forms are quite rare and occur mostly in prose works. Using these forms authors treat the action as accomplished and its result, as a fact. They put greater emphasis on the factual result than on the subject or agent of the verb that brought about the result. Whether or not the action was witnessed or simply communicated as a hearsay, is secondary and most often does not come into play. The truth of the action is warranted by the result to be observed in the present.

**Sing.**
- körgän män ‘I have seen’
- körgän sän ‘you have seen’
- körgän dur ‘he has seen’

**Plur.**
- körgän biz ‘we have seen’
- körgän siz ‘you have seen’
- körgän durlar ‘they have seen’

**Negative I**

**Sing.**
- körmäğan män ‘I have not seen’
- körmäğan sän ‘you have not seen’
- körmäğan dur ‘he has not seen’

**Plur.**
- körmäğan bîz ‘we have not seen’
- körmäğan siz ‘you have not seen’
- körmäğan durlar ‘they have not seen’
### Plural
- **körğän biz** 'we have not seen'
- **barmاغan biz** 'we have not gone'
- **körğän siz** 'you have not seen'
- **barmاغan siz** 'you have not gone'
- **körğän durlar** 'they have not seen'
- **barmاغan durlar** 'they have not gone'

### Negative II

| Single | Positive
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körğän ermäs mán</td>
<td>'I may have seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körğän ermäs sán</td>
<td>'you may have seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körğän ermäs dur</td>
<td>'he may have seen'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Plural
- **körğän ermäs biz** 'we have not seen'
- **bargan ermäs biz** 'we have not gone'
- **körğän ermäs siz** 'you have not seen'
- **bargan ermäs siz** 'you have not gone'
- **körğän ermäs durlar** 'they have not seen'
- **bargan ermäs durlar** 'they have not gone'

### Negative

| Single | Positive
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körğän ermış mán</td>
<td>'I may not have seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>körğän ermış sán</td>
<td>'you may not have seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körğän ermış dur</td>
<td>'he may not have seen'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Example

- **Gusl sunnatlarį qamuğ beş ol. Yahşi bilmäğan ani badkeș ol.** (MS7r:2) 'The total number of traditional practices to be observed during the gusl is five. He who is not aware of all of them is an impious person.'
- **İki yaqto guhar 'alamgă bergyän, mahabbat gancini adamgă bergyän.** (MN290v:2) 'He gave two shiny gems to the world. He gave man the treasure of love.'
- **Dedi, mardana bol yalguz qulunum sanga kelgän dur. Munī roz-i azal parvardagarim sanga qilğan dur.** (H77v:7) 'The Prophet said, be brave my foal, it is to see you that our guest has come. My Provider had decreed this from before the beginning of time.'
- **Toqüz aflakni tutğan mu’allaq, yätı qat yärni ham qilğan muttabbaq.** (LN4) 'He has suspended the nine layers of the sky. He has set up the seven layers of the earth.'

---

160 Endearing word for ‘my boy’.

161 Lit., I have not learned how to read.
### 3.6.5.9.3. The Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense expresses an action that took place in the past before a given point of time. This may be indicated by an adverbial of time, by another action, or simply by a broader context. Here, too, it is the result of the action that is considered about which or about its agent the speaker has no direct knowledge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Negative</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän erdim</td>
<td>körgän emäs erdim</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän erding</td>
<td>körgän emäs erding</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän erdi</td>
<td>körgän emäs erdi</td>
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<tr>
<td>'I had seen'</td>
<td>'I had not seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'you had seen'</td>
<td>'you had not seen'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>'he had not seen'</td>
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<td>'he had not gone'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>Plur.</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän erdük</td>
<td>körgän bolsaq</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän erdingiz</td>
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<tr>
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<td>körgän bolsa</td>
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<tr>
<td>'we had seen'</td>
<td>'if we have seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'you had seen'</td>
<td>'if you have seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'they had seen'</td>
<td>'if he has seen'</td>
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<td>bargan bolsaq</td>
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<td>bargan erdingiz</td>
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<td>'if you have gone'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'they had gone'</td>
<td>'if he has gone'</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Negative</th>
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<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
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<td>'if I have seen'</td>
<td>'I had not seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if you have seen'</td>
<td>'you had not seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if he has seen'</td>
<td>'he had not seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargan bolsam</td>
<td>bargan emäs erdim</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargan bolsang</td>
<td>bargan emäs erding</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargan bolsa</td>
<td>bargan emäs erdi</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if I have gone'</td>
<td>'I had not gone'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if you have gone'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if he has gone'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>Plur.</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän bolsaq</td>
<td>körgän bolsalär</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän bolsang</td>
<td>körgän bolsalär</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän bolsa</td>
<td>körgän bolsalär</td>
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<td>'if we have seen'</td>
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<td>'if you have seen'</td>
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<td>'if they have seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargan bolsaq</td>
<td>bargan bolsalär</td>
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<td>bargan bolsang</td>
<td>bargan bolsalär</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargan bolsa</td>
<td>bargan bolsalär</td>
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<td>'if we have gone'</td>
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<td>'if you have gone'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'if they have gone'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.6.5.9.4. The Conditional of the Present Perfect Tense

The conditional of the present perfect tense expresses a real or eventual condition in the past the consequences of which in some way affect the present.

It consists of the participle in -ğan/-ğan, positive or negative, followed by the positive inflected forms of the present conditional of the verb bol-, or, rarely, ol-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgän bolsam</td>
<td>körgän bolsam</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän bolsang</td>
<td>körgän bolsang</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän bolsa</td>
<td>körgän bolsa</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if I have seen'</td>
<td>'if I have seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if you have seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if he has seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargan bolsam</td>
<td>bargan bolsam</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargan bolsang</td>
<td>bargan bolsang</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargan bolsa</td>
<td>bargan bolsa</td>
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<td>'if I have gone'</td>
<td>'if I have gone'</td>
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<td>'if you have gone'</td>
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<td>'if he has gone'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>Plur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgän bolsaq</td>
<td>körgän bolsaq</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän bolsang</td>
<td>körgän bolsang</td>
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<tr>
<td>körgän bolsa</td>
<td>körgän bolsa</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if we have seen'</td>
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<td>'if you have seen'</td>
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<td>'if he has seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargan bolsaq</td>
<td>bargan bolsaq</td>
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<td>bargan bolsang</td>
<td>bargan bolsang</td>
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<td>bargan bolsa</td>
<td>bargan bolsa</td>
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<td>'if we have gone'</td>
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<td>'if you have gone'</td>
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<td>'if he has gone'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körmagan bolsam</td>
<td>körmagan bolsam</td>
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<tr>
<td>körmagan bolsang</td>
<td>körmagan bolsang</td>
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<tr>
<td>körmagan bolsa</td>
<td>körmagan bolsa</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if I have not seen'</td>
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<td>'if you have not seen'</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if he has not seen'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>bargaman bolsam</td>
<td>bargaman bolsam</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargaman bolsang</td>
<td>bargaman bolsang</td>
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<tr>
<td>bargaman bolsa</td>
<td>bargaman bolsa</td>
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<tr>
<td>'if I have not gone'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>'if you have not gone'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'if he has not gone'</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Plur.  

| körğän bolğay | 'we may have seen' | bargaň bolğay | 'we may have gone' |
| körğän bolğay biz | 'you may have seen' | bargaň bolğay biz | 'you may have gone' |
| körğän bolğay siz | 'they may have seen' | bargaň bolğay siz | 'they may have gone' |

**Negative**

| körğän bolğay lar | 'we may have not seen' | bargan bolğay lar | 'we may have not gone' |
| körğän bolğay biz | 'you may have not seen' | bargan bolğay biz | 'you may have not gone' |
| körğän bolğay siz | 'they may have not seen' | bargan bolğay siz | 'they may have not gone' |

**E.g.,**

Bu cihatdın her kişi bu tâ'lîfadan zahir yüzdin piri ma'lım bolmasa ve maşa'ildin birining ruhi ani tarbiyat qilgan bolsa, ani Uvaisi dertlär. (NM p. 13) 'For this reason they call Uvaisî all those people from this group whose spiritual leader is not known by their outward appearance but have been educated by the spirit of one of the sheyks.'

**Tuşmäğän bolsa camâlîndin köngülğä şu'la-e, hacr gavğasîn köräuğüz Yusuf-i Kan'an ara.** (ShD9r:7-8) 'If a flame from the beauty of your face has not touched [your] heart, just observe the turmoil caused by separation in [the heart of] Joseph of Kanaan.'

3.6.5.9.5. The Future Perfect Tense

The future perfect tense expresses an action that will have taken place in the future before a point of time express or understood from the context. The tense suggests some degree of eventuality or uncertainty of the action. That, however, does not change the perfective aspect inherent in forms built on the verbal nouns in -ğan/-gän.

The future perfect tense consists of the participle in -ğan/-gän, positive or negative, carrying the inflectional [possessive] suffixes. It is followed by the third person singular of the present optative of the auxiliary bol- or, rarely, ol-.

**Positive**

| körğän bolğay män | 'I may have seen' | bargaň bolğay män | 'I may have gone' |
| körğän bolğay sän | 'you may have seen' | bargaň bolğay sän | 'you may have gone' |
| körğän bolğay | 'he may have seen' | bargaň bolğay | 'he may have gone' |

**E.g.,**

İhtimâli bar, ki öyümğa barğunça yolda kişi zarar teğürür dep qolumğa qiliç algan bolğay men va mastlıkın özümlü öyi ha-yal qilip taht ızga yatıp algan bolğay men. (Bahtiyarmama, see Eekm. Gr. p.171) 'It is possible that I may have grabbed the sword thinking that while returning home someone might harm me on the road, and, also, I may have stayed lying on the throne imagining in my drunken state that the place was my own house.'

3.6.5.10. The Categorical Tenses

The categorical tenses are built on the verbal nouns in -gu/-gü the major characteristic of which is to suggest that the action in question must be carried out for sure and without delay. They contain no reference to the aspect or mood of the action. Also, they occur mostly in the third persons, especially in the singular.
3.6.5.10.1. The Categorical Future

The categorical future is created from the positive or negative verbal stem by the verbal noun formant -ģü/-gů, the possessive suffix, and the predicative particle dur. The particle is spelled separately: [kel- + gů + si] + dur = kelgůsi dur ‘he will surely come’.

It is used to express a future action or state that will definitely and unconditionally take place. The relationship of the agent to the action is that of an obligation: the agent cannot but carry out the action.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative I</th>
<th>Negative II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgüm dur</td>
<td>‘I will surely see’</td>
<td>barğum yoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgünk dur</td>
<td>‘you will surely see’</td>
<td>barğünk yoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgüsü dur</td>
<td>‘he will surely see’</td>
<td>barğüsü yoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgümiz dur</td>
<td>‘we will surely see’</td>
<td>barğumiz yoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgünkiz dur</td>
<td>‘you will surely see’</td>
<td>barğünkiz yoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgülüri dur</td>
<td>‘they will surely see’</td>
<td>barğülüri yoq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E.g.,

Ki davlat kelgůsi dur, bolma ğâfil, sa’âdat birâ tüzęgů dur mabâfîl. (DN260v:5) ‘Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: brighten up the meeting place with the bliss of paradise.’

Sanga yüz qovuşusî dur dîlnâvâzîng kelip bâs tüzęgůsi dur sarv-i nâzîng. (DN260v:7) ‘Your mistress will for sure turn toward you; with head held high your sweetheart will surely come.’

‘İnâyât subhîdîn savûlqûsî dur dama’dâm şâm’ teq soz u gûdâ-zîng. (DN260v:8) ‘From the morning of grace your burning and melting woes will gradually reduce like a burning candle.’

Farâgât yelîdîn aqîgûsî dur köngûlû gûncâ teq sarbâ斯塔 râ-zîng. (DN260v:9) ‘From the wind of leisure your secret sealed in your heart will open like a bud.’

Başarât kelgûsî dur bidmatînga sa’îdat bolûsûr dur çarasâzung (DN260v:10) ‘Good news will surely come to your162 presence; felicity will rise to your head [and] your abstinence will be gone.’

Başînga çiqûsî dur may ayaqî eligîng barğûsî dur ihtîrazîng. (DN260v:11) ‘The cup of wine will rise to your head [and] your abstinence will be lost.’

162 Lit., to your presence
Niyazgʻing qalmausahaan durbu ściğiś, elinging yetgüs duń vasli ściğiś.
(DN261r:4) ‘There will be no need left for you in anyone else: you will be sure to carry your hand to the task of achieving union.’
Qilmaänger gunahni bilman ki ne qilgım durr. (NM p.32) ‘I do not know what to do about the sins I did not commit.’
Bar erdi bar turur va bolgusu ḥam. (RB1v:7) ‘He was, He is and He will [ever] be.’
Oli kün kim men dunyadın kitsem, maiška tofrag savurgüsü durlar. (NM p.53) ‘The day I leave this world, the angels will scatter dust.’

Note: The particle dur may be omitted from the phrasal paradigm. E.g.,
Pas taharât içindä sunrat farz, barışaın hismatında qilgım arz. (MS3r:6) ‘Then I will enumerate for you all the traditional practices and mandatory duties [that must be observed] during the taharât.’
Oli taharättni ki bozqusi billig, bu taýamumnuma ham qilur bāťil.
(MS9r:3) ‘[Occurrences] that violate the [state of ritual purity achieved by means of the] taharât [that is, the ablution performed with water,] will also violate it, if it has been achieved by means of the taýamnumun.’

Anda kedin qilip bayan-i namaz, roza bašını qilgımiz agaz.
(MS3v:1) ‘Then, after I have explained [the rules regarding] the prayer, I will take up the requirements of the fast.’

3.6.5.10.2. The Categorical Future in the Past
The categorical future in the past expresses an action that was planned in the past to be accomplished for sure at a later date, still in the past. Very rarely used.

It consists of the base of the categorical future followed by the definite past tense of the verb er/-e. It has two negative forms: the basic negated by the auxiliary ermäs erdi and the emphatic, negated by the particle yoq and the auxiliary erdi.

Positive

Sing.
körgüm erdi ‘we were to see for sure’
körgüng erdi ‘you were to see for sure’
körgüsü erdi ‘he was to see for sure’

Plur.
körgüz erdi ‘we were to see for sure’
körgüngüz erdi ‘you were to see for sure’
körgüleri erdi ‘they were to see for sure’

Negative I
Sing.
körgüm ermäs erdi ‘I was not to see for sure’
körgüng ermäs erdi ‘you were not to see for sure’
körgüsü ermäs erdi ‘he was not to see for sure’

Plur.
körgüz ermäs erdi ‘we were not to see for sure’
körgüngüz ermäs erdi ‘you were not to see for sure’
körgüleri ermäs erdi ‘they were not to see for sure’

Negative II
Sing.
körgüm yoq erdi ‘I was not to go for sure’
körgüng yoq erdi ‘you were not to go for sure’
körgüsü yoq erdi ‘he was not to go for sure’

Plur.
körgüz yoq erdi ‘we were not to go for sure’
körgüngüz yoq erdi ‘you were not to go for sure’
körgüleri yoq erdi ‘they were not to go for sure’
E.g.,

Yıbarğum erdi (Navā'ī, Kulliyāt S 83r:13, see Eckm. Gr. p. 173) ‘I was to send’

3.6.5.10.3. The Conditional of the Categorical Future

The conditional of the categorical future expresses a simple open condition the fulfillment of which is mandatory for the action in the main clause to materialize. It consists of the base of the categorical future followed by the present conditional of the verb bol-. It has one negative form based on the negative stem.

**Positive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körgüm bolsa</td>
<td>‘if I will have to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgüng bolsa</td>
<td>‘if you will have to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgüsi bolsa</td>
<td>‘if he will have to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgümiz bolsa</td>
<td>‘if we will have to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgüngiz bolsa</td>
<td>‘if you will have to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>körgülari bolsa</td>
<td>‘if they will have to see’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kormagüm bolsa</td>
<td>‘if I will not have to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormagüng bolsa</td>
<td>‘if you will not have to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormagüsi bolsa</td>
<td>‘if he will not have to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormagümiz bolsa</td>
<td>‘if we will not have to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormagüngiz bolsa</td>
<td>‘if you will not have to see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kormagülari bolsa</td>
<td>‘if they will not have to see’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.5.11. Necessitative Verbs

Necessitative verbs express strong recommendations in the positive, and explicit prohibitions in the negative status. They are defective in that they occur only in the third person singular. Most of the time, they are impersonal and convey instructions valid for everybody: ‘one must, one should not,’ and so on.

It consists of the verbal stem, positive or negative, and the marker -ğu/ğu.

3.6.5.11.1. Necessitative Verbs with a Mandatory Aspect

Necessitative verbs with mandatory aspect express commands in the positive, and outright prohibitions in the negative forms. In Islamic religious manuals this is the verb form that conveys God’s commands (amr) and prohibitions (nahy). There is only one person, the third, and two aspects, the positive and the negative, and only one number, the singular.

**Positive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körgü</td>
<td>‘he must see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barğu</td>
<td>‘he must go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körmagü</td>
<td>‘he must not see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barmağu</td>
<td>‘he must not go’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E.g.,

Külüp az üküš viğla bu kisi, musulmân boluğlu kârâk yay qîşi. (MM179r:13) ‘A man [who meets the above requirements] should laugh little and weep much. He must be a Muslim under all circumstances.’

Arân ârdin örtmiş teg ők ham tişi tišilârdin örtgü ham öz qizîdin. (MM180v:17) ‘Just as a man covers himself in the presence of

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183 Lit., both in summer and in winter
other men, a woman, too, must cover herself in the presence of other women, even in the presence of her own daughter.’

Buzulsa Yunug Yunug häli ravan: Yunug birla turmaq ulasu aman. (MM181v:11) ‘One must wash oneself as soon as the state of ritual purity has been violated. The state of ritual purity is a permanent guarantee against falling into sin.’

Note: The predicative particle keräk is used to express the impersonal form of the necessitative ‘one must, one has to’. E.g.,

Muvahhid ‘ibadat ilâgû käräk, ‘ibadatqa quvvat ilâgû käräk. (MM182r:16) ‘The Believer on the Oneness of God must be imbued with the desire to serve the Lord and must devote his energies to (His) service.’

Ne kim ol ayyänä ilâgû käräk. Tâ'atini boyunça algû käräk. (MS2r:2) ‘One must do whatever He has commanded. One must willingly take upon one’s neck [the yoke of] obedience.’

3.6.5.11.2. Necessitative Verbs with Inevitability Aspect

An action that is absolutely inevitable as known from human experience is expressed by a special form of necessitative verbs. It occurs in elevated style conveying a commonly known or humanly perceivable element of truth.

It consists of the gerund in -ü/-i, on positive stems, -y, on negative stems followed by the aorist of the verb sa to wish’. There is only one person, the third, two aspects, the positive and the negative, and one number, the singular.

Sing. köräsi ‘one would see’ baräsi ‘one would go’

E.g.,

Kim ol deväna erägä ne qiläsi, ne çara birlä anädän qurtuläsi? (Qutb2496) ‘What would one do to this obsessed man? By what means would one save him from this [obsession]?’

Ažunda heč kišinägä yoq baqäsi, bu kün hwaš bolgä tangä ne baqäsi. (Qutb3948) ‘No one in this world is granted an everlasting existence. One should be happy today. Why would one look for tomorrow?’

3.6.5.12. The Durative Tenses

The durative tenses express lasting or frequently repeated actions in the present-future, or in the past. The aspects of necessity, mandatoriness or appropriateness accompany the expression.

3.6.5.12.1. The Durative Present Tense

The durative present is the form of continued present actions or actions repeated in the present or in the future. It has full paradigms [three persons, and two numbers] both in the positive and in the negative series.

The forms of the durative present consist of the gerund in -a/-i or -y + the auxiliary dar + the pronominal personal markers: There is no special marker for the third person.

104 MS Bodrogligett, p.104
105 Lit., until he dies
Positive

Sing.
körä dur män ‘I see’
  bara dur män ‘I go’

körä dur sän ‘you see’
  bara dur sän ‘you go’

körä dur ‘he sees’
  bara dur ‘he goes’

Plur.
körä dur biz ‘we see’
  bara dur biz ‘we go’

körä dur siz ‘you see’
  bara dur siz ‘you go’

körä durlar ‘they see’
  bara durlar ‘they go’

Negative

Sing.
körmüä dur män ‘I don’t see’
  barmay dur män ‘I don’t go’

körmüä dur sän ‘you don’t see’
  barmay dur sän ‘you don’t go’

körmüä dur ‘he doesn’t see’
  barmay dur ‘he doesn’t go’

Plur.
körmüä dur biz ‘we don’t see’
  barmay dur biz ‘we don’t go’

körmüä dur siz ‘you don’t see’
  barmay dur siz ‘you don’t go’

körmüä durlar ‘they don’t see’
  barmay durlar ‘they don’t go’

Yar hacridin saharlar aqa dur yasim manim; din yolida canga minnat gar barur basim manim. (ShD83r:8). ‘Separated from the friend I shed tears every morning. On the path of religion it is a grace for the soul if I lose my head.’

Har neçä qadrinq buland olsa ozungni past qil, zarra-i davlatqa gar könlüng tiläy dur i-tila. (BH16v:7-8) ‘No matter how high your station in life, humble yourself, if your heart desires to be raised [even] to a speck of happiness.’

Note: (1) The durative nature of the verb can be intensified by the adverb da’im or by adverbials of time. E.g.,

Erdam bir çasma durur kim da’im suyi taşıp kelä durur. (Sayf 139r:9) ‘Skill is like a source that gushes its water constantly.’

Ma’suq etä dur da’im köngülümi paranqanda. Bil amn va aman[nat]dari sarfitna-i gaviqä dur. (ShD58v:7) ‘The beloved makes my heart troubled all the time. Be aware that safety and trust are the very sources of trouble.’

Yigirmi yıl dur ki ol kisi vülay dur va hala közinig suyi qangä mubaddal bolup tur. (NM p.219) ‘It is twenty years that this person has been crying. Now his tears [<the water of his eyes] have turned into blood.’

Bu kün mihman sani qabzi qila dur, ‘aziz caninga ham panca sala dur!’ (H78r:4) Today our guest will seize you and snatch away your precious soul.’

(2) Removal of the dur element from the first and second persons of the singular decreases the durative aspect of this paradigm. The verb gets a broader application covering present and future actions. [Cf. Present-Future Tenses in Modern Literary Uzbek]. E.g.,

Bir qaṭla anga dedi ki bu iltirmi qila sen ve aḥir bu şahrdin sen meni içqarqung dur. (NM p.217) ‘Once he said: If you keep on doing these things, at the end you will surely chase me out of this town.’

Nä sorar sen bil ki mendin ayta men, ay dardmand. Günça seri baqmaqay men la’l-i handan barida. (ShD12v:12-13r:1). ‘Why do you ask me, O Suffering One, mark well what I am going to tell you: In the presence of her smiling lips I will not [even] look in the direction of the rose bud.’

E.g.,

Yamanliq qilgan erga ayguluk qil: qapar it aqzinla luqma ata dur. (Sayf43r:9) ‘Do good to the man who has harmed [you]. One should throw a morsel to the dog that bites.’

Neçä kim ol sa’a’adatsiz esittäs, anga sän etä dur pand u nasibat. (Sayf43r:9) ‘Even if that unfortunate one does not listen, you keep on giving him caution and good advice.’

Ekip zulm urluqun ḥayr istağıqlar cahannam otina özin yaga dur. (Sayf19r:12) ‘Those who sow the seeds of injustice and expect [to harvest] blessings will burn for a long time in the fire of hell.’

Aning üčün mu qila dur siz fiğän? (AC328r:2) ‘Is that why you are making this clamor?’

166 It is meant in the concrete sense, ‘If I die’. A curious coincidence: In the final battle against Shah Ismail (1510) Shaybani Khan’s head was cut off and sent to Sultan Bayazid of Turkey. His headless body is resting in the Shaybani mausoleum in Samarkand.
3.6.5.12.2. The Past Durative Tense
The past durative tense expresses lasting or repeated actions in the past often with the aspect of necessity, propriety, or habitude. It consist of the base of the durative present, positive or negative, followed by the definite past positive of the verb er-.

### Positive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körä dur erdim</td>
<td>körä dur erdük</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I usually saw'</td>
<td>'we usually saw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara dur erdim</td>
<td>bara dur erdük</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I usually went'</td>
<td>'we usually went'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körä dur erding</td>
<td>körä dur erdingiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you usually saw'</td>
<td>'you usually saw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara dur erding</td>
<td>bara dur erdingiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you usually went'</td>
<td>'you usually went'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körä dur erdi</td>
<td>körä dur erdilär</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he usually saw'</td>
<td>'they usually saw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara dur erdi</td>
<td>bara dur erdilär</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he usually went'</td>
<td>'they usually went'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Negative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körämä dur erdim</td>
<td>körämä dur erdük</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I usually did not see'</td>
<td>'we usually did not see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barmay dur erdim</td>
<td>barmay dur erdük</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I usually did not go'</td>
<td>'we usually did not go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körämä dur erding</td>
<td>körämä dur erdingiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you usually did not see'</td>
<td>'you usually did not see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barmay dur erding</td>
<td>barmay dur erdingiz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you usually did not go'</td>
<td>'you usually did not go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### E.g.,

Göristeda oturup elgin tizigâ urup bir nemä dey dur erdi. (NM p.106) *'[Majnum] was sitting in the graveyard and hitting his knee with his palm he kept repeating* something.'

3.6.5.13. The Perfect Tenses
The perfect tenses are based on the gerunds in -p or -y [rarely -map/-map and -mayin/-mayin] and retain the basic semantic characteristics of this form: The action is cut or comes to an end and is relevant to the present time. It is, however, not the material result that is emphasized but rather the accomplishment itself.

3.6.5.13.1. The Present Perfect Tenses
A typical representative of the perfect tenses is the present perfect tense. It expresses a past action the completion of which affected the present time.

It consists of the perfective gerund, positive or negative, followed by the theme particle -tur [~ turur] and the pronominal personal signs män, sän, biz, siz.

### Positive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körüp tur män</td>
<td>körüp tur biz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I have seen'</td>
<td>'we have seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barip tur män</td>
<td>barip tur biz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I have gone'</td>
<td>'we have gone'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körüp tur sän</td>
<td>körüp tur sız</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you have seen'</td>
<td>'you have seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barip tur sän</td>
<td>barip tur sız</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you have gone'</td>
<td>'you have gone'</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körüp turlar</td>
<td>körüp turlar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they have seen'</td>
<td>'they have seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barip turlar</td>
<td>barip turlar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'they have gone'</td>
<td>'they have gone'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Negative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körämä tur män</td>
<td>körämä tur biz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I have not seen'</td>
<td>'we have not seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barmay tur män</td>
<td>barmay tur biz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I have not gone'</td>
<td>'we have not gone'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körämä tur sän</td>
<td>körämä tur sız</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you have not seen'</td>
<td>'you have not seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barmay tur sän</td>
<td>barmay tur sız</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'you have not gone'</td>
<td>'you have not gone'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>körämä tur men</td>
<td>körämä tur sen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he has not seen'</td>
<td>'he has not seen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barmay tur men</td>
<td>barmay tur sen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he has not gone'</td>
<td>'he has not gone'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lit., saying
Plur.
körmäy tur biz 'we have not seen' barmay tur 'we have gone'
körmäy tur siz 'you have not seen' barmay tur 'you have gone'
körmäy turlar 'they have not seen' barmay turlar 'they have not gone'

E.g.,
Sabani ńusnunga āsiq bolup tur; Bu ńusung išqidin ńabar qıl. (ShD94v:11-12) 'Shabani has fallen in love w beauty. Let him know [more] about love for this beauty of y Meni sindurma kim ĝam sindurup tur, barip köngünlü tindurup tur. (DM244r:10) 'Do not break me, because son already crushed me. Going away from me, you pacified my Nasihat birlä ol kelmäs özşä, yüz evürmäy turup tur bir (DN245v:11) 'He does not recover his senses when given a of advice. He does pay heed to any of its [good] words.'
Kelip tur bäğda guldın ačilmaq, yaraşmas til tikan qılmaq. (DN246r:6) 'It has become appropriate for the open in the garden. It is not becoming[, however,] to mak tongue as sharp as the thor.'
Män bu ev ni'mati bilän bülänip turur men. (Sayf131ı) was raised by the grace of this house.'
Tavbani bu häłatda mi qılur sän kim girištär bolup halak nā tüşülp turur sän. (Sayf130v:1-2) 'Are you showing rep in this situation when you are a captive and gotten into a 1 danger for your life.'
Kim etlip tur ačiğ ağuni tiryak, tiläp tur köknär icindi; (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into an elixir was for heaven inside a poppy-head.'
Kim alip tur ağızga gok terin, bilip tur husn ara šakan; (DN257v:2) 'He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mouth appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by l Tiği mū dur közn hàlimğa ol yär, agaröy aŋya yot darkar. (DN252r:9) 'Has that friend kept staring at my spot although the dot has no use for the eye.'

Note: Sometimes the negative form is based on the rare negative in -map/-máp. E.g.,

Tušílp tur tä ešiking gardi közgä, körmäymp tur köźümä surma özşä. (DN257r:6). 'Since the dust at your threshold got into [my] eyes, nothing else is used as colliryum for my eyes.'

Note: Removal of the particle tur [~ turur] from the first and second persons of the paradigm deemphasizes the lasting or repetitive aspect of the verb. [Cf. the subjective past tense in Modern Literary Uzbek.]

Sing.
körüp män 'I have seen' barip män 'I have gone'
körüp sän 'you have seen' barip sän 'you have gone'
körüp tur 'he has seen' barip tur 'he has gone'

Plur.
körüp biz 'we have seen' barip biz 'we have gone'
körüp siz 'you have seen' barip siz 'you have gone'
körüp turlar 'they have seen' barip turlar 'they have gone'

Negative
Sing.
körmäy män 'I have not seen' barmay män 'I have not gone'
körmäy sän 'you have not seen' barmay sän 'you have not gone'
körmäy tur 'he has not seen' barmay tur 'he has not gone'

Plur.
körmäy biz 'we have not seen' barmay biz 'we have not gone'
körmäy siz 'you have not seen' barmay siz 'you have not gone'
körmäy turlar 'they have not seen' barmay turlar 'they have not gone'

E.g.,
Saybaniyä kirip men mardanavär yolğa, alip qifči elimgä Tengrim yolün ačar män. (ShD113r:3-4) 'O Shaybani, I have entered the road as brave people do. Taking a sword in my hands I clear the road of my God.'

108 Lit., does not turn his face to
109 The Arabic word for "eye" has no dot on the first character.
Sen unutup mahhabat pêşalarnî, saqînîp qandaği andêşalarnî. (DN257r:4) ‘You have forgotten the lovers,’ 171 thinking about concerns of old days.

Bârîp men ta tîsing fîkridâ ozdîn, salîp men sihr ara gavharnî közdîn. (DN257r:8) ‘In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that, as if being under a spell, I have had no eyes for [genuine] pearls.’

Tapîp men ta yûzungdîn can navasîn, çêgarîp men köngûldîn gûl havasîn. (DN257r:9) ‘Since through your face I have found the sound of life, I have removed from my heart the desire for the rose.’

Kim aning nûzuk nihîlîn qîldî közûm parvarsâs, köz yasmîdan suqarîp mân sarv-i hustân qayda dur. (ShD41v:6) ‘Where is the cypress of the garden the tender plant of which my eyes nurtured and that I watered with the tears of my eyes?’

Barîsî câma-yî métam käyîp tûr, rasûlu’lîlîh üçûn ûçûn ûçûmât åtip tûr. (HJ82v:2) ‘All of them were in mourning and paid homage to the Prophet.’

E.g.,

Kêmä ketîp tûrur edî. Yîgit kemêciğî çêgarîp ayttî. (Sayf100r:11) ‘The boat had left. The youth shouted to the boatsman.’

Ol yîgit mahhabat tângizînä âylä musţaqraq bolup tûrur edî. kim sêz unlûgî macalî yoq edî. (Sayf114v:5). ‘That youth had been engulfed so much in the sea of love that he had no ability to talk.’

Yigîtîk ayâmînda hâtîrem bîr kim ârsâ bîlân muta’a’llîq bolup tûrur edî. (Sayf117v:4) ‘In my young days my mind was occupied with someone.’

Tûfi bîlân gûrûnî bîr qafaşqa gûyup tûrurlar edî. (Sayf119v:1) ‘They had placed the parrot and the crow into one and the same cage.’

Note: Removal of the tûr element from the paradigm deemphasizes the lasting or repetitive aspect of the verb. E.g.,

Bîr kim ârsâ döstînî bir muddat kûrîmîn edî. Kûrîp ayttî: Qaydê sâm kim müstaq bolur bêz. (Sayf116r:1-2) ‘Someone had not seen his friend for a while. When they met [again] he said to him: Where have you been? We missed you.’ 172

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171 I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God]

172 Lit., Where are you? We desire [to see you].
### 3.6.5.14. The Present Continuous Tense

Verbal nouns in -maq/-mâk + dur serve to express continuous, long lasting actions. Only the 3d person singular is attested:

```
Subject + [V+ -maq/-mâk] + dur
```

E.g.,

```
Har sahar Barlas bilyâli birlâ yannmaq dur Şaban, ol parîvaš 'iš-qida ğum dana bolmay nedâyin? (ShD123r:10) 'Every morning Shaban keeps buming [enrolled] by the vision of the [Beloved from the] Barlas [tribe.] In love for that fairy-faced [beauty] the wine-jar is not the bait. There is nothing I can do.'
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### 3.6.5.15. The Inflection of the Defective Verbs

Two auxiliary verbs do not have a full set of inflectional forms. The existing forms are as follows:

#### 3.6.5.15.1. The auxiliary er- > e- 'to be'

The auxiliary er- > e- has one verbal noun: erkän, ekän ‘a being’ and one verbal adverb [gerund] ergâc, egâc ‘right after being, as soon as... is’

We find full paradigms in the aorist, the definite past, the indefinite past and the conditional.

#### 3.6.5.15.1.1. Present tense of the Aorist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>Plur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erûr mân</td>
<td>'I am'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erûr biz</td>
<td>'we are'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erûr sän</td>
<td>'you are'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erûr sîz</td>
<td>'you are'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erûr şîrî</td>
<td>'they are'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>erûr şîrîr</td>
<td>'they are'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

E.g.,

```
Bir yıl Basrada qaht tuştî. El istsiqâqa cülp erdîlar. (NMp.62). 'One year hunger occurred in Basra. People had set out for water.'
Dedi kim Tengridin tîlîn erdîn kim agar sening qaşîngda qur-bum bolsa, menî Tarsusda ol 'allimça eît. (NMp.67) 'He said I had asked from God, when I am in your closeness, take me to Tarsus, to that wise man.'
Atamning Bağdad bazarida bir dukkânî bar erdi. Men dukkân eşikidâ olturup erdim. Nâgah birâv ûtî. (NMp.68) 'My father had a store in the market place of Baghdad. I had been sitting at the door of the store. Suddenly somebody passed by.'
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**Lit., What can I do?**
3.6.5.15.2. The Auxiliary dur ‘to stand, stay, stop’

Only the contracted aorist [durur > dur] form is used in the sense of ‘to be’. It may interchange with tur, turur. It occurs mostly in the present tense:

Sing. | Plur.
---|---
**dur män** | ‘I am’ | **dur biz** | ‘we are’
**dur săn** | ‘you are’ | **dur siz** | ‘you are’
**dur** | ‘he is’ | **durlar** | ‘they are’

E.g.,

Dardí manga darmān dur cānim anaga hayrān dur, rāhat kāti-bān māndin muhtac-i alami\(^{74}\) dur mān. (ShD123v:3-4) ‘The pain she causes is an elixir for me. My soul admires her. My tranquility left me and I am in the need of suffering.’

For negation the forms emās mān etc. are used.

3.6.6. Verbal Nouns

Verbal nouns constitute one sizable group of the nominal forms of verbs. They name the action with or without its aspectual, phasal, or temporal characteristics but carry no endings of verbal inflection.

3.6.6.1. Verbal Nouns in -ma/-mā

The suffix -ma/-mā forms abstract nouns which in context occur mostly as concrete nouns or adjectives. They are limited in number.

- **isitmā** ‘fever’
- **egmā** ‘bent’
- **yāmā** ‘food’
- **asma** ‘suspended’
- **tāgmā** ‘all’
- **ōrmā** ‘braid’
- **qarišma** ‘hostility’
- **qavurma** ‘fried meat’
- **cākmā** ‘riding boots’
- **toğma** ‘birth’

---

\(^{74}\) In the Arabic orthography alām ‘pain’ consists of an alif [symbol for the Beloved’s straight figure and unique character], ĥam [symbol for the Beloved’s hair curled up at the ends in the shape of a ĥam] and māni [symbol for the Beloved’s mouth]. In essence this is what the Lover is in the need of.
3.6.6.2. Verbal Nouns in -maq/-mäk
The suffix -maq/-mäk forms action nouns which serve also as one of the
infinitives. E.g.,

- Kelip badnamliq tablina čalmaq özini teglä salmaq.
  (DN239v:10) 'He comes to sound the drum of disrepute, making
  himself to be the talk on everybody's tongue.'

- Čavända dedi ol qaši hâclib, kim "Anda parda ačmaq bar mu-
  näsib. (DN258v:8) 'In answer said that [intimate friend] whose
  eyebrow is the chamberlain: "It is now appropriate to open the
  curtain.'"

- Gahe šaq ilä šaftaluni užmäk, gahe ābinä när üstina užmäk.
  (DN269v:10) 'Now picking peaches with delight, now arranging
  quinces on the top of pomegranates.'

- Hwaš ermäs cavnini haddin ašurmaq, kelip og atmaq va yanı
  yašurmaq. (DN244r:11) 'It is not proper to increase cruelty beyond
  measures, to come forth, shoot the arrow and then throw the bow.'

- Tašarruf kücüdün sözni uzatmaq, bir og yolida üzm ling qatla
  atmaq. (DN271r:8) 'By the force of poetic licence to stretch out the
  words, in the path of one arrow to shoot a thousand thousand
  times.'

- Köngül taštuna andin songra ašti, ki olurmäk anga anda yaraš-
  tı. (DN269r:2) 'After that she ascended the throne of the heart
  because it was appropriate for her to sit there.'

3.6.6.2.1. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-mäk in Oblique Case Forms
3.6.6.2.1.1. In the Dative Case

- Yüzüng häli salip ot ičrä filfil, fusün qilmaqqa ačip labarining til.
  (DN244r:3) 'The mole of your face sprinkles pepper upon the fire
  and your lips open the tongue to perform an incantation.'

- Ayağışa qoyuban bašini qand, labingdin suyi bir sormaqqa
  hursand. (DN256r:10) 'The sugar places its head upon your feet
  [in submission] glad to request water from your lips.'

- Saläm etmäkka kon egildi qašim, ayağışa yûgürüp tûstl yašim.
  (DN256v:11) 'When my eyebrow arched to say peace, my tears
  dropped to the ground and rolled to her feet.'

3.6.6.2.2. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-mäk with Postpositions

- Bu tirliging vemäk učin dâgül durur yalçuz. (Sayf 84r:3) '[The
  objective of] your life is not that you eat [and do nothing else].'

- Yumäq bilän kitär mi lavi qara kümürdän. (Sayf15r:7) 'Does
  washing eliminate the color of the coal?'

- Cu körgüzdü köngül razin biligi, bitimäk saridin tindü eligi.
  (DN 265r:9) 'When her heart disclosed the secret of her heart, her
  hand stopped writing the letter.'

3.6.6.2.3. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-mäk with Possessive Suffixes

- Bayqus kulatgüsünä kiši kelmaq muhäl. (Sayf12r:7) 'No one
  ever would come under the shadow of the owl [to seek the good
  fortune of becoming a king].'

- Ya kirisändän dâgül ol etmäki. (Sayf37r:10) 'The force of the
  arrow piercing the target' is not from the string of the bow.'

- Köngül teğ haštalli maçmu'-i sâfi, sağa körmaq bar erdi kâfi.
  (DN255r:8) 'The characters of her letter were, like [her] heart,
  collected and serene. It was enough for the reader to contemplate
  over [this] serenity.'

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176 Lit: Can you wash off the color of the coal?
177 The Turkish phrase implies that the arrow passes through [där-] a ring displayed as the target.
Meni sen şam' teg küydürmäging ne? Cafa va cavr etakin türmäking ne? (DN257v:3) 'What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?'

Hamesa sayea teg küngä mülazim, bolup erişmäki boyınna láizim. (DN258v:1) 'She is always in the need of the sun, like a shadow. It is necessary that it reaches her shoulders [all the time].'

Du‘ā yanglä ani boynina lídim, aning yetkürmäligi boyınna qil-dim. (DN249v:7) 'I hung it around his neck as a good-bye blessing. I made it his obligation to take it to its destination.'

Bevafa dunyada cavlan qilmaqing näh dur sāning, bil cuđä bolur chinda mürğ-i candin usbu tan. (ShD119v:3-4) 'What is this paradoxing of yours in this unfaithful world good for know? That is in this world life, like a bird, will depart from this body.'

3.6.6.3. Verbal Nouns in -maqliq-’mälik

The suffix -maqliq-’mälik forms verbal nouns that name the action in its concrete realization associating it with an unnamed agent. E.g., kemäk ‘a coming’ [unrelated until specified], kemälikili ‘someone’s coming’ [related without specification]. It also serves as the second infinitive. E.g.,

Aqiqing arüzü qildi baģır qan, seni sevmaqlik āsan ērmaz, Ay Čan. (LN268) 'The desire for your ruby lips made the liver bleed. It is not easy to be in love with you.'

Yäşi bolmaqliq yahşiraq turur. (KBV10v:2) 'It is better, if it is flat.'

Tlæsänq ani bilmäliklik (KBV12v:5) 'If you want to know it...'

Ölüş bašína tepmälik häwa ērmaz, savuq su yüzilgä sepmäk häwa ērmas. (DN246v:5) 'It is of no avail to kick the head of a dead person [to see whether he is alive]. It is of no avail to sprinkle water in his face.'

Dost tutmaqliq ilä, Ay Dänä, dostning yädini tutmaqliq ara. (RB9r:2) '[There is no difference] between [the following phrases]:

To love the Friend, O Learned One, and to recollect the Friend.'

3.6.6.4. Verbal Nouns in -maqda/-mäkdä

The suffix -maqda/-mäkdä names an action that is in progress. It is rare. E.g.,

Men emdi bast a va qam artmaqda biyalgä allida can tartmaq-da. (DN257r:3) 'Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing, facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.'

Note: It is used as base of the Progressive Mood [3.6.5.8]. In this usage it is very frequent in modern literary Uzbek.

3.6.6.5. Verbal Nouns in -r

Verbal nouns in -r name the action with no aspectual or temporal implications. They display the activity itself irrespective of the time and circumstances in which it takes place. In context they occur either as action nouns [verbal nouns proper] or agent nouns [leaning toward participles].


178 The bird suddenly and unexpectedly taking off is often used as a symbol for the departing soul. Cf., MM Vucudung diraht teg, bu câning qus ol; Uṣal turaqgïl kim bu nåğıh učar. (179v:1) 'Your body is like a tree and your soul, like a bird. Do not be heedless of God for that bird takes flight unexpectedly.'

179 The phrase is equal to ‘made the heart suffer’. Kōngil or qalb cannot be used for this expression because of their explicit suti content.

180 Because the Beloved does not heed the prayer yasir la tu laśir ‘make it easy, do not make it difficult’

181 For signs to indicate whether a wounded animal is alive or not see MM191r:9.

182 Reference to the Sufi tenet according to which the believer must empty his heart entirely from other than God so that he be able to fill it with God. Cf., Islam, Siva ilâk sœzidin köngül hâli qil, mirâlülh nûrîdîn tolu bülü sâm. (MM196v:2) 'Empt your heart of all but God, so that His light may fill it.'

