

A Grammar of Chagatay

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

[Muḥammad Shaybanī Khān]

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Introduction

0. Socio- and geolinguistic data.

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

0.1. Present status

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

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

0.2. Relevance

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

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

0.3. Availability

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

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

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

0.4. Chagatay Literacy

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

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

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

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

0.5. Status of Research in Chagatay

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

0.6. Chagatay and the Modern National Languages.

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

0.7. Literary Sources used in this Book.

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

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

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

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

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

Abbreviations²

AC	Aḥmadī, <i>Contest of the String Instruments</i>
'AtḤ	'Atabatu'l-ḥaqā'iq MS
AY	Aḥmad Yasavī, <i>Dīvān-i Hikmat</i>
Babur	Beveridge, <i>Baburnāma</i>
BC	<i>Bang-u Čaġir</i> MS
BH	Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān, <i>Bahru'l-hudā</i>
BN	Aḥmad, <i>Baraq-nāma</i>
Brock.	Brockelmann, <i>Osttürkische Grammatik</i>
Ccum	Gronbech, <i>Codex Cumanicus</i>
CPD	<i>Chagatay-Persian Dictionary</i>
Dasturn.	<i>Dasturnāma</i> MS
DN	Amīrī, <i>Dahnāma</i> MS
Eckm. Gr.	Eckmann, <i>Chagatay Manual</i>
FK	Navā'ī, <i>Favā'idu'l-kibār</i>
GD	Gada'ī, <i>Dīvān</i>
Hac.	Hacieminoglu, <i>Kutb'un Husrev u Širīn'i</i>
HBD	Ḥusayn Bayqara, <i>Dīvān</i>
Ḥ	Ḥālīṣ, <i>Story of Ibrāhīm</i>
IM	Toparlı, <i>Iršādu'l-mulūk</i>
Kāšġ.	Mahmūd Kāšġarī, <i>Dīvān luġat at-turk</i>
KBV	<i>Kitāb Baytarat al-Vāziḥ</i>
LN	<i>Laṭāfat-nāma</i>
MA	<i>Muqaddimatu'l-adab</i>
Mab.L	Ross, E. Denison, <i>The Mabāni'l-Luġhat</i>
MM	Islām, <i>Mu'īnu'l-murīd</i>
MLU	<i>Modern Literary Uzbek</i>
MN	Khwarazmī, <i>Muḥabbat-nāma</i>
MQ	Navā'ī, <i>Maḥbūbu'l-qulūb</i>
MS	<i>Muqaddimatu'ṣ-ṣalāt</i>
MUGr	<i>Modern Uygur Grammar</i>
N	Navā'ī, Mir 'alī Šer
N Dict.	Фазилов, Э. И. Алишер Навоний асарлари тилининг ИЗОҲЛИ ЛУҒАТИ.
N FK	Navā'ī, <i>Favā'idu'l-kibār</i>
NF	<i>Nahcu'l-faradis</i> MS
NM	Eraslan Navā'ī, <i>Nasā'imu'l-maḥabba</i>
NTM	Bodrogligeti, <i>Nisāb-i Turki</i> , <i>Manchester</i>
PdC	Pavet de Courteille, <i>Dictionnaire turk-oriental</i>
Quṭb	Quṭb, <i>Husrav u Širīn</i>

² Data in Bibliography

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

The Arabic-Persian Alphabet

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

ض	ẓ	بیاض	bayāẓ	white
ط	t	خط	ḥaṭṭ	writing
ظ	ẓ	خط	ḥazz	pleasure
ع	‘	وداع	vadā‘	farewell
غ	ğ	دماغ	damāğ	brain
ف	f	صاف	ṣāf	pure
ق	q	طاق	ṭāq	vault
ک	k	باک	bāk	fear
گ	g	برک	barg	leaf
ل	l	بال	bāl	honey
م	l	دام	dām	roof
ن	n	نان	nan	bread
ه	h	راه	rāh	road
و	v	روان	ravān	soul
ی	y	یار	yār	friend

Numbers

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

1. ORTHOGRAPHY

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

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

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

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Vowels

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

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

³ They do not occur in suffixes and case endings.

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

2.1.1. Classification of Vowels

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

The velar [back] vowels are: **a, ĩ, o, u** **ā, ō, ū**

The palatal [front] vowels are: **ä, e, i, ö, ü** **ē, ī**

The labial [rounded] vowels are: **o, ö, u, ü** **ū, ō**

The illabial [unrounded] vowels are: **a, ä, e, i, ĩ** **ī, ē, ā**

The open vowels are: **a, ä** **ā**

The medial vowels are: **e, o, ö** **ē, ō**

The close vowels are: **ĩ, i, u, ü** **ū, ī**

2.1.2. The Distribution of Vowels

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

Vowels are generally followed by a consonant, except in open syllables in final position. Two vowels occur adjacently only in Arabic words when a *hamza* between two vowels is not reflected in the pronunciation. E.g., **taammul** [< ta'ammul] n. 'hesitation, caution', **taassuf** [< ta'assuf] n. 'grieving'. If one of the vowels, separated by a *hamza*, is **i** or **ī**, the *hamza* is replaced by a -y-. E.g., **riyāsāt** [< ri'āsāt] 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, ü, o, or ö**, and a *yod* for an **i** or **ī**]. Only the consonants **ğ, q** and **g, k** in the suffix can give us a hint as to whether a vowel is palato-alveolar or velar. E.g., **cihān-da** 'in this world', **ev-dā** 'in the house', **sözlā-māk** 'to speak', **angla-maq** 'to understand', **tüş-tüng** 'you fell', **bağla-dī** 'he tied', **kit-gāli** 'since I left', **qıl-gān-lar** 'those who made', **kel-gān-lār** 'those who came'.