183 Lit., 'prostrating in your presence the ground with the left or right cheek. Not with the forehead because you use your forehead only when you perform the sadcq to God.'

Note the variants: turur ~ turur ‘standing’.

3.6.6.5.1. Action Nouns
A great part of the verbal nouns in -r are action nouns. They are very rare in bare form. Most of the time they carry possessive suffixes or case endings or both. E.g.,

Burnung ağızığa min cami' vacūh sol eligdā su alurung mak-rūh. (MS5v:4) ‘It is reprehensible for you to use your left hand in any way while you are taking up water into your nose and mouth.’

Ay dost seni sevgāli özgā sevārīm yoq. Tengrim haqqi kim sevgāli sendin guzarim yoq. (ShD183v:4) ‘O, Friend, since I am in love with you, I have no other beloved. I swear by Your God, since I am in love, I cannot walk away from you.’

3.6.6.5.1. Action Nouns in -r in Oblique Case Forms
Action nouns in -r are more frequently used in oblique case forms, such as the dative, the locative, and the accusative.

3.6.6.5.1.1. Action Nouns in -r in the Dative Case
Kişi könglin viqargâ 'adatim yoq. (Sayf82r:12) ‘It is not a habit of mine to destroy people’s heart.’

Aytayın mān ay yigilår ušbu sërribni tingliŋiz: Sarvar olurğa la'iq yer cah-ı Türkistan emiš. (ShD69r:10) ‘I should say, young men, listen to this secret: To be an emperor, the proper place is the throne of Turkistan.’

Kirisim söz bezergâ häma teg furd, išimdi sarzanıšitin bolma-yın kund. (DN243r:9) ‘I set myself to [choose] decorate words fast like the pen does, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.’

3.6.6.5.1.2. Action nouns in -r in the Locative case

Olturup yargu yararda qil yarar. (Sayf7r:4) ‘He is most accurate when he sits down to render judgments.’

Bil ki oqurda du'ā wa Qur’an cidd u cahd ayılğa sen kim ol ān. (RB3r:11) ‘Know that whenever you pronounce a prayer or recite from He Qur’an you should do so with great devotion.’

Çu aldī nāmāni elīn uzatīp, alurda musk ara şándalı qatip. (DN251v:9) ‘When she took the letter reaching for it with her hands she added sandal fragrant to the scent of musk.’

Nazār qilurda körünmās bu dud-i ahimān, fiğan va āhim laā toldi gunbad-i aflak. (ShD89v:7-8) ‘When I behold her, she does not show from the smoke of my sighs. The dome of the sky is filled with my woes and sighs.’

Salīp tur ot canima ol cahān-i ātaşnak nā ġam dur emdi yuzini körārdā bolsa halak. (ShD89v:1-2) ‘That blazing world has cast fire upon my soul. What does it matter now, since it perishes [anyway] while viewing your face.’

3.6.6.5.1.3. Action Nouns in -r in the Accusative Case
Hırmān keltürngni ta esittim, özümün şahr dem bhewāst yettim. (DN263r:8) ‘When I heard your elegant walk I was lost like my patience.’

3.6.6.5.2. Agent nouns
Agent nouns mostly occur as adjectives. In this function they are close to participles. E.g.,

Yamaniq qilgan ergā aygülük qil! Qapar it ağızğa luqmama ata dur. (Sayf43v:9) ‘Do good to the person who treats you badly. People throw a morsel into the mouth of a biting dog.’

Adami könglin viqar söz sızlāmā. (Sayf163v:1) ‘Do not [ever] say words that hurts’ people’s hearts.’

Arangizda ‘acam tilin bižur kiši bar mi? (Sayf132r:8) ‘Is there anyone among you who knows Persian?’

Yetmiş yaqar bir qari er qiz oğlan evländi. (Sayf133r:7) ‘A seventy year old man married a young girl.’

Dahlī qagar su turur daqği ‘ayş yurur tārgirmən. (Sayf142r:10) ‘Income is like running water and good life is like a turning mill.’

184 The original is slightly different. The expression is based on guzar ‘ford, shallows’ and love is conceived as a vast bottomless sea. There is no shallows in the sea for me to walk away from the Beloved.

185 T. qil yarar: lit., ‘to split hairs’ > to be accurate’
186 Cf. sandal 1. ‘sandal wood’ > yellow color, like henna used to paint ladies’ hands; 2. ‘sandal fragrance’
187 Cf. mutl 1. ‘black’ > writing of the letter; 2. ‘musk fragrance’ added to the letter.
188 Lit., ‘destroy’
Aya muțrib, bu maclisda ününğ tingśär kişi yoq tur. (Sayf61r:4) ‘O, Singer, in this company there is no one to listen to your voice.’

Qačan kim ‘alim er ‘ilimin haľa’eqqa yürüp sattı, ol er naqdı ini birlän yanar otqa bilip attı. (Sayf161r:5) ‘When a learned man goes to the people to sell his wisdom, with his hand he knowingly tosses his cash into the flaming fire.’

Tangridän özga siγın verim qalmadı. (Sayf33v:8) ‘Except God no other place of refuge has been left for me.’

Oqur haşlatada mimî köğüzüp sin sevünüp bętaqalluq qildi taşın. (DN264r:11) ‘As she was engaged in reading [the letter] her mim-shape mouth displayed a sin’; she was happy and frankly expressed her approval.’

3.6.6.5.3. Agent Nouns in -r in Passive Use

Parĕşan kölgilgä aşırı190 sevăr cân, sirisiki kahrubúa üstini mar cân. (DN259r:10) ‘The precious life is heavy for his heart. His tear drops are like coral beads upon [his] amber-[colored face].’

Aşiğup qildi atlanur yarağın, zamanı cićva berdi huvn bäğin. (DN265r:2) ‘In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she showed off the beauty of the garden.’

Tangridän özga siγın verim qalmadı. (Sayf33v:8) ‘Except for God, I have no other place of refuge left.’

Note: In the verbal inflection, see above [3.6.5.6.], it is used as the theme of the aorist

3.6.6.6. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs

Verbal nouns in -mas/-mäs [rarely also -maz/-mază] name the action that does not take place, with no aspectual or temporal implications. In context they occur either as action nouns [verbal nouns proper] or agent nouns [leaning toward participles].

3.6.6.6.1. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs Used as Action Nouns

They occur only with case ending or possessive suffixes or with both. E.g.

May iç paymana tолmasdıng burunraq, bu sudın ur birad közinä topraq. (DN233v:5) ‘Drink wine before the measure is filled.’

From this water throw dust into the eyes of reason.’

Icmesimnî con bilültär edi, taklıf qilmadılar. (Babur 187r:13) ‘Since they knew about my not drinking wine, they did not offer me any.’

Bilmäşimdîn yardin asru bolup tur män194 yıraq. Vah nâ türlüğ qilgisi dur ušbu dard ilâ firaq. (ShD76r:11-12) ‘Because of my ignorance I am far away from my beloved. O, what will separation do with this pain.’

3.6.6.6.2. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs Used as Agent Nouns

Agent nouns in -mas/-mäs occur mostly in adjectival use as modifiers to a noun. With this quality this verbal noun is very close to participles. E.g.

Elig elgä urup aytqay caza dur ögüt almaz kişigä böylä miňhat. (Sayf143r:13) ‘Clapping his hands he would say: Such misery is a right punishment for a person who does not take a good [piece of] advice.’

Ol yazuqli sultanga sökti, yaramas sözler sözlädî. (Sayf9r:11) ‘That convicted person, using indecent words, abused the Sultan.’

Kunea anča büyüklü bir birlän bir ayaça bulut körünmäsät er. (Sayf174v:1) ‘The sun with that great size can be covered by a cloud of the size of one’s palm.’

Ardäm arning davlatı dur, bil yaqin, kim tükänmäs mäl erur matlablayın. (Sayf140r:6) ‘Valor is the riches of a man, know full well! It is an inexhaustible wealth, like the treasure people are in search of.’

Köngül bermä köngül bermäs käşiğä. (Sayf78r:8) ‘Do not confide in a person who does not confide in you.’

3.6.6.7. Verbal Nouns in -miš/-miş

A verbal noun in -miš/-miş indicates an action not directly known [witnessed or experienced] by the speaker who realizes its occurrence by information provided by others or by his own judgment on the basis of its result, factual context, or attending circumstances. As action nouns they are rare. They occur more frequently as adjectives and in this function they share the characteristics of participles.

3.6.6.7.1. Verbal Nouns in -miš/-miş Used as Action Nouns

Ammä mutana ‘tım edi, kölgäda bəşlämmäs, cihan körmägan... (Sayf148v:10) ‘But he was living in pleasure, raised in the shade, did not travel about in this world...’

193 Present Perfect Tense [see 3.6.5.13.1.] The situation described is the result of a past action.
Verbal Nouns in -miş/-miş Used as Agent Nouns

They have a passive or medial meaning and mostly occur together with their specified subject: susa- ‘to be thirsty’ > susamış ‘he who has been thirsty’ > susamış er ‘a thirsty person.’ E.g.,

Ağır işık sınımaşı er iya ber kim arslanını tutup keltürgay ol er. (Sayf140v:10) ‘To handle a difficult matter send an experienced person who is able catch the lion and bring it in.’

Yetsä tatlı suğa susamış er, qorqmas allinda bolsa aşdarhā. (Sayf 48r:13) ‘When a thirsty man comes to [a source of] sweet water, he has no fear, even if there is a dragon facing him.’

Áylá saqindim kim qurmuş buğday turur. (Sayf89v:5) ‘I thought it was fried wheat.’

Aç yarlı tapip bişi şalğam sisliamış qaz eti bigin haziş yer. (Sayf 90v:9) ‘When a poor hungry man comes upon some cooked turnip, he eats it as if it was a goose roasted on the spit.’

Note: In the verbal inflection it is used as basis for indirect past tenses [see 3.6.5.5.5.].

Verbal Nouns in -ş

Verbal nouns in -ş which in modern literary Uzbek appear now as the second infinitives, name individual actions in their concrete realization. Cf., baqmaq ‘a looking’, baqış ‘the looking by someone, a glance.’ Most verbal nouns in -ş are concrete nouns in quite frequent use. Others serve as action nouns. There are no examples for their use as agent nouns or participles.

The suffix -ş is added to light positive stems. Heavy stems with unrounded vowels take -iş/-iş, those with rounded vowels, -uş/-uş. Below is a list of most common verbal nouns belonging to this group:

aytüş ‘saying’ (ShD103r:2)
baqış ‘glance’ (Sayf127r:11)
barsiş ‘going’ (ShD102v:3)
bitiş ‘growth’ (Sayf14v:7)
kaliş ‘coming’ (ShD102v:7)
külüşiş ‘smiling’ (Sayf120v:9)
ohsüş ‘resembling’ (RM27r:10)
otrüş ‘sitting position [in the prayer]’ (MM185r:5a)
opüş ‘kiss’ (Sayf129r:6)
qaliş ‘remaining’ (ShD102v:13)
saqış ‘thought’ (Sayf73v:1)
tarsiş ‘writing’ [<sowing] (DN 229r:1)
tolğaş ‘a being curly’ (GD186,5)
uruş ‘fight’ (Sayf88v:5)
yağışiş ‘rain’ (NTM7v:6)
yaniş ‘burning’ (ShD102v:13)

E.g.,

Öfka bilän ol qiya baqışın körünüz. (Sayf127r:11) ‘Behold that black look of anger from the corner of his eye.’

Köngülğa ba saqış kelür kim ärtä oğul qiz turup ne yeğay. (Sayf73v:1) ‘This thought comes to mind: What will the children eat when they get up in the morning?’

Ol qamar yüziş şakar sözli adastro bir opüşkän can alıp minnat qilur. (Sayf129r:6) ‘That moon-faced sweet-spoken friend takes your life for a kiss and holds you indebted for this favor.’

Yibarip Muştarini ilda isığa, tüzüf Tupri baš tarsişa (DN 229r:1) ‘He assigns Jupiter to the sciences. He commissions Mercury to writing.’

Zahiding sözî blâ tüz töği yoldin čiqmasam, bar durur mayhâna yolunda kališim barışım. (ShD102v:6-7) ‘Although I do not leave the right straight path following the words of your ascetic, I have my comings and goings on the road leading to the tavern.’

Har qaçan keldi bilyalı şadman oldi köngül, yoq turur cana çafaşı birla köngül qališim. (ShD102v:12-13) ‘Whenever her vision appeared the heart became joyful. I was never disappointed by the cruelty of the beloved.’

Verbal Nouns in -ğı/-gü

Verbal nouns in -ğu/-gü express actions with modal [necessitative or imperative] and temporal [immediate future] characteristics. E.g.,

Tavakkul dali Haqq čınuq bilmığa, inanmaq qiyamät taqı ölçüga. (MM179r:9) ‘Selfsurrender to God is a proof that you truly know God, that you [truly] believe in Resurrection and Death.’

(1) The necessitative aspect in predication can be emphasized by the particle kerak. E.g.,
Muvahhid bu nafsning bašin kāsgūgā qahûrîng qiličin biłagū kérâk. (MM182r:17) 'The Believer in the Oneness of God must sharpen the sword of wrath in order to behead his Carnal Soul.'

Ne kim ol aydi ani qilgū kárâk. Ta'atini boynûna alglô kárâk. (MS2r:2) 'One must do whatever He has commanded. One must [willingly] take upon one's neck [the yoke of] obedience to Him.'

Note: Verbal nouns in -ğû/-gü are used as bases of the Categorical Future Tense [3.6.5.11.1.], E.g.,

Ki davlat kelegûsî dur, bolma gafl, sa'âdat birlâ tüzgûng dur maহafîl. (DN260v:5) 'Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: brighten up the meeting place with the felicity of paradise.'

Laškar-i ʿislâmî ĝâksam qizîl bôrk üstînâ, bolgûsi yavar Madina kâşvaridin sol ʿHâbib. (ShD15r:11) 'When I lead the forces of Islam upon the red hats, the Friend from the land of Madina will surely be my helper.'

3.6.6.10. Verbal Nouns in -ğûči/-güči

Verbal Nouns in -ğûči/-güči are agent nouns expressing a subject's profession, favorite or characteristic activity and moral quality suggested by his actions. E.g.,

Gazak berdi manga ağzi labidin, dam urdi içgüçlär maşrabidin. (DN269v:8) 'He gave me some relish from the lips of his mouth. It betrayed [the taste of] the drink of the consumer.'

Tiläsâng âyû âting mûngû qalâgây, ayaqdan tûskân elin tutuçû bol. (Sayf172v:6) 'If you want that your name survive for ever, take the hand of those who have fallen.'

könüllär âzâr qilgûçî [for Persian mardum âzâr] (Sayf141r:4) 'a rude insulting person'

Ayâ oq atuçû yaštî saqışlap ilk andan at. (Sayf169v:7) 'Hark ye, Archer! Think well first and than release your arrow.'

Ki, bir nargisâ ol köz salgûcî dur, til susan bigin söz salgûcî dur. (DN254r:4) '[People who understood my situation said to me:] He laid his eyes on a narcissus and [since then] his tongue speaks like a lily.'

Ki kim dur bu raqâmga nuktâpârdâzâ, mahbubat kîyîdin qilgûçî parvaz? (DN239v:3) 'She said, “Who is the one who showered witty points in this letter” taking to wings from the lane of love?"

Özini küč bilân bérçûcî qamğa, yasanîp ötrü bérçûcî alamâgâ. (DN239v:4) 'By force he gives himself over to sadness and is prepared to walk into the face of affliction.'

Mașaqat elinâ salgûcî qanîn, ozî oz boynûna qilgûcî qanîn. (DN239v:5) 'He willfully gives over his soul to troubles. He takes upon himself his own execution.'

Sevâr sevgûcînî har kim ki bolsa, sözî har neçâ kim 'alamga tolsa. (DN248r:3) 'To the loving lover, whoever he may be, however much his [ill] repute may have spread over this world...'

Içgüçî rîndlar bilâ ič bâda tîr-i mah. Hargiz yuvansunus şûfûlar bu diyarînî. (ShD159r:7) 'Drinker, drink wine with the rogues in the month of June. Never ever should the sufi come [even] close to my district.'

3.6.6.11. Verbal Nouns in -ğûdek/-güdek

Verbal Nouns in -ğûdek/-güdek express actions which are on the point of being carried out or which look like or are as if taking place. E.g.,

Sînîgûdek dur arar-i aľa usbu küm, ingûdek dur čarb-i ğâbrâ usbu küm. (BN88r:4) 'This very day the Supreme Throne is on the point of tumbling down, this very day the dust colored sky is about caving in.'

Buzgûdek har biri bir laškârni, alğûdek har biri bir kâşvarînî. (ShV4mb94,21) 'Every one of them was ready to destroy an army [alone], every one of them was ready to take a country [alone].'

3.6.6.12. Verbal Nouns in -ğûlûq/-gülük

This rather rare form of verbal nouns refers to things that are meant, or destined for some purpose or are doomed to be the object of an action. It occurs alone as a concrete noun or as an adjective either in predicative function or as modifier to a noun. E.g.,

Tûngâ tegin ta'âm va suhbat edî, vegülükârça zib u zinat edî. (PdC556) 'Until nightfall there was food and intimate conversation. The dishes 196 were beautiful and decorated.'

Va har yil ƚîtiyac ahlîga kevülûk yetkârgâylar. (PdC487) 'And every year they should send some clothes 197 to those in need.'

Şabû u qarâr u hošîni almagûlgâ ne dur? Aya canlar afatî sanga cânim dur alğûlûq. (PdC32) 'Why do you deprive me of patience, rest, and intelligence? O, Disaster of Souls, my soul is here for you to take.'

196 Lit., things to eat
197 Lit., things to wear
Gar men öltürğülük men, öltürgil. (Babur, Eekm.Gr. p.137) 'If I am doomed to death, kill me.'

3.6.6.13. Verbal Nouns in -ğusı/-gusız
These verbal nouns express actions that are, for reasons unknown, not possible to carry out. They are adjectives and occur mostly in predicative function.

E.g.,
Sanga sänliking, bil, hicab kâçğusız; kitâr bolsa sän mân bolur sâçğusız. (MM197r:5) 'Know that youness is your impenetrable veil. When it is eliminated, there is no longer any distinguishing between “me” and “you”.'
Safar häcat ermsân ök sän hîcîb, qamuğ manzîl ušbu, vale kcząğusız. (MM197r:6) 'There is no need to travel, your youness itself is the veil. All the stations are right here, there is no need to set off [for other parts].'

3.6.7. Gerunds
Gerunds are verbal adverbs that play a very important role in Chaghatay linguistic expression. They may indicate status, aspect, tense, mood and relationship to other actions.

3.6.7.1. Gerund in -p
The suffix -p is added directly to light stems and through a closed connective vowel [i, i, û, u] to heavy stems:
asrâp 'protecting, fostering, preserving' < asra- 'to protect'
tilâp 'wishing, asking for' < tilâ- 'to ask for'
dep 'saying' < de- 'to say'
âqîr 'hurting' < âqri- 'to hurt'
âylâp 'going around' < âylâ- 'to go around'
salîp 'putting, casting' < sal- 'to put'
açîp 'opening' < âç- 'to open'
yasunîp 'hiding' < yasun- 'to hide' [intransitive]
körîp 'beholding' < kör- 'to see, behold'
qacîp 'escaping' < qac- 'to escape, flee'
körsatîp 'showing' < körsat- 'to demonstrate'
berîp 'giving' < ber- 'to give'
tutup 'holding' < tut- 'to hold'

Note: The suffix -p is added generally to positive stems. With negative stems it occurs rarely: turmap (Babur105v:8) 'not able to resist'

Gerunds in -p indicate that an action ceased, came to an end, or was interrupted or completed at a point of time established by adverbs, other actions or by a broader context. They occur in adverbial, copulative, or predicative functions.

3.6.7.1.1. Gerund in -p in Adverbial Function
The gerund in -p is quite common in adverbial function. The action it expresses either occurs parallel with another action [mostly by the same agent] or stops before the other action begins. E.g.,
Çu aldî nâmâni eîn uzâtîp, alurda musk ara sandalîn qaîtîp. (DN251v:9) 'When she took the letter reaching for it with her hands she added sandal fragrance to the scent of musk.'
Barqâ defîdî Negâ çäkîng ahîn, tarâ âylâp aštâb mahnîn? (BN 86v:6) '[God] said to Barq: Why did you sigh, fogging [with your breath] the sun and the moon?'
Yuqarîdin inîp yamğur tüsîr pak, ki tâ andîn tîrîlîr bûr hâsak. (DN258v:11) 'Descending from above the rain falls evenly so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.'
Bir vaqt tûz yazida yol ta şetîp azuqum tükânîn yûrûr edîm. (Sayf 89v:3) 'Once I was walking in the plain desert: I lost my way and my provisions were exhausted.'
İzdan nâmâ tapmadî. (Sayf50v:10) 'He was searching but he did not find anything.'
Qalamça su berîp açîm tilini, anga âsân qilik söz musîklîn. (DN255v:11) 'I put water into the pen and opened its tongue. I made the difficult task of composition easy for him.'

3.6.7.1.2. Gerund in -p in Copulative Function
Çîqavîn yer îçidîn nala yangliq, kafânîq qança bulçâp falu yangliq. (DN244v:11) 'Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry and shroud the shroud with blood [red] like tulip.'
Yûzûm ıwarsîdîn hayrán yûrûr mi? Bûlîp bir zerîa sargar-dan yûrûr mi? (DN252r:8) 'Doesn't he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn't he move perplexed?'
Baştîn keçîp qara qan îçîp qan yaşîm sâçîp: tapman kôngul tilâgini va-hâsrata kôngul. (Sayf182) 'I give up my head, I drink

200 Cf. sandal 1. 'sandal wood' > yellow color, like henna used to paint ladies' hands; 2. 'sandal fragrance'
201 Cf. musk 1. 'black' > writing of the letter; 2. 'musk fragrance' added to the letter.
202 Cf. the Arabic invocation âlîh yasîr va lâ tu'tassîr 'Lord make it easy for me, do not make it difficult.
black blood, and I shed blood-color tears. Alas, O Heart, I do [still] not find the desire of my heart'.

Yatip eldin ötup sahra yeli teg yürip köz yaşida daryâ eli teg. (DN253v:3) 'He comes and passes about like people like the desert wind. He wades in tears like maritime creatures.'

Ravan qildi falak çon cam-i Camised, açiqlanip qizarip qizitli hwarised. (DN242r:11) 'When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshid, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.'

Yaşunup gul yüzungidin baglarda, qeçip fala çiqihan taglarda. (DN243v:9) 'The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.'

Korit har dam qara bahtimi tun teg, köngülün tartip ahini tütüni teg. (DN247v:1) 'He always perceives his black fortune as [the darkness of] the night. He lets out sighs, like smoke, from his heart.'

Barip 'arab qabilasinda istap tapup alip keldilar. (Sayf 126r:11) 'They set out, searched the Bedouin tribes, found her and took her [to the Sultan’s] presence.'

3.6.7.2. Gerund in-ban/-bân

Formally this gerund is the expansion of the gerund in -p. In its use, however, there are significant restrictions that make it different from the gerunds in -p. First, it is a morphologically closed element: It cannot be followed by auxiliaries or personal markers, pronominal or possessive. Second, because of these qualities it cannot be part of an inflectional paradigm. Thirdly, it cannot be employed as head of a structure of modification. It preserved, however, most of its verbal privileges: It can have a subject, direct or indirect objects and other complements consisting of case forms of nouns postpositional phrases. In the sentence it occurs mostly as a nongradable adverb. Coordinated with other verbs it may have copulative function.

3.6.7.2.1. Gerund in-ban/-bân in Adverbial Function

Dedi, Ay Süzi Rangînlârga Artang, qalambin körgizübân sihr va nayrang. (DN270v:10) 'He said, O Mani [the painter] among those whose words are colorful, 205 who produces magic and sycorcy with the pen.'

Şaba elini ötüm golyûban baş, anqa iblas nûrin etibân faş. (DN 249v:11) 'I kissed the hand of the Morning Breeze bowing my head and showing her the light of perfect sincerity.'

Men ol gul men ki bargim yerdâ qalmas, vali bir yel kelibân elta almas. (DN240v:9) 'I am the rose whose petals don’t stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot sweep them away.'

Yaşunup gul yüzungidin baglarda, qeçip fala çiqihan taglarda. (DN243v:9) 'The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.'

Gah söz aytip irdadin astitip, viðlaban har lahza özidin ketip. (BN85r:11) 'Sometimes he said words that he had heard from God, crying he lost his senses every moment.'

Ki mân ummat debân keçtim atadin. (H74v:9) 'Having chosen the community I gave up my father.'

Ozup keçti aşıqan ašlı erini yoryûban bir kisi arqun tun va kün. (Sayf167r:2) 'A person walking slowly night and day caught up with and passed by the hasty horseman.'

Naşar saldi saliban söz araga, netik kim köz berür nûrin qara- gag. (DN264r:10) 'She cast a glance [at the letter] and then became immersed in reading the text as her eyes averted its light to [dispel] the darkness [of the ink].'

Note: Gerunds in -p serve as bases of the Perfect Tense [3.6.5.13.].

Meni sindurma kim gân sindurup tur, barip köngülün mendin tindurup tur. (DN244r:10) 'Do not break me, because sorrow has already done so. Going away from me you pacified my heart.'

205 I.e., who paint with their words
206 I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.
207 Intensity is expressed by showing a point-action verb in repetition.
3.6.7.2.2. Gerund in -ban/-bān in Copulative Function

Avcı qobīban kǎyıkłar avlar væxtn arslan körubān tutup terisn yírtar. (Sayf105r:7) 'The hunter goes out in the season of hunting deer. A lion spots him, grabs him, and tears his skin into shreds.'

Kečā qoy ʰaɭqina qoydi biçağin, tǐladi kim qoypabān alsə yاغin. (Sayf69r:2-3) 'At night he put his knife to the sheep’s throat and wanted to slaughter him and take his fat [tail].'

Yüzni yuban, elidə su quylgıl. Başqa mash tartiban, ayağını yüyl. (MS4v:3) 'Having washed your face pour water over your hand [and wash them]. Having wiped your head [with moistened hands] wash your feet.'

Közümning kirlükı boldi guharpās, qalama teg har hafıza qoypabān bəš. (DN25v:1) 'The eyelashes of my eyes were shedding gems. Like the pen I bowed to each of her characters.'

Gəmindaŋ gar desə içimdəki dağ, bulut teg yiğləgəy ün tartiban dağ. (DN25v:10) 'If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'

Bu Şabandi bu tayalıf belərlərini qaylaban zulm u cavrin kötaribān elğə dəd ayładük. (ShD82v:1-2) 'We, Shabandi, routed the chiefs of these tribes. We have restored justice to the people [of this town] by rooting out injustice and oppression.'

3.6.7.2.3. Gerund in -ban/-bān in Predicative Function

Qobīban muskni ol 'anbarin meng, cihān içrə qara tofraq bilan teng. (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris-scented beauty spot reduced [the value of] musk to [the level of] common clay' in the [entire] world.'

Başina qoypabān hudhud bigin təç, saraf içrə alip Simurğ滨 bəc. (DN267v:5) 'He put a crown upon his head like a hoopoe; in dignity he levied a tax on Simurgh.'

Yüzüm birlän saçımmi etbən yəd, boluban keçələrdə aydın şad. (DN253r:9) 'He talks about my face and my hair; at nights he associates with the moon.'

3.6.7.2.4. Gerund in -ban/-bān in Idioms

The gerund in -ban/-bān occurs in a few idioms. E.g., ne debān 'by what right?':

Ne debān men ani közdin səlayn, köngül aldım, barıp ham cən səlayin. (DN246r:3) 'By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?'

3.6.7.3. Gerund in -a/-ä

Gerunds in -a/-ä indicate actions that are not completed. These actions are either going on uninterrupted, or are being repeated without a time limit. The time of their occurrence is indicated by a concurrent action, by adverbs, or by the context itself. They are used as adverbs to finite verbs or verbal nouns to express manner, time, purpose, aim, or limit.

They may occur in doublets [with the same word repeated or with the gerund form of another verb] for emphasis.

3.6.7.3.1. Gerund in -a/-ä in Predicative Function

Very rare. This is related to the adverbial use of the gerunds in -a/-ä with the exception that the gerund has its own subject. E.g.,

Aftab otūra tağqa yavuq yettim. (Babur 60r:8) 'By sunset [as the sun was setting] I got close to the mountain.'

3.6.7.3.2. Gerund in -a/-ä in Adverbial Function

Seni kim sevdi, ay dilbar, közigā can közümäs tür. Qiya baq közung učdin bari oğlu tirgüzgän. (ShD128v:12) 'No life is visible in the eyes of the one who has loved you. Cast a side glance from the corner of your eye because that is what brings the dead to life.'

Nečā köp yadursang, sanga bir kūn ol urur zahm, andan saqina yürü. (Sayf14v:10) 'No matter how much you feed him [the wolf cub] one day will cause you harm. Beware of him.'

Bir kūn uşbū yerda ekända Ḧwāca Ablu'-Maqārim kim bizning dek calay-i vəzan bolup sargardan edi meni körā keldi. (Babur 60r:8) 'One day during my state in that very place, Ḧwāca Ablu'-Maqārim, an emigrant like ourselves, was aimlessly wandering and came to see me.'

Vah ki kelir yolğa qildim közd durraşanın nişār, təlmürə har yol başinda közlərim dućar dur. (ShD44v:4-5) 'O, how I scattered the pearls of my eyes on the path she was to come! At every corner my eyes were eagerly looking for a sudden encounter.'

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218 Tear drops of emotion.
219 Versus gil-ı hwałbōy 'clay with fragrance' (Sa’di) or mufarribi gul gibi gil 'clay fragrant like an exhilarating rose' (Sayfī Sarayf).
219 It possesses greater dignity than Simurgh.

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218 In royal receptions the sultan signaled the acceptance of gifts by casting a side glance at them.
3.6.7.3.3. Gerund in -a/-â in Doublets

Bolur așan bara bara muşkil. (RB5v:6) ‘What is difficult, will gradually become easy.’
Usbu sirrini ayta-ayta käcti Mansûr-ı garib; oğrî va yalıncılar-din boldi ol dar özgâçâ. (ShD150r:3) ‘Repeating this secret all over again Mansur, the strange one, passed. The tree’ that was meant for him was different from others meant for thieves and liers.

Bu sâning halîng ol tülki şikayatina əbər kim kördilər viqila tura kitâr edî. (Sayf26r:5) ‘This situation of yours resembles that of the fox whom people saw running away in panic.’

Notes: (a) Gerunds in -a/-â are used as bases for the Present Perfect Tense [3.6.5.13.1.].

Köngül kim tarta dur çah mätamini, qalân teg başdın alğil qarasân. (DN264r:2) ‘When the heart keeps wearing the livery of sorrow, remove melancholy from its head in the same way you remove ink from the tip of the pen.’

Tün kün saqlân ol erdîn kim ol qorga turur sândân. (Sayf18v:2) ‘Night and day beware of the man who is constantly afraid of you.’

(b) It is used to form descriptive verbs [3.6.9.].

Men ol gül men ki bărgîm yerda qalmas, valî bir yel kelifân elta almas. (DN240v:9) ‘I am the rose whose petals don’t stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot carry them away.’

Bu nukta sirrini hargiz kîşi qayda bilîr ermiş? Aça ber nukta sirrini manîng pîr-i muğanîm sen. (ShD112r:13) ‘How would one ever know the secret of this point? Open for me the secret of points: you are my elder of the magi.’

3.6.7.3.4. Gerund in -a/-â in Idioms

Gerunds in -a/-â occur quite often in set expressions and idioms. Here is a selective list of the most frequently used idioms.

bara bara (RB5v:6) ‘constantly’
haddîn așa (Sayf164r:9) ‘excessively, beyond limits’
kûn așa (Sayf57r:2) ‘every other day’
ötura tura ket- (Sayf137r:1) ‘slowly, taking a rest’

qiya baqmaq (ShD128v:12) ‘to cast a side glance’
yarâşa (ShD137v:7) ‘accordingly’
yiqli tura (Sayf26r:5) ‘head over heels’
bîla (MM195v:3) ‘knowingly’

E.g.,

Kûn așa kelpî kim mahhabbat ziyâdat bolqay. (Sayf57r:2) ‘Come and see me every other day so that our attraction to one another may increase.’

Sen emdi havasalanga yarasa talab qîlîn, umedîng üzmâ ki aîbir Hûdâ qîlîr sababin. (ShD127r:7-9) ‘Now you seek according to your liking. Do no give up your hope because in the end God grants the means.’

3.6.7.4. Gerund in -ganda/-gandâ

The gerund in -ganda/-gandâ expresses an action in the course of which another action takes place. It may also express an action as a result of which another action is or is not carried out.

E.g.,

Ol hargiz qaranquluq körmây dur, ki elgä qaranqu bolganda anga yarux erkan dur. (NMP.55) ‘He never saw the darkness because during the time when darkness enveloped the ordinary folks for him there was daylight.’

Mân kim qari mân qari batunlar bilânulfatim bolmaga dolim yîgît turur mânîng kibi qari bilân ne qadar dostluq suratîn baqlaga. (Sayf138r:2) ‘I am an old man and cannot put up with old women, how could the one who is young achieve friendship with an old man like me?’

Bal bigin çahra sarîq bolmaq kerâk ‘îs=q ahliga; arturur yapraq sarîq bolganda afgan ‘andalîf. (ShD22r:4) ‘For the people of love the face should be yellow like [the color of] honey. The nightingale increases its complaint when the leaves turn yellow.’

Sañihî yad etip dâ‘îm âgîlär bâhîl atîn esitkandâ sókîlär. (Sayf94r:10) ‘People always remember and praise the generous. When they hear the name of the miserly, they pronounce a curse.’

Tatar alganda sözlâmâ ‘andâmå. (MS5v:6) ‘Do not speak while performing the ablution.’

Nafydin songra ki bar illâ‘îlîâh munda yetganda esit bu dur râh. (RB7v:10) ‘After the negation follows [the phrase] but God. When you reach this point, here is how [you should proceed], listen well!’

219 Lit., falling and getting up again cf. P. ufiin u ıfican
3.6.7.5. Gerund in -i-li

Gerunds in -i-li indicate imperfect actions in progress to characterize another action that is taking place. [In this function they are close to adverbs expressing attending circumstances]. This gerund is also used with the auxiliary başla- 'to begin' to create a derivative verb [3.6.9.1.3.].

E.g.,

Bu kün iyi tefşıy con keldi çenlik, ki Simurğ içidă qilsun çibinlik.
(DN264v:10) 'Today I wish to arrive fast because a reality has emerged in which Simurgh should play [only] the role of a fly.'

Karih ün bildan öz boğazın yirtip halq maqzin kitârmagâ yîrlayî başladî.
(Sayf60r:4) 'In a repulsive voice' rinsing his own throat and driving people crazy he began to eat raw cucumbers.'

Bu nafs mûngû kölük temiş haqq rasul öz özînä kötrür müni kîp fasîq. (MM179v:5) 'The Carnal Soul wants to ride an animal, as the true Prophet said. Many sinners carry [that animal] as it commands them.'

3.6.7.6. Gerund in -içaq/-içâk

The gerund in -içaq/-içâk [-uçaq/-uçâk after syllables with rounded vowels] expresses an action that indicates a point of time when another action is taking place. The action expressed by the gerund can be the point of reference, time frame or occasion for the action of the main verb.

E.g.,

Toğan arslan bilên parca tutuşan er dâgül 'aqil, anî bil 'aqil er qahri kelîçak sözlâmás bêtül. (Sayf44r:11-12) 'He who takes on a fierce lion in a hand-to-hand fight is not wise. Remember this: A wise man does not say idle words when anger overcomes him.'

Can qaçan bollay gulistanand malui con körîçak şadmân bolur köngül. (Sayf6v:8) 'How could the soul be weary of the rose garden? When one takes a look at it, the heart becomes joyful.'

Sándan özga hec 'aybi yoq aning, sâm oluçak ol ming altunqa tegär. (Sayf110r:1-2) 'Other than you there is nothing wrong with this [house]. When you die, it will be worth of a thousand dinars.'

Gabr agar yûz yîl ot yaqar bolsa, icnâ tüsîçak kuyar flî-hali. (Sayf24r:8) 'Even if the fire worshipper feeds the fire for one hundred years, the fire burns him in no time when he falls into it.'

Beş altî kûn keçîçak ol bolur sukkar bigin şirin. (Sayf17v:7) 'After five or six days it will be sweet like sugar.'

Note: Qûb has no examples for this gerund. Hacieminoğlu's barucaq 220 is an error for barur caq. 221

3.6.7.7. Gerund in-u-û

The gerund in -u-û indicates incomplete actions. They occur mostly in adverbial role. E.g.,

Dalûrmak, ağız tolu quisma kişî toluq söz ayumaz tutup qus-mişi. (MM181r:14) 'Becoming insane, throwing up a full mouthful, [one's mouth] is regarded as full when one's speech is impeded by a mouth filled with what one has regurgitated from one's stomach.'

Uwûs erkân ök yu, sonqînca berî taqi bașîn qapsayu masha et ara. (MM182r:14) 'Do the ablution while your limbs are wet. Grasp your head with both hands and rub it thoroughly.'

3.6.7.7.1. Gerund in-u-û used in Doublets

sâvînü quvanu (Qûb1140) 'happy and proud'
ôpûsu oynasu (Qûb4055) 'kissing and playing'
külâ oynayu (Qûb770) 'laughing and playing'
qûs saqayu (MM181v:9) 'pressing and squeezing'

E.g.,

Sevûndum bu ḥabardin teyû bânû, yer öpti şahqa sevînü quvanu. (Qûb1140) 'I am glad to hear this piece of news, says the Lady. She kissed the ground in respect to the king, happy and proud.'

Opişsu oynasu olturdilar ḥwaş, qîlî bir biringâ tangqa tegî nôş. (Qûb4060) 'They set together cosily kissing and playing; drinking to one another until dawn.'

3.6.7.7.2. Gerund in-u-û Lexicalized as Adverbs or Postpositions

ulaşu (MM179v:14) 'constantly'
tegî (BH9v:8) 'up to [but not including versus tegî 'up to and including']
yasru (MA53-3) 'hidden, concealed'

E.g.,

Qana'at bila dîrulaşu 'azîz. (MM179v:14) 'A man possessed of contentment is always a beloved [of God].'

Dîbarim neçâgâ tegî mân qulun qinda tutar. (Sayf180r:7) 'How long [< until when] will my beloved keep me in pain?'

220 (p.161)
221 Zaj, Glossary, p. 94 s.v. kertak

218 Cf., karîha's-paht 'of a harsh voice'
219 Reference to Qur. 3,128.
Note: It is used to form descriptive verbs [3.6.9.].

3.6.7.8. Gerund in -may/-mäy
The gerund in -may/-mäy is the negative equivalent to the gerunds in -p and -a/-ä and is used in the same--predicative, adverbial or copulative--functions.

3.6.7.8.1. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Predicative Use
Aning dardinin etmäy heç kim yad, yätip dardina gah gah nala fiyad. (DN240r:2) ‘No one makes mention of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.’
Elig yup özidin su hiştatingda, arığliq latın urmay haźratinda. (DN244r:2) ‘The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.’
Zamane aḥ eldin köngli tînmay figanlar tartiban nay teg erimäy. (DN253r:3) ‘At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the reed.’
Tabassumda labing gûlmay mudarâ, guharni la'ing etip aškâra. (DN256v:5) ‘In smiling your lips do not act with moderation. Your ruby lips lay open the gems.’
Söziğni esîlîp, ayn can ḥâyâtî, sigarmay qand Hindustân nabâtî. (DN256v:4) ‘Having heard your voice, O Life of the Soul, the sugar plant of Hindustan stopped producing sugar.’
Bu qarîlûqa manga gûlmay madad köp kirdâşim. (ShD83r:12) ‘In this old age many of my neighbors do not help me. Know, all brothers of mine, God has become my helper.’

3.6.7.8.2. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Adverbial Use
In adverbial use this gerund expresses manner, method, or attending circumstances.
E.g.,
Tîlädî allida tînmay şabânî, bitignî berdi va tez etti anî. (DN 246v:3) ‘She summoned the Morning Breeze to his presence at once, gave it the letter and sent it off right away.’
Ayağing tozi bolgây surma közgä, ulaşqay men yetip târtinmay özgä. (DN251r:8) ‘[My hope is] that the dust your feet walk on be the colliery for the eye. That I reach the Self without hesitation.’

Qoymay eldin muni qilsang takrær, ihtiyârî sanga qalmas, ay Yar! (RB6v:13) ‘If you continue [to pronounce His name] and never cease to do so, it will no longer be a matter of choice, O Friend!’
Nasihat birlâ ol gelmäs özgä, yuz evürmây turup tur bir sözgä. (DN245v:11) ‘He does not recover his senses when given a piece of advice. He does pay heed to any of its [good] words.’
Külüsündi nisât aţğini vûmây, seviniq gul bigin tonina sigmây. (DN252r:3) ‘She was laughing without closing her cheerful mouth. She was rejoicing, like a rose bud, not able to fit in her robe.’

3.6.7.8.3. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Copulative Function
Bolup qan köngli tînmay köz yaşîdîn, keçîp ort ortasinda su başdîn. (DN259v:4) ‘His heart is suffering from his constantly flowing tears. From a source of water he passes into the middle of fire.’
Yavuq kelding iraq salmây özüngni, açıqûn baqlamay sûrin sözüngi. (DN247v:7) ‘You came close, you did not keep away, you did not let your sweet words be bottled up by bitterness.’
Qoymay eldin muni qilsang takrær, ihtiyârî sanga qalmas, Ay Yar. (RB6v:13) ‘If you continue [to pronounce His name] and never cease to do so, it will no longer be a matter of choice, O Friend!’

Note: The gerund in -may/-mäy is used to form the negative paradigm of the Present Perfect Tense [3.6.5.13.1.].

3.6.7.9. Gerund in -mayîn/-mâyîn
The gerund in -mayîn/-mâyîn is the negative equivalent of gerunds in -ban/-bân. It is used in the same--predicative, adverbial and copulative--functions. E.g.,
Agar sab’a rivâyat bîlîr qu’ân oqsang bir yangîlmayîn sân, ay can. (Sayî14v:6) ‘Even if you recite the seven long chapters from the Qur’ân, you make not one mistake, O Sweetheart!’
Gar közmünning yaşi bir dan amqayîn tinsa edî, küydürür erdi, biling, ‘alâmî bir ahım yaqip. (ShD7r:12) ‘If one day my tears suddenly stopped and became depleted, one breath of mine would set this world on fire, know full well.’

222 Reference to the opening line of Rumi’s Maşnavî.
223 They show their teeth.
224 Cf. M. Kaşî in Nadelaev, p. 308.
Yetibân türmâyin bir yerdâ el teg, kezibân kečä tang atqîncä yel teg. (DN253r:5) ‘When he arrives, he does not stay in one place as people do. At night he moves about like wind until dawn.’

Hamäsä uyyusqizlîqqa qîlîp hu, tuşdâ kîrmâyin ‘umrida uyuq. (DN253r:8) ‘He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.’

Qalâm tarîqmaîn ayîîp zamîrin, qîlîp söz qandîdin tillîn šîrîn. (DN255v:5) ‘Without moving the pen he told the secret thoughts of the letter. With the sugar of the words he made his tongue sweet.’

Anî da’îm anga dur çîn bislûr sän unûmâyin berîr rîqzing tun va kün. (Sayf144v:4) ‘One must remember Him all the time so that you know that He is not oblivious of you but provides you with sustenance night and day.’

3.6.7.10. Gerund in -qîncä/-kîncä

The gerund in -qîncä/-kîncä, -quncä/-guuncä, -gučä/-gučä is formed from the verbal noun in -gu/-gu by the equative case marker attached to the base with or without a pronominal -n-. It is frequently used in three major functions: terminative, durative, and preferential.

3.6.7.10.1. The Terminative use of Gerund in -qîncä/-kîncä

The gerund in -qîncä/-kîncä indicates that an action must be completed before or at the same time when the action expressed by the finite verb takes place. E.g.,

‘ IRAQDan tîrqaq keginçı yilân zahmîlî er olâr. (Sayf26r:11) ‘By the time the elixir gets here from ‘Iraq, the man wounded by the snake, will die.’

Sâning atang âqir taş astîndan tâbrändigä mânim atam kannat-kä kîrmîş bolqay. (Sayf150r:12). ‘By the time your father crawls forth from under the heavy stone, my father will have entered heaven.’

Tîláp ay vașlînî evürmägän yîz, sanağan kečä tang atqîncä yul-duz. (DN246v:11) ‘He desires union with the moon and does not turn his face away. At night he is counting the stars until dawn.’

Qulaq bolqgu avval âçînç,to til, âçîlsha aytîgil ‘amal așnu qîl (MM 194r:2) ‘You must listen carefully before you begin to speak. Once you have begun [to speak], say [what you want] and then act accordingly.’

3.6.7.10.2. The Durative Use of the Gerund in -qîncä/-kîncä

The gerund in -qîncä/-kîncä indicates a lasting action in the course of which another action takes place. E.g.,

Ol oğlanning atasi bu balani öz tilap taytu, tümî kün başladi quş teg keyik bigîn bûgürmîncä. (Sayf145v:13) ‘The father of this child obtained him upon his own wish. He nurtured him and night and day like a bird while he was beating like a deer.’

Niśani niânsiz bolu bilmäki, muni tükımâncä anîn tolmasa. (MM192v:15) ‘The sign [of a disciple who has reached his goal] is that he is without a sign. As long as he does not pour out [of his heart what is not God], he cannot be filled with [God].’

ÖZin keçmâncä murîd bolmas ol, murîd bolmâncä mu-râd bulmas ol. (MM192v:14.) ‘One does not become a disciple until one has renounced self. One cannot attain his goal until one has become a disciple.’

TABA’IYAT ANغا bolmas hâşî bilmâncâ ki ne istâ dur, bil. (RB 4r:12) ‘He cannot achieve [complete] emulation as long as he does not know in what matter he wants to emulate [him], know full well.’

3.6.7.10.3. The Preferential Use of the Gerund in -qîncä/-kîncä

The Gerund in -qîncä/-kîncä indicates an action that is preferable to another action. E.g.,

MÂnim halakligim yahşiraq andan kim yazuqsuz qan tükülgün-gä. (Sayf33v:13). ‘My demise is better than shedding the blood of an innocent person.’

Anasi toqz ay on kün kôtärdi, hâyri bolqay, dep. Yilan tupsa edî yahşî ol oğlannî toğurümîncä. (Sayf146r:3) ‘His mother carried him for nine months and ten days, saying “He will be a blessing!” It would have been better if she had had a snake rather than giving birth to that boy.’

Ne munça jarab ‘ayś tamašä kâræk, tamağîn naçaç bulmâncä basi. (MM179r:14) ‘One should not engage in so much loud merrymaking, feasting and amusement, if one [seeks] to save himself from [the torments] of Hell.’

TOQ bolup âsil yahşiraq ac bolup tiri yurîmîncä. (Sayf84v:11) ‘It is better to die full than to stay alive and be hungry.’

3.6.7.10.4. Gerund in -qîncä/-kîncä in Idioms

affâb batquinça (Babur60v:9) ‘until sunset’
köz âçip yumîncä (NF429-2) ‘in the twinkling of an eye’ [cf. Ar. türfatu’l-‘a’in]
köz yâtigungä (RM7v:9) ‘as far as the eye can see’
3.6.7.11. Gerund in -ganča/-ganča
The gerund in -ganča/-ganča indicates measurement, proportion, or extent. E.g.,
Neča lazzat esā mayl anča bolur, mayl lazzātīnī tan-ganča bolur. (RB6v:12) ‘The more pleasure [one receives], the greater will be one’s desire [for him]; One’s desire is in [direct] proportion to the pleasure one receives.’

3.6.7.11.1. The Gerund in -ganča/-ganča in Idioms
el'gimdīn kelganča (Babur 200v:5) ‘to the best of my ability; as much as I can’

3.6.7.12. Gerund in -gaec/-gaec
The gerund in -gaec/-gaec expresses an action that takes place immediately before the action of the main verb. Most of the time there is a connection between the two actions. The one expressed by the gerund often leads up to, triggers or is the condition for the other action. Very frequent in modern literary Uzbek [MLU 3.6.4.2.7]. E.g.,
Ayu yüzùng nur-i ilahi kozlarindān kūn qamar. Ya qašīng korgač usol ay ekstilip ozdin ketär. (ShD30v:4-5) ‘Your moon-face [shines like] Divine light. The sun is dazzled by your eyes. Looking at your bow-like eyebrow that same moon shrinks and vanishes.’
Zulfī damgīsī tūstūm hali damgīsī bolup, boyla muqayyad olgač, muskil emis yaranmaq. (ShD75v:1-2) ‘I fell into the snare of her treasures when I was after her grain. As soon as I was tied like that, it was difficult for me to render any service.’
Hari ḥublarini korgač itūrdum ‘aqil va hošūni, māning teg bolmağay hargiz Cununning koyida la’iq. (ShD79v:8-9) ‘As soon as I saw the beauties of Herat, I lost my mind and my senses. There has never been a person like me in the street of madness.’
Bu söz məzkür bolgač sihhat ašari mizacidə payda bolidi. (NM p.67) ‘As soon as these words were pronounced, the signs of good health appeared in his being.’
Ay camaling burqa’in alang cihān tābān bolur. Aftōb ol yuzin korgač ozdin pinhan bolur. (ShD41v:1-11) ‘If you remove the veil from your beautiful face the world becomes illuminated. The sun beholds that face and hides from itself.’

3.6.7.13. The Gerund in -galı/-galı
The gerund in -galı/-galı serves to specify the action of the verb used in association with it. It can indicate starting point, or purpose.

3.6.7.13.1. The Gerund in -galı/-galı Indicates the Purpose
E.g.,
Zulfī rayhān sarvqādīnī korgāli men nāghān gulistān baginda tiktim koz yasımın nar nar. (ShD30v:7-8) ‘In order to see the cypress with the fragrant tresses, I suddenly planted pomegranate trees from the tears of my eyes.’
Menī ‘alām qayyūsidin ināriq’i bāl etgalī, bersā gar pir-i muğān bir cam bali bās turur. (ShD43v:13-44r:1) ‘In order to relieve me from worldly sorrows it is enough if the elder of the magi gives me a cup of his honey wine.’
Yolunda bās oynap can tarkīn urup mān korgāli dildar korkın. (Sayf113r:13) ‘Upon your path I risk my head and give up my life in order to see the beauty of the beloved.’
Kabu’ga ziyyārat qilgāli bardim ardī. (NF188:3) ‘I had set out to visit the Kabu’b.’
Bir kim ārsā Dávud-i Tāyī evinga kirdi ziyyārat qilgāli. (NF 216v:15) ‘Someone went to the house of Dávud of Tāy in order to pay him a visit.’
Zulfī rayhān sarvqādīnī korgāli men nāghān Gulistān baginda tiktim koz yasımın nar nar. (ShD36v:8-9) ‘Since I unexpectedly caught a glimpse of that beauty with cypress body and sweet basil tresses, I have been planting pomegranate seeds from my tears in the rose garden.’

229 I.e., the real moon in the sky
230 Reference to the Sufi view according to which our services have no value when we reach the level of being in the presence of God. Cf. MM195v:3-4.
3.6.7.13.2. The Gerund in -ğalı/-gâli Indicates the Starting Point

E.g.,
Körgâli Sayf-i Sarayî qu anî Haqq ta'âla sun'unînîn hayrânî dur. (Sayf179v:2) 'Since Sayf-i Sarayî, the servant, saw her, he is admiring the perfect artistry of God the Most High.'
Yar qatînîn kitkâli yana ne yangîh hal men, kim firâqî bîrîlâ vah ne yangîh dal men. (ShD153v:3) 'Since I left the presence of the Beloved, what has been my condition like! Woe is me, how my body has assumed the shape of the letter dâl.'

3.6.8. Participles [Verbal Adjectives]
In the Chaghatay language participles are not a strictly confined category. Just as adjectives can very often be used as nouns, without any derivative element, so can participles in almost all nound functions. Even when used as nouns participles retain some or all of their verbal characteristics.

3.6.8.1. Participles in -ğan/-gân, -qan/-kân
The definition above refers especially to participles in -ğan/-gân, -qan/-kân, which, when used as a noun, can not only have complements that usually go with verbs, but can occur as the name of the action [action nouns] or that of the agent [agent nouns].

3.6.8.1.1. Participles in -ğan/-gân, -qan/-kân as Action Nouns
It is usually a completed past action or its result that these participles refer to in this use. Without an express subject it has a passive meaning as buyûrgân [< buyur-] 'that which has been commanded', ol buyûrgân or buyûrgânî 'that which he has commanded.' E.g.,
Ol buyûrgânî qilmam, ay Yar, hec asîq yaq, köp ziyâni bar. (MS2r:3) 'If you do not carry out what He has commanded, O Friend, not only will you not benefit, you will suffer a great harm.'
Quellaring qîlîgan içâgî nazar sen. (MS4r:4) 'You are the one who sees all that your servants do.'
Yûzûng şâm' allido ol zulf tên teg, körünüp oqta tutgâqan tü-tüntiq teg. (DN243v:11) 'Your face is the candle, the tresses by it are the night. The scene looks like smoke coiling above the fire.'

3.6.8.1.2. Participles in -ğan/-gân, -qan/-kân as Agent Nouns
These participles name the agents of past, already completed actions. The verbs used are single action resultative verbs. Also, there is an implied relationship between the action and the agent. The latter assumes a characteristic, undergoes a change of some kind or gets somewhere as a result of his action. Positive participles are more frequent in this role, although negative ones also occur. E.g.,
'İşqen çosina tuşgân kızlanibân turmalas, bolgây mu teva mingân qoy içîdä yaşunmaq. (ShD75v:5-6) 'He who falls in the agitated waves of your passionate love, cannot stay hidden there. Is it possible for a person who rides a camel to hide among a flock of sheep?'
Oqup uqânqan köp savâb olqay. Ham nivisandağa savâb olqay. (MS16v:3) 'He who has read and mastered [this book] will obtain ample recompense. So will he who [only] copies it.'
Oquqânqa va ham oqûtqanda, ma'saîlani oqup ham uqânqan yâ ilahi 'aflalar âlyä anga, qatîr ñandîn aibäl yâla manga. (MS 17r:5-6). 'To the one who reads [this book] and also to the one who teaches from it, to the one who reads and masters these teachings O God, grant Your benefits, and let a drop of them be my share [too].'
Gusî sunnâtîlari qamûq beş ol. Yahşi bilmägän anî badkës ol. (MM7r:2) 'The total [number] of traditional practices [to be observed] during the gusî is five. He who is not fully aware of this is an impious person.'
Afa ay dard âhangîn tutqan, özûni naqşlar birîn avutqan. (DN 246v:7) 'Hark ye, who tuned on the melody of pain, who console yourself with [phantom] images.'

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234 It often translates by the conjunction 'since'.
235 When the clergy blamed Muhammad Shâbânî Khan for bringing in girls to a party in the Blue Saray, his excuse was that he did so in order to admire the perfection of the creator (sun'î Haqq).
236 I.e., the tresses that frame the Beloved's face
237 The recto side of the paper.
238 I.e., tear drops
3.6.8.1.3. Participles in -ğan/-gân, -qan/-kân with Passive Meaning

Başqa hâtun su quyâr bolsa, kim üyürğân saçını yarmasaya... (MS 7r:5) 'If a woman [intends to] pour water on her head and does not undo her braided hair...'

Note: It is used as base for the gerund in -ğanda/-gândâ [3.6.7.4.] and also for the gerund in -gâncâ/-gânčâ [3.6.7.11.]. In verbal inflection the forms of the active mood [5.6.5.10] are based on it.

3.6.8.2. Participle in -ası/-âsi

The participles in -ası/-âsi are future participles. In adjectival function they indicate that the object named by the noun they modify is meant for the action they express, e.g., kalâsi mihnât ‘the misery that is bound to come’, yatâsi yer ‘a place for resting’. In predicative function they occur as impersonal verbs indicating a future, necessary, or inevitable action. They are not used as nouns. E.g.,

baqâsi (Qutb, H. p. 412) ‘prompted to look’
bolâsi (LN143) ‘is bound to be’
kâlâsi (Sayf 142v:4) ‘bound to come’
qilâsi (Qutb, H. p. 326) ‘appropriate to do’

qurtulâsi (Qutb, H. p. 326) ‘meant for saving’
yatâsi (Sayf136v:11) ‘made for resting’

3.6.8.2.1. The Participle in -ası/-âsi in Adjectival Function

Bu naqî-i râhâni kalâsi mihnât tâşvisi bilan talaf’ qilmaq. (Sayf 142v:4) ‘To destroy the ease at hand with the anxiety of future misery.’

Ne yatur sân, Yatâsi yer degil tur ketâlim. (Sayf136v:11) ‘Why are you resting? This is not a place for resting. Let’s move on!’

3.6.8.2.2. The Participle in -ası/-âsi in Predicative Use

Labing la’li erdî dardîm davası, bu dardîmga davâ müşkil bolâsi. (LN143) ‘The ruby of your lips is the cure for my pain. It will be difficult to find a cure for my pain.’

Kim ol divâna ergâ ne qilâsi? Ne çâra birlâ andin qurtulâsi? (Qutb, H. p. 326) ‘What can one do in regard to this madman? By what means can one save him?’

Ağunda heç kîşîning yoq baqâsi, bu kîn hoş bolğu tanga ne baqâsi. (Qutb, H. p. 412). ‘No one has permanence in this world. One should be happy today, one should not look forward to what comes tomorrow.’

3.6.8.3. Participles in -îgli/-igîli

The derivatives in -îgli/-igîli [-îg + -î] are, in essence, present participles. Originally they indicate that the result of an action is associated with or characteristic of the agent which may occur with them as head nouns, e.g., yürrüglî yol ‘a path someone follows.’ In addition to their adjectival role they may also occur as nouns expressing the agent, e.g., namâzga kâlîglî. (MM184v:9) ‘The one who has come for the communal prayer.’

3.6.8.3.1. Participles in -îgli/-igîli in Adjectival Use

Azîp yîrûgânlâr tamaqça çiqar, bolur sâkkiz ustmaî yürrüglî yolun. (MM179v:3) ‘He who goes astray is destined for Hell. He who follows the [proper] path, reaches [one of] the Eight Heavens.’

Hâçqat hâçqat goluğlî arân kârâk Hâçqa qoyça qamûq qoğlunu. (MM 199v:1) ‘He who seeks the Supreme Reality must leave all desires to [the will of] God.’

3.6.8.3.2. Participles in -îgli/-igîli Used as Agent Nouns

Yoq erdük, yarattî, yana yoq qilur, bilîgilî muni mtaqûbur qurar. (MM180r:6) ‘[Remember that in the beginning] we did

239 I.e., does not give up
240 To calculate his chances.
241 I.e., The person who bites into the apple figure will know that it is made of wax.
242 Lit. inside. Cf. F. daran ‘inside; heart’
not exist. Then He created us, and He will again return us to nothingness. How can one who is aware [of this] be possessed of pride?

Namağä kälgili šurûq qilmadin šurûq qilsa buzmas bu şaff kengîtip. (MM184v:9) ‘One should arrive for the communal prayer before it begins. If it has already begun, one will not cause a disturbance if one takes a position at the end of a row.’

Yürügü sâri‘at bilä sâlik ol, vale bolsa macûz qilmaz arâm. (MM195r:6) ‘Traveler is the one who lives in accordance with the Law. But if he is attracted to the Path, he will not rest [until he gets to his destination].’

Valekin bu da‘va qüllü qäm, käling ayting âmdî, qanî netâlim? (MM199v:3) ‘But all of you who have raised false claims, come and repent saying, “What can I do [to atone for my sins]?”’

‘Ilîm ‘alam içrä biliği tâlim, taqi ‘da‘va bilä käldîgî gîlim. (MM 200v:14) ‘In this world there are many who have acquired knowledge. [There are] also many who have put on the woolen garment with pretension.’

Bu körügü aytti: Yâ Ḥaccâc, ahvâlîng nä teg turur? (NF145-17). ‘This [person] who saw him [in his dream] said: O Hajjâ! How are you?’

3.6.8.3.3. Participle in -iğili-igli with the Particle kârâk
The predicative particle kârâk adds emphasis to the meaning of the participle. It makes the predicative mandatory. E.g.,

Bu ‘alam kitâb ol oqüllü kârâk, âcuq ğaṣt âcîp köz baqüllü kârâk. (MM197r:3) ‘The world is a book, one must read it. The writing [in it] is plain, one must open one’s eyes and look upon it.’

Külpü az üküş yîlgâlu bu kisi, musulmân bolüllü kârâk yay qisi. (MM179r:13) ‘A man [who meets the above requirements] should laugh little and weep much. He must be a Muslim under all circumstances.’

3.6.9. Descriptive Verbs
The descriptive verbs are phrasal verbs consisting of the gerunds in -a/-ä, -u/-ü, -y or -p of the main verb and the inflected forms of one of the auxiliary verbs. The following auxiliaries are used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Descriptive Verbs with Gerunds in -a/-ä</th>
<th>Descriptive Verbs with Gerunds in -p</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>al- 'to take'</td>
<td>al- 'to take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baq- 'to try'</td>
<td>bar- 'to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>başla- 'to begin'</td>
<td>ber- 'to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ber- 'to give'</td>
<td>bol- 'to be'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bil- 'to know'</td>
<td>çiğ- 'to leave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bol- 'to be'</td>
<td>kel- 'to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kel- 'to come'</td>
<td>keltür- 'to bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kör- 'to see'</td>
<td>qal- 'to remain, stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qal- 'to remain'</td>
<td>taşla- 'to throw away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sal- 'to throw'</td>
<td>tur- 'to stand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tur- 'to stand'</td>
<td>yîbâr- 'to send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tüş- 'to fall'</td>
<td>yiyü- 'to walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yavuş- 'to draw near'</td>
<td>yavuş- 'to draw near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yavuş- 'to draw near'</td>
<td>yavuş- 'to draw near'</td>
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<tr>
<td>yavuş- 'to miss'</td>
<td>yavuş- 'to miss'</td>
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<tr>
<td>yavuş- 'to send'</td>
<td>yavuş- 'to send'</td>
</tr>
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This is a subtle reference to Qâbi‘ul-arvâh, the Angel of Death who is not able to claim the Believer’s soul while he is engaged in good deeds.

I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.
3.6.9.1.5. Bil- 'to know' with the negative stem is used to express the impossibility of the action. E.g.,
Tâllî siz şeyyâd tângûzda baliq tuta bilmâs. (Sayf194v:19) 'An unlucky fisherman cannot catch fish in the sea.'
Erâdîszîlîr erdâm âyâsîn kîrâ bilmâs. (Sayf168v:3) 'Those who have no skills can’t stand those who have.'
Bîr ötûni mîng kîm arsâ tîrgûzî bilmâs. (Sayf169v:6) 'A thousand persons are not able to bring to life one dead person.'
Azûqî yîq kîsî kêtâ bilmâs, gar belîndâ köp altûnî bolsa. (Sayf90v:8-9) 'A person who has no provisions cannot progress even if he has much gold [tied in a bag] at his waist.'

3.6.9.1.6. Bol- 'to be' expresses the possibility or impossibility of the action. In the negative form it indicates that the action of the base verb is or was not supposed happen. E.g.,
Anamgâ hwad mumkîn emîs edî, kîm mumdaq sôz ayta bolgay. (Babar102r:3, Eckm.Gr.p.143). 'Even my mother was not supposed to say words like that.'
Gärî çînîn erîr ummat ucûn boldum rîza tî gîna mahsârda hânî-iq alîda bolmang aza. (Hj80v:8) 'As dear as [my] soul is to me, I have consented to yield it for the sake of the Community, so that on the day of Resurrection [which seems but a day away], you will not fail in the sight of the whole creation.'

3.6.9.1.7. Kel- 'to come' an action that takes place in the direction toward the speaker or an action that results in a change of position. E.g.,
Ev âyâsî bildi dağî tura keledi. (Sayf50v:2) 'The owner of the house became aware [of the intruder] and got up.'
Azîz 'umr tükändî usîl umid bilân: Köngûl tîlgü eştên qân-kanêrî këlîgay? (Sayf119v:5) 'The precious life has passed with this expectation: Would ever the heart’s desire walk in through the door?'
Sâvûngûnîmdîn fi-l-hâl tura kelip yengim tegip šêm sândî. (Sayf115v:3) 'Overjoyed at once I jumped up. My sleeves touched the candle and it went out.'

3.6.9.1.8. Kör- 'to see' implies that the action of the base verb is being attempted. It may also imply that the subject should exert itself in carry out that action. E.g.,

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241 Sufi: 'metis' and flows and finds the way without being directed (MM196r:2).
242 Lit., removed the band from the bag in which his secrets were kept. Parallel meaning: opened the bag of hashish.
243 The three dimensions expanded in opposite directions form a point of reference.
244 The implication is that although the bounty of the sea is a source of good things [pearls, fish, gain on transporting merchandise] even a professional fisherman cannot catch fish there without luck.
245 The author [Sa‘di > Sarayı] is sceptical about the belief that multitude is power. This of course was against the Islamic view of the benefits of being a member of the camâ‘ûr.
3.6.9.1.11. Tüş- ‘to fall’ expresses a sudden, unexpected movement. [Cf., P. ufădan] E.g.,
Eşitkânlar seskânə tüşür edildi. (Sayf11v:6) ‘Those who heard it suddenly became terrified.’

3.6.9.2. Descriptive Verbs with Gerunds in -p
3.6.9.2.1. Al- ‘to take, to receive’ indicates that the action takes place in the interest of the subject. E.g.,
Tilap alsun ki sızını bir Hudâdin, otnüsün sızını andag âşünd. (H79r:5) ‘He should ask God to restore you to him. He should implore Him to return you to him since he is such a good friend.’
Va ya bizdin birâvînî hwałap alsun, nâça küm bu cîhânda sızını qoysun. (H79r:6) ‘Or else let Him be content to take one of us and permit you to remain in this world a few more days.’

3.6.9.2.2. Bar- ‘to go’ indicates that the action of the base verb is accompanied by an advancing movement in the direction away from the speaker. E.g.,
Uşol damda yâtištîlar ikâvlân, kirîp bardî atasî birîlâ oglan. (H 77r:1) ‘Soon they arrived. Father and son entered by [the gate].’
Yâîlîp bardî usal dam başı dargah, ki içti alîdîga bir baça nâgâh. (H76r:1) ‘As soon as the Chosen One of the Divine Court arrived at the school, a boy came running to him.’
Apardî246 kônglûmî bir hwaş qamar yûz canfîzâ dilbar. (Sayf 184a:1) ‘A pleasant, moon-faced, life-giving heart-ravisher carried off my heart.’

3.6.9.2.3. Ber- ‘to give’ signals that the action is carried out in the interest of someone else. E.g.,
Dedim Bâba zaman muhlat alîp berî, barîp körây alarnû cumla bir bir. (H78r:9) ‘He went on. Father, ask [the angels to give me] some time so that I may go back [to the school] and talk to them [= my classmates] one by one.’
Hamin kim tîndî va âldî damînî, çîgarîp bardî ol cân marhamînî. (DN267v:7) ‘As soon as it rested and recovered its breath, it pulled out [from its wings] the elixir of life for me.’

3.6.9.2.4. Bolt- ‘to be’ with negative forms, expresses the impossibility of carrying out the action of the base verb. E.g.,

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Qilip tavba qutulmaqqa bolur Tangri 'azābīndan, vafekin bu ḥalaثنinq elindan qurtulup holmas. (Sayf62v:6) 'Repentance saves you from God’s punishment, but it does not save you from people’s hands.'

3.6.9.2.5. Čiq- ‘to go/come out, leave’ expresses an action associated with a movement out or up from somewhere. E.g.,

Ayıp qüməqü teg agar bolsa ol, neča köp alınsa yunug ḏabzan. (MM18r:17) ‘If these substances do not flow out, the state of ritual purity is not violated no matter how great the quantity stemmed [by the dressing].’

3.6.9.2.6. Kel- ‘to come’ indicates an action associated with a movement in the direction toward the scene of the action, the agent or the narrator. E.g.,

Tüzalip sarm boyung ešikmindin, kirlip kelgən netiŋ kim tanga çani. (DN25v:1) ‘May your cypress-like figure rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.’

Yıbarı Cibra’ilni bu zümqna, yātip keldi rasul-i ‘alamainga. (H7v:8) ‘[And so] He sent Gabriel down to earth. [Soon] that angel reached the Prophet of the Two Worlds.’

Aliq keldi, dedi, Haqqıı salamı, asıtíl ham firıștalar payāmi. (H7v:9) ‘He said, I bring you salutations from God, the Truth! Listen to the message I, God’s angel, have for you.’

3.6.9.2.7. Ket- ‘to go away’ indicates an action directed away from the scene of the action, the agent, or the narrator. E.g.,

Baļıq sayyad elindan ağın alip ketti. (Sayf94v:3) ‘The fish took away the net from the hands of the fisherman and left.’

3.6.9.2.8. Qal- ‘to remain, stay’ indicate the lasting effect of a completed action. The negative gerund in -mɑyn/-mɑyın with the negated forms of qal- expresses a categorical or absolute negation. E.g.,

Klutuk afıq qalqalı távæl sùrur edı tāvāsin arqun arqun. (Sayf167r:5) ‘Race horses got tired [and were falling back] but the camel driver [moved on] driving his camel real slow.’

Chiwqa qaşiyı can keldi qulunun olmäyn qalmas. (H7v:6) ‘My boy, every soul that has entered this world will not remain here, will not escape death.’

Taqtat-ı vas’ bariqya aymaq tāq turup qalmaqidin avvalırqaq. (MS 3v:6) ‘To speak in the measure of one’s ability is better than to remain silent.’

Ketip qalqalı şahaba özlarıdiq. (H82r:3) ‘The companions were deeply moved [and remained so for some time].’

3.6.9.2.9. Tur- ‘to stand’ expresses a permanent state or a long lasting action. E.g.,

Şa’ab duşman andešasına tişiq turur mân. (Sayf19v:8) ‘I am occupied by concerns about a vicious enemy.’

Arslan bığın aşanlıları zarurat huymi bilän teşkilarda tutup to-poqların yanıp tururlar. (Sayf154r:3) ‘They capture lion-like valiant men in pitfalls, taking advantage of their needs and pierce their ankles [to hang them on hooks].’

3.6.9.2.10. Yüri- ‘to walk’ expresses a habitual, lasting or repeated action. E.g.,

Aşip yürügünlar tamuqqa čiqar. Bolur səkkiz üstmaq yürülgı yolum. (MM179v:3) ‘He who goes astray is destined for Hell. He who follows the [proper] path, reaches [one of] the Eight Heavens.’

3.6.10. Verb Formation
Verbs are formed by suffixes or by derivative auxiliaries. Suffixes are added to nominal bases, e.g., qa’n ‘blood’ + -a = qana- ‘to bleed.’ Derivative auxiliaries can be added to single words, e.g., qa’m + ye- ‘to grieve’ or to bases, consisting of coordinated nouns, e.g., [navı̄a va zăři] + qil- ‘to complain’.

3.6.10.1. Verb Formation by Suffixes
3.6.10.1.1. The Suffix -a/-ä
A narrow vowel in the second syllable of CV/CVC or VC/CVC nouns is dropped. E.g.,

aša- (Sayf 82v:3) ‘to eat’ < aš ‘food’
ata- (MM18v:3) ‘to name, call; count’ < at ‘name’
bază- (Sayf18v:10) ‘to ordain’ < báz ‘linen’
bosha- (Sayf79v:77) ‘to divorce’ < boş ‘empty, free, liberated’
boyqa- (MA85-7) ‘to paint’ < boy ‘paint’ (cf. Pqc179)
bulna (MA180-4) ‘to capture’ < bulun ‘prisoner’
ela- (NTM13v:8) ‘to sift’ < el ‘wind’
işa- (MA127-8) ‘to work’ < is ‘work’
mengzä- (MM178r:14) ‘to resemble’ < mengiz ‘face’
oyna- (Sayf22v:6) ‘to play’ < oyun ‘play’
orna- (MA165-8) 'to settle in a place' < orun 'place'
örtä- (Sayf178r.3) 'to burn' < ortal 'flame'
qina- (Sayf68v.6) 'to torment' < qin 'pain'
sana- (NTMv7r.3) 'to count' < san 'number'
sava- (MA229r.1) 'to produce a sound' < sav 'word'
tengä- (MA114-3) 'to compare, confront' < teng 'equal'
tonä- (PdC427) 'to undress' < ton 'garment'
yasa- (181r.3) 'to live' < yaš 'age'
yana- (MA53-5) 'to draw near' < yan 'side'

3.6.10.1.2. The Suffix -i/-h
A narrow vowel in the second syllable of CVCVC or VCVC nouns is dropped. E.g.,
ağri- (Sayf147r.10) 'to ache' < ağır 'heavy'
baýi- (PdC156) 'to become rich' < bai 'rich'
berki- (MA158-8) 'to become strong' < berk 'strong'
qarî- (MM198v.1) 'to grow old' < qar 'snow'
tași- (PdC201) 'to carry' < taš 'outside'

3.6.10.1.3. The Suffix -u/-ü
ögü- (MA8-8) 'to praise' < ög 'praise'
obîit- (PdC79) 'to moisten' < öl 'moist, humid'

3.6.10.1.4. The Suffix -ay/-äy
körði- (PdC466) 'to become beautiful' < körk 'beauty'
mungay- (PdC504) 'to grieve' < mung 'grief'
ulugay- (Sayf66v.8) 'to grow up' < ulug 'big'

3.6.10.1.5. The Suffix -dã-dã
alda- (Sayf70r.9) 'to deceive' < al 'ruse'
indä- (Sayf57v.2) 'to call' < ün 'voice'
izdä- (Sayf42r.8) 'to search, seek, look for' < iz 'track'
qolda- (PdC435) 'to take by the arm' < qol 'arm'
ündä- (Sayf42r.2) 'to call' < ün 'voice'
yanda-s- (PdC537) 'to become adjacent' < yan 'side'

3.6.10.1.6. The Suffix -ga/-gä
saygä- (PdC346) 'to spend' < say 'number'
tergä- (MA76-1) 'to make sweat' < ter 'sweat'

3.6.10.1.7. The Suffix -qar/-gar
başqar- (PdC150) 'to guide, lead' < baş 'head'
quɚgar- (MA6-4) 'to save' < qut 'good luck'
sugär- (PdC356) 'to irrigate' < su 'water'

3.6.10.1.8. The Suffix -i/-al/-ul/-ül
azal- (PdC17) 'to diminish' < az 'little'
mungal- (Navå't, F., II-352) 'to grieve' < mung 'grief'
ongal- (Sayf185v.12) 'to heal' < ong 'right'
qarşul- (ZN13r.17) 'to go to meet' < qarşu 'opposite'
sagăl- (Sang231r.28) 'to be cured' < saq 'healthy'
tiril- (Sayf94r.1) 'to come to life' < tir 'alive'
yoğal- (Qtb H. 4526) 'to disappear' < yoq 'nonexistent'

3.6.10.1.9. The Suffix -lã-læ
acığla- (BN90r.10) 'to implore' < acığ 'bitter'
ağrla- (Sayf149v.10) 'to respect' < ağır 'heavy'
ara- (MM181r.7) 'to let water run between the toes' < ara 'middle'
arzula- (Qtb H. 2886) 'to desire' < arzu 'desire' [P. arzû]
avla- (Sayf105r.6) 'to hunt' < av 'game animal'
bağla- (KBV42r.8) 'to tie' < bağ 'knot'
boğazla- (MM191r.11) 'to slaughter' < boğaz 'throat'
başla- (Sayf108r.1) 'to begin' < baş 'head'
brla- (IM3v.1) 'to declare as one' < bir 'one'
dağla- (MM188r.17) 'to mark with the branding iron' < dağ 'branding iron'
işla- (MM188v.16) 'to work' < iş 'work'
izla- (MM190v.12) 'to follow an animal’s tracks' < iz 'footprint'
kärtila- (MM192v.7) 'to pronounce in earnest' < kärtü 'true, truth'
közlâ- (Sayf163v.2) 'to expect' < köz 'eye'
mihmazla- (KBV42r.2) 'to spurn' < mihmaz 'spurn'
oğurla- (Qtb H.) 'to steal' < oğri 'thief'
olåla- (ShD152v.12) 'to graze' < ot 'grass'
songla- (MM197v.16) 'to follow' < song 'end'
sözlâ- (Sayf60r.11) 'to say' < söz 'word'
süslâ- (Sayf31r.1) 'to roast on the spit' < süs 'spit'
tislâ- (Sayf129v.13) 'to bite' < iisi 'tooth'
yazıqla- (Sayf32r.13) 'to accuse' < yazq 'sin'
yûrâla- (Sayf60r.4) 'to sing < yûr 'song'
yûkla- (NTM12r.4) 'to load' < yûk 'load'
3.6.10.1.10. The Suffix -/-k, -iq/-ik, -uq/-ük
açiq- (Sayf106v:10) 'to be hungry' < aç 'hunger'
birik- (MM177v:11) 'to unite' < bir 'one'
tariq- (Sang.153v:1) 'to be dismayed' < tar 'narrow'
yoluq- (Sayf51r:1) 'to meet' < yol 'way'

3.6.10.1.11. The Suffix -r, -ar/-är
aqr- (MA163-5) 'to turn white' < aqr 'white'
basar- (Qub H2750) 'to accomplish' < bas 'head'
bâlgir- (Sayf10v:10) 'to become clear' < bâlgî 'sign'
esîr- (MA24-6) 'to become antiquated' < eski 'old'
ongar- (MM185v:10) 'to rectify' < ong 'right'
qarr- (KBV41v:2) 'to become black' < qara 'black'
qayqur- (Sayf4r:7) 'to grieve' < qayqû 'grief'
qizar- (DN237v:5) 'to turn red' < qiz 'fire'
sarqar- (MA162-7) 'to become yellow' < sarîq 'yellow'
uyqar- (Sayf181v:13) 'to awaken' < uyag 'awaken'
yarsar- (Sang.332r:19) 'to become wet' < yas 'wet'

3.6.10.1.12. The Suffix -ra/-râ
telbâra- (BN91v:11) 'to talk nonsense' < telbâ 'mad'
mungra- (Sang.320r:7) 'to grieve' < mung 'grief'
ögrâ-n- (MM196v:11) 'to learn' < ög 'reason'

3.6.10.1.13. The Suffix -râa/-rgâ, -irgâ/-irgâ, -urgâ/-ürgâ
azirgâ- (Babur349r:1) 'to consider s.th. very little' < az 'little'
mungurâ- (Sang.320r:8) 'to grieve' < mung 'grief'
tangirgâ- (Sayf179v:5) 'to admire' < tang 'astonishing'
tasirgâ- (Sang.157r:1) 'to founder' < tas 'stone'

3.6.10.1.14. The Suffix -sa/-sâ
oksa- (Sayf24r:4) 'to resemble' < oq 'like'
qaqsa- (Sang.274r:29) 'to dry' < qaq 'dry [fruit]'

3.6.10.2. Verb Formation by Derivative Auxiliaries
Verbs created by derivative auxiliaries are called phrasal or syntagmatic verbs. They consist of a nominal part--mostly nouns, rarely adjectives--and an auxiliary verb. E.g., cavâb 'question' + ber- 'to give' + cavâb ber- 'to answer'. The sequence of their constituents--nominal element + auxiliary verb--is flexible. The order of constituents may be reversed. Also, other sentence elements may occur between them.

There are numerous phrasal verbs in Chagatay. Since they can take complements or modifiers separately or as a unit, they are very expressive and occur quite frequently. Below is a representative list of the most frequently used phrasal verbs:

3.6.10.2.1. Bas- 'to press'
ayaq bas- (DN260v:1) 'to enter'

E.g.,
Elig urma malamât daftarâna, ayaq basqân salâmât kišvarina.
(DN260v:1) 'Keep your hands off the book of complaints.' 255 Walk boldly toward the land safety.

3.6.10.2.2. Ber- 'to give' forms directional verbs.
başarat ber- (DN248v:8) 'to bring good news'
cilva ber- (DN265r:2) 'to display, show off'
dast ber- (DN250v:2) 'to drive one to; to be overcome by'
dastür ber- (Sayf156r:12) 'to let in'
'icat ber- (Sayf34v:8) 'to give permission'
baheber- (Sayf14v:6) 'to inform'
uzda ber- (DN259v:2) 'to bring good news'
yüz ber- (DN169v:1) 'to come forth, emerge, appear' [P. ruh dádan]

E.g.,
Yarudi yer közi tûn Maryamidin, başarat berdi 'Isa hamdamidiin.
(DN248v:8) 'The eye of the earth brightened beholding Mary of the Night' 256 and conveyed the good news about the arrival of Jesus. 257
Berip ahabb savdânda gam dast ayaq sayar ara Macâmûngâ hamdast.
(DN259v:2) 'In his love for his friend grief has overcome him. In roaming [aimlessly] his legs are the companions of Majmun.' 258

Eşiklîrîndé muta’allîlîrîndé büyük boyî küçli kišîlî qoyâlar, haṭta kelgân ‘azîlîrga dastur bermâgâyîrî.
(Sayf156r:12) 'From among their dependents they post tall, strong people at their doors who would not let in even sainted people who come to visit.'

255 I.e., Stop whining.
256 Reference to mother Mary and her newborn child and to the star that indicated their whereabouts.
257 Hamdam lit., 'he who is breathing together with s.o.' like the newly born child with his mother.
258 He roams as much as the legendary Majmun did when he was in love with Layfi
Sa'adat mavkibidin mužda berip, bašaralıq ğabarlarını yibarip. (DN259r:3) 'Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, good tidings sent the news [about its being on the way].'

Așugup qildi atlanur yarağın, zamanе cilва berdi ğusn bāğın. (DN265r:2) 'In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she showed off the beauty of the garden.  

3.6.10.2.3. Bol- 'to be, become' creates passive and intransitive verbs.

afgar bol- (DN260r:3) 'to be wounded'
dähil bol- (DN249r:2) 'to enter'
fařığ bol- (DN259r:4) 'to be through, to be done'
mä'il bol- (DN254r:11) 'to wish, desire'
mähüm bol- (DN255v:10) 'to be understood'
mä'ilum bol- (DN255v:10) 'to be known'
maveçud bol- (DN252v:8) 'to be present'
pamāl bol- (DN260r:5) 'to be engulfed in'
payda bol- (DN255v:9) 'to appear'
qañ bol- (DN259v:3) 'to be distressed'
rāzi bol- (Sayf157v:10) 'to be satisfied'

E.g.,

Cu mazmuni sarāsar boldi mañım, ne kim [er]di muhhām boldi mähüm. (DN255v:10) 'When its contents were entirely known, anything that was doubtful before, was now perfectly understood.'

Tlādi kāgid va čon boldi maveçud, qalam tilini etti 'anbar alud. (DN252v:8) 'She asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was provided, she covered the tip of the pen with ambergris.'

Agar sen anda bolsang yaʃqa pamāl, men özümdin barar men munda fi'l-hāl. (DN260r:5) 'If over there you are engulfed in tears, here I lose my consciousness at once.'

Agar sen anda körşąd nagah azar, men eşitıp bolur men munda afgar. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'

Qalam tili čon fařığ boldi andin, davāt ağzını yaptı tarcumandin. (DN259r:4) 'When the tongue of the pen was through, the inkholter that the interpreter was using closed its mouth.'

Şok el boldi fəraḩ öynə dähil, kozumğa abrüy boldi hasıl. (DN249r:2) '[My] heart entered the house of joy.'

3.6.10.2.4. Ček- 'to pull' expresses that the subject endures discomfort or pain of some kind.

cafa ček- (LN170) 'to suffer injustice'
cavr ček- (Sayf60:13) 'to suffer'
dard ček- (Sayf126v:8) 'to suffer [pain, or disease]'
el ček- (Sayf12r:3) 'to reject, refuse'
ranc ček- (Sayf160v:8) 'to suffer'
yol čak- (Sayf73v:10) 'to endure the hardships of traveling'
zihmat čak- (Sayf17r:2) 'to be exposed to discomfort'

E.g.,

Firaqinda cafə köp čekətən, ay Yar. Vale har yıqlamaq qul-makki bar. (LN170) 'I have suffered much injustice while I was separated from you, O Friend. But [as the saying goes], every crying is followed by a smiling.'

Ol qul qon tängiz körşąd yang kemā zahmatin, čekəğən edii, tahammul etä bilməddi. (Sayf17r:12) 'Since that servant had no experience on the sea and was never exposed to the discomfort of [being in] a boat, was not able to endure [the trip].'

3.6.10.2.5. Et- to make, do' forms transitive verbs. Most of them have a passive equivalent with bol-.

əskara et- (DN256v:5) 'to manifest, to make clear, disclose'
əsiq et- (DN250v:11) 'to be of use'
darət et- (DN249r:6) 'to collect'
dirəg et- (Sayf23r:4) 'to refuse'
faş et- (DN248v:6) 'to disclose, lay open'
farq et- (Sayf157v:11) 'to distinguish'
huvayda et- (DN250v:2) 'to divulge, disclose'
haş et- (DN256r:1) 'to consecrate'
işārat et- (DN255v:4) 'to nod'
ittifaq et- (Sayf102r:4) 'to be united'
kəşb et- (DN258v:9) 'to obtain'
pareshan et- (DN256v:6) 'to disperse, destroy'
rahm et- (DN256v:11) 'to have mercy on'
rağan et- (DN252v:10) 'to release; to send forth'
rıvanet- (DN253v:2) 'to shed' [tears]
suqet et- (MM181r:13) 'to make a prostration'
sür u gəvət et- (DN256r:11) 'to stir up tumult and riot'
tarcişt et- (DN257r:11) 'to prefer'
tez et- (DN246v:3) 'to dispatch in a haste'
vaht et- (DN247r:11) 'to fear'
zikr et- (RM9r:3) 'to mention'
E.g.,

Tabassumda lating qilmit mudărâ, guharî la'îng etip aškara. (DN25v:5) ‘In smiling your lips do not act with moderation. Your ruby lips lay open the gems.’

Veî ol martaba har kimgâ yetmâs, bu savdâda tamamnâ asiq etmâs. (DN250v:11) ‘But that rank is not granted for everyone. To have false hopes in this transaction is of no avail.’

Ne körar men, ibaratlar qilip harc, farâvân lufl yâqûfi etip darc. (DN249r:6) ‘What do I see? She has spent [plenty of] expressions and has put together lots of gems of grace.’

Bitidim nânâ ‘unvânî iîhâs, bayanîmî mahânîgâ etip hâss. (DN256r:1) ‘I wrote a letter, its title was Sincerity. I formulated my message specifically to fit the meaning of [this word].’

Çu fasî etti falak mahsûqası mihr, çihan örûng boldî va mihr gül-çhîr. (DN248v:6) ‘When the Beloved of the Sky disclosed her Love, the world became white and the sun, [beautiful] like the Rose-face.’

Qilip ay teq yuzing nûrûni payda, etip kûn zarrağâa mîhriî huvayda. (DN250v:2) ‘Your moon-like face revealed its light. The sun manifested its love to a spec of dust.’

Kim etip tur ‘âsâla sîrka târcîh, opuç tur muhtâsar ‘ilmînî talvîh. (DN257r:11) ‘He who prefers vinegar to honey is like one who reads the science of abridgments in allusions.’

3.6.10.2.6. Kel- 1. ‘to come’; 2. ‘to seem’ [cf. P. âmadan] with the first meaning it expresses actions that move in the direction toward the narrator, the subject, or the scene of the action. With the second meaning it indicates that the meaning of the base word [mostly an adjective] is the speaker’s perception.

‘acab kel- (MM189r:5) ‘to seem strange’

durust kel- (Sayf26v:10) ‘to come true’

ağir kel- (RM29r:5) ‘to be heavier’

artuq kel- (RM29r:2) ‘to be more’

muhaflîf kel- (MM187v:2) ‘to differ from’

qarşi kel- (Sayf 27v:5) ‘to meet’

qatîq kel- (DN256v:7) ‘to be startled, aggrandized’

rast kel- (MM185v:2) ‘to be correct’

yaqin kel- (Sayf92r:4) ‘to approach’

3.6.10.2.7. Kâtür- ‘to perform, carry out’ expresses that the object indicated by the base word, mostly an abstract noun, is produced:

farah kêtür- (Sayf2v:6) ‘to cheer up’

imân kêtür- (MM177r:11) ‘to bring forth the faith’

inâbat kêtür- (MM193v:10) ‘to repent’

îradat kêtür- (MM193v:10) ‘to exercise submission’

irdîd kêtür- (MM190v:14) ‘to commit apostasy’

i’tîrât kêtür- (Sayf24r:2) ‘to acknowledge’

nadamat kêtür- (MM198r:3) ‘to produce repentance’

rak’at kêtür- (MM185v:15) ‘to perform the rak’at’

sacda kêtür- (MM183v:4) ‘to perform the prostration’

faqât kêtür- (Sayf62v:7) ‘to endure’

3.6.10.2.8. Kör- 1. ‘to consider, regard as’; 2. ‘to experience, perceive’ in the first meaning it expresses that the speaker considers an object to be what the base word means. In the second, in indicates that the subject is experiencing a hardship of some kind.

‘aciz kör- (DM257v:6) ‘to consider weak’

âzar kör- (DM260v:3) ‘to be injured’

direg kör- (Sayf51r:5) ‘to grudge’

emgâk kör- (Sayf32:13) ‘to suffer a blow’
3.6.10.2. Köşär- 1. ‘to raise’; 2. ‘[lift up and] carry’
avəz köşär- (Qub. Zaj. 104) ‘to begin to sing’
baş köşär- (DN259v:10) 1. ‘to rise’; 2. ‘to raise the head’
el köşär- (Qub. Zaj. 104) ‘to give up, abandon’ [cf. P dast bar
dəstan]
cavr köşär- (Sayf85v:4) ‘to endure, to put up with’ [harsh
treatment]
minnat köşär- (Sayf140r:1) ‘to be under an obligation due
to a favor received’
minnat yünik köşär- (Sayf139v:13) ‘to be burdened with an
obligation due to a favor received’

E.g.,
Kızım hacringda köp bidərliqdin kötərmə başını bəmərliqdin.
(DN259v:10) ‘In your absence my eyes, having been vigilant for
so long, are ailing and do not rise [in the morning].’

Erdəmsizlər luqma luqma tılənət minnət yünik kötərəp yürür-
lər. (Sayf139v:13) ‘Those who have no skills go begging, mouthful
by mouthful carrying the load of obligation for favors received.’

3.6.10.2.11. Qil- ‘to make, do’ is used to form transitive phrasal verbs.
The derivatives in the majority of cases have an intransitive variant with
the auxiliary bol- ‘to be’.
aranqil- (MM195r:6) ‘to rest’
arzū qil- (MM200r:12) ‘to desire’
bay’a qil- (DN255v:2) ‘to promise loyalty’
darəwast qil- (DN255r:2) ‘to demand’
fanə qil- (MM193v:12) ‘to annihilate’
fiḍa qil- (Sayf118r:8) ‘to sacrifice’
fikrini qil- (DN259v:11) ‘to think about someone’
tərc qil- (DN249r:6) ‘to spend’
bəzar qil- (DN257v:5) ‘to beware’
huvəyda qil- (DN255v:9) ‘to make apparent, show’
isrəf qil- (Sayf22r:3) ‘to waste’
ezər qil- (DN245v:6) ‘to manifest’
məlləmat qil- (Sayf22v:7) ‘to blame’
minnət qil- (MM197r:14) ‘to give [a donation] with the
expectation of return’
mudərə qil- (DN256v:5) ‘to use dissimulation’
munəvar qil- (DN257r:2) ‘to make shine, cheer up’
namazı qil- (MM184v:6) ‘to pray’ [ritual prayers]
payدا qil- (DN250v:2) ‘to show, display’
ravan qil- (DN248v:7) ‘to set in motion’

256 Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous
cats its shadow will become a king.
257 Name of queen of Sheba who visited Solomon.
258 I.e., to the wind
qatl qil- (Sayf114r:5) 'to kill'
qurbana qil- (Sayf137r:13) 'to sacrifice'satiq qil- (MM191v:12) 'to sell'ta'ammul qil- (DM242v:11) 'to reflect'taşdiq qil- (DN246v:1) 'to confirm'tavazuq qil- (DN243v:2) 'to show courtesy'vidaq qil- (Sayf19r:9) 'to take leave'zilyar qil- (Sayf19v:1) 'to visit'

E.g.,
Qašim čandān sāning fikrīn qildi, ki qayğudin boyi ya teg egildi. (DN259v:11) ‘My eye brow had thought so much about you that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.’

Ne körär men, 'ibrarlar qilip hərc, faravân lutf yaqutti etip darc. (DN249r:6) ‘What do I see? She has spent [plenty of] expressions and has put together lots of gems of grace.’

Yüzüng közłü dūr, ay hüsün ičrā mahim, ḥazār qil kim anı tutmasun abim. (DN257v:5) ‘Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].’

Camalindaq munavor qil közümün, eştığa el sözün eştir sözümün. (DN257r:2) ‘Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.’

Hamin kim tapti yari hazzatina, tavazuq qildi va qoydi qatina. (DN243v:2) ‘As soon as it arrived to the presence of the friend, it greeted her politely and put down the letter at her side.’

3.6.10.2.12. Qol- ‘to ask for, to request’. The nominal part, most of the time a concrete noun, is the direct object of the verb.

aman qol- (NF6r:4) ‘to ask for protection’dad qol- (Qhtub Zaj.p.139) ‘to seek justice’darū qol- (Qhtub Zaj.p.139) ‘to ask for remedy’du'a qol- (ShD9v:10) ‘to ask for a prayer’uğandin əqin qol- (MM201r:1) ‘to seek other than God’uzr qol- (DN249v:3) ‘to dismiss’zinhar qol- (Qhtub Zaj.p.139) ‘to ask for protection’

E.g.,
Qilayın surma tofarqinqi közgā, ne tūrlīg qolayın ‘uzrīnī özgā. (DN249v:3) ‘I wish to make collyium for [my eyes] from the dust you are treading on. How else could I let you go?’

Emdidān song himmatqinqi qayda barsang qoymacqil! Ol Buβarā Ḥafīzīdin, Ay Şabanı qol du'a. (ShD9v:10) ‘From now on do not abandon your good efforts wherever you go! O, Shaban, request a prayer [for you] from Hafiz of Bukhara.’

Bašin tofarqqa qoydi qoldi zinhar. (Qhtub Zaj.p.139) ‘He put his head on the ground and asked for protection.’
Ya Rasūla'l-lah, bīzgā nuṣrat berməzmə sən? Bizgə Tangridin aman qolmażmu sən. (NF6r:4) ‘O, Prophet of God, are you not granting us victory? Are you not asking from God safety for us?’

Note: The noun part of this phrasal verb can occur in the plural. E.g., Qulum sizlərə yaman is qildi, sizlər kečürən tep öküş ‘üz-ralar qoldi. (NF49r:14) ‘My servant has done a bad thing to you, please forgive, he said making excuses profusely.’

3.6.10.2.13. Qoy- 1. ‘to put down’; 2 ‘to turn in the direction of’
arqa qoy- (MM182v:10) ‘to turn one’s back to’baş qoy- (DN248r:11) ‘to greet someone’
toqš qoy- (MM182v:2) ‘to surrender’yuq qoy- (DN248v:2) ‘to face s.th.’

yadr qoy- (Sayf6v:9) ‘to leave behind as a souvenir’

E.g.,

Toqš qoyma mu'min bu nafs birlə sən, ‘ibadatnī şaff tut, yunugni silah! (MM182v:2) ‘Believer, do not surrender to your Camal Soul. Employ service [to God] as a battle-array, the aublation, as a weapon.’

3.6.10.2.14. Sal- ‘to throw, cast’ expresses that an action which involves the base noun is produced fast, suddenly, abruptly, unexpectedly, or, energetically.
köz sal- (GD143:4) ‘to cast a glance’
nazar sal- (DN250v:7) ‘to cast a glance at’
nidə sal- (MS14v:1) ‘to declare’
qulaq sal- (İ82v:6) ‘to listen’
quş sal- (Qhtub211) ‘to set the falcon upon a game animal’
söz sal- (DN246v:8) ‘to mention, talk about’
tarh sal- (Sayf322r:5) ‘to lay the foundation of’
varaq sal- (Sayf35v:9) ‘to send a letter’

yaruğluq sal- (RM44r:8) ‘to emanate light’
3.6.10.2.15. **Tap-** 'to find' expresses that the object represented by the base word is obtained, found, deserved, or gained.

- **aram tap** (DN242v:10) 'to find peace'
- **bala tap**- (Sayf145r:2) 'to litter'
- **cavab tap**- (Sayf35v:11) 'to find an answer'
- **davlat tap**- (DN258v:10) 'to obtain a kingdom'
- **fursat tap**- (Sayf15r:1) 'to find an opportunity'
- **infal tap**- (GD139,3) 'to feel ashamed'
- **izvat tap**- (Sayf35v:11) 'to obtain dignity'
- **nacat tap**- (GD331,4) 'to be delivered'
- **tabdil tap**- (DN259r:8) 'to experience a change'
- **tariyyat tap**- (Sayf13v:6) 'to receive education'
- **yol tap**- (Sayf90r:5) 'to find a way'
- **zafar tap**- (Sayf39v:9) 'to gain victory'
- **zavat tap**- (GD135,4) 'to decline'

E.g.,

- **Ala' ay gamda tapqan rangi tabdiller, ravvan etkân közi şangartfîn nil.** (DN259r:8) 'Hark ye whose color has changed in grief, whose eyes make the Nile river flow with vermillion red [tears].'
- **Bâyiktin saya körgüzir humayê, ki faç davlat tapar andîn gadaye.** (DN258v:10) 'From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.'

3.6.10.2.17. **Tut-** 'to hold, keep' expresses that the subject got hold of what is meant by the base word, made a pledge, acquired a habit or a new regime.

- **'ar tut**- (DN259v:7) 'to be ashamed'
- **amr tut**- (Sayf3v:13) 'to obey an order'
- **âlig tut**- (MM176v:3) 'to help'
- **baq tut**- (MM195v:15) 'to fear'

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272 Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous bird hamû cast its shadow will become a king.

273 Reference to Qur. 5:31.

274 It governs the dative case.

275 A sign of disregarding the rules of decent social behavior.
baliq tut- (Sayf94v:4) ‘to fish’
guman tut- (MM18v:14) ‘to doubt’
matam tut- (H82v:2) ‘to mourn s.o.’
orun tut- (MM177v:7) ‘to take place’
oruç tut- (Sayf84r:6) ‘to fast’
panca tut- (Sayf32v:12) ‘to fight’
qarar tut- (Sayf21r:9) ‘to rest’
qulaq tut- (Sayf22v:12) ‘to listen’
roza tut- (MM186v:7) ‘to fast’
tama’ tut- (Sayf131r:2) ‘to expect, desire’
tuhmat tut- (MM195v:14) ‘to doubt’
umed tut- (GD38,4) ‘to hope’
uns tut- (Sayf67v:11) ‘to associate’
yad tut- (Sayf93r:1) ‘to learn, memorize’
yol tut- (MM193v:11) ‘to take the path of’

dam ur- (DN246v:4) ‘to speak’
laf ur- (GD45,4) ‘to boast, brag’
nafas ur- (DN259r:11) ‘to breathe’
qadam ur- (Sayf58r:10) ‘to go’
quṣ ur- (MM190v:10) ‘to set a falcon upon a game animal’
raqs ur- (Sayf59v:12) ‘to dance’
şayqal ur- (Sayf59r:12) ‘to polish’
ta’n ur- (DN260v:1) ‘to criticize’
tark ur- (Sayf54r:1) ‘to leave’
yüz ur- (MM182v:10) ‘to turn one’s face to’
zaḥm ur- (Sayf14v:10) ‘to wound’

E.g.,

Qlip özəğə əh u nələni əyr, tutup bir yoli nəm u nəngidin əsr. (DN259v:7) ‘He made friends with sighs and moanings and at once felt ashamed of his good repute and honor.’

Oy yigıt aytı: Karam qlip qulaq tutsang cavab aytayım. (Sayf 22v:12) ‘If you graciously listen, I will provide the answer.’

İcabat qilur Rabbi, guman tutmağ. İcabat anıq sən dənən xətə. (MM181v:14) ‘[Our] Lord answers prayers, of that there can be no doubt. His answer is in readiness, it only remains for you to perform the prayer.’

Yarin tutğa mən roza tep bilmək, bu niyyat ərər bil kişi öz özün. (MM186v:7) ‘Express it thus with full awareness [of what you are saying] “I wish to fast tomorrow.” O Believer, you should know that the statement of your intention is the very essence [of the rites].’

3.6.10.2.18. Ur- ‘to beat’ expresses, beyond the basic meaning, sudden, emphatic, or repeated actions.

äh ur- (GD12-3) ‘to sigh, heave a sigh’
ağaç ur- (Sayf52r:1) ‘to beat with a stick’
elig ur- (DN260v:1) ‘to touch’
barham ur- (DN259v:8) ‘to destroy, annihilate’

377 This is a Sufi reference: On the path toward obtaining true knowledge of God there is a stage when all our services lose their values. Cf. MM “When true knowledge has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences. All your learning and acts of pious devotions and services will appear to you as sins.”

378 With the dative case.

379 I.e., Stop whining.

380 He constantly exposes himself to people’s blame.

381 That never returns.

382 Lit., to graze your flock on a forbidden pasture.
E.g.,

Kuyar parvana candin gaγγu yemag, kis parvadanin hwaed ek-sik emas. (DN244v:7) ‘The moth goes up in flames and is not concerned about its life. [And] no one [among living beings] is smaller than the moth.’

Boyung sarvi ki nang yer suhbatimdin, egilgay ‘aqibat tuq niy-yatimdin. (DN245r:4) ‘The [straight] cypress of your body323 scorns to be in my companionship but it bows down at the end when it realizes the straightforwardness of my intent.’

Gamimm ol camaat kimp yeddar, tariqingdin manga andaq dedilar. (DN254r:3) ‘People concerned about us had to say this to say about the way you act.’

Zulfi 'aminda yanar sen sam' bigi, ay Sabaan, gam yemagil har keqa ziba moguling barida. (ShD13v:8-9) ‘You burn in the night of her dress like a candle, O Shaban. Don’t be sad because every night you have a Moghul beauty in your presence.’

Koz yuzungi har kisi korsa dili afgar dur. Yeγan va icγan gam va dard ila fikr-i yar dur. (ShD44r:9-10) ‘Whoever beholds your face, has scars in his heart. Thought about the Friend goes together with suffering from grief and pain.’

3.6.10.2.20. Yut- ‘to swallow’

hunaba yut- (DN259v:8) ‘to be bitter’325
qan yut- (ShD11r:1) ‘to be bitter’ [< ‘to swallow blood’]
qadγu yut- (Qub Zaq: 152) ‘to grieve’326

E.g.,

Ozin qoymay zamane barham urmay, yutup hunaba va andin dam urmay. (DN259v:8) ‘He does not give up, he does not fall apart. He is bitter, but he is not talking about it.’

Ayaqdir qan yutar elqin šiakast dur. Firaqdir qurudum qandim deganda. (ShD10v:11-12) ‘My hand that held the cup out of which I would drink blood is broken. If I say, ‘I am [a piece of] rock-candy’, it is because I dried out in your absence.’

3.7. Adverbs

Adverbs constitute a rich, diversified and very expressive category. They serve to indicate time, place, manner and other circumstances of an action. They have no special markers, grammatical or derivational. Among them there are many loan elements, especially from Persian.

The following is a morphological classification of adverbs:

3.7.1. Primary Adverbs

asru (RB2r:1) ‘very much, excessively’
bari (DN244v:4) ‘at least’
bat (RM10r:10) ‘fast, quickly’
berk (RM43v:2) ‘firm’
emdi (DN250v:8) ‘now’
hargiz (HJ7r:9) ‘never’
ilgari (H76v:5) ‘in front of, ahead’
kop (GD101,3) ‘very much’
qatiq (Qub Zaq.p.135) ‘very much’
tasqari (Sayf100r:8) ‘outside’

E.g.,

Men emdi bir gada sen padqah, magar cim tartqay allingda ah? (DN250v:8) ‘I now am a beggar and you are a king. May a soul have a sigh in your presence, I wonder?’

Ozimgi qilma asru be sar-u barg, kim egilmas sening sari nihalim. (DN242r:4) ‘Do not feel too distressed just because my branches do not bend in your direction.’

Dedi ol gul ‘Cu zadi’ bolti avqat, qalam birlan davate keltiring bat. (DN240r:8) ‘The Rose said: ‘Now that [more than enough] time has been wasted, bring [me] a pen and an inkwell right away.’’

Labing tutumm ki bermas ithiyari, kongulni asragil til bilah bari. (DN244v:4) ‘I understood that your lips do not grant any options. Soothe [my] heart at least with your words.’327

Ketur aqqa kemaga kir yoq esa tasqari oltur. (Sayf100r:8) ‘Bring [your] money, get aboard the boat, or sit outside [on the shore].’

3.7.2. Adjectives in the Role of Adverbs

No category marker is used.

ahir (DN260r:11) ‘later, after; finally’
base (DN247v:5) ‘often, quite a lot’
daiim (AC324r:7) ‘constantly’
hwaas (AC326r:5) ‘gladly; thoroughly’
mudam (AC324r:6) ‘always’
muttasil (AC325v:9) ‘all the while’
pak (AC322v:19) ‘completely’
ravan (AC327r:9) ‘all of a sudden; suddenly, at once’

323 I.e., your body which is straight like a cypress.
324 Intent [myr] is correct when it is properly stated in due time.
325 Lit., to swallow bloody tears
326 Lit., two swallow grief
327 Lit., with the tongue. Cf. MM silik sze ‘smooth words’ (197r:4)
yaḥšī (RB5r:3) 'well'
tārk (MM179r:17) 'quickly'
ze (DN243r:3) 'fast'
tūkāl (MM185r:13) 'entirely'

E.g.,
Tüzālit adamilār hōyin algin, ne degay el dağī ahīr uyalgin. (DN260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men.Whatever people say, do not be ashamed after all.'

Bitigliardingā saldim men base kız, tilādim köp sözündā tapmadim söz. (DN247v:5) 'I stared at your writing for a long time. Much as I wanted to I did not find words to express your message.'

3.7.3. Nouns in the Role of Adverbs
Nouns can occur in the role of adverbs without any special marker. They can only be recognized in that role in actual context.

3.7.3.1. Nouns in the Nominative Case
aqšam (Sayf72r:3) 'in the evening'
erṭā (Sayf72r:3) 'in the morning'
kečā (Sayf69r:2) 'at night'
kečālār (DN259v:6) 'at nights'
kūndūz (Sayf84r:6) 'by day'
šabāh (Sayf51v:12) 'in the morning'
sahargāh (Sayf50r:11) 'early in the morning'

E.g.,
Tüzālit kečālār egri teg ünīn, ačip tūrnaq bīnān gm tūgūnīn. (DN259v:6) 'At nights he tunes his voice, as you tune a guitar. [Picking the guitar] with his fingernails he unties the knots of grief.'
Zaʿīf kūndūz orū tutar, kečā iftar etār. (Sayf84r:6) 'The weak one had the habit of fasting by day and breaking the fast at night.'

Erṭā ketip aqšam, kelip kis bīlān altumnii āqāpī sulīnā līyinā qo-ypī turur. (Sayf72r:3) 'He left in the morning and returned in the evening. He kissed the bag that contained the gold and placed it in front of the king.'

Yetlibān turmayin bir yerdā el teg, kezībān kečā tang atqcīncī yel teg. (DN253r:5) 'When he arrives, he does not stay in one place as people do. At night he moves about like the wind until dawn.'
Necā kelsā šabā yeli sahargāh, yızım yergā sûrīp aytrūn mān Allāh. (Sayf50r:11) 'Any time the morning breeze comes early in the morning I rub my face to the ground and saysay God!''

3.8.3.2. Nouns Specified by Pronouns, Quantifiers, Particles or by a Possessive Suffix
bir saʿat (Sayf179r:4) 'for a moment'
bir yan (DN253v:10) 'to the side'
bir yolī (DN259v:7) 'suddenly'
har kecā (Sayf73r:7) 'every evening'
har laхаza (DN247r:5) 'every moment'
har saʿat (GD14:4) 'at every hour'
har sahar (GD5,5) 'every early morning'
har sarı (DN253r:5) 'everywhere'
har yani (DN246v:9) 'in all directions'
kop zaman (Sayf7v:1) 'for a long time'

E.g.,
Qilip özgāh āh u nālanı yar, tutup bir yolı nām u nangiñin ʿar. (DN259v:7) 'He made friends with sages and moanings and at once felt ashamed of [his] good repute and honor.'
Yaşı darya bigin har yani barıp, idī de açığını çiqrıp. (DN246v:9) 'His tears like a big river [that burst its banks] ran in all directions bringing forth from his heart the bitterness life.'
Bası tašlāri bir yan tašlār agah, ki ta yuz körügzür bir laʾl nā-gah. (DN253v:10) 'How many pieces of stones tosses the expert lapidariost the side until suddenly a piece of ruby shows its face to him.'

3.7.3.3. Nouns with Persian Indefinite -ē Used as Adverbs
The indefinite suffix -ē (3.1.2.1.) added to words expressing time creates forms that in adverbial use are equivalent to Turkish bir + noun phrasal adverbs, e.g., bir muddat, bir vaqt, bir zaman:
muddafe (GD17:2) 'for a while'
vaqte (DN260r:1) 'for a while'
zamane (DN259v:8) 'in a short time'

263 In Shayanbi’s Risāla-i Maʿārif at night Satan ties knots [üşgān bağlar] on the head of the believer while he is sleeping (20r6). They are removed [“untied”] by the believer’s mentioning God’s name, carrying out the ablution and performing the morning prayer.

269 This is a Sufi reference: On the path toward obtaining true knowledge of God there is a stage when all our services lose their values. Cf. MM “When true knowledge has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences. All your learning and acts of pious devotions and services will appear to you as sins.”
3.7.3.5. Nouns in the Dative Case

They are mostly terminative adverbs. Their adverbial role is restricted to certain verbs.

-qarağa (Sayf 136v:9) 'to paint something' black
-şahlığa (Sayf181r:13) 'to land' on the shore

E.g.,
Daryāğa āqā şadaf teg körün̄məs ol. şahlığa tüştä Zuhra va tilādī Muštarī. (Sayf181r:13) 'The Moon sank into the sea and like a shell it does not show. Venus landed on the shore and was looking for [customers like] Jupiter.'
Bəzənind bir qar şəfən təşə az, boyap saçin qarağa kəp qılır nax. (Sayf136v:9) 'An old woman with missing teeth is decorating herself. She paints her hair black and behaves coquettishly.'

3.7.3.6. Nouns in the Ablative Case

biyi̇ktin (DN261v:5) 'from high above'
qiráqdın (DN256r:3) 'from the side'
yıraqdırın (DN256r:3) 'farther away, at a distance'

E.g.,
Cu yätü anda kirdi bir qiráqdın, anga tapşırdu va turdi vıraqdı̇n. (DN256r:3) 'When he got there he entered through one side, handed over the letter to her and stood by at a distance.'
Təlu' ettii biyi̇ktin himmat ayi, tüzəldi bazm ara 'ışrät sarayı. (DN261v:5) 'From high above the moon of magnanimity appeared and the palace of entertainment was prepared for the banquet.'

3.7.3.7. Nouns in the Equative Case

künség teg (Sayf143r:2) 'like the sun'
pəri teg (DN262v:4) 'like fairies'
şadaf teg (Sayf181r:13) 'like a shell'
şəkər teg (DN262v:9) 'like sugar'

E.g.,
Camələng şuhrati hər yani ketip, pəri teg hərəlar uşmaqqə yetip. (DN262v:4) 'The fame of your beauty spread in all directions. Virgin-like fairies reached the gardens of paradise.'
Şəkər teg eṛning va yoq anda qiln, əbən teg hər sərə yüz ming qatilər. (DN262v:9) 'Your lips are [sweet] like sugar and there is no hair around them. In all directions there are a hundred thousand murder victims [lying around] like [dead] flies.'
Səhrə yeli teg 'umr baqəsi keçti. (Sayf41v:4) 'Like desert wind the time span of [our lives] has passed.'
3.7.3.8. Nouns in the Terminative Case

- aḥriṯaḏa (RM18r:3) ‘to the end’
- qiyamataḏa (MS2v:1b) ‘until the day of resurrection’
- tāngdaḏa (ShD142v:2) ‘until dawn’

E.g.,
Falak keygān yāsīl tonni zamin māḥisi daqladi; kūyār ol tānggāda bilgil, k[i ba]ğlar bağrida lulu. (ShD142v:2) ‘The sky donned a green garment and branded the fish of the earth. It is ablaze until dawn, know full well, until inside it the ruby is set.’

3.7.3.9. Nouns in the Instrumental Case
With both forms of the instrumental case, i.e., in -la/-lä and -n.

3.7.3.9.1. With Suffix -la/-lä

- bir tūnla (Sayf169r:3) ‘one night’
- ikinci qaṭla (Qub Zaj. p.135) ‘a second time’
- kūndūzlā (Qub H.4058) ‘by day’
- ming qurla (Sayf45v:7) ‘a thousand times’
- tēglā (DN241r:8) ‘all’
- tūmān qurla (MM187v:12) ‘ten thousand times’
- tūnla (ShD124r:3-4) ‘at night’
- har tūnla (ShD125v:7-8) ‘every night’

E.g.,
Čičiban tolun ay tūnla bulut iĉrā bolur pinhān. Magar kim ay yūzīn körğaệc hicab ābār camalīndīn. (ShD124r:3-4) ‘The full moon appears at night but hides in the clouds. Maybe it glanced at the moon face of [my Beloved] and [now] hides its face from her beauty.’

Vah firqaq oṭdīn har tūnla mān oṭqa yanīp, ušbu oṭdīn qalmādi ‘is qalāqī na bergā sen. (ShD125v:7-8) ‘Alas! Every night I was scorched by the fire of separation. Nothing has remained from that fire. What can you give now to the lovers?’

Esiṭtim anda yīglap āh urur sen, ozünģi tēglā elg[a] küldürür sen. (DN241r:8) ‘I hear there you are crying and sighing. You make a laughing stock of yourself in the eyes of everyone.’

Tāmūr tōggan bīlaq ming qurla yahīq ol eḍīn kim kōğsdā beq-gā qarší. (Sayf45v:7) ‘A wrist that pounds on iron is a thousand times better than hands folded on the chest in front of the Beg.’

3.7.3.10. Nouns in the Privative Case
The expanded form of the privative suffix -siz/-siz is used to create adverbs:
- cansızīn (MM197v:4) ‘without life’
- kābinsızīn (Qub H.3766) ‘without a marriage-portion’
- nāṭālgūnsızīn (MM178r:11) ‘without [asking for] signs’
- nibsiz (MM186v:6) ‘without [having stated one’s] intention’
- ofruṣsuzuzun (MM187v:5) ‘without [performing the internal] sitting’
- qirā’atsizīn (MM18r:10c) ‘without recitation from the Qur’an’
- quvaluszuzun (MM193v:17) ‘without a guide’
- zaruratsizīn (MM186r:14) ‘without being compelled’

E.g.,
Tařaqat yolinda quvaluz adab, quvaluszuzun yolğa kirmāk ‘acab. (MM193v:17) ‘On the [Sun] Path proper conduct is the guide. It would be contrary to common practice to enter upon the path without a guide.’

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293 The fish that carries the globe on its back.
294 Ready to serve.
Camād čansızın ol, ne išgä yarar? Qulaq mu ašıtür, bu köz mü körär? (MM197v:4) ‘Without life [the body] is like minerals: What can it accomplish? [Without life] can the ear hear or the eye see?’


İkincü hacatim sendin erur ol, mangə kabınsızın şah sumasun qol. (Qutb H.3766) ‘My second need from you is this: The king should not reach for me without a marriage-portion.’

3.7.4. Gerunds Lexicalized as Adverbs
Gerunds—verbal adverbs—by their nature appear in adverbial function. They are the results of morphological word formation. Some of them, however, have entered the lexicon as adverbs.

3.7.4.1. Gerunds in -a/-ä
bara bara (RB5v:6) ‘gradually’
otura tura (Sayf137r:1) ‘resting and moving on’
øynay külä (Sayf149r:2) ‘playing and laughing’
yiqila tura ‘head over heels’ [<‘falling and rising’ cf. P. ufân u bızan]

E.g.,
Boluʁ aşan bara bara muškil. (RB5v:6) ‘What is difficult will gradually become easy.’
Oļ pahıvan yığıt bilän oyynay külä kelur edük. (Sayf149r:2) ‘With that valiant youth we proceeded playing and laughing.’
Otura tura kitmäk yağışraq andan ki tark yürüp qalgay sän. (Sayf137r:1) ‘To move on taking rest [now and then] is better than to walk fast and stay behind.’

3.7.4.2. Gerunds in -may/-mäy
dam urmay (DN246v:4) ‘without taking a break’
timnay (DN253r:3) ‘without resting’

E.g.,
Dedi, dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarči yel sen yanmaq keräk sen. (DN246v:4) ‘She said, “You must be on your way without taking a break. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time].”’

Zamān-ə äh elidin köngli tınmay qığanlar tartiban nay teg erım-nay. (DN253r:3) ‘At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the reed.’

3.7.4.3. Gerunds in -p [3.6.7.2.1.]
asğup (DN262r:7) ‘in a haste’
kärələp (MM192v:7) ‘in earnest’
monup (Sayf13r:13) ‘aged, old’
øynap (MM192v:7) ‘in jest’
øynap külp (Ḫ82r:2) ‘playing and laughing’
tapşurup (AC326v:2) ‘in trust’

E.g.,
Tilädi asğup allida şabrand, vidâ-ê körgüzüp atlandi dîltang. (DN270r:5) ‘Waisting no time she asked for her dark bay horse, bade good-bye, and, with a sad heart, mounted [her horse].’
Eligini uzattı ol hamavaz, asgup aldı va körgüzdi parvaz. (DN262r:7) ‘That understanding and kind person held out his hand, accepted the letter in a haste and took to flight.’
Käräk oynnay ayson, käräk kärələp, tüşär ant qil azad, hàräm ittifaq. (MM192v:7) ‘Whether the divorce was stated in jest or in earnest, the oath is no longer binding, one must set the woman at liberty. Union with her is henceforward forbidden.’
Künni kâq qilip kelur alar öygya oynnay külp tapmaq mändin nišan ham ata ana yürüp. (Ḫ82r:2) ‘[And], having spent the day [in such amusements], running and laughing, they return home, my father and mother will not see me among them.’

3.7.4.4. Gerunds in -ban/-bån
intikibän (AC322v:1) ‘driven by a strong desire’
külübän (Sayf116r:12) ‘smiling’
qorquban (Sayf142v:7) ‘afraid’

E.g.,
İntiqibän, taşqari çiqtim ravan. Tun yarimi ötüp edi ol zamân. (AC322v:1) ‘Driven by a strong desire, I rushed out into the street. It was already past midnight.’
Külübän aytti ki män çam-şi çam-şi män, Sa’dî! Mangə ne qaygu özün küdyurursa parvana. (Sayf116r:12) ‘Smiling she said, I am the candle of the assembly, Sa’dî! What do I care, if a moth burns itself?’

285 Lit., sitting down and rising [again]
294 A Central Asian proverb.

295 Reference to the opening lines of Raml’s Maşnavi.
3.7.4.5. Gerund in-u/-ü [3.6.7.7.2.]
ulâsu (MM179v:14) ‘constantly’
yâsrü (MA53-3) ‘hidden, concealed’

E.g.,
Bu îhm-ı Rabbânîdîn yîrguçî malak tég ulâsu oyaq turguçî.
(MM200r:15) ‘The interpreter of the Divine revelation was, like an angel, always awake.’

3.7.5. Coordinated Nouns
Nouns can be coordinated by juxtaposition or by the conjunctions u, va or, rarely mâ, -îl, -a and [in a few Persian words] ba or a.

dam ba-dam (Sayf56v:3) ‘every moment, constantly’
erîä keçê (Sayf97v:5) ‘night and day’
keçê kündûz (MS4v:2) ‘night and day’
layîl na har (Sayf76r:4) ‘night and day’
mâl sâl (BN185v:10) ‘for months and years’
âm sahar (AC324v:10) ‘from evening to dawn’
hwar u zîr (AC322r:6) ‘in a depressed and dejected state’
damâdam (DN260v:8) ‘gradually, progressively’
payapiy (DN236v:1) ‘continuously, incessantly’
tûn kûn (MS3v:2) ‘night and day’
tûn vû kûn (Sayf59v:12-13) ‘night and day’
tûn mâ kûn (Qub Zaj. p.109) ‘night and day’
tûn mâ kündûz (Qub Zaj. p.109) ‘night and day’
tûnî kûn (Sayf146r:1) ‘night and day’

E.g.,
‘Inâyat şubhîdîn savulğusî dur damâdam ûmî: teg söz û gudâ-zing. (DN260v:8) ‘From the morning of grace your burning and melting woes will gradually reduce like a burning candle.’

Payapiy tanda ûksûp hwar u hwarîm, damadam yeîl ûgîl artîp izîrîmîn. (DN236v:1) ‘Gradually my appetite subsided and my sleep decreased. Progressively my anxiety increased like [rising] wind.’

Keçê kündûz tähîrat içîr fîr zîr tört narsa erûr. Qilayîn ‘arz. (MS 4v:2) ‘Night and day, there are four mandatory duties [that must be observed] during the taharat.’

Îtkûrîr erdi sözînî mâh sâl, kelmâs erdi Haqq ta’âlâga mâlî. (BN85v:10) ‘For months and years God carried out his requests; the Most High never woreied of them.’

3.7.5. Repetition of Adjectives or Nouns
Repetition suggests emphasis or increased quality often equivalent to the superlative or absolute degree of adjectives.

bat bat (DN259r:11) ‘very fast’
bir bir (DN266r:10) ‘in detail, one by one’
gah gah (DN251r:6) ‘now and then’
gah gah (DN252v:7) ‘now and then’
hwaś hwaś (ShD36v:11) ‘very god’
lahza lahzâ (RV3v:9) ‘from moment to moment’
qoş qoş (ShD9v:5) ‘in pairs’
rang rang (ShD155r:3) ‘in colors’
şaff şaff (ShD7v:8) ‘in rows’
zar zar (AC328r:3) ‘sobbing bitterly’
zarra zarra (ShD139r:2) ‘little by little’

E.g.,
Zarra zarra sendin ondi köngümîzda’işq oti, uşbu mî’râcînîn tûnînda şahîb-i asrîr sen. (ShD130r:2-3) ‘Because of you the fire of love grew little by little in my heart. In the night of this very ascent to heaven you are the possessor of secrets.’

Umedîm Tengirîdîn ol dur ki gah gah, yarûgây kûrîrîm yuçûndîn, ay mâh! (DN251r:6) ‘My hope from God is that now and then my eyes may shine with joy beholding your face, O. Moon.’

Aça berdi anga sarbaştı razîn, dedi bir bari soz-u gudazîn. (DN258v:3) ‘To her [the Beloved] disclosed her safely kept secrets’ and told her about all her pains and tribulations one by one.’

Rayahîn rangî bir bir boldî mahbûs, cûman teg cilvsîn kö güzîdî fâvus. (DN266r:10) ‘The colors of the sweet basil, one by one, became prisoners; the peacock displayed its splendor exactly as the flower garden did.’

Tirîlîk sarîdîn urmay nafas heç, çîqip bat bat dami âmna’i kelîp heç. (DN 259r:11) ‘He does not breathe at all to give a sign of being alive. He is panting fast but no word comes out of his mouth.’

Çanâ bu ‘işq yolida ‘aqîl ozîdîn ketîr, zulfung salur kamandînî hwaś hwaś mâhîl bolur. (ShD36v:12-13) ‘Sweheart, on the path of this love reason is beside itself. This is a very good opportunity for your tresses to throw their lassos.’

298 In this coordinated pair of words ‘night’ is mentioned first following the practice in the Qur’an.

299 Lit., removed the band from the bag in which his secrets were kept. Parallel meaning: opened the bag of hashish.

300 Lit., he exhales fast.
3.7.6. Arabic Accusative Case Forms Used as Adverbs
‘amdā (DN244r:7) ‘deliberately’
cahran (RM2v:3) ‘aloud’
ḥāṣṣa (Sayf14v:3) ‘especially’
ḥāṣṣatan (Sayf9v:2) ‘particularly’
ḥufyatan (RM2v:2) ‘silently’
maṣala (RB6r:13) ‘for example’
muqimātā (MM187r:16) ‘according to the duties of a resident’
qaṣdan (MM183v:9) ‘by intention’
sahvan (MM183v:3) ‘through inadvertence’

E.g.,
Meni, ay baḥt, ‘amdā tempākiŋ ne? Cīrābat ʿustīdā, tuz sepmākiŋ ne? (DN244r:7) ‘O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt on the top of my wounds?’

Muqimluqda bolsa namāz qalmiş, muqimātā qilgay safarda kīši. (MM187r:16) ‘The person who has missed a prayer while a resident, must compensate for it according to the obligation of such a resident, even if he is on a journey.’

Hwaṣ kelir avāz-i tar bolsa hāznā ḥāṣṣatan ʿasīqlara vaqt-i sabūh. (Sayf9v:2) ‘It is pleasant to listen to soft music if it sounds sad, especially for lovers at dawn.’

Farīzā qalur bolsa buzur namāz, kārāk saḥvan qaṣdan, ʿūkūs bolsu az. (MM183v:9) ‘The omission of a mandatory duty surely invalidates the prayer whether that omission occurs through inadvertence or by intention.’

3.7.7. Arabic Verbal Nouns
Arabic verbal nouns in -at are often used as adjectives or adverbs.
‘aṭqubat (DN245v:4) ‘finally, at the end’
hāziṃat (Sayf18v:7) ‘destroyed’
kifāyat (MS1v:5) ‘sufficient, enough’
qaṇaʿat (Sayf82v:3) ‘satisfied’
safāmat (Sayf104r:3) ‘healthy’
tamāmat (Sayf153r:12) ‘completely’
ḥalvaṭ (Sayf72v:12) ‘alone’
tamāmat (Sayf153r:12) ‘completely’

E.g.,
Qurī etmāk aṣāp ḥirqa kāyargā ʿon qaṇaʿat mān. (Sayf 82v:3) ‘Because I am contented with living on dry bread and wearing tattered clothes.’
Ikki sacda anga kifāyat tur. (MS1v:5) ‘Two propitiatory prostrations suffice [to atone] for them.’

3.7.8. Arabic Phrases Used as Adverbs
abaṭu’l-ṣabāb (MM196v:7) ‘eternally’
ʿalā’t-tamām (MS14r:2) ‘totally’
al-maqṣūd (Sayf1v:13) ‘in short’
al-qīsā (Sayf14v:11) ‘to sum up’
‘aṭqubatul-ṣqīsa (AC3v7:8) ‘finally, at the end of the story’
biʿl-taṣāfīl (MS5r:3) ‘thoroughly’
biʿl-taṣāfīr (MS11v:6) ‘through neglect’
farīqul-bāl (DN243v:1) ‘free from cares, at ease’
fiʿl-cūmla (Sayf28r:2) ‘in short’
fiʿl-ḥāl (DN249r:3) ‘at once’
fiʿl-ḥaqīqa (RB4v:13) ‘in fact’
min camīʿ vucūh (MS5v:4) ‘in any way’

E.g.,
Fiğānīm tīndī va fīryād uĉtī, taraf keldī va ʿamīm fiʿl-ḥāl köctī. (DN249r:3) ‘My sobbing has ceased, and the cry for help has gone. Celebration has arrived and grief at once has moved away.’
Aga ṣen anda qalur yasqa pamāl, men ʿuzmīdīn barur men munda fiʿl-ḥāl. (DN260r:5) ‘If you put these in tears, here I lose my consciousness at once.’

Burnung aṣțīnga min camīʿ vucūh sol eligād sa alurūng makrūh. (MS5v:4) ‘It is reprehensible for you to use your left hand in any way for taking water up into your nose and mouth.’
Anga ʿasīqlur va ol uĉtī darḥāl, etīp saʿāy anda ʿāṭī fariqul-bāl. (DN243v:1) ‘I handed it over to the Morning Wind and it took to wings right away. Exerting itself, it arrived there free from care.’

3.7.9. Persian Phrases Used as Adverbs
ba davām (RB9v:12) ‘always’
ba ʿāyat (H82r:9) ‘very much’
ba kamāl (RB4r:13) ‘fully’
ba nagāh (H76r:3) ‘suddenly’
ba taḥqīq (RM33r:3) ‘surely’

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301 i.e., your body which is straight like a cypress
302 Intent [niyyah] is correct when it is properly stated in due time.
303 Like a nomad caravan Sorrow packed up its chattels and left [kōcī].
3.7.10. Semantic Classification

By their meanings adverbs are divided into four groups: adverbs of time, manner, quantity, and place.

3.7.10.1. Adverbs of Time

'aqībat (ShD79v:8) 'finally'
avval (Sayf11r:2) 'first'
basa (RM2r:6) 'then, thereupon'
bitur (NTM5v:8) 'last year'
bir kūnī (BN86r:2) 'one day'
ba zamān (BN90r:8) 'now, at this time'
dā'ima (Sayf6v:1) 'always'
darhāl (NF5r:17) 'at once, right away'
basa (RM2r:6) 'then; furthermore'
burun (ShD171r:12) 'formerly'
emdi (H77v:8) 'now'
hamēsā (DN253r:8) 'always'
har dam (DN247v:1) 'always, incessantly, invariably'
hargiz (DN24r:2) 'never' [with negative predicate]
har kūn (DN259r:9) 'every day'
har lahza (DN247v:5) 'always, constantly'
keč (Qub H253) 'late'
kečqurun (PdC482) 'late, in the evening'
kündüz (GD92r,2) 'by day'
nagāh (Sayf124r:9) 'suddenly'
nagahan (MM193r:10) 'suddenly'
nihāyat (NF82v:16) 'finally'
oza (MM181r:6) 'before'
ol zamān (MM184v:15)
öngin (Qub H40) 'before'
songgīda (RM30v:4) 'later'
songra (Sayf6v:10) 'afterward'
tangla (BN91r:2) 'tomorrow'
tanglāsi (RM32r:9) 'next morning'
tutšū (Qub H2742) 'always'
tūn kūn (Sayf146r:1) 'night and day'
tūn qata (Sayf63v:8) 'all night, through the night'
tūnli (RM32r:2) 'at night'
tūnli kündüz (Qub H559) 'night and day'
ulasū (MM176v:12) 'always'
ušol zamān (RM12r:10) 'then, at that time'

E.g.,
Anga tāpsūrdum va ol učti darḥāl, etip sa'y anda yätti fariğ'ul-bāl. (DN243v:1) 'I handed it over to [the Morning Breeze] and right then it took to wings. Exerting itself it arrived and completed its mission.'

Hamēsā uygusizliqqa qiliq hū, tūsīdā kirmāyin 'umrida uyqu. (DN253r:8) 'He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.'

Meni sen kūrmāyāg sen özgā hargız, pari teg közungā učqay camalim. (DN242r:2) 'You will never see me in any other way. My beauty will draw your attention like a fairy.'

Kūrūp har dam qara bahtini tūn teg, kongüldin tartip ahini tutün teg. (DN247r:1) 'He always perceives his black fortune as [the darkness of] the night. He lets out sighs, like smoke, from his heart.'

3.7.10.2. Adverbials of Manner

āhasta (RM31r:1) 'slowly'
āsān (RM10v:6) 'easily'
arqan (MM188r:17) 'upon his back'
arqan arqun (Sayf167r:5) 'slowly'
arsu (RM14v:8) 'very much'
avgup (RM45r:8) 'in a hurry'
az (Sayf86v:5) 'a little'

Lit., its wings were disengaged. Fariğ'ul-bāl is also the person who is free from care.

It is understood that being constantly awake is also the characteristic of angels and highranking saints. The author Islam attributes this quality also to his father, Baba Islam.

Lit., my beauty will fly into your eyes.
Kim aşıru bəvəfa dur bu zamāna, cahān qalmas kişigā cāvidāna. (MN295r:11) ‘Because the times are most unfaithful. This world does not stay with anyone for ever.’

3.7.10.3. Adverbials of Quantity
anča (MM89v:17) ‘as much’
az (RM10r:9) ‘a little’
bağayat (Qtb2990) ‘very much’
barča (Qtb2349) ‘entirely’
bas (Sayf18v:3) ‘enough, sufficient’
beḳ (NTM14r:2) ‘very much’
biraz (NF12r:7) ‘a little’
bu muncha (RM32v:8) ‘so much’
bu qadar (RM20v:8) ‘this much’
čandān (DN259v:11) ‘so much’
engān (MM194v:10) ‘very much’
faravan (DN243r:10) ‘numerous, abundant’
kōp (DN247v:5) ‘very much’
muncha (GD19,7) ‘as much’
üküš (MM179r:10) ‘very much’
tālim (MM191v:5) ‘much, many’
sarāsar (DN249v:6) ‘entirely’

E.g.,
Ču mażmūni sarāsar boldi ma‘lüm, ne kim [er]di mubham boldi maḥbūm. (DN255v:10) ‘When its content became entirely known, anything that was doubtful before now was completely understood.’

Vafasizliq ṭaţtini tartma kūp bittimas čon firistiṣa ol gunahim. (DN257v:10) ‘Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful, because the angel does not record that transgression of mine.’

Qaṣīm čandān sāning fıkırngi qildi, ki qayğudin boyi ya teg egldi. (DN259v:11) ‘My eyebrow had thought so much about that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.’

Bitdim nama etip ḥamani fez, sarāsar dard amma‘uzrām. (DN 249v:6) ‘I finished writing the letter, moving the pen fast. It was pain in its entirety, but was mitigated by excuses.’

3.7.10.4. Adverbials of Place
anda (DN252v:3) ‘there, then’
andin (H75r:10) ‘from there’
ari bāri (Sayf18r:12) ‘here and there’
artīnča (Sayf34r:9) ‘behind, after [him]’
ibu maqamda (RM39r:5) ‘here’
bu yärđä (H84v:4) ‘here’
munda (DN260v:3 ‘here’
mundin (MM193r:12) ‘from here’
bäri (Sayf125v:12) ‘here’
ilgari (RM39r:9) ‘forward’
qo’yi (RM36v:5) ‘down, downward’
taşqari (BN85v:3) ‘outside, beyond’
taşra (Qtb, Zaj. p.162) ‘out, outward’
tört yaru (Qtb Zaj. p.72) ‘in four directions’
ütu (Qtb Zaj. p.201) ‘before’
yaqin (Sayf55r:9) ‘close’
yiraq (Sayf9v:4) ‘far’
yuqari (Sayf155r:13) ‘upward’

E.g.,
Agar sen anda körsäng nagah āzar, men esitip bolur men munda afgar. (DN260r:3) ‘If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.’
Ketür ağa kemäkä kir yoq esä taşqarí oltur. (Sayf100r:8) ‘Bring money and board the boat or else sit outside.’
Artınça barip tutup ketürdilä. (Sayf34r:9) ‘They went after him and brought him back.’
Ma‘anjı har yındını körgüzıp zør, salıp har lahta söz bázärına şor. (DN247v:5) ‘Charmers manifest their power from all directions. Every moment they cause devaluation in the market of words’

va (DN258r:10) ‘and’
vale (H74v:11) ‘but’
vağan (H75v:9) ‘but’
yä (DN252v:1) ‘or’
yah (Sayf154v:9) ‘or else’
yahud (RM30v:7) ‘or’
yoq esä (Sayf8r:9) ‘otherwise’

E.g.,
Barur bat ħusn va qalmas bu cigitlik, qalur amma irig söz birta itik. (DN246r:2) ‘Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But [what] will remain [with us] are rude words and meanness.’
Ne bolsa kāy dağ đüyü ‘amal qil. (Sayf51r:12) ‘Put on whatever you have and do good.’
Tüzālip adamlar hēyin aļğın, ne degay el dağ ëbir uyalgın. (DN260r:11) ‘Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Whatever people say, do not be ashamed after all.’
Ol qarindaš kim nafs asiri turur ne qarindaš bolur ne yaqin. (Sayf78r:4) ‘A brother who is captive of the carnal soul is neither a brother nor a relative.’
Zarif va sarkas va zibba va cammas, qarin erdi anga balki qarindaš. (DN258r:10) ‘She was witty, obstinate, elegant, and jolly. She was a close friend, nay, she was more, she was a close relative.’
Tegār mü kirpu kimdin canına oq? Balani tüş körār mü közi va yoq? (252r:7) ‘Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see affliction in his dream or not?’

3.8. CONJUNCTIONS
Conjunctions are divided into two groups: coordinating and subordinating. Coordinating conjunctions connect sentences that are not depending on one another to make a full sense. Subordinating conjunctions connect one or more subordinate sentences to a main sentence.

3.8.1. Coordinating Conjunctions
amma (DN 246r:2) ‘but’
balki (DN258r:10) ‘nay [more], in fact’
basā (RW2r:6) ‘and then’
birlä (DN246r:2) ‘with’
birlän (DN253r:9) ‘with’
dagi (DN260r:11) ‘and’
gah...gah (53v:13) ‘now...now’
ham (Sayf181v:3) ‘also’
ilä (Sayf182r:4) ‘and’
ne...ne (Sayf78r:4) ‘neither nor’
va (DN258r:10) ‘and’
vağan (H75v:9) ‘but’
yä (DN252v:1) ‘or’
yah (Sayf154v:9) ‘or else’
yahud (RM30v:7) ‘or’
yoq esä (Sayf8r:9) ‘otherwise’

E.g.,
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3.8.2. Subordinating Conjunctions
agär (DN245r:7) ‘if’
agær (DN246v:4) ‘even if, although’
āz bas kl (DN260v:1) ‘inasmuch as’
čon (DN242r:11) ‘since, because; when’
ču (DN246v:5) ‘when; since’
gar (DN242r:3) ‘if’
gar (DN256r:8) ‘even if, although’
goyā kim (GD68:7) ‘as if’
magar (DN256v:6) ‘by chance, may be, perhaps; except’
kl (DN244v:6) ‘which’
kim (DN244v:7) ‘which’
kim andin (DN247v:11) ‘from whom’
kim anī (DN257v:5) ‘whom’

307 With or without conditional in -sa.
3.9. PARTICLES

Particles are modifying grammatical elements mostly without a lexical meaning. Their role emerges from the context. We distinguish seven groups of particles according to the manner how they influence the sentence.

3.9.1. Particles of Specification

Rare in Chagaty but quite frequent in Modern Uzbek.

nâk (ShD121v:4-5) ‘exactly’

E.g.,

Ay qâzi rîşvagari ay mufti haşyagari, ğam ğam oţin nâk sónü-rûr ‘iştîn ğâbar anglamayin. (ShD121v:5) ‘O, the Brie-taking Judge! O, the Fear-inspiring Mufti! They promptly extinguish the fire of many sorrows without understanding what love is.’

Köziýmdâ nâk nînên sângûlmûdû dûr víşâlîng; Köziým uyaltî víşâlîng köziýmdâ sên ‘âyân sên. (ShD129r:8-9) ‘You are hidden from my eyes: union with you is in my heart. My eyes made you bâshful of our union [but] in my heart you are clearly visible.’

3.9.2. Particles of Intensification

There are five groups of intensifying particles.

3.9.2.1. The Corroborative Particle

ök (MM176v6) ‘indeed, exactly’

E.g.,

Sân ök sân yaratîn bu yer kök kûn ay. (MM176v6) ‘You are indeed the one who created the earth, the sky, the sun, and the moon.’

Sen_uq sen manga pîr va saîv va murîd, sen_uq sen manga mur-îd va bu‘î-vafa. (ShD5v:1) ‘You, indeed, are for me the elder, the sheikh, the novice; you, indeed, are for me the teacher and the faithful one.’

3.9.3. Deictic Particles

Very frequently used for precise pointing:

uš (MM177v:12) ‘look!’

ușal (H74v:2) ‘that same, that very’

ušol (MM177r:3) ‘that same, that very’

ušbu (ShD6v:8) ‘this same, this very’

E.g.,

Qiîmağî sênamâzda tâqsîr, tâ qiyâmtda bolğa sên dilgîr. (MS3v:4) ‘So do not be remiss in your prayers. Have a care or you will be filled with horror on that Day.’
mana (AYp.48) ‘lo!, behold!’
šol (ShD15r:11) ‘this same, this very’

E.g.,
‘Amaldin riya ham tilingdin nifaq konguldin kitær kena uš boldi can. (MM177v:12) ‘Cast ostentation from your heart and then [a proper] soul is there.’
Ay Šabani ušbu makrūh dunyada šarin ‘ini qilsang da’im boldung calal. (ShD6v:6) ‘O, Shabani, if you act according to His law in this detestable world, you will always be majestic.’
Laškar-i īslamī căksam qizil bůrk üstina, bolgusı yavvar Madina kışvaridin šol Habib. (ShD15r:11) ‘When I lead the forces of Islam against the people of the red hat, that friend from the land of Madina will be my helper.’
Bi’smillah dep bayan aylay ḥikmat aytıp, fašlibargā dur u guhar sačtim, mana. (AYp.48) ‘I pronounced the name of God and stated my intention to declare the words of wisdom. Lo, I have sprinkled pearls and gems in front of the seekers.’

3.9.4. Interrogative Particles
-mu/-mu (DN252r:11) ‘is it?’
heč (DN252r:11) ‘at all?’

E.g.,
Iičnda ‘is qotidin bar mu sozi, tilär aqzinni heč ol tangrozi? (DN252r:11) ‘Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love [for me]? Does this pauper long for my lips?’
İtim firidadina gah gah yetär mı? Kišisizligina ol rahm etär mı? (DN252v:7) ‘Does he respond now and then to the howling of my dog? Does he take pity on its loneliness?’

3.9.5. Subjective [Modal] Particles
-ā (ShD146r:3) [prosodic expletive]
-a (MS16r:5) [prosodic expletive]
kü (ShD131r:2) ‘maybe’
-ti (ShD95v:4-5) ‘well’

E.g.,
Piyaša toldurup keltür, ay śaših, bu dunyā bizdin olsun pir-i Zala. (ShD146r:3) ‘I say, Traveler [on the Path]! Fill the cup and bring it to me. As far as we are concerned, let this world stay [nothing else but] an old man.’
Nā üčün tinmas közungün yaši da’im kečālar sugurur sen kī yana ol bağ va bustanıngni sen. (ShD131r:2) ‘Why are the tears from your eyes unceasingly pouring always at nights? Are you, maybe, watering your gardens again?’
İmğa’in bolsang Šabani bar-či ol mayhânağ. Kim ušol gulguna şurat camidin bolgū qul. (ShD95v:4-5) ‘Shabani, if you have not quenched your thirst yet, go to that tavern, so that you may be enlightened by the cup of that same rose-color image.’
Bir kūniğā ‘iıkki ay tutar roza, arani üzmâyın ki har roza. (MS 16r:5) ‘As penitence he must fast one day after another without missing a day for a total of two moths for every [single] day [that he omitted or violated the fast].’

3.9.6. Morphologic-Syntactic Particles
Particles of this group are permanent parts of set expressions with lexical status. All of them are of Persian origin and occur only with Arabic-Persian elements.

3.9.6.1. Coordinative Particles
-u: nam-ū nišan (ShD35v:2) ‘name and sign’312
şaš-ū šalâh (MM182v:1) ‘peace and reconciliation’
roz-ū şab (ShD44v:11-12) ‘day and night’
kečā u kündüz (ShD20r:12) ‘night and day’

ba-: dam ba-dam (ShD35v:2) ‘constantly, every moment’314
dar ba-dar (ShD48v:13) ‘from door to door’315
sar ba-sar (ShD49r:2) ‘from beginning to end’

ma-: tūn ma-kündüz (Qūtb H1148) ‘night and day’

ta-: sar ta-gadam (ShD130r:5) ‘from head to toe’

-a: dam-ā dam (ShD145r:8) ‘always, every moment’
sar-ā sar (Navā’i, Dict. III. 54) ‘from head to toe’316
bar-ā bar (ShD149v:11) ‘together’317

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312 It expresses the total absence of any trace of a deceased person in the community he has left as opposed to Anūshīrvān, the Just, whose good name and the effects of his good deeds survive for ever.
314 This Persian phrase does not follow the Islamic practice of mentioning ‘night’ first.
315 It often refers to permanent or lasting state of a person who enjoys the pleasures of Paradise [which renews every moment so that one does not get satiated or fed up with them].
316 It is also used as a noun meaning ‘vagrant, vagabond’.
317 Lit., ‘from this end to that end’
E.g.,
Bu Gulsanğa tamaşa qılın er, dam ba-dam ma'ni yeminişin taka yer. (Sayf6v:7) 'The one who walks around in this Rose Garden,' will enjoy the fresh fruit of meanings every moment.'
Kel bu yot savadanını biz oynali: yurisun mavla va süfi dar baxDar. (ShD48v:13) 'Come and play the madness of this path. Let the shaykh and the sufi go [begging] door to door.'
Ayi basa emdi biling usbu zaman, sarguzaştım aygali yoq sar barsar. (ShD49r:1-2) 'Oh, this world is just too much now, mark well! I do not feel like telling my story from beginning to end.'

3.9.6.2. Additive Particles
ham (H74r:1) 'and even'
ham taqi (MM190r:16) 'and also'
kärkham (MM190v:10) 'or even'
taqi (RM5r:10) 'and, and also, in addition'
Yana (MM177r:6) 'and, and also'

E.g.,
Bir oq birişi asa, quş ura neçä, kädik bir ya ikki kärkham ucca. (MM190r:6) 'Let us suppose that a believer shoots one arrow or [releases] one falcon and [the arrow or falcon] wound several—one, two, or even three—game animals...'
Yana tört muqarrab şahaba uça tüman ming bu gurfnan va rizvan saza. (MM177r:6) 'And as to the four companions, who were the closest [followers of] Muhammad, let ten thousand thousand remissons and blessings be [their] share.'
Yunus icra niyyat erur mustahabb taqi balaslamalqiy buyurmisça Rabb. (MM182r:13) 'In the ablution the [statement of one's] intent is praiseworthy. It is also [praiseworthy] to begin [and carry out] the ablution [in the manner that our Lord has decreed.'

3.9.6.3. Restrictive Particles
-gina (ShD127v:4-5) 'a bit' [diminutive]; 'at all' [emphatic]

E.g.,
Furqat mayidin içtim bir cur'anı pur şor mân. Man' etmä meni zahid andak giina mahmûr mân. (ShD121r:10-11) 'I drank a gulp from the wine of separation and I am full of bitterness. Ascetic do not stop me, I am a bit intoxicated.'
Qazi bitä mavfalar Şaybanini ne bilsün; tegmä kisi bilmäs tur mastak giina mansur mân. (ShD127v:4-5) 'How would the judge and the sheikh know Shaybanî? Not all the people know that I am victorious because I am a bit intoxicated.'
Könlūnga kelsa sora turğil birärda, ay möğül, sendin özgä bu Şabanning heē giina ithüm yiyoq. (ShD77v:10) 'If it occurs to you keep asking someone, O Moghul. Shabanî has no other refuge but you.'

3.9.6.4. Particles of Negation
dagül (Sayf13r:10) 'is not'
ğayr- (ShD130v:8) 'no'
heē (H81v:3) 'at all'
nä (DN254r:11) 'not'
ne (Sayf143v:5) 'nor'
ne..ne (Sayf164v:1) 'neither...nor'

E.g.,
Muruuvat körmedim bir faqrîng ciraḥati üstümä tuz qoymaq ne öz könglmä. (Sayf143v:5) 'I did not regard it compatible with magnanimity to sprinkle salt upon the wound of a poor man or upon my heart.'

Yılan öltürüp balasin başlanıp 'aqllar isî dagül. (Sayf13r:10) 'To kill the snake and bring up its young ones is not the work of the wise.'
Ne qatti bol kim el sândan uşangay ne yumsaq qadrinda nuqşan ketürçüy. (Sayf164v:1) 'Don't be so hard as to break people who get in touch with you. Nor be so soft as to cause damage to your dignity.'

3.9.6.5. Particles of Affirmation
arı (H76r:3) 'yes'
balı (Sayf26r:12)) 'yes'319
ărı balı (LN84r) 'yes, sure'320

E.g.,
Oğli ayttî: Ay ata, balı, ranc çâkmäyin ganc hâsil bolmas. (Sayf104v:13) 'His son said: O Father, yes, you are right, without taking pains, you will not find the treasure.'321
Begim ağzingda söz arı balı dur, sözûngûzgä cavab arı balı dur. (LN84r) 'My Lord, the words in your mouth are [sweet] like honey. The answer to your words is "yes, sure."'322

319 i.e., you are right
320 i.e., yes sir!
321 Cf., English 'No pain, no gain.'
322 Also, answer to the question 'Am I not thy Lord?'
Dedi, ărî tanur mân, ay şahinşah! Kirip baslarığa aşrıg banâgah. (Hâfiz:3) 'The boy answered: Yes, I know him, O King! He has just come down with a head-ache.'

3.9.6.6. Particles of Comparison
mângiz (Sayf167v:1) 'similar'
mişal (Sayf37v:11) 'similar'
şifat (Shâd160v:6) 'like'
şifat (Sayf66v:1) 'like'

E.g.,
Bu cumla şaň-a'iq musafir mengiz, taqî dunya tüpsüz qarışgiz tengîz. (MM179r:3) 'All creatures are like seafarers and this world is like a bottomless and shoreless sea.'

Gah bolur ʻürăn aşcağlar, gah bolurlar gül şifat. (Sayf66r:1) 'The trees are sometimes naked, sometimes covered with flowers.'

3.9.7. Emphatic Particles
bas (Hâfiz:4) 'very much'
bâse (Hâfiz:4) 'very'
eng (Sayf66v:12) 'very much'
engân (MM179v:15) 'very much'
köp (DN250r:1) 'much'
-lâ/lâ (MS16r:6) 'for sure'
ma (MM178v:6) 'and how'

E.g.,
Bârgây altmîş faqiqlârğa ta'âm yâhûd ârâd âylâgây-lâ gulfâm. (MS16r:6) 'Or he must feed sixty of the poor or set free one slave.'

Bu can bermâk basê duşvâr ekân dur, bu yärđâ kim manga ăm-hwar ekân dur? (Hâfiz:4) 'How very difficult it is to give up one's soul. Who is there to take pity on me?'

Saçîngîn ʻanbar urûr koup uyaţîq, qara qul dur sanga bir ʻanbar alîq. (DN250r:2) 'By your hair' the ambergris is put to shame. What you call[324] ambergris, is [but] an unskilled servant of yours.'

3.9.8. Quasi Particles
This is a mixed category consisting of adverbs, adjectives and predicative words, verbal or nominal.

3.9.8.1. Sentence Modifiers
They influence the meaning of the entire sentence.
âhir (Sayf120v:4) 'at last, finally'
albatta (Sayf140v:8) 'certainly, for sure'
haşşa (Sayf140v:3) 'especially'
haşşatan (Sayf98v:2) 'particularly'

E.g.,
Âhir bir kûn az nafr ńečün haşîrim âsrân rava kûrdi. (Sayf 120v:4) 'Finally, one day for a small gain he saw it fit to hurt my feelings.'

3.9.8.2. Predicative Particles
bar (DN252r:11) 'is, exists'
dur (DN257v:5) 'is'
kerâk (DN246v:4) 'it is necessary'
kerâkmâs (Sayf163v:3) 'it is not necessary, one should not'
kârâkmâz (MM177v:11) 'it is not necessary, it is not needed'
tur (DN264r:7) 'is'
yoq (Sayf128v:5) 'is not, it does not exist'

E.g.,
Dedi, "Dam urmay âltanmaq kerâk sen, agarîy sel yannmaq kerâk sen. (DN246v:4) 'She said, "You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time]."'

Yüzûng kögüdur, ay hunu icra mâhim, haşar qil kim ani tutsun ahîm. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'
Menî sen körmi 'aeiz kim qayî dur mahhabat payasinda dost-gâhim. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'
Bu üe birikbân bolur, bil, iman. Vale boldî sûrat, kârâkmâz mü can? (MM177v:11) 'Know that these three elements together constitute the Faith. But after the form had ben created, is it not in need of a soul?'

3.10. INTERJECTIONS
Very frequent in the colloquial style.
al-aman (GD2:9) 'Mercy!'
allâh akbar (GD114r:1) 'God is Most Great'[325]
aâ aay (DN259r:8) 'Hark ye!'[326]

[324] Lit., what is called
[325] Used when the speaker expresses his admiration of God the Creator's mastery.
ay (DN244r:7) ‘O’
bihamdillah (AYV,5d) ‘Praise be God’
dirêga (Sayf132v:2) ‘What a pity!’
fiqan (GD145:7) ‘What a pity!’, hay hay (AYIII,3b) ‘Quick! Quick!’
hayhat hayhat (AYXVII,4a) ‘Alas!’
hayfa (AYXVI,9a) ‘Alas!’
ḫudar (ShD122r:10-11) ‘For God’s sake!’
ilahi (ShD86v:4) ‘O my Lord!’
ta’ala’lāh (ShD59v:3) ‘the most high God’
va dirēga (AYV,11) ‘It is a pity!’
va hasrat (Sayf182v:9) ‘Alas!’
va’llah bi’llāh (AYXVIII,6b) ‘verily’
va’s-salām GD150:7) ‘That’s all!’
vavlaya (GD1:7) ‘Alas!’
vā vaylatā (AYI,230) ‘Alas!’
vay (GD75:1) ‘Alas!’
vay ne hasrat (AYII,230) ‘O, what a pity!’
zahi (ShD29r:8-9) ‘What a...!, How excellent!’

e.g., Allahu akbar usbu ne zebâ camal erur kim ḥusn icindâ mazhar-i luft u kamal erur. (GD114r:1) ‘God is most great!’
What an exquisite beauty this is! As far as beauty is concerned, she is the place where elegance and perfection manifest themselves.

Ala ay gamda tapqa ranq tabild tavam etkân közî sangarttîn nil. (DN259r:8) ‘Hark ye whose color has changed in grief, whose eyes make the Nile river flow with vermilion red [tears].’

Ala ay dard āhangimî tutqua, özini naqşlar brîlân avutqua. (DN246v:7) ‘Hark ye, who tuned on the melody of pain, who console yourself with [phantom] images.’

Bihamdillah iki naftim öldi, dostlar. (AYV,5d) ‘Praise be to God, Two of my souls have died, O Friends!’

Zahi sani’ ki cân berdi, könţul ham berip, davlat ayaqî qildî mulham. (DN228v: 4) ‘What an Artisan, who gave [us] soul and heart and inspired the cup of happiness.’

Labing tabassum ila âylâ tirguzûr ki masih, zabî tabassum-i širin

zahi kalâm-i faşih. (ShD29r:8-9) ‘Your lips with a smile bring one alive like [Jesus] the Messiah. What a sweet smile! What eloquent words.’

Men ol bulbul emas men, ay gul-andam, ki bir dam bargisz tapgay men âram. (DN244v:6) ‘I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, who can find rest without [rose] leaves even for a moment.’

Yüzung közug dur, ay ḥusn icra mähim, ḥazâr qil kim ani tutmasun ahihm. (DN257v:5) ‘Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].’

On altima barça arvâh ulüls berdi, hay hay sizgâ mubarak dep Adam keldi. (AYIII,3b) ‘When I was sixteen all the spirits gave me their shares. Quick! Quick! Adam had come and said: Blessings for you!’

Közüm yaşi bigin tofraqqa tustum, Ḥudârâ salmagîl meni nazar-din. (ShD122r:10-11) ‘Like the tear drops of my eyes I fell into the dust. For God’s sake do not cast me away from your sight.’

Ta’ala’lāh bu nā yüz dur yangaqi şûlâsi cavhar, ușol cavharîna saqlap tur iki saçî bolup âzdar. (ShD59v:3) ‘God the Most High! What a face is this? The flames of her cheeks are jewels. To guard those jewels, the two tresses turned into dragons.’

Ḥwaca men dep yolda qalsang, vay ne hasrat. (AYII,23c) ‘You say you are a teacher and [then] get stuck on the road. Oh! What a pity!’

Vā vaylatā nadamatı vaqtı yetti. (AYI,25c) ‘What a pity! The time of repentance has arrived.’

Pir-i Ḥafız otti usbu dunyadîn, ay dirêga qalmadî ahî-l hunar. (ShD49r:3) ‘Shaikh Ḥafız departed this world. O, what a pity! No man of skills has been left behind.’

3.11. Prepositions

Prepositions are foreign [Arabic or Persian] elements in Chagatay. Their use is restricted to lexical elements borrowed from these languages. Since these prepositions rarely occur with Turkish elements, they probably were borrowed into Chagatay together with the phrases they occur in. We distinguish primary and secondary prepositions and prepositional phrases.

3.11.1. Primary Prepositions

3.11.1.1. The Preposition bâ ‘with’

bâ baha (BH4r:7) ‘precious’
bâ habar (Nava‘î, Gr. I,319) ‘informed’
bamiqdar ((Nava‘î, Gr. I,319) ‘valuable’
3.11.1.2. The Preposition ba ‘to’

- ba kamāl yātiṣ (RB4v:11) ‘to reach perfection’
- ba davām (RB9v:12) ‘constantly’
- ba gāyat (H78r:9) ‘very much’
- ba nāghal (H76r:3) ‘suddenly’
- ba duš al- (ShD73r:9-10) ‘to shoulder’

E.g.,

Tabā’iyat ču yātiṣā ba kamāl, doṣt tutqay anī Ḥaṭīr-i Muta‘āl. (RB4v:11) ‘When a person’s submission reaches such perfection, God, the Living and Most High will love him.’

Sīr bilmāyn qazī ne teg dayr-i muğānī der ḥarrā? Gar bilsā erdi mastnī alḡay edī anī badoš. (ShD73r:9-10) ‘Without knowing the secret, why does the Qadi call the house of the magi ruins? Had he known the drunk, he would have carried him on his shoulders.’

3.11.1.3. The Preposition bē ‘without’

- bē davām gīl- (H77v:2) ‘to destroy’
- bē davām ol- (RB6v:11) ‘to continue’
- bē guzīn (BH12r:2) ‘select, chosen’
- bē bar (ShD103v:11) ‘loaded’
- bē qarār (ShD2v:1) ‘fixed, established’

E.g.,

Bar davām olsa sanga mayl artar, mayldin ḥaṣil olur laẓẓātlar. (RB6v:1) ‘If you continue to [pronounce His name], your desire for Him will increase. From this desire you will receive pleasures.’

3.11.1.4. The Preposition bē ‘without’

- bē davām bēl- (H81r:8) ‘to agitated’
- bē raf‘-i hīcāb (RB5r:7) ‘without lifting the curtain’
- bē gīs u gīl (RB5r:7) ‘without flow’

E.g.,

Bahr iḍinda qatranī ki qildi durr-i bē bahā? (BH4r:7) ‘Who makes a drop [of water] in the sea a precious pearl?’

Āy Shābānī bil ki miyrāb-i du‘ā dur qašlari. Ta‘at aṭāla kim tāqīsān ba safā saccādā. (ShD150r:12-13) ‘O, Shabāni, know that her eyebrows are the prayer- niche. Carry out acts of devotion because you have found a pure prayer carpet.’

bē davām-i nīqāb (RB7r:13) ‘without throwing back the veil’

bē niṣāl (GD131:1) ‘peerless’

bē sāk (RBv:8) ‘without doubt’

E.g.,

Qurb tapmas kīsī bē ra‘f ‘i hīcāb, ḍhara kūrmās kīsī bē davām-i niqāb. (RB7r:13) ‘Without lifting the curtain one cannot draw near [to the Beloved]. Without throwing back the veil one cannot behold the Beloved’s face.’

Vaḥm-i candin narasīda boldī ol dam beqarār. (H81r:8) ‘Fearing for the fate of his soul, the child became agitated.’

3.11.1.3. The Preposition cuz ‘other’

cuz hāqq (RB7v:9) ‘other than God’

E.g.,

Kerāk andaq ki kūgūlā muteq notice qālaq hē āṭalluq, cuz Haqq. (RB5r:13) ‘It is important that absolutely no attachment but attachment to God remain in one’s heart.’

3.11.2. Secondary Prepositions

Secondary prepositions are nouns that form an izafat construction with the noun they govern.

3.11.2.1. The Preposition ‘ayn-i ‘exactly like, same’

E.g.,

Bil ki bu yerda durur bu müskil: Ayin-i Mazkur bolur żākir bil. (RB9v:8) ‘Know that it is here that the enigma is revealed. Know that (it is here that) the recollector becomes one with the Recollected.’

3.11.2.2. The Preposition ‘azm-i ‘setting out to’

E.g.,

Uṣbu yaz faṣlida ‘azm-i Astarābād ayādūk. ‘Adl va dād ilā bu ehnī asrū abād ayādūk. (ShD82r:2) ‘This very summer we set out for [the town of] Astarābād. With equity and justice we made the people [of this town] prosper in many ways.’

Āh u vavayla333 ki dilbar aṭālamīs ‘azm-i ‘Īraq: qoyūsī dur bīznī zār u ḥastā dar band-i firāq. (GD111,1) ‘O, dear me! [I hear] the heart-ravisher has set out for ‘Iraq. For sure she is going to put me, the desperate and miserable one, into the chains of separation.’

332 I.e., totally unknown

333 After this interjection a clause of cause follows.
3.11.2.3. The Preposition ḡayr-i ‘other than, nothing but; without’

E.g.,

Könlüngä heč ta’allaq qalmas. ḡayr-i ḫilâs ilä qulluq qalmas. (RB8r:13) ‘There will remain no attachment (to other than God) in your heart. There will remain nothing but intimacy (with Him) and service (to Him).’

3.11.2.4. The Preposition ḥilâf-i ‘contrary to’

ḥilâf-i ādat (Sayf60v:10) ‘contrary to habit’
ḥilâf-i šar’ (Sayf131r:6) ‘contrary to the law’
ḥilâf-i ṭab’ (Sayf119r:9) ‘contrary to nature’

E.g.,

Muḩal-i ‘aql daği ḥilâf-i šar’ durur kim sān bu kūn mānīm ‘uqbatim elīndān bu fāzī va balağat bilān qutulāgī sān. (Sayf 131r:6) ‘It is incompatible with [good] reason and against the law that you, by means of this eloquence and witticism be saved from my punishment.’

3.11.2.5. The Preposition maḥz-i ‘only because of’

E.g.,

Bil ki bar dur bu degânlar barī maḥz-i fāzī u karam-i Cabbari. (RB5r:2) ‘Know (too,) that all that I have explained (to you so far) is possible only because of the Almighty’s grace and generosity.’

3.11.2.6. The Preposition miṣl-i ‘such as; like, exactly as’

E.g.,

Baṭingga kūp aning martaba bar, miṣl-i nafs u ḏil u sîrī, ḡayr bu-lar. (RB4r:9) ‘His interior has many levels, such as that of the tranquil soul, the heart, the innermost part of the heart, and so on.’

Ṣun’-i Ilâh yazmīs yūzung näylāsun ol hur u pari? Cannat içhindā qayda dur miṣl-i qadding sanavbar? (ShD171v:3) ‘God drew up your face with His artistry. The hours and the fairies are at a loss. Where in Paradise is a cypress so straight as your body?’

3.11.2.7. The Preposition qadr-i ‘to the extent of’

E.g.,

Qil qiyyās uș munga sen özgâlärin qadr-i nisbat bilā bahra tapar-in. (RB4v:10) ‘By analogy to this (situation with the wick) note how other people obtain their share (of perfection) to the extent of their affinity.’

3.11.3. Prepositional phrases

Chagatay prefers the use of prepositional phrases. They are of Persian origin. They consist of a preposition and a noun and are joined to the noun they govern by the izafat -i. They occur with Perisian or Arabic nouns only.

3.11.3.1. The Prepositional Phrase ba qadr-i ‘in the measure of’

E.g.,

Ṣifat-i naʃdīn uṣbu furṣat cazb etār nafs ba qadr-i nisbat. (RB 4v:7) ‘On such occasions [your] soul draws from the qualities of [your master’s] soul in the measure of your readiness.’

3.11.3.2. The Prepositional Phrase ba ᵇuz ‘except’

E.g.,

Ol nāmārsā bilīng ġiẓā ermās, yesā vācib ba ᵇuz qazā ermās. (MS16r:2) ‘Know that if a person swallows something that is not [considered] food, he need only make up for that fast day [later]. There is no other obligation [incumbent upon him].’

3.11.3.3. The Prepositional Phrase bar ḡarb-i ‘according to’

E.g.,

Taba’iyyatanga bar ḡarb-i kamāl qayda dur men sanga aytay, yād al. (RB5r:12) ‘Now I will tell you how best to emulate him. Impress what I will say upon your mind.’

3.12. ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS

ẖū-ẖū (ShD142r:7) [moaning of nursing mares]
ḵū-ḵū (ShD142r:6) [call of doves]
qu-qu (ShD142r:2) [calling home falcons]
qu-qul (ShD183v:8) [noise made by wine when poured from a long-necked bottle called șurāḥī]
šu-šu (ShD142r13) [sound of running water on a steep slope]
ẖu ḡu (AY Eraslan p.438) [Sufi’s ejaculation < ḡuwa ḡuwa]
ū u (ShD124v:3-4) [sound of the frog]

E.g.,


334 Intimacy with God and attachment to other than God are mutually exclusive states.

335 Strong intoxicating wine.
Ol köyda kişilâr ǧam-gussadın qutulğay. Ol vädining içindä şâd va ta’ab barâbar. (ShD45r:8-9) ‘The folks of that street are exempt from sorrow and grief. In that valley joy and weariness have an equal status.’

Yuqaridin inip yamgenres tüsär pak, ki tâ andîn tirilir hâr-bahâsk. (DN258v:11) ‘Descending from above the rain falls evenly’336 so that thunder and rubbish may come to life.’

Aning dardidin etmây hêc kim yad, yâtîp dardına gah gah nala-firîyad. (DN240r:2) ‘No one is mindful of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.’

4.1.1. Nouns Connected by Juxtaposition

Characteristic of this group is that the elements of the structure are semantically related.

- ğam-ǧussa (ShD45r:8-9) ‘sorrow and grief’
- hadis-nass (MM194v:3) ‘the Traditions and the Qur’ân’
- hâr-bahâsk (DN258v:11) ‘thorn and rubbish’
- ism-laqab (ShD45r:2-3) ‘names and their attributes’
- nala-firîyad (DN240r:2) ‘complaint and call for help’
- nafs-sâyiyan (RM2r:9) ‘the Carnal Soul and Satan’

E.g., Sen emdi fa’llib ersâng pîr-i muğâna barqên, mayyânadin may ič-kiîl, ism-laqab barâbar. (ShD45r:2-3) ‘Now, if you are the seeker [of their rank], go to the elder of the magi. Drink wine in the tavern, where names and their attributes are the same.’337

4.1.2. Coordinated Words

Coordinated words consist of two nouns with related meanings joined by the conjunction u ‘and’ which metrically belongs to the word before it. As in modern Uzbek, this conjunction is never stressed and, in prosody, it is short. No other sentence elements can come between the coordinated words. They take modifiers and suffixes as one indivisible entity. E.g., [Mâning + [namus u nâm] + im] + nî ‘my good repute and honor.’

- äh u naîân (DN259v:7) ‘sighs and complaints’
- ‘ayî u tarâb (AC324r:3) ‘feasts and merriments’
- can u cihân (DN251v:5) ‘the soul and the transitory world’
- cafu u cavr (DN257v:3) ‘harm and cruelty’
- dard u ǧam (DN249r:1) ‘pain and grief’
- guft u gîy (DN253r:10) ‘conversation’
- hûrd u kalân (AC328v:3) ‘small and great’
- ranc u mihnat (DN251v:3) ‘pain and misery’
- nâm u nang (DN259v:7) ‘good name and honor’
- namus u nang (ShD45r:1) ‘good repute and honor’
- namus u nâm (DN260v:9) ‘honor and good name’
- nang u ‘îr (AC328r:6) ‘shame and disgrace’
- rasm u höy (DN259r:2) ‘formality and disposition’
- rûh u ravan (DN251r:11) ‘soul and heart’
- ruy u râh (DN257v:9) ‘face and road’
- soû u gudaz (DN258v:2) ‘burning and sizzling’
- vaîfa u mihîr (DN259r:2) ‘faith and love’

E.g.,

Mâning nâmus u nâmînîn talaşqin, alîf teg kelgin va elğâ ulaşqin. (DN260r:9) ‘Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an alîf and meet the people [face to face].’

336 The Creator bestows His grace upon everyone without distinction. Cf. Sa’di Aning sanıtsı sağılsıtsı râmatînîn sağınsıtsı berçêğî yâtîp turur. ‘The rain of His countless and boundless grace reaches everyone.’

337 Without seeing the bird
338 Referring to simple and straightforward people. Cf. Cl.P. yakrâng
Meni sen şam teğ kuydurmäge ne? Cafa u cayır etakin türmä-
king ne? (DN257v:3) ‘What is the good of burning me like [you
burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm
and inflicting acts of cruelty?’

Bütündi namâ altun suyi birlän, vafa u mihr, rasm u hüyü birlän.
(DN239r:2) ‘[The Beloved] wrote a letter with golden ink,339 with
faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.’

Tüzülmasün yüzüm din qiblasına gar özgär sari bolsa röy u
rähim. (DN257v:9) ‘My face should not turn to the qibla of [our]
religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward
others.’340

Açıldım ol ‘inayat-namasidin, qutuldu dARD u gam hangama-
sidin. (DN249r:1) ‘The deed of exemption cheered me up. Now I
was saved from the multitude of pains and sorrows.’

Camâfîng nur salgây tofrâqÞnga söyungây qalibim rûh u râvânı,
(DN251r:11) ‘May the beauty of your face throw light upon my
grave so that the soul and spirit of my body could rejoice.’

4.1.3. Nouns Modified by Other Nouns
Nouns are often used to modify other nouns. Such structures can be
marked, or unmarked depending on whether the modification relationship
is indicated by morphological means.

4.1.3.1. Nouns Without Markers [noun adjuncts]

4.1.3.1.1. Attributive Relationship
In these structures the first element modifies the second. The order of
elements is unchangeable.

ay yüz (Sayf117r:13) ‘moon-faced’
altun qanat (Sayf181v:6) ‘golden wing’
er oglan (IM6v:2) ‘boy’
erkâk at (KBV3r:18) ‘stallion’
kültük at (Sayf167r:5) ‘race horse’
orta oturu (MM185r:6a) ‘internal sitting [in the prayer]’
qisraq at (KBV3r:17) ‘mare’
sarv boy (DN251v:1) ‘cypress like stature’
song oturu (MM183r:16) ‘final sitting’
tamûr qazuq (KBV10r:17) ‘iron stake’
tamûr mihi (Sayf39v:2) ‘iron nail’

E.g.,
Tüzâlip sary boyung eûkîmdin, kirîp kelgây netûk kim tangâ
câni. (DN251v:1) ‘May Your cypress-like body rise at my door
and enter like soul enters the body.’

Altun qanatîn acti esâ subh sûnqari, kök kölgä batti cumlâ ka-
vâkib kabûtarî. (Sayf181v:6) ‘When the falcon of the morning
spread its golden wings, the doves of all the stars went down in the
blue lake [of the sky].’

4.1.3.1.2. Possessive Relationship.
In these structures the first element is the possessor, the second element is
the possessed. Their sequence is unchangeable.

aş nukar (MM190v:9) ‘servant in charge of providing food’
baş ağrîq (NTM14r:7) ‘headache’
bel bağ (NTM14r:9) ‘belt’
esik âga (NTM5r:5) ‘doorkeeper of the king’
îc ağrîq (NTM14r:7) ‘stomachache’
qiyamat kün (MM178r:8) ‘the Day of Resurrection’
quduq su (NTM13r:9) ‘well water’
tamûq ot (MM199r:18) ‘hellfire’

E.g.,
Basîp yüzün otça qaratip mângiz, basurğay başına tamûq ot
qîrîn. (MM199r:18) ‘His face will be pressed into fire in order to
blacken it and the pitch of hellfire will be poured upon his head.’

Hîyânat mârdir kûngûl halî qîl, qiyamat kün artuq kün ayard
yûzung. (MM178r:8) ‘Free your heart from fraud and malice and
[then] on the Day of Resurrection, your face will be more radiant
than the sun or the moon.’

4.1.3.2. With Possessive Suffix on the Head [Reference Structures]
The circumstance that the second element is dependent on the first is
indicated by a suffix. The order of the elements is unchangeable. No
other element can come between the two parts.

ay bâsi (NTM12r:8) ‘the beginning of the month’
faraq safasî (Sayf41v:4-5) ‘the serenity of joy’
Çhaqq rîzasi (Sayf25v:9) ‘God’s satisfaction’
iş ati (NTM9r:8) ‘work horse’
iş igîti (NTM9r:8) ‘warrior’
köz yaşi (DN251v:4) ‘tears’
masaqqat elî (DN239v:1) ‘the grip341 of difficulty’
mîhnat tûni (DN257r:1) ‘night of misery’342

339 See the use of altun garg in Sayf’s Gulisâm (96r:3).
340 The Sufi notion of nâ siva/îlah “other than God” is used in this distich. The heart should be emptied
from all other than God and only then can it be filled with God.
341 Lit., the hand
musulmân laşkârî (Sayf 174v:8) ‘the armed forces of Islam’
navroz kûnî (1M5v:4) ‘New Year’s Day’
sâhra yeli (DN253v:3) ‘desert wind’

E.g.,
Uzun boldî ğâmîn mîhnat tûnî teg, tûlû ‘etkîl manga davlat kûnî teg. (DN257r:1) ‘My sorrow became long like the night of misery. Rise for me, like the sun of happiness.’
Mâsâqqat elnîn salqûçî qânîn. Özî öz boyûna qîlqûçî qânîn. (DN239v:5) ‘He will fully gives over his soul to troubles.30 He takes upon himself to carry out his own execution.’
Sâhra yeli teg ‘umr baqasî kečti, ğâm cavîrî dağî fâra hafasî kečti. (Sayf41v:4-5) ‘Like a desert wind the time span of our lives has passed. The tyranny of sadness and the serenity of joy have passed.’

4.1.3.3. Oblique Case Forms of Nouns Used as Modifiers
Case forms other than the nominative can also modify nouns, not as widely, though, than in Modern Uzbek. Even the genitive case, which is the standard element of possessive structures in Turkic occurs less frequently in this role.

4.1.3.3.1. Nouns in the Genitive Case
âhiratnîn davlatî (ShD15r:7) ‘the wealth of the hereafter’
elnîn kûnîlî (ShD82r:7) ‘the heart of the people’
gulnîn bârî (DN254r:2) ‘restlessness caused by the rose’
kiânshîn nûrî (Sayf118v:4) ‘sunlight’
maynîn ûmari (DN254v:3) ‘intoxication caused by wine’
sultannîn i’tîqadî (Sayf58v:8) ‘the confidence of the Sultan’
sâhrînîn sirrî (ShD46r:10) ‘the secret of the city’
tasavvûfînîn ûnîqatî (Sayf72v:5) ‘the essence of sufism’
yûzûnmîn lâlazrînî (DN254v:2) ‘the tulip patch of my face’

E.g.,
Tîlîr bolsang yûzûnmîn lâlazrînî, unuqûn özqû gulnîn bârî-hârîn. (DN254v:2) ‘If you desire the tulip patch of my face, forget the anxiety for other roses.’
Labîm nuqûlîn alur bolsang âqizgê, çîqarçîl basîn ol maynîn ûmari. (DN254v:3) ‘If you take the sweet-meat of my lips in the mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of wine.’

Köるべき gûlû yel yangpués eriştâ, savurmâqîl köngûlîng rûz-gûrîn. (DN254v:6) ‘Beholding a rose do not rush there like the wind. Do not scatter the household444 of the heart.’

Note: (1) Members of this structure can be separated from one another by other sentence elements. The second element, therefore, cannot have a modifier of its own. Also, the sequence of the members cannot be reversed: E.g.,
Çâhil er qîlsa cafà bolma mukaddar, aî DBGîn! Ne bilûr köszûk kîm âräs qadîrînî nazqûsû. (Sayf170r:2) ‘If an ignorant man does an act of cruelty, do not be sad, O Wise Man. How would a blind man appreciate the rank of a painter?’
Bîr vaziînîn anîng bilûn gûrûzî bûn edî. (Sayf34r:8) ‘One vaziî harbored a grudge against him.’

(2) Possessive structures can contain more than one noun in the genitive case. It must be remembered, however, that even such complex structures consist of two parts one or both of which can further break down into two constituents. E.g., [(Zavzan šahri + ning malîkîlî + ning bir hîvâçasîlî] ‘one merchant of the king of the city of Zavzan’ or [(qullar + ning ‘amâlîlî + ning cazâsîlî] ‘punishment for the deeds of the servants.’

4.1.3.3.2. Nouns in the Dative Case
‘ârûfîgê qulavuz (MM198v:9) ‘a guide for the mystic’
bâlgagâ şabîr (MM195r:16) ‘patience in misfortune’
bâlgagâ rîzâ (MM195r:17) ‘satisfaction in misfortune’
bû ‘âlâmîgê qaîl’a (MM200r:1) ‘a fortress for this world’
lațafatîgê ma’dîn (MM200r:4) ‘in eloquence a deposit of precious stones’
qazaqê rîzâ (MM195r:16) ‘acquiescence in Divine Judgment’

E.g.,
Lațafatîgê ma’dîn, karam kânî ol, özî bîrlî mavûdûl, bîling, erdi cud. (MM200r:4) ‘In subtleties of expression he was a deposit of precious stones, in kindness he was a mine. Know that generosity existed with his [very] self.’

4.1.3.3.3. Nouns in the Locative Case
haçiqtadat Haqq (MM177v:5) ‘the Real Truth’
haçiqtadat ‘îrfân (MM195v:3) ‘true knowledge of God’
qîlîqlîrdarî körîklîg (MM200v:8) ‘the beauty among virtues’

342 I.e., a night spent in misery [which is deemed very long]
343 Lit., tosses his soul into the grips of difficulties
444 Do not destroy the heart.
E.g., Haqiqatda ‘ırfan açılsa sanga baqa bilməgəy sən kärək öng songa. (MM195v:3) ‘When the true knowledge of [the Lord] has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences.’

4.1.3.3.4. Nouns with the Equative Case
ay teg yuğ (DN250v:2) ‘moon-like face’
künaş teg ağı mu (Sayf143r:2) ‘good name [so well known everywhere] as the sun’
malak teg vucud (MM200r:1) ‘an angel-like being’
lalə teg ruhsar (ShD55v:8) ‘tulip-like cheeks’

E.g., Ḥalə ‘ıqlar ara malak teg vucud; ɣızəsi qiyam u rukû’ u sucud. (MM200r:3) ‘Among creatures he was an angel-like being. His sustenance was standings, bows and prostrations.’

4.1.4. Bahvurihi Compounds
A bahvurihi compound names an object or a person by one of his salient characteristics. It consists of two elements of one which can be a noun or an adjective. E.g., saf ‘pure, unmixed’, mașrab ‘drink’ in composition yield safmașrab ‘the one whose drink is pure’, i.e., a person who is innocent, naive, or unsophisticated. This typically Persian [< Indo-European] phenomenon is represented in Chagatai only by Persian loans. ‘alicanab (H326r:2) ‘eminent, honorable’
badaf al (Sayf79r:2) ‘wicked’
bad’ alaf (AC326r:10) ‘a renegade’
gülbadan (Sayf125r:5) ‘slender, delicate’
mahpaykar (DM258r:5) ‘a moon-faced beauty’
mahbubat-peša (DN257r:4) ‘lover [in the Sufi sense]’
pareșan rozgar (DN239v:7) ‘one who is afflicted with troubles’
ahrurha maqdäm (DN248v:9) ‘one whose arrival brings joy’
gururu (H77v:2) ‘rose-faced’
ḥaṭırbarešan (H81v:10) ‘distressed in mind’
pakdin (H79r:11) ‘adherent of the Pure Faith’
safmašrab (DN258r:7) ‘naive, innocent, unsophisticated’
sarvqamat (DM249v:11) ‘straight and erect like a cypress’
sarvqaddar (H77v:4) ‘cypress-bodied’
șakerlab (H78v:3) ‘sweet-tongued’

ṣirinkalam (H224r:6) ‘eloquent’
tangroz (DN252r:11) ‘a pauper’

E.g., İcində ‘ısq otdin bar mu səzə, tilər ağzımni həc ol tangroz? (DN252r:11) ‘Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love [for me]? Does this pauper long for my lips?’
Sen unutup mahbłat-ı şafaletini, sagım qandağı andeşalarini. (DN257r:4) ‘You have forgotten the lovers,’ thinking about concerns of old days.’
Șakar sözüng nigar-ı sarıqam, ki sen olturdun ve qoq tiqam. (DN249v:11) ‘A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises.’

4.1.5. Predicative Compounds
Predicative compounds are the Turkish equivalents to Iranian bahvurihi compounds. They are preceded by the demonstrative pronouns bu, ol, or by the interjections ay, ayä. E.g.,
Vəfasız dirlubə sənə, ay beli qil. (Sayf117v:12) ‘You are an unfaithful heart ravisher, O slender-waisted [Beauty]’
Bu asli yoq havaqə qoyma bunyad, tükənməs dard u şamid bolmağı șiqad. (DN241v:8) ‘Do not set up your foundation upon passion without essence. Derive no gladness from unending pain and sorrow.’
Ol yuzi ay kim chınning cani dur. (Sayf179r:10) ‘That moon-faced beauty who is the soul of this world.’
Tişim lulusidin ol közə daryə, qızarur mu falak yanğılı surayya? (DN252v:2) ‘From the pearls of my teeth does this ocean-eyed [beauty] bring forth the pleiades as the sky does?’
Cavabida dedi ol qası həcb, kim anda parda açaq bar munəsl. (DN258v:8) ‘In answer said that [intimate friend] whose eyebrow was the chamberlain: “It is now appropriate to open the curtain.’”

4.1.6. Izafat Structures
In izafat structures the head [notion to be modified] occupies the first position and is followed through a connective syllable [izafat -i] by the modifier. The izafat structure is Iranian by origin and occurs mostly with Persian and Arabic constituents. There are simple and complex izafat structures. Extra long izafat structures are called izafat chains.

345 The duality of the creator and the created disappears.
346 Elements of the daily prayers. Sainted people are like angels, they are not in the need of food.
347 I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God].
348 For the idiom see Sayf, Galiştın 12r:10.
349 I.e., do not build on. The phrase refers to any enterprise we may consider to undertake.
In the Chagatay language simple izafat structures occur in abundance. Complex structures are favored only in prose works.

There are two types of izafat structures: Adjectival and Possessive.

4.1.6.1. Adjectival Izafat Structures
The second element in adjectival izafat structures is a Persian or Arabic adjective. Turkish words are rare in this function.

‘ašiq-i becat (DN258r:2) ‘a lifeless lover’
durr-i şamin (DN255r:5) ‘a valuable pearl’
macumu‘i şafi (DN255r:8) ‘a pure collection’
rah-i rast (DN258v:5) ‘a straight path’
sa‘r-i nihani (DN258r:8) ‘a hidden law’
şayyad-i mağbûn (DN258r:8) ‘a dull fisherman’
şar-i haqiqi (DN255r:4) ‘a true friend’
bilg-i ‘aşiqana (DN256r:2) ‘a love letter’

E.g.,
Eligdâ hattı sözü durr-i şamin teg, ne hatt kim ol nigâristan-i çin teg. (DN255r:5) ‘In the hand was the letter, its words were like precious pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.’
Köngül teg hattârî macumu‘i şafi safağa körmâki bar erdi kafi. (DN255r:8) ‘The characters [of her letter] were, like [her] heart, serene and collected. It was enough [for the reader] to contemplate over [this] serenity.’
Ötâr köp casmâdîn sayyad-i mağbûn, ki tâ mahî kirâr elînî bir kün. (DN253v:8) ‘The dull fisherman passes through many rivers until one day a fish comes into his hands.’
Qâsimâ yetti ol şar-i haqiqi, bolup rangi yübürmâktîn ‘aqqîqi. (DN255r:4) ‘That true friend came to my presence, its face turned yellow’

4.1.6.2. Possessive Izafat Structures
In possessive izafat structures both elements are nouns. The first expresses the possessed, the second, the possessor: âb ‘water’, ğayvân ‘life’> ab-i ğayvan (DN242v:8) ‘the water of life’
ahl-i dil (ShD55r:13) ‘people of heart’
câm-i Çamâsed (DN242r:11) ‘the cup of Jamshid’

330 A Sufi who “died before he died”.
331 The fisherman’s ability to catch fish is the symbol of one who is able to recognize and make appropriate use of any given opportunity [gâninat ta‘âfaq]. A dull [mağbûn], weak [pa‘a[t], or unlucky [ta‘i[s] fisherman could be one who, because of weakness [Gul. 94v:2] , or lack of luck [Gul. 175r:5], or not being ready for the moment [Gul. 168v:9] misses the opportunity.
332 i.e., The Morning Wind.
333 A Muslim with a perfect heart (haşîqat köngûl).

4.1.7. Arabic Izafat Structures
Arabic izafat structures occur as isolated elements of the vocabulary [set expressions, idioms, titles]. Turkish words do not participate in their formation.

Amirul’-mu‘iminin (RM28r:4) ‘the Commander of the Faithful’
farîqul’-bal (DN243v:1) ‘free from care’
laylatul’-qadr ‘the darkest of the night’
muîzûz-s-saltanat (RM2r:5) ‘who brings honor to the Sultanate’
rûhu’l-qudus (ShD176r:3) ‘Gabriel, the Holy Soul’

334 For the idiom see Saff, Gûstân 12r:10
335 Lit., the night of power
336 Title of the son of Muhammad Shaybani Khan.
qabızu’l-arvâh (H74v:3) ‘Izrâ’îl, the Soul-taker angel’
sari’u’s-sayr (DN256r:2) ‘quick in passing’
rahmatu’l-lâhi (ShD166v:6) ‘the mercy of God’
tarfatu’l-‘ayn (RB8r:1)) ‘twingling of an eye’

E.g.,

Közl Colpan munavvar ʿarîzi badr, yangi ay qâshi, saći laylatuʿl-
gadır. (DN256r:6) ‘Her eyes are the planet Venus, her shining face, the full moon. Her eyebrows are the new moon and her hair, the darkest of the night.’
Anga tapşurum va ol uçti darhâl, etip sa’ye anda vàtti farigu’l-
bal. (DN243r:1) ’I handed it over to [the Morning Wind] and it took to wings right away. Exerting itself, it arrived there free from care.’
Sari’u’ssayr bitig-i ʿaşıqana, elîmdin aldî va boldi râvâna. (DN 256r:2) ‘The One Who is Quick in Passing’ took the love letter from my hand and set out on its way.’

4.2. GOVERNMENT

Verbs and to some extent adjectives require that their nominal complements be in certain case forms. This phenomenon is called government. It is similar to what we find in Indo-European languages. Individual Turkish verbs, however, often deviate from the conventions of their Indo-European equivalents, e.g., English ‘enter the house’ Chagatay hânaga kîrmâk [complement in the dative case] ‘left for Margilan’ Chagatay Margilânâ bardi [complement in the dative case] or bardi Margilan [complement in the unmarked accusative case]. In discussing the case forms of nouns above we gave an extensive list of verbs and adjectives and provided ample examples for their usage. Here we discuss and illustrate the syntactic implications of government.

4.2.1. Government by Verbs

Verbs may govern the accusative, dative, locative, and ablative cases of nouns, i.e., they may require that the complement be in one of these case forms if it occurs with these verbs.

4.2.1.1. Accusative Case

Many verbs govern the accusative case [for a representative list see 3.1.4.2.3.7.] Most of them are transitive verbs with a direct object in the accusative case like their English equivalents. Sometimes, however, they translate into English by prepositional phrases or idioms. E.g., de- ‘to call someone something; choose’, illî-‘to be caught up in something’; sağın- ‘to thing about’; talâs- ‘to compete; şirînlik talâs- ‘to compete in sweetness’; can talâs- ‘to be in the throes of death’ (< to fight for one’s life); yiğ- ‘to gather, collect’; ağîz yiğ- ‘to close one’s lips.’

4.2.1.1. Verbs Governing the Accusative Case

oḫša- (GD215r:4) ‘to resemble, look like’
sâgin- (DN275r:4) ‘to think of or about’
talâs- (GD3:2) ‘to compete, contest’
taq yürü- (DN255v:8) ‘[for the sun] to sail in the sky’
ta’ammul qîl- (DN242v:11) ‘to contemplate’
tîlî- (GD5r:5) ‘to desire’
tuš kör- (DN252r:7) ‘to dream of something’
yetür- (Sayf131r:5) ‘to deliver a point’
yiğ- (DN252r:3) ‘to collect’

4.2.1.1.2. With Marked Accusative Case Forms

For grammatical and semantic reasons the noun in direct object role is marked by the accusative case ending. E.g.,
Bu latîfânî tangsûq yetûrdüng. (Sayf131r:5) ‘You delivered this point amazingly.’

Tegâr mü kirpûkûmdin canîna oq? Balâni tuš körâr mü közi ya yoq? (DN252r:7) ‘Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or not?’
Men ol kûn kim ǧamîn sažînis tüdzûm, seni dedim köngûlnî candin üzûm. (DN244v:8) ‘The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul’.

4.2.1.1.2. With Unmarked Accusative Case Form

A nonspecific direct object may occur in the nominative case. E.g.,
Tutup Sayf-ı Sarayî qîz erlini, latîfa sozûdî közlâp herînî. (Sayf 138v:11) ‘Sayf of Saray grabbed the husband of the girl, noticing his situation he told him an anecdote.’
Sa’âdat bîrla hwarşedî yûrîp tâq, qîlîp har zarâdin darhîvast muštâq. (DN255v:8) ‘By her felicity she is like the sun sailing in the sky and demanding homage from every speck of dust.’
4.2.1.2. Dative Case
A group of verbs [3.1.4.2.5.6] and adjectives [3.1.4.2.5.8] take their complements in the dative case complement. Most of the time the complement is the indirect object of the sentence. Depending on the semantic content of the verb the dative case complement may indicate the destination, reason, exchange value and other relations, e.g., küy- 'to burn' > 'to suffer', manga küysä 'if he suffers because of me'; sat- 'to sell', bir cavgä sat- 'to sell for or exchange with a grain of barley.' Here are a few examples for the special uses of the dative case with verbs or adjectives.

4.2.1.2.1. Verbs Governing the Dative Case
inan- (MM17r:17) 'to believe in'
küy- (DN245v:7) 'to suffer because of s.o.'
ohşa- (ShD1v:13) 'to look like, to resemble'
qoy- (DN243v:2) 'to put down s.where'
sal- (DN245v:7) 'to put or cast s.th. s.where'
sat- (DN247r:3) 'to sell s.th. for; give in exchange of s.th.'
sep- (DN246r:5) 'to sprinkle'
yet- (DN245r:2) 'to come to s.o.'

E.g.,
Agar könglung manga küysä, acab yqo, ki körüp taş erigay riq-qatimdin. (DN245r:7) 'If If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

Dedi, Netsün kisî hu mubtalağa, ki kûc birîlân özîn saldi balâqa? (DN245v:7) 'She said, "What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition, brings trouble upon himself?"'

Bari ay birmanin bir cavgä satqan, elıg tartıp ayaqgni uzatqan. (DN247r:3) 'He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.'

Umedim ol dur, ay sarv-ı samanbarsi, ki yetgïy vasî bâgidin manga bar. (DN245r:2) 'My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.'

Hamîn kîm taptî yari hazrañina, tavaçû' qoldî va qoydî qatina. (DN243v:2) 'As soon as it arrived to the presence of the friend, it greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.'

Olgı başina tepmâlik hwas ermas, savuq su yüzgiz sepâmák hwas ermas. (DN246r:5) 'It is not fair to kick the head of a dead person [to see whether he is alive]. It is of no avail to sprinkle water in his face.'

4.2.1.2.2. Adjectives Governing the Dative Case
hayran (DN247v:1) 'amazed at'
yük (DN256r:10) 'pleased, satisfied with'
lâ'iq (Sayf50r:8) 'worthy of, deserving s.th.'
lâzim (Sayf173r:11) 'necessary'
mağur (Sayf101r:5) 'proud of s.th.'
mulazim (DM258v:1) 'needed'
munasib (RM30r:4) 'appropriate for'
musallam (Sayf97r:12) 'granted to'
mustaq (GD141r:5) 'longing for, desirous of'
muta'allig (RB4r:8) 'dependent on'
sâi (DN246r:4) 'thirsty'
sazâ (GD11r:7) 'deserved'
sazavar (Na'avi Dict, 26) 'worthy of'
yaraşa (GD114r:5) 'appropriate for'
yavuq (DN246r:7) 'close to'

E.g.,
Ayaçına qoyuban başını qand, labîngdin suyî bir sormaqqa hursand. (DN256r:10) 'The sugar places its head upon your feet [in submission] glad to request water from your lips.'

Hamesa saya teq künğa mulazim bolup erişmâki boyamina lazim. (DM258v:1) 'She is always in attendance to the sun, like a shadow'. It is vital that it shine upon her shoulders [all the time].

Körüp tur gül yüzün bulbul hamesa tikânlârgä yavuq tur gul hâmesa. (DN246r:7) 'The nightingale keeps her eyes on the face of the rose all the time. All the time roses are close to thorns.'

Birâv kim can bilân yoq tur niza'î, neçük men bolayîn ganina sâî. (DN246r:4) 'How could I be after the blood someone who has no quarrel with [his] soul?'

4.2.1.3. Locative Case
Nouns in the locative case generally occur as adverbs with no intrinsic relationship with the verb of the sentence. A few verbs, however, specifically require their components in the locative case in order to convey the intended meaning:
ari- (Sayf99v:9) 'to reach s.where'
çiq- (DH243v:9) 'to go out s.where'
kel- (DN243v:10) 'to come to a place'
sal- (DN244r:8) 'to throw s.where'
tap- ((DN247v:5) 'to find s.th., s.where'

362 A sign of disregarding the rules of decent social behavior.
363 Shadow cannot exist without a source of light.
E.g.,

Har mum' am öz sarayına abşam turup kelir. Abşam garib ganda arıssâ sarayî ol. (Sçiî99v:9) ‘In the evening every well-to-do person returns to his home. The stranger’s home is where he arrives in the evening.’

Yaşunup gul yüzündin bâlardâ, caçip lâla çitibân taqlarda. (DH243v:9) ‘The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.’

Anga tapşurdum va ol üçtî darbâl, etip sa' yandî yättî fariqûl-bal. (DN243v:1) ‘I handed it over to [the Morning Wind]. It took to wings right away. Exerciting itself’ it arrived there and was free from care.’

Köngülât ‘işqîng ofî salâl bu láq, yana dâg üstînä sen qoymağul dağ. (DN244r:8) ‘The fire of your love cast confusion into [my] heart. Do not press again the branding iron upon the wound made by a branding iron.’

Kêîîl tur-bâdla gulûn âçîlmaq, yaraçmas til tikân teg fêz qîlmaq. (DN246r:6) ‘It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming [however.] to make one’s tongue as sharp as the thorn.’

Bitilîrînî salîm men base kôz, tilâmûm kôp sîzûngûl tapma-dim söz. (DN247v:5) ‘I stared at your writing for a long time. Much as I wanted to I did not find words to express your message.’

4.2.1.4. Ablative case
A group of verbs [3.1.4.2.7.6.] and a few adjectives govem the ablative case.

4.2.1.4.1. Verbs Governing the Ablative Case
bar- (DN245r:10) ‘to leave, go away from’
erî- (DN245r:7) ‘to melt [because of...’
köç- (MM196r:17) ‘to depart from’
qol- (MM192r:16) ‘to ask s.th. from s.o.’
qorq- (GD121v:5) ‘to be afraid of, to fear from’
qutul- (DN245r:8) ‘to escape’
saqin- (Suciî14v:10) ‘to beware’
üz- (DN244v:7) ‘to tear off or away’
üzül- (MM172v:17) ‘to be separated from’
vahm et- (DN247r:11) ‘to suspect’
yiğil- (MM179r:6) ‘to avoid, refrain from’

E.g.,

Men ol kûn kim âçîlmaq sâzûn tûzdum, seni dîm köngûnû çandîn üzûdum. (DN244v:8) ‘The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul.’

Agar köngülût manga küysâ, acab yq, ki kôrûp taş erîgûy riq-qatîmdîn. (DN245r:7) ‘If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.’

Tamîmdîn can kôrûp ra’ na qaddıngûnî, ravan boldi qutulûdî min-natîmdîn. (DN245r:8) ‘The soul saw your graceful stature and left my body to escape my gratitude.’

Âmiri’ asrûqil köz yagî bîrîl, sen ol gûnî kî barmasun qatîmdîn. (DN245r:10) ‘Amirî, nurture that rose with the oil of [your] eyes so that it never leave your presence.’

4.2.1.4.2. Adjectives Governing the Ablative Case
fariq (DN251r:4) ‘free from’
haîî (Suciî14v:13) ‘free from, empty of’
mahrum (GD219v:5) ‘debarred from’
malûl (GD130v:5) ‘depressed’
munazzzah (MM178r:5) ‘independent [of everything]’

E.g.,

Munazzzah cumulîddin ol Hâyî-i Baqi, yûürür amrî bilân ol davr ayaqi. (Suciî80r:2) ‘[God.] the Everliving One is exempted of everything. The cup of that circle goes around by His command.’

Hîyânat makîrdin köngül haîî qil, qiyâmât kûn arutq kûn aydîn yüzûng. (MM178v:8) ‘Free your heart from fraud and malice and [then] on the Day of Resurrection, your face will be more radiant than the sun or the moon.’

Tûsûp tofrqîq teg fariq iṣidîn, ne yel teg kim kelîp ötkây kîsîdîn. (DN251r:4) ‘When free from his task he settles like dust unlike the wind that comes and passes on.’

4.3. THE SENTENCE
Sentences are grammatically organized syntactic entities expressing complete thoughts. By content they are positive or negative statements, questions, expressions of a will, wish, desire, or command. Accordingly, we distinguish: affirmative, negative, interrogative, exclamatory, desiderative, imperative and prohibitive sentences.
By their structure sentences can be simple [bare, expanded, elliptical], compound or complex.

4.3.1. Classification According to Function

4.3.1.1. Declarative Sentences
A declarative sentence is a positive or negative statement about a subject's action or state. The verb can introduce different aspects in the predication. E.g.,

Qamar para bolů išarat bilá. (MM178v:6) 'The moon split at [his] sign.'

Rasulğa idő berdi ming mu'ciza. (MM178v:9) 'God granted [our] Prophet a thousand miracles.'

Mişrda bir bəqənən İkküoğlu qaldı. (Sayf81v:10) 'In Egypt a merchant was survived by two sons.'

Sab-i mi'rác ani dözağa kərdüm. (H74v:10) 'On the Night of the Ascension I saw him in Hell.'

Busağədin ildira qopți rəvən. (AC327v:9) 'All of a sudden Kingira jumped up from the threshold.'

Hədəğa yaqmadi bu məhibbənlıq. (H74v:2) 'God did not approve of [his prophet's] attachment to his son.'

Amanatgə qılalmas mən həyvanat. (H74v:5) 'I cannot violate the trust of those who have entrusted something to me.'

Cabara ti kəltürə Musağə habar. (BN88v:8) 'Gabriel forwarded the message to Moses.'

4.3.1.2. Interrogative Sentences
An interrogative sentence expresses a question and is construed in various ways:

4.3.1.2.1. By the yes-or-no particle mu/mü
Tanur mü sən məni çan dildimi? (H76r:2) 'Do you know [my son], the beloved of my soul and heart?'

Tegar mü kirpikümdin canına qoq? Baləni tüs körə mü közi ya yoq? (DN252v:7) 'Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or not?'

Ne dur əhalı aning əgam laşkarında, ənam ağır nu miştən bitərinda? (DM252v:6) 'What is his condition in the army of sorrows? Is his side hurting in the sickbed of misery?'

Yüzüm əwəşədin əyərən yurur mü? Bolup bir zarra sargasdən yurur mü? (DM252r:8) 'Doesn't he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn't he move perplexed?'

4.3.1.2.2. By Interrogative Pronouns
Ne ba'ışdın sillar? otça girilifər? (H75r:1) 'Why are you captive in the fire?'

Necəl kəcər sən bu həlattə? (Sayf88r:3) 'How do you fare in this situation?'

Köngül şəqən həwəs bolqəy? (NSM108) 'When is the heart good?'

Mening teg qanı bir pər kər? (AC324v:6) 'Where [in the world] is there another experienced person like me?'

4.3.1.3. Imperative Sentences
In an imperative sentence the speaker expresses a command or a prohibition, E.g.,

Camalıngdin cihanı ćahravar qıl, uzaməqəl hikayət muhtəşar qıl. (ShD96v:10-11) 'Make this world attractive by your beauty. Do not make the story long. Make it concise.'

Mənəm namus u namımmı talaşığın, alif təg kəlgən və elğə ulaşqın. (DN260r:9) 'Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an alif and meet the people [face to face].'

Tənəng ham tapınsun bir bəş ayağın, təll aşoq tindursqan qulağın. (DN260v:2) 'Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ear.'

Cunun sarhəsəldüdən özəngə əkəl, dimağənda havadın süləqə yel. (DN260v:4) 'Sober up from the intoxication of madness; out of passion do not occupy your mind with things of naught.'

Camalıngdin munaqar qıl közməni, eştəməl əsən eşt səzənməni. (DN257r:2) 'Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.'

4.3.1.4. Exclamatory Sentences
In an exclamatory sentence the speaker expresses surprise, admiration, disapproval, or indignation about something irregular or out of the ordinary. It is often used in didactic works. E.g.

306 Name of a string instrument.
307 Cf. Uzbek cemp in the Tashkent dialect.
308 Lit., do not put wind in your brain.
Meni sen şam' teg küdurnming ne!? Cafa va cavr etäkin türmäking ne!? (DN257v:3) 'What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?'

Meni, ay baht, 'amdâ tepmäking ne? Ciraht üstidä, tuz sepämäking ne? (DN244r:7) 'O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt on my wounds?'

Ne ḥaćat bašinga tæ-i maşä'ilh! (Sayf57v:12) 'What need is there to put the crown of sheikhs upon your head?'

Qanî mali Qarun, qani ol qaram! (MM188r:4) 'Where [today] is the wealth of Qarun? Where is that ditch [that swallowed him and his wealth].'

Çan qacân bolqay gulistândan malûl? (Sayf6v:8) 'When would the spirit be tired of the rose garden?'

Bu ne fitna u ɣavɣa erûr? (AC323r:5) 'What is this uproar and racket?'

4.3.2. Classification According to Status

4.3.2.1. Affirmative Sentences
An affirmative sentence contains a positive statement. E.g.,
Usîl damda yütistilär ikâvlân. (H77r:1) 'At that moment they both arrived.'
Taqvasiz 'alim köszüz maš'ałatârğay oğsar. (Sayf161r:6) 'A wise man without piety resembles a torchbearer who has no eyes.'
Ka' badîn afzal erûr konglüm mâning. (BN90v:3) 'My heart is of greater value than the Ka'ba.'

4.3.2.2. Negative Sentences
A negative sentence conveys a negative statement. It is construed in various ways.

4.3.2.2.1. By Negative Verbs
İkâvlîn atasi mân emâs mân. (H74r:3) 'I am not the father of either one of them.'
Manga ğuğrâmadi bu yolni usfâd. (H76v:8) 'The master did not teach us this way.'

4.3.2.3. By the Negative Particle yoq
Dedîlîr al-vita'a ay hamnîshîrî kî körâmây emdlî yoq, ay pâkdmîn-lâr. (H79r:11) '[Then Ibrâhim] continued. Farewell, O Classmates! We will not meet again, O Adherents of the Pure Faith.'
Carasî yoq tur. (H79v:8) 'There is nothing to be done about this.'
Bu mašalî nesîkînîng yoq mu? (Sayf17r:13) 'Have you not heard this anecdote?'

4.3.2.3. By the Negative Conjunction ne...ne, ne...ne 'neither...nor'
Ne qättî bîl ki el sândân uşangây ne yumşaq qadringa nuşqan ketîrîgây. (Sayf164v:1) 'Don't be so hard that people shatter when you touch them. Nor be so soft that they bring damage to your authority.'

4.3.2.4. By the Negative Particles dâgül and enâs
Har quşi 'anqa degül dur, har bâsâr înşan emâs. (GD74-3) 'Not every bird is a phoenix. Not every man is human.'
Bu iştînîng songî ma'tîm dâgül. (Sayf42r:4) 'The outcome of this matter is not known.'
Hyeaş emâs cavrîn aşurmaq kelíp oq atmaq va yani yaşurmaq. (DN244r:11) 'It is not proper to increase cruelty beyond limits, to come and shoot the arrow and hide the bow.'

4.3.2.3. Conditional Sentences
A conditional sentence indicates the condition of an action, expressed or implied. E.g.,
Sam' ḥaćat dâgül künâş tosga. (Sayf115v:11) 'There is no need for candles if the sun is risen.'
Agar alsa özümînîngîn alsun. (H74r:4) 'But if he is determined to take [one of these three boys] let Him take mine.'
Öydâ bolsang bu ihtiyaflarını qil. (M58r:1) 'If you are at home take these options.'

4.3.2.4. Possibilitive Sentences
A possibilitive sentence expresses the feasibility of an action. E.g.,
Munun tutsa bolur hipdayat quisi. (MM180r:10) 'Through them one can catch up with the bird of guidance [at the destination].'
Bu kûn sorsa bolur. (MM194v:4) 'Today it is possible to ask.'
4.3.2.5. Impossibilitive Sentences
An impossibilitive sentence indicates that an action cannot or should not be carried out. E.g.,
Bina banisiz bolmaq, bil, mubah. (MM178r:12) ‘Know that a building cannot come into existence without a builder.’
Urug äksä bolmas, kirir yergä tong. (MM193r:10) ‘It is not possible to sow the seeds [for] frost penetrates the soil.’
Bir iqlimä sigismas ikki sultän. (Sayf12r:12) ‘Two kings do not fit into one country.’

4.3.2.6. Desiderative Sentences
A desiderative sentence indicates the desirability of an action. E.g.,
Itting ay käs ki bolsa qarimin, özün etsä bu yerdä hamnüşinim. (DN251r:1) ‘If only your dog would be my associate. If only it would make itself my companion in this [very] place!’
Har gadalar teg esikdä qilmaqil sen dar ba-dar, bolsam erdi käs-kı men esikendo häkräk. (ShD89r:7-8) ‘Don’t make yourself a vagabond at the threshold like all the beggars do. If only I could be at your threshold lowlier [in rank] than dust.’

4.3.3. Classification According to Structure

4.3.3.1. Simple Sentences
Simple sentences consist of a subject and a verbal or nominal predicate. These are the two main constituents of a sentence.

4.3.3.1.1. Bare Sentences
In bare sentences the subject and predicate occur without any modifiers or complements. E.g.,
Sözi şakkar. (Sayf170r:8) ‘His words are [sweet, like] sugar.’
Qalmadı hwaca futän. (Sayf10r:9) ‘Merchant so-and-so passed away.’

4.3.3.1.2. Elliptical Sentences
In elliptical sentences one of the main elements, mostly the subject, is not directly expressed. E.g.,
Bağdadiq tur. Fašöh erkän dur. (NMp.108) ‘He was from Baghdad. He was eloquent.’


4.3.3.1.3. Expanded Sentences
In addition to a subject and a verbal or nominal predicate expanded sentences have other members, such as direct object, indirect object, and various adverbials. These are called secondary elements of the sentence. E.g.,
Yetti garðündän aşurdi nålasıını miskin gada. (GD162,6) ‘Poor Gada made his complaint rise above the seven heavens.’
Diyar Bakr elinda bir aq saqalli hwaca mäni evîn qonaq ältit. (Sayf135r:1) ‘In the town of Diyar Bakr a white bearded Khoja took me to his home as [his] guest.’

4.3.3.2. Secondary Elements of the Sentence
The secondary elements relate to one particular member or to the sentence as a whole.

4.3.3.2.1. Subject Complements
Bustän icindä qadding savı-i ravan körünür. (Sayf184v:5) ‘In the garden your stature appears to be a walking cypress.’
Şakar sözungdan kelir mukarrar. (Sayf85r:5) ‘Sugar becomes double refined from your words.’
Yuqaridin inip yamğur tüsär pâk, ki tâ andin tirilir hêr hâsa. (DN258v:11) ‘Descending from above the rain falls even so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.’
Giyâhim çıqa nagah can teg, ay dost! Körûngay ‘ași-q evêcân teg, ay dost! (DN258r:2) ‘My grass comes up unexpected as the soul [is] leaving the body], O Friend. It will show like a lover without a soul, O Friend.’
Anga ol šîr ara kim qaldı mahzûn, radife bar edî, maqbul va mavzûn. (DN258r:9) ‘In that poem which remained somber she had a cowalker,’ very pleasant and wellshaped.’

377. The subject Gada has an adjective modifier, miskin. The verb aşurdi has a direct object, nålasıını and an adverbial phrase yetti garðündän.
378. The subject hwaca is modified by the adjective aq-saqalli and specified by the numeral bir. The verb ältit in the predicate has a direct object mäni and a predicative object qonaq. And an
adverbial phrase of place Diyar Bakr elinda.
379. Ar. radif ‘one who rides behind another on the same horse’. Also: ‘a word following the rhyme’
Sa'adat birla hwarshed yurup tan, qildar har zarredin darwast muftaq. (DN255v:8) 'By her felicity she is like the sun sailing in the sky and demanding homage from every speck of dust.'

4.3.3.2.2. Direct Objects
Direct objects are marked and unmarked depending on morphological and semantic considerations. E.g.,

Meni sen korma 'aczik kim qavi dur mahabbat payasinda dastgahim. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'

Tiladi kagid va on boldi mavcud, qalam tilini etti 'anbar alud. (DN252v:8) 'She asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was provided, she covered the tip of the pen with ambergris.'

Qoyuban basini hattinga hama, sozung etip sabani girnmana. (DN250v:1) 'The pen buried its head into your letter. Your words made Zephir to serve as a magic medium.'

4.3.3.2.3. Predicate Complements
The complement can be a single noun, or adjective or a nominal phrase. It has no accusative case marker. The direct object to which the predicate object belongs is always marked by the accusative case ending. E.g.,

Yollarin gin gardi qildim kozumda tutiya: Kozlarinming yasidin nazuk nihaling saqladim. (ShD100v10-11) 'I made the path of your paths collary of my eyes. By the tears of my eyes I nurtured your delicate branches.'

Keli tur bagda guldin acilmaq, yarasmas til tikin teg teq qilmak. (DN246r:6) 'It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming [however,] to make one's tongue as sharp as the thorn.'

Neccum men dostni dusman qilayin, elig bersa ayagini silayin. (DN248r:1) 'How could I treat a friend like an enemy?' If he gives his hand, I will rub [my face to] his feet."

Meni sen korma 'aczix kim qavi dur mahabbat payasinda dastgahim. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'

Qiliban muskan ol 'anbarin meng, cihan lera qara tofoqq bilan teng. (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris scented beauty spot reduced [the value of the] musk to [the level of the] common clay in the [entire] world.'

Etip hasanik gayhar bilan teng, qildar tofraqi 'anbar bilan teng. (DN249r:10) 'She made a mote equal to a jewel. She made the dust equal to ambergris.'

Kim alip tur aqizga gok terin, bilip tur hurna ara sakarni sirin. (DN257v:2) 'He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mouth will appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by beauty.'

4.3.3.2.4. Indirect Objects
Indirect objects are generally indicated by the dative case. After verbs expressing motion the locative [-da/-d] or accusative [without case ending] can occur to mark the indirect object. In this usage the finite verb generally precedes the unmarked accusative case. E.g.,

Atinin tilinga kop mazkur et. (RB6v:9) 'Make your tongue always mention His name.'

Yuzum altun ga tutgay erdi ani, koziya asragay erdi nihan. (DN 250v:10) 'My face would have beenTreasures, and gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.'

Mundin ol verga taraqqi qil ol, 'aqol verga esit tapmas yol. (RB9r:5) 'Listen well, from here he will proceed to that place to which reason can never find a way.'

Koziya yaqin aurudi barda maktab. (H78v:3) 'He was shedding his tears when he arrived at the school.'

Degin anda kelurgga raqbat ettuk, ravan suhab yaraqg qil ki yettuk. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time.'

Asilur darga nay ucun Mansur, biling? Canini ma'suq ucun isar etar. (Sh46r:6-7) 'Mansur is hanged on the gallows, do you know why? He sacrifices his life for the beloved.'

4.3.3.2.5. Adverbials
Adverbials can be single words (adverbs, adjectives and nouns in adverbial role, case forms of nouns, pronouns, numbers, postpositional...

336 For koziya cf. P. ba-sham.
337 See Modern Uzbek Men sanaqni Marghilon koloytagonini buqtin otmadan qo'yan.
338 "I heard today' from my father about your arrival to Marghilan."
and prepositional phrases). We distinguish adverbials of place, time, and manner.

4.3.3.2.5.1. Adverbials of Place
An adverbial of place expresses the location where an action takes place or where someone or something is.

Alarımın büyük bir sahne oldu. (Navaţi, NMp.159) ‘He sat down at the edge of their carpet.’

Muvaffak hala anda ise rāzi, mufassal ızdī bir bir bayān. (DN252r:1) ‘She found in it the secrets of love laid out in chapters with statements disclosed one by one in paragraphs.’

Yol üstündə bir erşük kışi yatar edir. (Sayf76r:10) ‘On the road a drunk person was lying.’

Mən safardə tün ki kən təbən, tegma şagird elində sargərən. (Sayf77r:12) ‘Night and day I tire out when the army is on the move. My head turns in every servant’s hands.’

Şəb-i mi’rəc ani dozahda kərdəm. Bular kimi bolur dep anda sordüm. (H74v:10) ‘On the night of the Ascension I fell in Hell. “Who are these [creatures]?” I asked.’

4.3.3.2.5.2. Adverbials of Time
An adverbial of time expresses the time before, during, after or in the duration of an action takes place or a situation exists.

Har namaz-i şəmdin songra kelir erdi. (Navavi, NMp.158) ‘He would come after every evening prayer.’

Üz kün Səzdə erdi. (Navavi, NMp.158) ‘He was in Shiraz for three days.’

Bu kün topraq bol andan burunraq kim etəq gil tanıng topraq bolgəy. (Sayf77r:6-7) ‘Turn into dust today, before your clay body turns into dust tomorrow.’

4.3.3.2.5.3. Adverbials of Manner
An adverbial of manner expresses how, in what way, or by what means an action is performed.

Aytılıf ayin in başında bu şəzəl, ay va yiil anqa bigin közdin ucar. (ShD50v:1-2) This ghazal was recited at the beginning of the month. Months and years fly out of [our] vision like a phoenix.’

On ikki yıqac yavaq kelip tur. (Navavi, NMp.159) ‘He came walking twelve miles.’

4.3.3.3. Compound Sentences
Compound sentences consist of two or more independent clauses. By the nature of the relationship of these clauses to one another we distinguish copulative, adversative, disjunctive, conclusive, and explicative compound sentences.

4.3.3.3.1. Copulative Sentences
In copulative compound sentences independent clauses are joined or listed in a coordinated series. The clauses may be connected by the simple conjunctions va, u, ham, dağ, by the serial conjunctions ham ... ham, gah ... gah [≈ gah ... gah, gahı ... gahı], or without the use of conjunctions.

4.3.3.3.1.1. Copulative Sentences with a Conjunction
Fiğanım tündi va firyad ucu, tarab keldi va şam fıl-hal köçüt. (DN249r:3) ‘My sobbing has ceased, and the cry for help has gone. Celebration has come and grief at once has moved away.’

Barur bat hıüsna va qalmas bu yıktıltık, qalus amma irig söz birlititlik. (DN246r:2) ‘Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But [what] will remain [with us] are rude words and meanness.’

Şəkar sözlüğ nigari-sarvqamat, ki sen olturdun va qoptı qiymat. (DN249v:11) A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises.’

Men emdı həsta va şam armtqaça; hıyalıg ali daça qartmaqda. (DN247r:3) ‘Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing. Facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.’

Gah bolur uryan ağaclar, gah bolurlar gəl sıfat. (Sayf66r:1). ‘Trees sometimes are naked, sometimes are [dressed] like flowers.’

4.3.3.3.1.2. Copulative Sentences without Conjunction
‘İşgəng yolunda bandı mən, sen kün sen va mən zara mən, Yəndən bələ mən zinda mən iki cihanda nam-i can. (ShD11r:6-7) ‘On the path of [my] love for you I am your servant, you are the sun and I am a speck of dust. Recollecting you I am alive. In the two worlds you are the name of the soul.’

386 Said about a banner.
387 A phoenix never dies. When her lifespan is over, she disappears.
388 Like a nomad caravan. Sorrow packed up its chattels and left [köçüt].
389 For the idiom see Sayf, Gulistan (12r:10)
4.3.3.3.2. Adversative Compound Sentences

Adversative compound sentences contain contrasted clauses. The second clause, by means of adversative conjunctions contradicts the first clause. The adversative conjunctions are: ki ‘but’, amma ‘but, however’, vale, valekin ‘but, yet, however’, lek, lekin ‘but, yet, however’, balki ‘on the contrary, but’, va ‘but’. E.g.,

Özi bir yerđà va yüz yerđà közî, tili iki va yüz ağzıda sızö. (DN 254r:9) ‘He himself is in one place but his eyes are in hundred places. He has two tongues’ but his reputation is in a hundred mouths.’

Oq tämûrî cirâhätûn çiqar vale nîsâni qalûr. (Sayf101r:9) ‘The iron point of the arrow comes out of the wound but its mark stays.’

Barûr bat husn va qalmas bu yigitlik, qalûr amma irig söz birû birta itîlik. (DN 246r:2) ‘Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But what will remain [with us] are rude words and meaness’

Cihanda köp muğannîlar valekin bu eşi yqur. (Sayf61r:7) ‘There are many singers in this world, but this one has no equal.’

Notes: (1) The conjunctions vale, valekin may indicate the beginning of a new scene in the narration or a transition to a new topic. E.g.,

Valekin Îbrâhîmîndin sözî angla, anîng caning qulaqî birû birta tingla. (H75v:9) ‘Now hear these words about Îbrahim; listen to them with the ear of your soul.’

Vale payqambar oğluga baqardî, közîni yâsî marcan dek aqardî. (H74r:8) ‘(And now) whenever the Prophet looked at his son, tears of coral pears would flow from his eyes.’

(2) The phrase amma ba’đ ‘and now to our topic’ is a technical term to indicate the title or topic of a work after the conventional introductory elements [Bismi’llâh, praise of God by His creation and some of His Most Beautiful Names, praise of the Prophet by his Sublime Morals and his miracles, mention of the Prophet’s companions]. E.g.,

Ammà ba’đ. Mundaq ayтур faqir-i haqîr, al-mutavakkilî ‘ala’l-malikî-l-mustâ’an, Muhammad âs-Sâbînî ibn Abî-l-‘Hayr Hanî, rahimahu’llâhu ar-Rahmañ. (RM1v:4) ‘Now to begin. The humble beggar, who puts trust in God, whose aid is implored, Muhammad ash-Shaybânî, son of Abî-Khayr Khan, may the mercy of God the Merciful be upon him, says as follows.’

390 There are four nominal sentences in this couplet.
391 ‘Azmat markabî ‘mount of travel’, i.e., not a pack animal.
392 I.e., a cypress-shaped beauty.
393 I.e., he is a dissimiler. Cf. F. durâbân ‘having two tongues’
394 He is the talk of the community for his strange behavior.
395 She was reading the letter.
396 Consider farhad ‘stone cutter’ and Farhad prop.n. the lover of Shirîn.
397 Consider âsrîn adj. ‘sweet’ and âsrîn prop.n. the Beloved of Farhad.
4.3.3.3. Disjunctive Compound Sentences
Disjunctive sentences offer a choice of two or more alternatives. The following conjunctions are used: yâ, vâyâ ‘or’, yâ...yâ ‘either, or’, yôqsâ, yôq etsâ ‘or else’, hwah...hwah, hwahî ‘either...or’ ne...ne, ne...ne ‘neither...nor’. E.g.,

Cihan sâvâgân kişînîn közlârînî qaîna’t toldurur yâ olstå topraq. (Sayf93r:5) ‘The eyes of the one who loves this world are either filled 358 with contentment or with dust after he dies.’

Tirîlgîk nîsânî aďaq yîqmaq ol, yâ köz yümma ol, yâ aqîz qismaq ol. (MM191r:9) ‘One can tell that an animal is alive if he puts his feet together, or closes his eyes or presses his teeth together.’

Oğlan aytti, ay âranlîr yat cârîga ot urung, yâ barîp ‘avrat qa- maşîn kâyîp âvda oturung. (Sayf11v:4-5) ‘The youth said, O brave people, shoot fire into the hostile army or put on women’s garments and sit at home.’

Tegîr mû kirpûkûmdîn càнима oq? Balânî tüs körar mú közi yâ yoq? (DN252r:7) ‘Does arrow from your eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or [do they] not?’

Yâ nahlî bigîn saţi kerâk âr, yâ sarv șifat hamîsa azad. (Sayf 177v:8) ‘A person must be either generous like a palm tree’, or free 409 like a cypress.’

Yâ ânga sözâlîl tek oltursun, yâ esîk âc rêvân șeqip ketâyîm. (Sayf60r:11) ‘Either tell him, to be silent or open the door and let me go away.’

Erlîk ol iș dicügîl kôngûl yîqqay, yâ kîşî ‘aybîni körür çaqqay. (Sayf146v:11-12) ‘It is incompatible with manly virtues to destroy a heart or to witness other people’s faults and disclose them.’

Hwah öttür hwahî tîrîz, hîtyâr eîngîdâr dur. (GD102r:7) ‘Either kill me, or let me live, the choice is in your hands.’

Ol qarîndaş kîm nafs asîrî turur ol kîşîgâ ne qarîndaş bolur ne yaqinî. (Sayf78r:7) ‘The brother who is captive of his Carnal Soul is neither a brother to one nor a relative.’

Ba-nâgân körîdî mîhîmân közlârînî, unutî İbrâhîm ham özlârînî. (H77r:3) ‘Suddenly [he] caught the guest’s glance and [as a consequence] was besides himself [with fear].’


Kî davlat kelgûsî dur, bolma șâqî! Sa’addat bîrla tuzgûng dur ma-hâtîl. (DN260r:5) ‘Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: Brighten up the meeting place with the felicity of paradise.

4.3.3.3.5. Explicative Compound Sentences
In explicative compound sentences the result and cause relationship 410 is shown by independent sentences. By content they are related to complex sentences with cause clauses.

E.g.,

Uruh âksa bolmas, kîrîr yergî tong. (MM193r 10) ‘One cannot sow the seeds, [for] frost penetrates the soil.’

Mângîn cànimda dur köngûldâkî ah, köngûldîn bar köngûl içîna șon râh. (DN260r:2) ‘The sighs of your heart are in my soul, inasmuch as there is a pathway from one heart into another.’

Tuta berdi manga can tuhfasînî tegûrdi ya’ni cànim tuhfasînî. (DN255r:6) ‘He offered me the gift of life; he delivered to me the gift of the Beloved.’

Menî sen körmî ‘acîz kîm qavi dur ma-habbat pâyâsînda dast- gàhim. (DN257v:6) ‘Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.’

4.3.3.4. Complex Sentences
Complex sentences consist of a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause expresses a basic [subject, predicate] or a secondary member [direct object, indirect object, or adverbials] missing in the main clause. It is connected to the main clause by means of a conjunction or joined to it asyndetically. In the main sentence an adverb or an adverbial phrase may anticipate the presence and the nature of a subordinate clause.

4.3.3.4.1. Complex Sentences with a Subject Clause
In complex sentences of this group the subject is expanded into a clause. They use the conjunctions ki, kîm, har kîm, har kîm ki, har qaysi, har

358 Meaning ‘satisfied’
359 Bearing fruit
409 From the change of season [being always green]. From people’s expectations [bearing no fruit], from care [not providing for anyone]
410 Cause leads to a result.

Result is explained by a cause.
kişi, har kimsə 'who, whoever, he who', ne kim, har ne ki, har ne 'that, that which'. E.g.,
Ol bilişil kim eştir iš etär, fəcaram maqşudına aşan yetär. (Sayf 178r:8) 'The wise one who acts listening [to good advice] will definitely reach his objectives.'
Kim ay burcida yulduzını təşip tur, tıkanı gül sağınıp oğışət tur. (DN257r:10) 'He who has found a star in the house of the moon, has considered the thorn [to be] a rose and made himself to caress it.'
Kim etip tur 'əsalğa sırka tərcihi, oqup tur muhtəsar ilminin tilvih. (DN257r:11) 'He who prefers vinegar to honey is like the one who reads an abridged work in marginal notes.'
Kim etip tur açığ ağunu tərəyik, tələp tur kəkər inçəna afluş. (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into an elixir, was looking for heaven inside a poppy-head.'
Nigarın necə gah ol kim illində, elig berdi muradı kəngli tənində. (DN254v:10) 'He who protects the image [of the Beloved], after a while he reaches his goal and his heart will be at ease.'
Kim alip tur ağışa gök terin, bilip tur əhsan arə saqərənin şinin. (DN257v:2) 'He who takes the secretion of a toad into his mouth will appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by beauty.'
Çu mazəmun sarəsar bolədə ma'lım, ne kim [er]di mubham bolədi məfhüm. (DN255v:10) 'When its contents were entirely known, anything that was doubtful, now was completely understood.'
Zəqan əsəhid kim ərədi qutulmas, necək tur anda ol kəngli tutulaş. (DN252v:3) 'He who cannot escape sorrow in the dimple of the chin, how come is not despondent there?'
Ol yüzü ay kim cihənnəm cani dur, bu zəmana əhlərinining hanı dur. (Sayf179r:10) 'That moon-faced [beauty] who is the soul of this world, is the ruler of the beauties of our times.'

4.3.3.4.3. Complex Sentences with an Object Clause
In complex sentences of this type the direct object is expressed by a subordinate clause. The conjunctions used are: ki, kim, har kim, har ki, har kişə whom'; ne, ne kim, nemə kim, har ne kim, har ne 'what, that'. Rarely, though, the object clause can be attached to the main clause without a conjunction.
E.g.,
Otər kənglidə har dam bir dilaray, tılar kəzi ki kərsə bir yangı ay. (DN254r:7) 'Every moment a sweetheart occurs to his mind. His eyes are eagerly waiting to behold a new moon.'
Ne sağındıq mana mundın əgam erdii? Kəngül zəhmınə bu bir marham erdi. (DN243r:5) 'Why did you imagine that her tone bothers me? [Remember that blame] is a salve for the wounds of the heart.'
Gar təlisəng kim garə'iblar taməsə etkə sən, tegmə bir kən bir yəngi yergə kerək kim yetəkə sən. (Sayf97r:7) 'If you wish to admire strange and wonderful things, you must arrive every day to a new place.'
Kecə qıqə həlçina qoystı bəçəğin, tılandi kim soyuban alsa yağın. (Sayf69r:3) 'In the evening he put his knife to the throat of the sheep, wanted to slaughter it and take its fat [tail].' Sən səqınma kim yegəy mən qayış ol dam can üçün. (Sayf 56v:6) 'Do not imagine that at that moment I would worry about my soul.'

4.3.3.4.2. Complex Sentences with a Predicate Clause
A predicate clause is the expansion of the nominal predicate or the nominal part of the nominal-verbal predicate into a subordinate clause. The conjunctions used are ki, kim. E.g.,

403 Ch. eştir is also used to mean 'to take, or listen to a good advice'. Cf., Bir nəşəbat sarıfın uş qil-daş höyən. Kim eştəməs bətaş bağlı nə ziyən? (Sayf178r:7) 'We have just reported what there was to say in giving a piece of good advice. If there is someone who does not listen, it is of no concern to us.'
404 Lit., sweat
405 Ch. rəh 'well'. reference to a Joseph story episode: Joseph was thrown into a well by his brothers. [See Qur. 12,15.]

406 A hint at the Muslim practice of waiting for the new moon that signals the beginning of the holy month of Ramazan.
407 Cf., MM Malanatın muhiib kəngli tərəyik ol. (195v:16) 'Blame is a remedy for the lover’s heart.'
Sağindim adam-i hâssî sâni mâni. Börining sa’brâki sân emiș sân. (Sayf69r:4) ‘I thought you were a special person. It turns out that you are the most ferocious of wolves.’

Note: Direct quotes are considered object clauses. E.g.,
Atası aytıyor: Ay oglum, safatnâng bu fa’riqa fa’idaları köp. (Sayf79r:11) ‘His father said, “O son, going on a journey has many benefits of this nature.”’
Rasulul’l-fah soradı İbrâhimînî, tanur mu sâni mâni cân dilimîn? (H76r:2) ‘The Prophet inquired after İbrahim, asking, “Do you know [my boy] the beloved of my soul and heart?”’

Dedi, bar kim közi dur yolda aning, qulağı ângâ dur ol benavanîng. (DN252v:11) ‘She said, “Go now, because his eyes are fixed on the road.”’ The ears of that destitute are listening for the sounds [of approaching footsteps].

Mân ewdâki hadîmlarînîn sorar ârdim kim âzî keçâ yatmas mu? (NF190,15) ‘I asked from his servants in the house: “Doesn’t he ever lie down at night?”’

4.3.3.4. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Time
A temporal clause gives the time frame of the action contained in the main sentence by producing another action which occurs before, after, or simultaneously with the main action.

4.3.3.4.1. Simultaneous Actions
In such sentences the action of the temporal clause occurs at the same time [during or parallel with] as the action of the main sentence. (Case of simultaneity). The conjunctions are not mandatory but qâçan, qâçan kim, har qâçan, çon may be used. E.g.,

Altun qanatîn ačîtî esâ subh sonqarî, kôk kôlgâ battî cumla kavakînâ kubitari. (Sayf181v:6) ‘When the falcon of the dawn spread her wings, all the doves of the stars went down in the blue lake.’

Mân ol subh-i sa’adat mân ki Cîngîz kôkîdin toqdum, qâçan kim tâbrâsâm yel teq Timur sâm-i ucr mândîn. (ShD120v:3-4) ‘I am the dawn of felicity born from the roots of Chingiz: When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Timur goes out as I pass.’

Çon kûngûlar ölğay, aning kongli olmaga. (NNM111) ‘When hearts of others die, his heart will not die.’

Çu qoyosang ol harâb allida game, bitignî tez tegur, bizîn salâmê. (DN246v:5) ‘When you put your foot in front of that ruin, give him the letter right away and convey to him a greeting from us.’

Ravan qildî falak çon çam-î Camseed, aqîlânîp qizarip çîqti ûwarîsd. (DN242r:11) ‘When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshid, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.’

Çu kûrgûzdi mahnûbbatînî yuz alvan, tiştäti nâmâni va qildi ‘unvan. (DN246v:2) ‘Having shown [her] love in a hundred ways she completed the letter and wrote the address on it.’

established by description, cannot be recognized until you burn it.’

Nâ bulbul teg kl bolmas şarmî hâ’il, bolur bir neçä kûn bir gul gà ma’il. (DN254r:11) ‘Unlike the nightingale that is not restrained by shame and in every few days it desires another rose.’
Qalam tili còn fariğ boldi andin, davât ağzını yaptı tarcumândin. (DN259r:4) ‘When the tip of the pen was through [writing], the inkholder that the interpreter was using closed its mouth.’

Note: The main clause and the subordinate clause can also be connected syntactically, especially if the verb of the subordinate clause is in the temporal-conditional form. The temporal clause can be dependent on more than one sentences. E.g.,

Gülabi idi ki kelsa yüz çekürmâ. Anîng ol hıdırmat in yüzgâ urma. (DN244r:5) ‘When the scent of rose water wafts toward you, do not turn your face away, do not refuse its services.’

4.3.3.4.5.2. The Action of the Subordinate Clause Occurs Before the Action of the Main Clause. (Case of Anteriority).

The following conjunctions introduce the subordinate clause: andin bürü kim, ki ta, ta ‘since, ever since’.  

Andin bürü kim aldî uşul dilrubâ köngül, küyî cafa da körêmä hârzig vâ sâf kongül. (AM 192v:5) ‘Since that heartavisher took [my] heart, the heart suffered cruelty and did not ever experience any mercy.’

Yüz alvan śwellig soh-i şaKarband, ki ta kordi labingî eridi qand. (DN243v:5) ‘You are a mischiefmaker with a sweet smile and with a hundred feats of coquetry. Since the rock candy saw your lips, it began to melt.’

Tûşüp tur ta ešking gardi közgä, körümüp tur közümgä surma özgä. (DN257r:6) ‘Since the dust at your threshold got into [my] eyes, nothing else is used as collyrium for my eyes.’

Körup tur ta yangaqing sari dida, bolup tur almadin könlüm guzida. (DN257r:7) ‘Ever since the eye looked toward your face, my heart has been a more preferred simile [to express joy and sadness] than the apple.’

4.3.3.4.5.3. The Action of the Subordinate Clause Occurs After the Action of the Main Clause. (Case of Posteriority).

The conjunctions used are andin burun kim, ol qadar kim, ta, avval ki ‘before, ere’.  E.g.,

Hayr qif, ay ni ma’ti köp hwaca sän andin burun, kim yürüp dega munad qalmadı hwaca funân. (Sayf19r:8-9) ‘Be generous,’ O Wealthy Lord, before the street-crier goes around saying: “Lord So-and-so passed away.”

Kâmâê ol qadar şabî ettî kim yiqit kâmâ yipin ellâna qorgâdi. (Sayf101r12) ‘The boatman waited until the youth reeled the rope of the boat around his hand.’

4.3.3.4.6. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Place
[Local Clause]

In sentences of this group the place of the action of the main sentence is expressed by a clause. The conjunctions used are qanda kim, ne yergâ kim, har qayda kim, ne yerdâ kim ‘wherever’, qayda, ne yerdâ, ne yergâ ‘where’.  E.g.,

Qanda kim taÅli su aqar bolsa, qurt va qus bâliq andan ekâlmâs. (Sayf22r:11) ‘Wherever sweet water flows, there is no shortage of wolves, birds and fish.’

Qayda barsa ol sa’adat alþarti hamrâh mâm. (HBD204v:1) ‘Wherever that star of felicity goes I am his companion.’

Ne yergâ kim ârîsâ ‘alim anda bilîrîrl qimatîn ari guhar teg. (Sayf97v:9) ‘Wherever a wise man goes, people would know his value exactly as they know the value of a real pearl.’

Ne yerdâ gul bar anda tîkân bar. (Sayf158r:3) ‘Where there are roses, there are [also] thorns.’

Ay gul haddingîn bil daÅq laf urma, çon seni har qayda kim yo- luqsa sâba hwâs tutar quçar. (GD48-4) ‘O, Rose, be aware of your limits and do not brag because no matter where it meets you, the morning wind keeps you happy and embraces you.’

Ne yerdâ kim qadîmî dîvar körêî bîlak quvvaîî bîlân yiqip ke-cîr. (Sayf149r:3) ‘Where he sees an ancient wall he demolishes it with the force of his arm.’

4.3.3.4.7. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Manner
[Modal Clause]

The modal clause expresses the manner by which the action of the main sentence is executed. The following conjunctions are used: kim, ki, andâg kim. The adverb andâg may join the main senence to anticipate the modal clause. Its usual place is before the verb. E.g.,

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412 Lit., Do not throw it back into its face.
413 The candy was so overwhelming by the sweetness of your lips.
414 The first person singular and plural possessive suffixes are often omitted.
415 The apple has two colors, the sincere heart has only one. Cf. Sayf dost vidâ ‘în qüllî turur maçar alma. Bir tarafî za faran birî birî hamrû. ‘Maybe the apple is saying good-bye to a friend: one of its sides is saffron, the other is wine-colored.’
416 I.e., do good deeds.
Paygambar sunnatını andağ tergüzgây sän kim sădîn oza ham bir kim ârsâ andağ tergüzmiş bolmağay. (NF192,5) 'You will arrange the traditions of the Prophet so that no one else before you has ever arranged them in that fashion.'

Türtinc kün qatığ urustilar andağ kim paygambar ekindü namâ-zi taqi âhsam namâzi qilü bilmâdi. (NF30,15) 'For four days they fought so hard that the Prophet was not able to carry out his afternoon prayer and his evening prayer.'

Män taqi ağızimni aćiim ârsâ ağzimda tüfârdi, andağ kim mubarak todaqı mânim ağızma tegdi. (NF20,12-13) 'When I opened my mouth, he spat into my mouth in such a way that his blessed lips touched my mouth.'

Män taqi oyğandim taqi engân sâwundüm såd boldum andaq kim sâvûngânimni hec şifat qilü bilmâz mân. (NF271,15) 'I also woke up and rejoiced very much and was so happy that I am not able to characterize my happiness.'

Note: Adverbials of manner are preferably expressed by verbal adverbs [gerunds]. E.g.,

Ahyâli qatığ boldi, âzîn âyglayu Haqq ta'âlaqa mumâcät qilü canberdi. (NF95,17) 'His situation was very grave, crying bitterly, reciting a soliloquy to God the Most High, he gave up his soul.'

4.3.3.4. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Degree

The clause of degree indicates the extent or action of the main verb in the conjunction used is kim. In the main sentence the phrases ol qadar and az bas ki may anticipate the clause. E.g.,

Ol qadar muhmalatdan sözldi kim dağ İçşaim agaça macali qalmadi. (Sayf92v;12) 'He produced so much idle talk that he had no power left to talk.'

Saçim az bas ki özûn urdi barham, sâning âlîng bigin dur vaqte darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].' 

Dostqa ol qadar yari qilgî kim duşman bolsa sanga zafar tapma-gay. (Sayf39v:9) 'Help your friend [only] to the extent that if he becomes your enemy he will not overcome you.'

Ol qadar qättîliq etmâgî kim sân dan toqyglar. (Sayf164r:11) 'Do not be so harsh that people get fed up with you.'

Ol qadar yumsaq bolmaqil kim seni ayaq altinda qoyqylar. (Sayf164r:12) 'Do not be so soft that people squash you under their feet.'

4.3.3.4.9. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Cause

The causal complex sentence consists of a main clause and a causal clause. The causal clause expresses the cause, reason, or motive for the action of the main clause. Conjunctions used in the causal clause are: çon [short, in poetry çu], kim, ki [Persian], andin kim, nedin kim, nega kim, ne ucûn kim, neçûn kim, mundaq kim 'because' [real, actual, objective cause], for, since [the speaker's subjective view], owing to.'

E.g.,

Vafaşizliq haçtîni tartma köp bitimas çon firișta ol gunahım. (DN257v:10) 'Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful, because the angel does not record that transgression of mine.'

Sâvûnmâk yoq körüp duşman olusun, kâlisâr çon bizar ol davr ayaq. (Sayf46r:6-7) 'There is no use to rejoice upon seeing the demise of [our] enemy, because the very cup that goes around will definitely come to us [one day].'

Hîyalim yolûn dâgînî alma çu boldum çan sanga konglünînî salma! (DN248r:5) 'Do not take off your eyes from the road of my phantom images. Since I have become your life, do not cast away your heart.'

Netûk men âvûrâyin öz gamîdînî, ki pûlûd erigây otluq damîdînî. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'

Daryây 'îşıqgînî kezip hargiz ki payan tapmadim, män mubûla gardabîda qaldım ki darman tapmadim. (ShD108r:8-9) 'I robbed the sea of your love because I did not find its boundaries. Afflicted I was left in its vortex because I found no remedy.'

Ay Šabani çon berip tur fath va nuşrat kardgâr, sar ba sar alsang ğurasan mayl-ı Tabrêz ayâlbân. (ShD132r:1-2) 'O Shaban since the Creator has granted you victory and taking cities, you should take Khorasan piece by piece on your way to Tabriz.'

Kabâb oqta tüüsâr nakâmîqîtin, kim andin vahm etär el hâmîqîtin. (DN247t:11) 'The [raw] meat falls into the fire in disappointment, because people are apprehensive of its rawness.'

Mange râm et ki köp boldî nafirîmu anbar zulfînî qil dast-girîm. (DN256v:11) 'Have mercy on me, because my complaint has become overwhelming. Make the scented tress be my helper.'

417 This idiom is based on P. hatt ba qaher karîdan 'to draw, after intermittent, seven lines on a tomb, believed to secure forgiveness to the dead' (Sievinga, p. 466b).
Qalamldarin durust ermas rivayat, ki sigmas tillirigah ol hikayat. (DN248v:4) 'It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.'

Kiring ucmahta ol sabab birla kim dunyada edgu 'amallar qilur erdingiz. (NF99r:8) 'Enter Paradise on the account that you have done good works in this world.'

Notes: (1) After verbs expressing fear, anxiety, or concern [e.g., qorr- 'to fear', asra- 'to protect', hafv et- 'to be afraid'; andesa qil- 'to be concerned'], the reason for these feelings is indicated by a causal clause. E.g.,

'Özini asradi ol safmasrab bi gar erdi qamar allida aqrab. (DN 258r:7) 'That pure-hearted one protected herself because one of the Moon's mansions was confronting Scorpio.'

'Isq otingin shu'lası tüsşä Harigä någahän, qorqaram emdi Hari-ning multik veran olmasun. (ShD139r:11-12) 'When the flames of the fire of love suddenly engulfed Herat, I fear that the kingdom of Heart will turn into ruins.'

(2) After interjections the clause uh or kim is a causal clause, E.g.,

'Yoq tur canima jäqat, bar köngülüm yüz miñhat, yä Rabbi kif da bolsun anga bu yoq va barim.' (ShD107v:1) 'My soul has no patience, there are a hundred miseries in my heart. O Lord, may what I have and what I don't have be sacrificed to you.'

'Ah u vävasla kii dilbar aylämiş 'azmi-ı Iraq; qoygusi dur bizi zar u hasta dar band-i firax. (GD111,1) 'O Dear me! [There is a rumor that] my Heart-ravisher decided to move to Iraq. She will for sure put me, mournful and sick, into he fitters of separation.'

The conjunctions uh or kim may be missing. E.g.,

'Har tunla falak yüzün ahim tutuni tuttu, yä Rabbi, tira bolsun ol a 'ina-ruşarim. (ShD107r:13) 'Every night the smoke of my sighs clouds the surface of the sky. O Lord, may my mirrorlike cheeks not become troubled [thereby].'  

4.3.3.10. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Result
[Consecutive Clause]
A clause of result indicates the consequences of the action expressed in the main clause. The conjunctions kim or ki 'so that' are used to attach it to the main sentence. Sometimes the conjunction is omitted and the two clauses are joined assyntetically. In the main clause a demonstrative adverb [andaq, anca, ayli 'so, so much'] or an adverbial phrase [such as aning teg 'so much'] may anticipate the clause of result. E.g.,

'Qasim ëndan sänik firkising qildi, ki qayyudin boyi ya teg egildi. (DN59v:11) 'My eyebrow had thought so much about you that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.'

'Aning teg qudii ši'r-i niñani, ki toymay qalid ol elning yanam. (DN58r:8) 'She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil people would not comprehend it.'

'Aning teg bizni ýwas kör kim begändün 'aqil ruh ani. (Sayf 179v:4) 'Look at us in such a pleasant way that intellect and spirit may approve of it.'

'Ança asay men seni kim ingirä. (AC327v:3) 'I will hang you up [and leave you alone until] you[r gourds] crack.'

'Tanbura deg yüziq qilay paymal, ayldäi oğlanlar ani dastmäl. (AC342v:8) 'I will trample a face like Tanbura's under foot so that servants will [be needed to] scoop it up with their hands.'

'Ol yigit mahbabbat tänziniya aylä mustagraq bolup turur edim ki sözlämäga macäli yeq ed. (Sayf114v:5) 'That youth was so much immersed in the sea of love that he was not able to talk.'

'Aning teg bolişman hayran sanga kim körünmes köüzümälalam-da diyär. (GD82:5) 'I admire you so much that I do not see the cities of this world.'

'Közümind ança sayal aqtı aqındind toldü bu 'alam. (Sayf183r:13) 'Such flood burst forth from my eyes that this world was filled with raging water.'

'Man yätiz 'alim boldum, Abü Hanifagä ihtiyäcim qalmad. (NF193:17) 'I become a fine scholar. I have no need of Abu Hanifa [any longer].'  

4.3.3.11. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Comparison
[Comparative Clause]
A clause of comparison indicates that the action of the main clause takes place in the same fashion, with the same intensity or degree as the action

418 I.e., the nib of the pen
419 Cf. P. qomar dar 'aqrab lit. 'Moon in the Scorpion.' Astrologers use this term for the passage of the moon in which one of its mansions confronts the Scorpio (Haim II, p. 372). This situation is deemed by astrologers to have evil consequences.
420 Lit., My existence and nonexistence.' I.e., all that I was before I annihilated my Carnal Soul and all that remained after I did.'

421 Says Tanbura to Kingira, a musical instrument in the heat of a debate. Cf. Ahmadi, A Contest of the String Instruments (327v:3).
422 Meaning: And therefore I wander alone in the desert like Macnii.
of the comparative clause. The conjunctions ki, or kim, netük kim, nečük kim, nätäg kim 'as, just as, like' are used in the subordinate clause. If the comparison is not complete, the conjunctions göyä, göyä ki 'as if' are used. E.g.,

Tüzälip sarv boyung ešilmindin kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä cani. (DN251v:1) 'May your cypress-like body rise up my door and enter like soul enters the body.'

Han ham kelip Ahšini qapap edil, nečük kim mažkär boldi. (Bäbüür 31v:10) ‘The Khan also arrived and besieged Akhsi, as was mentioned [above].’

Beşnamaz gunahıngüziniz yuq ketärür andaq kim ariq suyı badannıng kirini kitärür. (RM25v:2) ‘The five prayers wash away your sins just as the water of the canal removes the dirt from your body.’

Ruh-i qusdi dur Gadening sözi, göyä kim tamam fayz-i afası Kalamu'lllah bayani kör ná dur. (GD68,7) Gada’ti’s words are the Holy Spirit as if the benefit of all his was equal to the message of the Qur’an. Behold, what it is!'

Note: (a) If the main close contains an adjective in the comparative degree, the comparative clause is introduced by ki or kim. E.g.,

Mänim halaklimig yahširaq andan kim yazuqsuz qan tökül-günčä. (Sayf33v:12) ‘My destruction [by this disease] is preferable than to shed the blood of an innocent person.’

4.3.3.4.12. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Purpose
[Final clause.]

A final clause expresses the purpose of the action in the main sentence. It is attached to the main clause by the conjunctions ki, ki, ki tà, tà kim, tà an ki 'that, so that, in order that.'

E.g.,

Camăling nur şalğay tofräğımga söyngäy qalibim rûh u raväní. (DN251r:11) ‘May the beauty of your face throw light upon my grave so that the soul and spirit of my body could rejoice.’

Keçar cådin avval suda şavvas, ki tà ahar bolur bir durrgrä ol bağ. (DN253v:7) ‘First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single [pearl].’

Kesär köp şahını dihqan tiliki, ki tà bir mevagä yetär eligi. (DN 253v:9) ‘The farmer cuts in many branches with his grafting knife so that his hands obtain [some] fruit.’

Şabä allingda barip tartmay ah, ki qatig kelmäsün könglüngä nagah. (DN256v:7) ‘The Zephyr comes to your presence but does not heave a sigh so that your heart be not aggravated.’

Ah közüm, sen išq sırın kizla, tufän bolmasun. Bu za’if cis-mingda išqning bahri yugüyän olmasun. (ShD130r:7-8) ‘O My Eye, hide the secret of love, so that tempest will not arise, so that the sea of love in my fragile body will not overflow and cause a deluge.’

Bayiktin saya körgüzür huymäye, ki tà davlat tapar andin gada- ye (DN258v:10) ‘From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.’

Kök üstindin salur ay yergä nurin, ki tà kash etar andin yer hu-zurin. (DN258v:9) ‘From the top of the sky the moon projects its light down upon the earth in order to capture the presence of the earth thereby.’

Bir quil kentgä bardı kim tuz ketürqäy. (Sayf31r:1) ‘A servant went to town to bring some salt.’

Yužüng közgü dur, ay hušn içrâ mähim, hazar qil kim anî tut-masun ahım. (DN257v:5) ‘Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].’

Yuqaridin inip yamğur tüsär pak, ki tà andin tîrîlî hâr hâsak. (DN258v:11) ‘Descending from above the rain falls evenly so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.’

Barip men tà tîsîng fîkridä özdin, salip men sîhr ara gavharñi közdin. (DN257r:8) ‘In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that as if being under a spell I have had no eyes for [genuine] pearls.’

Saçim az bas ki özün urdi barham, säning hâling bigin dur vaqte darham. (DN260r:1) ‘My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].’

4.3.3.4.13. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Condition

The conditional clause in complex sentences expresses the condition under which the action of the main verb materializes. The classical division of conditional sentences in Indo-European languages, with somewhat less stricture, applies also in Chagatay. So we distinguish

424 Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous bird hümä casts its shadow will become a king.

425 The Creator bestows His grace upon everyone without distinction. Cf. Sa’di Anıng santis sagîstî rahmatining yögmü’ barçega yastıp tarar ‘The rain of His countless and boundless grace reaches everyone.’

426 I.e., I don’t take interest in...
conditional sentences with real conditions, potential conditions and unreal conditions.

4.3.3.4.13.1. Complex Conditional Sentences with Real Conditions

The conditional clause states a fact as the condition for the action in the main sentence. Since the condition, expressed by the present conditional, is real there is no doubt that the action of the main sentence, indicated by the present tense of the aorist, will occur. Sentences of this type come very close to temporal sentences. E.g.,

Bu 'adat hwasa yiğacalar sevasidin, ki taś atsang berürül r méva-
sidin. (DN247v:8) 'This observation was made on the nature of fruit trees: If you throw stones [at them] they give you some of their fruit.'

Mu'allim holmasa haybatli, ay yar, saqalindan tutup qoňlanar
oynar. (Sayf14v:8) 'If the teacher has no authority, O Friend, the pupils will grab his beard and dance [around him].'

Nagahan bayvab va it körası garib, bu yaqasin ol etägin bek
tutar. (Sayf29v:6) 'When suddenly a doorman and a dog discover a stranger [at the gate], the former grabs him by the collar, while the latter, by the skirt."

Ay Hurasàn ahli Saybàn bir avuç tofrog ed. Kimgä Haqq qilsa
'ınvåt ḥan va ham sulån bolur. (ShD42r:9-10) 'O, People of Khurasan realize that [once] I was a handful of dust. The one whom God blesses with his Divine Aid, will become a Khan or a Sultan.'

4.3.3.4.13.2. Complex Conditional Sentences with Potential Conditions

The expression of the conditional clause is potential: it may or may not happen. If it does, the action of the main sentence will for sure occur. The conjunctions agar, gar to introduce the conditional sentence is frequent in this group. These conjunctions do not necessarily require the verb to be in the conditional form. E.g.,

Sening köyungdin, ay körk içrä bagim, bašım gar barsa bar-
maqay ayağim. (DN244v:5) 'From your quarter, O, My Garden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.'

Ne boldi gov agar arź ettı hâlin, dedi sargastalikdın öz malâlin?
(DN244v:2) 'What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?'

Agar sendin öčär elning çirağı, manga sendin yarur ummed bâgi
(DN249v:4) 'If people’s candle goes out because of you,' for me, because of you, the garden of hope will light up.'

Zamãna hublarin qilsaq hikayat, ciňanda qalmaqag hargiz
šikayat. (ShD25r:2) 'If I talk about the beauties of our days, no complaint whatsoever will remain in this world.'

Bularga bi_nafas qilsaq tafaşkùr, usandin ačtur nûr-i hidâyat.
(ShD25r:12) 'If I meditate on this matters even for a moment, the light of guidance emerges from my thoughts.'

Ganimdin gar dešä icâmdäkî dağ, bulut teq yiğlaşag ün tartiban
dağ. (DN256v:10) 'If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'

Sabâni sevârîdin sorsa kim netkä sensîzîn, özungâr hâ nà ki
bar mendin özgânî sal! - dâr. (ShD56v:5-6) 'If Sabani asks his beloved: “What can I do without you?” She replies, “Cast away all that is in you other than I.”'

Tûzalmasân yìzüm din gîblasina, gar özgä sâri bolsa rûy u
rahim. (DN257v:9) 'My face should not turn to the qibla of [our] religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward others.'

Qutulmaq qaygûdin gar furgatingda gamîngin dëgä bolsa ‘uzr-
hwähim. (DN257v:8) 'I do not wish to rid myself of sadness if
in your absence other than grief because of you is my apologist.'

Agar bu kecá munđa qalsaq, halak bolur miz. (NF16v:2) 'If we stay here tonight, we will perish.'

Agar susmär sâning payğambarlıqginga tanaqluq bërsä, mân
sanga inanur mân. (NF18v:10-11) 'If the lizard bears witness to your being the Prophet, I will believe in you.'

Agar can tartsam candin ne hásil, körümüñ köüz gözl ol andin ne
hásil? (DN250v:4) 'If my soul suffers, what is the yield of the soul? If it does not show in front of my eyes, what is the use of it?
Ne der sen munđa gar kêtürsäm ani, niňhùta ûndásäm ol bëna-
vanî? (DN258v:7) 'What would you say if I brought him here?
If I secretly invited that miserable person?'

Agar sen anda körsâng nåğah azär, men esît bolur men munđa
af går. (DN260v:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'

Agar tandin desâm bir hacsaré, ne körüngãy eśiklingdä ñübärë.
(DN250v:5) 'If I tell about a person that he is humble, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?'

427 Cf. Sayf, Gulistan bi’t-turk [72v:11]
428 The Sufi notion of mü süvî lîk 'other than God' is used in this distich. The heart should be emptied from all other than God and only then can it be filled with God.
4.3.3.4.13.2. Complex Conditional Sentences with Unreal Conditions

The conditional clause contains a hypothetical, contrary to fact statement expressed by the past tense form of the conditional. The main clause speculates what would have happened if the unreal condition were true. For this he past tense of the optative mood or the gerund in -gûncâ are used. E.g.,

Agar bu âsâk bolmasa edî, bayfâ qatina barmagây edî. (Sayf 147r:13) ‘Had he not been an ass, he would not have gone to see a veterinarian [for eye treatment].’

Yilan tapasa edî yahsi ol oğlannı toqûrgûncâ. (Sayf146r:3) ‘It would have been better for her to come upon a snake than to give birth to that child.’

Agar mân tangridan âylâ qorgsam edî kim ñan sültândan qorqar sân, sddiqlâr cumlasindan bolgây edim. (Sayf41r:4-6) ‘If I had been afraid of God as you are afraid of the Sultan, I would have been one of His closest friends.’

Ayaqyng tofragin gar tapasam erdi, ani elning közûnîn yapsam erdi, yizzüm altungâ tutgây erdi ani, közûdû asrâqay erdi nihanî. (DN150v:9-10) ‘Had I but got hold of the dust your feet were walking on, had I but covered it from people’s eyes, my face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.’

4.3.3.4.14. Complex Sentences with a Concessive Clause

A concessive clause expresses a condition which even if granted, does not take away the validity of the predication made by the main sentence. In other words, the action or state expressed in the main sentence will take place or will continue to exists even in the presence of the condition stipulated by the concessive clause. The conjunctions used are agarî, garî ‘although’ and, less frequently, the phrasal conjunctions bû vucûd kim, bû vucûd-lî ol kim ‘in spite of, despite, notwithstanding’. The main sentence can be introduced by vale, valekîn, or amma ‘but’.

Predication in both the concessive and the main clauses can be achieved by nominal sentences in the present tense. The most frequently used tense form in the concessive clause, however, is the present conditional, although the definite past may also occur. In the main clause the aorist, the gerund -ban/-bân or the future tense of the optative mood are used. E.g.,

Dedi, “Dam urmay aztlanmaq kerâk sen, agarî yet sen yanmaq kerâk sen”. (DN246v:4) ‘She said, “You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this ime].”’

Agarî dard evining mahramî men, şamîmgda nûlalarnîn hâm-dami men. (DN251r:5) ‘Although I am intimate with the house of pain’, in sorrow for you I am a confidant of complaints.’

Men ol it men ki gar yûz qatla sûrsang, yûz evûrmân agarî yûz evûrsang. (DN251r:3) ‘I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head although you turn away yours.’

Bu Şabani garci hân oldîi gaddâyng dur sening. Kim fidâ aylar sanga yûz ming munung dek tahtî u fac. ‘Although this Shabanî has become an emperor, he has remained a beggar at your door who is ready to sacrifice for You a hundred thousand thrones and crowns like this.’

Garçi közûndin viraq boldung köngûlda bar sen, şîsî-î költünm ara şîrîn zurâlîng sulaqdamî. (ShD100v:12-13) ‘Although you were far from my eyes, you were inside my heart. I kept safe your sweet and limpid water in the bottle of my heart.’

Boyunq zulfung ağzîndin tapiban kam, ulasmas garçî tanvîn va alîf-lâm. (DN256r:8) ‘Your figure and your tresses obtain gratification from the mouth’, although the [strokes of the] tanvîn and the letters alîf-lâm [in this sequence] never touch.’

Note: (1) The conditional conjunctions agar, gar ‘if’ can also be used to introduce concessive clauses. E.g.,

Agar salams nazarni köz yasina, ne bolgây qatrah darya qasina? (DN 250v:7) ‘Suppose I cast a glance at the tears, what is the value of a single drop against [the waters of] a river?’

Sening koyungdin, ay körk içrä bağım, başim gar barsa barmagay ayagım. (DN244v:5) ‘From your quarter O, My Garden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.’

429 For közûndî cf. P. ba-la’m.
430 In predicative function. See 3.6.7.2.3.
431 See 3.6.5.5.1.
432 A hint at Jacob’s ‘House of Sorrow’.
433 I complain a great deal.
434 A sign of disobedience.
435 In disregard, or contempt
436 People praise them.
437 To appreciate the image please consider that alîf stands for the figure of the Beloved, straight like the character alîf, and lâm represents her hair, curled up at the end like the letter lâm. These characters in this sequence are not connected in writing and the strokes of the tanvîn never touch.
438 If I take notice of or consider the value or significance of...
439 Rivers and seas are considered infinite sources of wealth [fishing, pearls, transportation; symbol of the vast and the infinite.]
Gabr agar yüz yil ot yaqar bolsa ıcinät tüşicák kuyär fi’l-hal. (Sayy24:7) ‘Even if the fireworshipper tends the fire for a hundred years, the fire will burn him in no time when he falls into it.’

(2) Concessive clauses occur also without a conjunction. Such clauses, however, must have their verbal predicates in the conditional form. E.g., Ḥarış yessā chinni hanuz ač va faqir. (Sayy166v:6) ‘Even if the greedy person eats up the entire world, he is still hungry and poor.’

4.3.3.4.15. Complex Sentences with a Universal Concessive Clause

The concessive clause in a universal concessive sentence indicates a free choice of any number of conditions which even if granted would not change the validity of the main clause.

The conjunctions used are nečä, nečä kim, har nečä, har nečä kim, har čand ‘however much; no matter how much’, har ne, har ne ki ‘no matter what, whatsoever’, har nečük ‘however’, har ki, har kim ‘whoever, no matter who’. E.g.,

Berūr tağ adami karlıg nisāni, ki har ne desāng aytur ol ham anī. (DN248r:4) ‘The man of the mountain’[40] displays the sign of deafness. Whatever you say, he says the same thing.’

Qamiš ham bali ermass kim berū[r] qand, nečä avrāsang aning bandidin band. (DN247v:10) ‘Also, the sugar cane is never empty but dispenses sugar no matter how you tear it up jointly by joint.’

Bu Harining danīs ahli har nečä ‘ayh etsângiz, qayda kim bolsa Sâbâni ol Samarqand azûlar. (ShD42v:7-8). ‘No matter how much you blame me, people of Hari: Wherever Shaybani is, he will always long for Samarqand.’

Hacr ara kuygân kungül hâlini bilmâs dur kisi: har ki vânsa ‘ud teg ol hwaś nafâs dur dûd emâs. (ShD64v:8-9) ‘One does not know the state of the heart burning in the fire of separation. Whoever burns like the aloe wood emits a fragrant breath, not smoke.’

Ne kim çiğsâ tilidin cân talasur, açiq söz tatliq ağızga yaraşur. (DN243r:6) ‘Whatever comes from her tongue, thrusts one into agony. Bitter words becomes the sweet mouth.’

Nečä kim canat havâsi bolsa al-haqq dîlgušay, bolmağusi dur vale Bağ-i Ḥiyâvândin lâöff. (GD101,6) ‘No matter how refreshing

is indeed the air in Paradise, it is not as charming as the Promenade by the Hiýâvan canal.’

Tang nasimi lutf lî háh nečä kim cânbahs erûr, bolmağay här-gîz vale paygâm-i cânândîn lâöff. (GD101,2) ‘No matter how life bestowing is the morning breeze with its grace, it will never be more gracious than a message from the Beloved.’

4.4. THE WORD ORDER

By the position of subject and predicate, the two main components of the sentence, we distinguish direct [S + P] and inverted [P + S] word orders.

4.4.1. Direct Word Order

In a direct word order the subject precedes the predicate. E.g.,

Fîgânîm tîndî. ‘My slobbings ceased.’
Fîryâd uçtî. ‘My call for help took off.’
Tarab keldî. ‘Merriment has arrived.’
Gâm fi’l-hal köcêtî. ‘Sadness at once departed’

in the chain of the coordinated compound sentence:

Fîgânîm tîndî va fîryâd uçtî, tarab keldî va gâm fi’l-hal köcêtî. (DN249r:3)

Note: If the subject is not expressed by a noun or pronoun and is indicated only by the finite form of the verb, the direct object that begins the sentence and precedes the verb must be in the marked accusative case. E.g.,

Sâbâ elinî öptüm quyuban baš, anqa iňlaş nurin etibân faš. (DN249v:1) ‘I kissed the hand of the Morning breeze bowing my head and showing her the light of perfect sincerity.’

4.4.2. Inversion

In sentences with inverted word order the verbal predicate precedes the subject. Most of the time they are side by side with no other sentence elements between them. Other parts of the sentence may precede or follow the Predicate + Subject group, or come between the predicate and the subject. E.g.,

Avrîlgay gâm atî cân daftarîndîn, kongûl cam’îna tartîlgay raqamlar. (DN248v:1) ‘The name of sorrow will be deleted[42] from the journal of life. The numbers will be drawn to the total of the heart.[43]

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[40] I.e., echo.
[41] E.g., Even if you destroy the form, the essence remains. You must destroy the form to get to the essence.
[42] Lit., will depart
[43] The partial results will total to the serenity of the heart.
5. Lexicon

The vocabulary of Chagatay is extraordinarily rich and diverse. It has many Arabic and Persian loan elements—words, phrases, idioms—both from the literary and the popular levels. Although borrowings have changed to some degree the status of Turkish elements, [distribution in semantic fields, participation in developing idioms, shift in word formation] they did not replace them. Parallel use of native and borrowed words increased the lexical expression of the language. The cultural impact of Arabic, the language of Islam, and Persian, the language of an impressive classical literature enriched the paremiologic content of Chagatay making it a suitable tool for literary expression.

5.1. Sample Vocabulary

This list of select Turkish words gives an idea of the nature of Turkish elements present in the Chagatay language:

**açıq** (MM199r:14) ‘bitterness’
**açıqla-** (BN90r:10) ‘to implore’
**adar-** (MM193r:3) ‘to renounce’
**ağ** (MM183v:13) ‘net, snare’
**ağ-** (MM193v:4) ‘to rise’
**ahlı** (RM6r:2) ‘brother’
**anuq** (MM187r:1) ‘correct [answer]’
**ang-** (MM186r:11) ‘to remember’
**aqar-** (RM37r:5) ‘to turn white’
**aqi** (MM183r:14) ‘generous’
**aqta** (MM190r:11) ‘gelded horse’
**arman** (H79v:11) ‘disappointment’
**arıq** (MM176v:3) ‘pure, clean’
**armaq** (DN265r:10) ‘a race horse’
**arqan** (MM188r:17) ‘upon his back’
**artuquis** (RM40r:5) ‘beyond a certain limit’
**asığ** (MM180r:2) ‘benefit, use’
**aş-** (MM193v:10) ‘to go beyond’
**aşuqupa** (RN45r:8) ‘in a hurry’
**ata-** (MM185v:3) ‘to count [by names]’
**atiq-** (RM18r:10) ‘to be named’
**aw** (MM179v:5) ‘game animal’
**ayla-** (BN89r:2) ‘to return’
**aylan-** (BN92r:9) ‘to spin around’
**az buçuq** (RM35v:7) ‘some, a little’
**azgäs** (MM183v:12) ‘to get lost’

444 I.e., the nib of the pen
445 To write “eye” in Arabic you don’t need a dot above the letter ‘ayn.
446 In Shabihani’s Risāla-i Ma‘ārif at night Satan ties knots [tüğün bağlar] on the head of the believer while he is sleeping (20r:6). They are removed [“united”] by the believer’s mentioning God’s name, carrying out the ablution and performing the morning prayer.
447 The suras make the invisible particles in the air shine.
azraq (MM188r:14) 'injury'
azûn (MM197r:8) 'world'

äça (MM190v:11) 'elder brother'
ägäçil (MM192r:14) 'elder sister'
ägrilig (RB8r:6) 'frail'
äkin (MM188v:4) 'sown area'
ärta (MM185v:14) 'morning'
ásân (MM198r:12) 'beneficial'
ásâna- (MM185v:10) 'to correct'

ban- (MM198v:2) 'to bind oneself'
barlıq (MM198v:15) 'existence'
basar (RM1r:6) 'furthermore'
baçaq (MM197v:1) 'arrowhead'
bat (RB7v:8) 'suddenly, at once'
baylık (DN261v:5) 'altitude'
begat (RM441v:1) 'governors, begs'
birik-(RM18r:6) 'to come together'
bol- (DN270v:4) 'to be, to become'
bola (H79v:11) 'great'
börç (RM39r:6) 'debt'
bölmâk (MM193r:15) 'share'
bulğâs- (RM25v:4) 'to become dired [with sin]'
burnâğı (RB8r:7) 'former, primeval'
busaqa (AC327r:9) 'threshold'
busiq (RB8r:2) 'grief'
busağu (MM189v:7) 'calf'

čağir (RM2v:10) 'wine'
čap- (H78v:1) 'to gallop, trot, run'
čaqıştur- (RM3r:3) 'to set one person against another'
čerça- (H79v:10) 'to get tired'
čerkuq (AC325r:4) 'leather sandal'
čerig (RM2r:7) 'military forces'
čida- (AC325v:8) 'to feel like doing something'
čiğay (MM176v:7) 'dependent [upon God]'
čtq- (H76r:1) 'to go out'
čiray (H75v:11) 'face'
čiraylıq (AC325v:11) 'beauty'
čura- (AC325v:11) 'to wear through, get a hole in'
edgiülük (DN271v:7) 'goodness'
eg- (MM 185r:2) 'to bend'
ekinçê (MM193r:15) 'sower'
emdi (H7v:8) 'now'
engân (MM187v:15) 'very much'
erân (RM9r:9) 'a pious man'
ev- (RB5r:4) 'to turn [intransitive]'
ğussâliq (RM36r:2) '[food] that chokes'

han [for hwân] (DN267r:4) 'table, carpet [with spread]'
hyahla- (H79r:6) 'to wish, desire'

ingîr- (AC327v:3) 'to crack'
iraq (RM43r:4) 'far [from]'
irha- (MM194r:8) 'to shake'
isîq (RM18r:7) 'warm'
isîrîqa (MM188r:7) 'earring'
îy- (H74v:6) 'to send'

ibâr- (MS2r:1) 'to send'
iči (MM192r:14) 'father's brother'
igâ (H77v:8) 'lord'
indâ- (H76r:7) 'to call'
intîq- (AC322v:1) 'to desire strongly'
iring (MM181r:11) 'pup's'
iş (H77r:10) 'work'
itûr- (RB8r:3) 'to lose'

kärtülûa- (MM192v:7) 'to pronounce the divorce formula in earnest.'
keč (H80r:2) 'night' [cf., Uzbek kuch]'
keng (RM43r:9) 'liberal'
kengî- (MM184v:9) 'to extend [a row]'
ker- (AC325r:7) 'to stretch out'
kêsak (RM12r:10) 'a piece of stone or clay'
kök (MM179v:10) 'heaven'
kökân (RM26r:8) 'pillar'
kolûk (MM179v:5) 'riding animal'
köp, (H75v:1) 'community'
köp, (H80v:9) 'many'
körsût- (BN97r:2) 'to show, manifest'
köyük (MM197r:11) 'firewood'
kün (RB7v:5-6) 'relatives'
küy- v. (DN244v:7) ‘to be consumed by fire’
mang- (RM15r:5) ‘to walk’
maqta- (RM13r:) ‘to praise or command for’
ma u man (AC328r:1) ‘conceit, bragging’
mängzär- (RM5r:9) to resemble’
mişqir- (MS6r:1) ‘to blow one’s nose’
mung (H79v:7) ‘sorrow’
mün- (MM188v:16) ‘to ride’

oğul-qız (MM187r:3) ‘children’ [cf. Uzbek >FILIT-KI3]
oğurluq (RM34v:9) ‘theft’
ohşa- (RM25r:7) ‘to resemble, be like’
orul- (RM29r:10) ‘to be recited’
oruc (MM186v:1) ‘fast’
orun (MS13r:1) ‘place’
ott (H75v:8) ‘fire’
oltāq (MM188v:15) ‘pasture’
oyna- (MM181v:6) ‘to play’
oz- (AC322v:3) ‘to overcome’
ozdur- (RM6v:7) ‘to go beyond a certain point’

oğ- (MM176v:8) ‘to praise’
oğdū (MM176v:8) ‘hymn’
oğur- (BN87v:3) ‘to turn’
oğüz (MM188v:4) ‘river’
ökṣük (25v:7) ‘less’
ökun- (H76r:5) ‘to grieve’
ökünç (MM193r:9) ‘regret’
orgān- (MS8r:3) ‘to learn’
orgāt- (H76v:8) ‘to teach’
örung (BN92v:8) ‘white’
öttār- (BN85v:10) 1. ‘to forgive’ 2. (RM19r:1) ‘to spend time’
öttmāk (MS15v:1) ‘bread’
öwla (RM2v:4) ‘noon’
öy (MS8v:) ‘house’
ozā (MM299r:11) ‘to desire s.th. ardently’

qamči (RM23r:1) ‘whip’
qapsa- (MM182r:14) ‘to grasp’
qaq- (MS5v5) ‘to splash’
qara- (H76r:6) ‘to look’
qargu (MM192r:12) ‘compensation for a present’
qari- (RM3r:5) ‘to age, grow old’
qat- (RB9v:5) ‘to endow s.o. with s.th.’
qatiğlan- (MM193v:3) ‘to strengthen oneself’
qayaş (MM192r:12) ‘a relative’
qayruvān (DN272r:2-3) ‘caravan’
qisraq (MM190r:12) ‘mare’
qolgu (MM199v:1) ‘request’
qoš (AC328v:1) ‘a pair of cup filled with wine’
qoyun (RM18r:8) ‘embrace’
qu- (RM14r:3) ‘to pour’
qudug (MM191r:14) ‘well’
qulan (MM191r:15) ‘wild donkey’
qulun (H77v:6) ‘foal’
quraq (MM193r:10)‘tent’
qurğan (RM6r:6) ‘straggle’
quvan- (H76v:7) ‘to rejoice’

sağir- (DN266v:1) ‘to lament’
 sağu (MM192r:4) ‘a measure of grain’
sana- (MM184r:12) ‘to count’
sarga- (RM31r:7) ‘to become yellow’
satbaš- (MM182r:4) ‘to meet’
savur- (BN87v:1) ‘to scatter’
sazan (AC327r:4) ‘veil’
sačığ (MM198v:14) ‘choice’
sevgülük (RB6v:7) ‘love’
sezik (MM184r:6) ‘choice’
sınq (MM177v:9) ‘attempt’
siętamaq (RM21r:5) ‘sobbing’
silā- (RM3r:1) ‘to love, prefer, caress’
silik (MM197r:14) ‘smooth [words]’
sol- v.i. (H77r:6) ‘to wither’
sora- v.t. (H76r:2) ‘to ask’
soraq (MS3v:3) ‘question, inquiry’
söy- (H74v:1) ‘to love’
sücü (H81v:2) ‘sweet’
sül- (AC327r:5) ‘to cut’
süsüm (MM193v:2) ‘sorting [of the good from the bad]’
šamuša (MM188v:7) ‘ornament’
šeś- (MM194v:6) ‘to untie [one’s belt]’
šīś- (RM31v:7) ‘to swell’

tamug (MM179v:3) ‘hell’
tan- (BN88v:8) ‘to give up’
tanuq (MM189v:1) ‘evidence’
tanglas (RM32v:9) ‘the next morning’
tapšur- (AC326v:2) ‘to entrust [s.th. to s.o.]’
tapuq (MM194v:2) ‘service’
tart- (RM29v:4) ‘to pull’
tālbā (MM196v:8) ‘ignorant’
tālbārā- (BN9v:11) ‘to talk nonsense’
tebrā- (RM36v:9) ‘to move from’
tegiš (RM44v:4) ‘treatment’
tīrgiš- (RM9v:7) ‘to resurrect’
tōg- (MM180v:7) ‘to arise’
tōg (MS15v:4) ‘dust’
ton (RM30v:1) ‘mantle’
tōrā (H78r:8) ‘official’
tōsāk (RM18v:7) ‘mattress’
tuš (RM29v:10) ‘the equal [of]’
tutuš (MM198v:15) ‘always’
tūgün- (H75vL10) ‘to renounce’
tūkāl (RM2r:2) ‘all’
tūlāk (MM199v:12) ‘haven’
tūšā- (MM182v:3) ‘to pass the night’
tūzāl- (AC324v:3) ‘to shape up’

ulašu (MM176v:12) ‘constantly’
ulūg (RM43r:4) ‘great’
ulus (Sayf17r:6) ‘people’
unu- (RM29v:3) ‘to pledge obedience’
unut- (H77r:3) ‘to forget’
uq- (MS16v:3) ‘to master (a book, s.o.’s teachings)’
uquš (MM196v:14) ‘understanding’
uruq (MM193v:11) ‘seeds’
usaq (RM41v:5) ‘apprentice’
ūštmaḥ (RM25r:1) ‘Paradise’
uyu (MM182v:6) ‘brother’
uyat (H78v:1) ‘shame’

uyğaq (RM37v:9) ‘awake’
uyğan- (RM10r:10) ‘to wake up’
uyqu (RM10r:7) ‘sleep’

ūkūš (MM179v:10) ‘much, many’
ūlus (RM37v:6) ‘part, share’
ūluq (MM197v:1) ‘shaft of an arrow’
ūyūr- (MS16v:3) ‘to braid [one’s hair]’
ūyūk (MM197v:11) ‘a mound of earth’
ūzūk (MS2r:6) ‘seal ring’

yafraq (RM23r:2) ‘leaf’
yağač (MS9v:4) ‘yaghach, a measure of distance’
yalavač (RM6v:5) ‘prophet’
yalguz (H77v:7) ‘alone’
yaman (RM34v:8) ‘evil’
yana- (MM184r:12) ‘to add’

yangliq (MM198v:16) ‘alone’
yapuš- (RM29v:4) ‘to take hold [of]’
yaq- (MS15v:3) 1. ‘to come in contact with’; (H74v:6) 2. ‘to like’
yaraq (MS6v:5) ‘ability’
yaraq- (AC328v:5) ‘to reconcile with’
yaraša (RM40v:4) ‘in accordance with’
yaratgan (MM175v:6) ‘creator’
yarliqa- (RM4v:2) ‘to forgive’
yartu (RM37v:5) ‘half’
yastuq (RM10v:8) ‘pillow’
yatsiq (RM2v:3) ‘the prayer two hours after sunset’
yavurgan (RM18v:16) ‘blanket’
yayga- (MM18v:16) ‘to rinse’
yatiš- (RB2v:1) ‘to reach a place gradually’
yibār- (RM31r:9) ‘to send’
yit- (RM32v:6) ‘to slip out [of one’s hands]’
yigae (RM27v:1) ‘tree’
yigil- (RB4v:4) ‘to avoid’
yira- (RB3v:13) ‘to move away from’
yor- (MM200r:14) ‘to interpret’
yulduz (RM28v:9) ‘star’
yunug (MM181v:5) ‘ritual ablution’
yupqa (6r:10) ‘thin’
yügür- (H76v:8) ‘to run’
yükkün- (AC328r:7) ‘to make a bow’
yüzlän- (RM26v:3) ‘to face toward’

5.2. Phraseology [Idioms, Set Expressions]
The Chagatay language is rich in idioms, phrases, and set expressions. These elements of the lexicon constitute the paremiological content of the vocabulary. They reflect the erudition of the speakers of the language in historical depth and make up a significant part of the cultural heritage of the language community. A student of Chagatay must be aware of this aspect of the language. Without a thorough knowledge of the cultural content of the language full understanding of Chagatay on a higher level is hardly possible.

Efforts to attain the level and nature of erudition of Central Asian authors will definitely take us closer to a fuller appreciation of Chagatay literary works and perceive the authors’message often garbed in proverbs, quotes, sayings, hins, references and made next to inaccessible through an intricate set of prosodic devices. To reach that level takes a life-time of study. For practical purposes, however, the reader must be familiar with Islam, its basic tenets and practices, with the major works of classical Persian literature, with Central Asian folklore, especially legends and the epic poetry of the Central Asian Turks.

Below is a selective list of idioms and set expressions.

Aradin boyın uzat- ‘to rise, make oneself visible’ (< ‘to stretch one’s neck out from among the crowd’). E.g.,
Çang aradin boyın uzatıp ravan, tüsti uşal lažha tumän ming fiğān. (AC324r:2) ‘Suddenly Chang stretched his neck out from among the contestants, and, at the very same moment, struck up a tune of ten thousand complaints.’

Arani üz- ‘to interrupt’. E.g.,
Bir küngā ikki ay tutar roza arani üzılmān ki har roza. (MS 16r:5) ‘[As penitence] he must fast one day after another without missing a day for a total of two months for every [single] day [that he omitted or violated his fast].’

Balā dástida qal- ‘to be captive in the hands of misery, to be in constant trouble’. E.g.,
Ol kışi kim seni čalar bilgüčā, qaldi balā dástida ol ölgüčā. (AC 327r:2) ‘The person who learns to play you will be captive in the hands of misery until he dies.’

Başqa qoş tut- ‘to raise a pair of goblets to one’s head, to reconcile.’ E.g.,
 Pir dedi Tānbūrağa, “Goş tut! Bir birigā başqa birar qoş tut.” (AC328v:1) ‘Then he addressed Tānbūra, “Take my warming and realize your error! Raise a pair of goblets to your head (and make up with your friends) one by one.”’

Bəzər bol- ‘to become free [from]’. E.g.,
Bolsa hayz u nifāšdīn bəzər gülə vəcib bolur, biling, nācər. (MS 8v:3) ‘Know that [a woman who] has become free from the annoyance of her menstrual discharge, that is whose period has ended, or [who has completed] the forty-day period after giving birth must of necessity perform he Ghusl.’

Boyunjga al- ‘to take [an obligation] upon one’s shoulder.’ E.g.,
Ne kim ol aydi ani qilğu kārāk. Tā’atini boyunjga alğu kārāk. (MS2r:2) ‘One must do whatever He has commanded. One must willingly [willingly] put one’s neck [in the yoke of] obedience to him.’

Cândin ba tang kel- ‘to be deeply distressed.’ E.g.,
Keldim uşal haldā candin ba tang. (AC322v:5). ‘There in that situation I was deeply distressed.’

Cândin toy- ‘to have enough, to be fed up with.’ E.g.,
Barçaşı ɣayrat əfti birlâ kūyüp. Bahş va maqamattə candin toyup. (AC327v:9) ‘They were all tormented by the fire of jealousy. They had had enough of arguing and playing maqsams.’

Day čilləsəndin čeq- ‘to be safely past the crises, to be over the hump’ [< to leave the forty day cold behind]. E.g.,
Bu kündin songra ačildi čihaning, sawuq day čilləsəndin čeqti ča- ning. (DN26r:5) ‘From this day on your world is in bloom; your life is out of the forty day cold.’

Dilgir bol- ‘to be filled with horror’. E.g.,
Qılımağil sen namazda taqşır. Ta Qilyəmatda bolgə sen dilgir. (MS3v:4) ‘Do not be remiss in your prayers. Have a care or you will be filled with horror on the day of Resurrection.’

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445 Name of the total ablution.
Eldin rahā ber- ‘to abandon, give up.’ E.g.,
Bandalıq javrın Səbənî berməgalı eldin rahə. (BH16r:9) ‘Shəbənî do not abandon’ the conduct of a [humble] servant.’

Elğä özini sat- ‘to sell oneself to people, to seek people’s attention and respect (without deserving them).’ E.g.,
Da’və-i dənəs mu qiltr sen yətit. Ləf urun sen elğä özəngni sæt. (AC325v:7) ‘Are you making a claim to knowledge by lying on the ground like that and selling yourself to people by talking nonsense?’

Eşik bəz qıl- ‘to open wide the gate (in order to let s.th. lose).’ E.g.,
Pardada ol murg-i suhansaç men. Fitna eşige qilayın bəz men. (AC323v:8) ‘In (singing) melodies I am that (fabulous) bird with a beguiling voice. I can open wide the gate of calamity!’

Fi’li aś- ‘for one’s temper to boil over, to lose one’s temper.’ E.g.,
Tənbūraning fi’li aśip ol zamān Dedi, “Nā der sen yatip, ay yatağān!” (AC325v:6) ‘At these words, Tanbura’s temper boiled over. He said, “Lying on the ground like that, I am talking about, O Yatağan!”

Gəştəb ber- ‘to twist (a student’s) ears (punishment), to correct.’ E.g.,
Muncə dilərəm səngə gostəb berdi, tüzəməding ayə həc bab. (AC324v:3) ‘Although ever so many heart-soothing beauties have twisted your ears, you see, you have still not shaped up at all.

Gənəh sər- ‘to call s.o. to account for his sins.’ E.g.,

Guzar yoq- ‘cannot outdo’ [lit. ‘cannot pass by’]. E.g.,
Barça musəhlen manga səm sahar. Yoq zurəfa ahləna mendin guzar. (AC324v:10) ‘(Princes) are all my companions from evening to dawn. People of sharp wit cannot outdo me.’

İkkı yar- ‘to split in two.’ E.g.,
Ayni ikki yar, dedəfər kufr ahli. (BH7v:6) ‘Split the moon in two, said the kafirs.

Hırqasidin bəş čiqar- ‘to raise one’s head from under one’s cloak, to be ready to speak (after long contemplation).’ E.g.,
Hırqasidin bəş čiqarip Rabab dedi, “Man am faqr ilə ələcanəb. (AC326r:2) ‘Thrusting his head out from under his cloak, Rabab said, “In poverty, I am of the highest rank.”

Ḫiyāl bağla- ‘to take s.th. into one’s head.’ E.g.,
Ušbə kečə Tənbūrə bağlaq ḥiyāl, barqəməza berdi basə infi’al. (AC328r:5) ‘This very night Tanbura took into his head to do his best to humiliate us all.

İşni köndür- ‘to put one’s affairs in order.’ E.g.,
Bu dam bu dam dur: Köndürün gənə. (BH21r:5). ‘The suitable time is now: Put your affairs in order [right now].’

Mangla ač- ‘to put aside one’s anger, to be reconciled’ [lit., ‘to smooth the wrinkles on one’s forehead.’ E.g.,
Oļ yurəltik laşkar-ı İsləmni manglay ur, kim gəzəb üstidə qılqay ‘afo açaq mangla. (BH14v:5-6) ‘The advance guard [lit., ‘the forehead’] of the Army of Islam are those brave men who, when they become angry, are [soon] forgiving and smooth the wrinkles on their foreheads [i.e., set aside their anger].’

Nidə sat- ‘to declare.’ E.g.,
Rəzanı Təngri özgə aldı. Ana uczi bihi nidə saađi. (MS14v:1) ‘God has promised to accept the believers’ fast. He has declared, I shall reward him for keeping it.’

Niyaz qıl- ‘to serve [God] with humility.’ E.g.,
Ąbdast u namaz qılqıl sen. Haqqə tən kün niyəz qılqıl sen. (MS 3v:2) ‘Perform the abdast and the prayer. Serve God with humility night and day.’

Ortada kel- ‘to come forth.’ E.g.,
Ortada kaldi Qəbuz-i beqər, dedi mening teg qanı bir pır kər. (AC324v:6) ‘The restless Qubuz stepped forward and said, “Where (in the world) is there another experienced person like me?”

Özini bil- ‘to come to one’s senses.’ E.g.,
Dəgən nargışkə kim bilsün özini, əhmər uyqusidin aṣəsun közini. (DN266v:10) ‘Tell the narcissus that it should come to its senses and open its eyes from the languishing sleep.’
Pardasin yirt- ‘to expose s.o. by ripping off his veil, to unmask.’ E.g.,
Tanburaning bafla parvardasin yirtayan ol baflin ayaq pardasin. (AC325v:3) ‘I will expose Tanbura, who has been brought up to do useless things, by ripping off his veil from head to toe.’

Pirahan yaqasin ečak ayila- ‘to tear open the collar of the shirt of s.th., to be unable to take or endure.’ E.g.,
‘Aqil huvayda bolup ayiliyi pak, pirahan-i şabr yaqasin cak. (AC 322v:11) ‘Reason emerged and, no longer able to endure it, tore open the collar of the shirt of patience.’

Qadir bol- (-ğa) ‘to obtain.’ E.g.,
Bolsa qadir agir kisi suğa... (MS9r:4) ‘When a person is able to obtain water...’

Qahqaha birla kül- ‘to laugh.’ E.g.,
Qahqaha birla kilsa qilsa namaz, sindi şarat. Taharat algil bâz. (MS6r:6) ‘If one laughs while at prayer, [one’s state of] ritual purity will be violated. [Should this occur,] perform the taharat again.’

Qararip teprâ- ‘to become obscure and move away.’ E.g.,
Köngülünden ucti gam tun quzguni teg, qararip tepradi bacran kuini teg. (DN267v:2) ‘The night raven of sorrow took off from the heart; it became obscure and moved away like the day of separation.’

Röy keltürt- ‘to turn to s.o.’ E.g.,
Tanbura-i gamzagar-i fitnacoy macma-i ol sazga keltürdi royt. (AC323r:4) ‘The coquetish and quarrelsome Tanbura turned to the assembled string instruments.’

Rozani ye- ‘to eat on a fast day.’ E.g.,
Har kim ol yedi rozani âmda. (MS16r:1) ‘Anyone who purposely eats on a fast day...’

Sha‘af qil- ‘to make one’s heart sick with love.’ E.g.,

Takallumda kâl- ‘to join in the conversation.’ E.g.,
Kâldi takallumda yatup yatağan, Dedi, “Mening dek qanî bir türfa çan!” (AC325r:9) ‘Yatughan, lying on the ground, joined in the debate. He said, “Where can one find a peerless soul like me?”

Takbir bağla- ‘to commit oneself by pronouncing a takbir’
Baglamaqing namaz ućûn takbir (MS10v:2) ‘...your reciting the orison “God is Most Great” by which you commit yourself to performing the prayer.’

Tavfiq ara tut- ‘[for God] to assist s.o.’ E.g.,
‘Acez u miskin qara qulungni tut tavfiq ara. (BH18v:4) ‘Keep [me], Your weak and needy servant, within [the sphere of] Your assistance.’

Til birlâ ay- ‘to tell or pronounce eloquently’ [cf. tişi birlâ ay- ‘to speak with authority’]. E.g.,
Tengrigâ til birlâ aygil, ay Köngül, hamd u sanâ. (BH1v:1) ‘O Heart, pronounce eloquently praises and salutations to God.’

Ummed tut- ‘to hope or expect s.th. from s.o.’ E.g.,
Aţdahânîng fi‘li kuź dur. Nä ummed tutsun kisi? (BH17v:7) ‘The acts of the dragon [, i.e., the Carnal Soul] are treacherous. What good can one hope from it?’

Yahşi yaman ‘everybody’ [< ‘the good and the bad’]. E.g.,
Čiçip baki teg ahi har damandin, yîraq taslap anî yahşi yamanâ. (DN265v:11) ‘Since then her humble signs emerged every moment and alienated her from everybody else.’450

Zahrası bardı ‘he is scared, has lost his courage.’ E.g.,
Aning uçîn mu qila dur siz fîgan; bardı mening zahram va köcti cihan. (AC328r:2) ‘Is that why you are making this clamor that drives my heart into my boots and forces the neighbors to pack up and leave?’

5.3. Loan Translations
Chagatay has many loan translations. They mostly come from Persian. Often only the verbal element of a phrase is translated into Turkish while the rest is left as it was in the source language. E.g.,
amalini kütah ät- (RB7v:3) ‘to cease to expect’ [< amal-i ḥudrā kütah kardan]
ba kamal yatiš- (RB4v:11) ‘to reach perfection’ [< ba kamal rasidan]
bayân qil- (SAY98v:11) ‘to explain’ [< bayân kardan]
can ber- (SAY90r:7) ‘to die’ [< can dādan]
dast ber- (DN270r:8) ‘to come upon’ [< dast dādan]
dost tut- (RB4v:11) ‘to love s.o.’ [< dost dāstan]
dunyadın ot- (H79v:2) ‘to die’ [< az dunyā raftan]
dil bagla- (H73v:6) ‘to be attached to’ [< dil bastan]
elig ber- (DN269r:1) ‘to happen, occur’ [< dast dādan]
elig uzat- (DN267r:4) ‘to reach out; to be aggressive’ [< dast daraz kardan]
guzar qil- (SAY76v:7) ‘to pass’ [< guzar kardan]
himmat qurin beliga bagla- (H80r8) ‘to prepare resolutely for an undertaking’ [< kamar bastan]
 hükmd yurut- (H79r:9) ‘to enforce one’s authority’ [< hükmd rändan]
ekti kuy- (75r:5) ‘to suffer’ [< dil söhțan]
il (DN267v:6) ‘service’ [< kât]
köngli su dur (RB6v:8) ‘confused’ [< dilâs ışb sud]
köngül sora- (H79v:7) ‘to share one’s sorrows’ [< dil sustan]
kızdîn yit- (H79v:1) ‘to disappear’ [< az nazâr mahv sudan]
mamam tut- (H82r:11) ‘to mourn s.o.’ [< mâmam girftan]
mari tut- (RB10v:6) ‘to observe’ [< mari dâstan]
namaz qil- (SAY19v:2) ‘to pray’ [< namaz kardan]
özidin ket- (H82r:3) ‘to be deeply moved’ [< az ḥud raftan]
qadam ranca qil- (H76r:10) ‘to take the trouble to come’ [< qadam ranca kardan]
qizlar (DN269v:5) ‘wine’ [< dušt-i raz]
qoliğal al- (H78r:2) ‘to seize, obtain’ [< ba dast āwardan]
qol yul- (H75v:3) ‘to renounce’ [< dast sustan az]
quruq qal- (DN266v:1) ‘to come away empty-handed’ [< hâli mândan]
roza tut- (RM20r:4) ‘to keep the fast’ [< roza dâstan]
tavba qil- (RM22v:3) ‘to repent’ [< tavba kardan]
tegir- (DN266v:8) ‘to prompt, to remind’ [< rasândan]
vuqâ’ tap- (RB4r:2) ‘to occur’ [< vuqâ’ yaftan]
vüshül tap- (RB6r:9) ‘to obtain union’ [< vuşûl yaftan]
yâd al- (RB5r:12) ‘to impress upon one’s mind’ [< yâd girftan]
yiraq taša- (DN265v:11) ‘to throw away’ [< dûr andâhtan]
yol koršât- (RB2r:2) ‘to show a way’ [< râm namidàn]
yüz ber- (SAY268v:1) ‘to come forth, appear’ [< rûh dâdan]
yüz qaytar- (SAY22v:11) ‘to turn away’ [< rû gardândan]

5.4. Proverbs
Proverbs and sayings constitute a rich and important segment of the paremiotic content of Chaghatay. Among them we find the oldest concrete and fully identifiable entities of cultural values of the peoples of Central Asia, the Tajiks and the Turks. Most of them are still in use in some of the modern idioms of this region. Some spread even beyond that. The following is a selective list of proverbs presented here for the sake of illustration. E.g.,
1. It hurâr karvan kocâr. (SHD11r:5) ‘The dog barks the caravan passes.’
2. Icâiling badani kullar solisar, tanîmiz ”aqibat topraq bolisar. (HM 309v8) ‘Let us drink wine because roses will wither and our bodies will turn to dust at the end.’
3. Mas’âla bilmâk icrâ bo râgib. (MS1r:2) ‘Be eager to find answers [to your questions].’
4. ‘Umur qilmâq taflaf haṭa ermiş. (MS7v:3) ‘To waste one’s life is a [grievous] error.’
5. Taqtat-i vâs’ bârîcâ aymaq tâk turup qalmagîdîn avlaraq. (MS3v:6). ‘To speak in the measure of one’s ability is better than to remain silent.’
7. Keldi bu bil’at aning boyîqa ḫub. (RB5r:8) ‘He obtained what he deserved.’
8. Bolur âsân bara bara muşkil. (RB5v:6) ‘Step by step what is difficult will become easy.’
9. Qilmagay sen ‘amalingâ zî’ilî. (RB3v:6) ‘Do not let your services be for naught.’
10. Baqmaqâl sözlüküçüning özüg. Özini qoy, nazâr etgîl sözlîgî. (RB 2v:4) ‘Pay no heed to the person who is speaking, disregard him. Consider (only) what he says.’

6. Style
The style of Chaghatay works varies. We must distinguish, above all, between the style of prose works and that of poetry. In prose the normal narrative style is simple and transparent, grammatically as well as lexically. Original Turkish words are likely to occur in greater frequency. In learned didactic prose professional jargon [technical terms, idioms and set expressions] prevails which influences the choice of words and the use of grammar. Arabic and Persian loans could be more numerous. Some degree of paremiologic knowledge may be required to the complete understanding of works of this type [see above]. The translation prose
often follows the original, Persian or Arabic in sentence patterns or choice of words. It contains foreign borrowings and loan translations in lexicon and to some extent in grammar.

In poems we must distinguish between versified prose (nazm) and poetry (šīr). In the first group we find didactic works written in prosodic form for easy memorization. The prosodic features rarely go beyond rhyme, with or without a radif and meter. The second group contains pieces of real poetry produced according to the rules of Classical Arabic-Persian versification. Literary perfection, difficulty level varies according to the genre, objective, and the poet’s erudition.

7. SAMPLE TEXTS

7.1. Poems

7.1.1. Šīr [poetry]

Muḥabbat Shaibaṇi Khān [1451–1510]

Agar davlat čir​a​ğım yarutsam hēc if empire-O-GEN lantern-POS-35G-ACC rekindle-COND-1ST-3G at all tang etmēs, amazement do-AOR-NEG-3D-SG

Ki oğkān Čingi​zī šam‘ī, biling, since die-PASTP the house of Chingis-O-GEN candle-POS-35G know-IMP-PL beglār, yanar mendin.

lord-PL-POSt NOM flare up-AOR-35G 1-ABL


be born-DEF-PAST-1SG

Qačān kim tābrīsīn yel teg, Timūr şam‘ī When-conj breeze-by-TEMP-1SG wind like-PASTP Timur-O-GEN candle-POS-35G öçår mendin.

go out-AOR-35G 1-ABL

"[When I rekindle the lantern of the empire no one ever should be amazed since as you lords full well know, through me the dying candle of the House of Chingis flares up again. I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis. When I breathe by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Timūr goes out as I pass.‘"] (Divān 120r:1-4)

8.1.2. Nazm [versified didactic works]

Zahiru’d-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur [1483–1530]

Emdī aytay saŋa tahacdūd eṣīt now say-VOL-1SG you-DAT night-prayer-O-ACC listen-IMP-2SG


Haẓratqa sunnät oldī valēk Majesty-DAT traditional duty-NOM-SG become-DEF-PAST-3SG but-CONJ ummatqa, community-DAT

(Mubayyān 62r:4-7)

‘Now I wish to tell you about the night prayer, listen [well]. If you make [acts of] devotions to God, listen well. At midnight wake up from sleep and do the night prayer at that time. Know that the night prayer is a mandatory duty for [His] Majesty [the Prophet]. But for members of the Community it has become a traditional obligation.’

8.2. Prose [nasr]

8.2.1. Learned Didactic Prose

Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān [1451–1510]

Taqī ongūdīn mūrād šārī‘at ‘ibādatī turur. Soldīn CONJ right-ABL intent-NOM law-OGEN service-POS-35G is-AOR 3SG left-ABL

isrār iyāsāt qamēsīn turur. Šārī‘at bīrā meaning-NOM punishment-OGEN whisper-POS-35G is-AOR 3SG Law-NOM with-PASTP

‘amal qīlīp ‘ibādat qīlsa öz badānīnga va act-PHRVB-GER serve-PHRVB COND 35G own body-POS-3DAT and-CONJ


diłikā állīp ‘adil qīlsang, har aynā Ḥuday īshīngha hand-DAT take-GER exercise-justice-PHRVB COND 3SG verify-ADV God-NOM work POSS

8.2.2. Narrative Prose

Zahiru’d-Din Muhammed Bābur [1483-1530]

Muḥarram ayī Fārgāna vilāyat̀dīn
PROP.N-GEN month-POSS 3SG PROP.N-GEN Province-POSS 3SG ABL

Hūrasān ‘azimatī bilā Aylāk
PROP.N-GEN destination-POSS 3SG with-POSTP PROP.N-GEN

yaylagida kim Hisār vilāyät̀ning
summer quarter-POSS 3SG LOC that-CONJ PROP.N-GEN province-POSS 3SG GEN

yaylaglaridin dur kēlip tūṣtīm.
summer quarter PLUR POSS 3SG ABL is-AUX 3SG come-GER fail-DEF.PAST 1SG

Uṣbu yurtta yigirmā tūc yaš̀nîn.
this very-EMPH.PRON. camp-LOC twenty-NUM three-NUM age-GEN

ibtidāsāda yuzumāgī ustāra qoydīm. Ulūg
beginning-POSS 3SG LOC face-POSS 1SG DAT razor-OACC put-DEF.PAST 1SG big-ADI

kīcīk mânî umedvârlīq bilî erîṣîp yurd
small-ADI 1PRON ACC hopefulness-NOM with-POSTP join-GER camp-0ACC

yīdurgānlā iki yuzdīn köprāk tūc.
lose-PART.PLUR two-NUM hundred-NUM ABL much-ADI.COMP three-NUM

yuzdîn azaq brazālī edī. Akgar
hundred-NUM ABL little-ADI.COMP be-OPT 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG most-ADI

yayaq va elilikāridā tayāq va
barefooted-ADI and-CONJ hand-PLUR POSS 3PL LOC stick-NOM and-CONJ

ayāqlaridā čāruq va eginılmārdā
foot-PLUR POSS 3PL LOC sandal-LOC and-CONJ shoulder-PLUR POSS 3SG LOC

çapan erdi ‘Asrat bu martaba
coat-NOM be-DEF.PAST 3SG hardship-NOM this-PRON degree-NOM

edi kim bizint arada iki çādīr
be-DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ we-GEN space-LOC two-NUM tent-NOM
edi. Mānîng çādīrmā vālamgā
be-DEF.PAST 3SG 1PRON GEN tent-POSS 1SG mother-POSS 1SG DAT
tikīlūr edī. Mânga bir yurtta
pitch-PASS AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG 1PRON DAT one-NUM camp-LOC

alaçuq yasār edillā. Alaçuqda olturū
hut-OACC make-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3PL hut-LOC sit-AOR 3SG

edim. Agarçha Hūrasān ‘azimatī
be-DEF.PAST 1SG although-CONJ PROP.N-GEN destination-POSS 3SG

qillīmā edī valî uṣbu ĥal bilā
make-PAS GER be-DEF.PAST 3 SG but-CONJ this very-PRON state-NOM with-POSTP

bu vilāyât̀tna va Hūsrav Šāhīn nukarlidin
this-PRON province-ABL and-CONJ PROP.N. king-GEN servant-PL POSS ABL

umēdârlīq bar erdi. Bir neça kundā bir
hopefulness-NOM exists-PARTIC be-DEF.PAST one-NUM few-ADV day-LOC one-NUM

azali bolup nusrat-i abadisi rûngâna samadiyyasi birlä
ever-existing-ADI is-GER victory-IZ ever-lasting soul-POSS 2SG DAT fruit-POSS 3SG POSTP

madad qilsa ḥavârîf tafriqasini va ĥirî
call-PHRVB COND 3SG thoughts-3GER distinction-POSS 3SG ACC and-CONJ greed+
vâ havangni kitârûr Va yana yataqdın murâd
and desire-POSS 2SG ACC disperse-AOR 3SG and-CONJ again-ADV mattress-ABL intent-NOM

könûl turur. Ol Pâddâh-i ‘alamînîn atîn köngûlû
death-LOC is-AOR 3SG that-RON king-NOM+I2Z world-GEN name-POSS 3SG LOC

saqlasang va bu čandavul teg uyulamay
keep COND 2SG and-CONJ this-PRON rearguard-NOM like-POSTP sleep-NEG GER

âgah tursang. Ânin zîkînîn nûr în săînîng
be-COND 2SG he-GEN recollection-POSS 3SG GEN light-POSS 3SG you-GEN

nafs-i ammârî qulmatîn bu tûn dek
soul+I2Z commanding-ADI GEN darkness-POSS 3SG ACC this-PRON night-NOM like-POSTP

cavlap subh dek könûlûnîn tangu atsâ
drive-GER dawn-LOC like-POSTP heart-GEN dawn-POSS 3SG break-COND 3SG

Hûdâyînîn bûrân-i rahmatîda ‘acîb va ġarîb
God-GEN rain+I2Z mercy-POSS 3SG LOC surprising+ and-CONJ strange-ADI

ermâs. is-NEG AOR 3SG

(Đîvan 50v:7-51r:4)

"[Know] also [that] "right" stands for serving according to the
shari’a. "Left" means the whip of punishment. If you serve
according to the shari’a and with the whip of punishment in your
hand, exercise justice to your own person, to your family, and to
your subjects, God will promote your work by day by day.
Furthermore, "wine" stands for your soul. If the Almighty Whose Power
Never Declines, moved by His Ever-existing grace, comes, in His
Majesty to the aid of your soul, granting you ever lasting victory,
He will disperse your distracting thoughts, your greed, and your
[camal] desires. And the "mattress" is here for your heart. If you
keep in your heart the song of the King of the World, and like a
rearguard [of the King’s army], you do not fall asleep but stay
alert, the light of the Recollection of Him will drive away the
darkness of your Commanding Soul as the [day drives on] the
night. If, then, the dawn of your heart opens and spreads like dawn
before sunrise, there should be no surprise or amazement in
[beholding] God’s mercy as copious as early summer rain."
In the month of Muḥarram from the Fergana province bound for Khurasan we came to and alighted in the summer pastures of Aylak which was one of the summer pastures of Ḥisār Province. In this very camp at the beginning of my twenty third year of age I put the razor to my face [I shaved for the first time]. Great and small, those who had hope in me and followed me into exile were more than two hundred and less than three hundred. Most of them were on foot with a walking stick in their hands and a chapan on their shoulders. The misery was so great that we only had two tents with us. They put up my mother in my tent. For me at every station they set up a hut. I was staying in the hut. Although we intended to move into Khurasan, in the situation at hand there was some hope from [Ḥisār] Province and from the servants of Khusraw Shah. In every few days someone would come in from this perfect province and described the people and the tribe and rekindled our hope. At this time Mullah Bābā Pašaḡarānī, whom we had sent to Khusraw Shah as our envoy, came. He did not bring any news likely to please the heart. But he brought encouraging news from the people and the tribes.'
Абу-Нимр аль-Махбабат R74р:15-22


Абу-Нимр аль-Махбабат R74р:15-22

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