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

2.1.3.2. Labial-illabial Harmony

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

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: **sordī** 'he asked', **kördī** 'he saw', **kördilār** 'they saw', **urdīlār** 'they beat'; the accusative marker **-nī/-ni**: **gulnī** 'rose' (accusative), **ölümni** 'death' (accusative); the ablative case marker **-dīn/-din**: **quldin** 'from the servant', **tütündin** 'from the smoke'; the third person possessive suffix. singular and plural: **uyqusī** 'his dream', **künlāri** 'his days'.

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

2.2. Consonants

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

2.2.1. Classification of Consonants

The Chagatay consonants are divided into

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

2.2.2. Distribution of Consonants

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

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

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Nouns

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

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

Simple nouns	tağ 'mountain' suw 'water' san 'number' elig 'hand' temür 'iron'
Derivative nouns	sevünč 'joy' [< sevün- 'to rejoice'] tiriglik 'life' [< tirig 'alive'] temürči 'blacksmith' [temür 'iron'] baqış 'glance' [baq- 'to look']
Compound nouns	šāhibqirān 'lord of the happy constellation' čatabačča 'a Mongolian girl' gulčahra 'a rose-cheeked beauty'
Hyphenated nouns	el-ulus 'people' kečä-kündüz 'night and day' rusul-anbiyālar '[all] the prophets' ḥadiš-naşş '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'; **köp yalğan** 'many lies']. Less frequently, a noun in the plural may refer to a single object [**avliya** 'saint', **hazratları** 'His Majesty']. A formal distinction between singular and plural is made by Turkish, or less frequently, by Arabic devices. There is no special marker for the singular.

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

Uzun tün qalmağa allingda ğamlar, yaruğay 'ayş içindä şubh-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.

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

3.1.1.1. Turkish Plural

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

3.1.1.2. Arabic Plural

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

3.1.2. Status

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

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

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

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

3.1.2.1.1 Subject

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

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

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

3.1.2.1.2. Nominal Predicate

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

3.1.2.1.3. Predicate Complement

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

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

3.1.2.1.4. Direct Object

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

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

Çu qoysang ol harab allida game, bitigni tēz tegür bizdin salāmē. (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 mantiqin cōn qıldī taşdıq, bitidi nāmāē luṭf ilā ta'liq. (DN246v:1) 'When she confirmed the logic of imagination, she wrote a letter in fine ta'liq script.'

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

3.1.2.1.5. Adverbial of Time

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

3.1.2.2. The Suffix -i: Nouns in Relative Status

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

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

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

İttişālī ki erür bēmānī⁶, bu maḥall ruhqa bolğay vaqı⁷.
(RB6r:12) ‘Then the soul, now unhindered, will find itself in
union with God.’

3.1.2.3. Definite Status

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.2.3.2. Definite Status Indicated by Articles

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

3.1.2.3.2.1. The Demonstrative Pronoun bu [< ‘this’]. E.g.,

Barur bat ḥusn va qalmas bu yigitlik, qalur amma irig söz birlä
itlik. (DN246r:2) ‘Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay.
But what will remain with us are rude words and meanness.’

3.1.2.3.2.2 The Demonstrative Pronoun ol [< ‘that’]. E.g.,

Çu qoysang ol ḥarab allıda gāme, bitigni tez tegür, bizdin
salāme. (DN246v:5) ‘When you come to the presence of that
wretched person⁶ give him the letter right away and convey a
greeting from us.’

Ta‘ammul qıldı ersä nukta şarfin, qılıp zır-u zabar ol ḥarf
ḥarfin. (DN251v:11) ‘When she contemplated how the points were
expressed, she turned the characters upside down one by one.’⁷

3.1.2.3.3. Definite Status Indicated by the Cardinal Number bir

In this use **bir** occurs in the function of an indefinite article. E.g.,
Men emdi bir gada sen padşahē, magar cān tartqay allıngda
āhē? (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’, **tişi** ‘female’; **oğlan** ‘boy’, **qız** ‘girl’; **ayğır**
‘stallion’, **qısraq** ‘mare’.

3.1.4. Nominal Inflection

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

3.1.4.1. Bases

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

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

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

3.1.4.1.1. Primary Bases

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

3.1.4.1.1.1. Simple nouns

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

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

3.1.4.1.1.2. Derivative Nouns

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

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

3.1.4.1.2. Secondary Bases

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.4.2. Case Forms

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

3.1.4.2.1. The Nominative Case

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

Bir faqīr bir körklü maḡāmğa yetti. (Sayf73v:5) ‘A poor man reached a beautiful position.’

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

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

Dilbarīm zulfi tün yüzi kūn dur. (Sayf115v:12) ‘The hair of my beloved is the night,⁸ her face [is] the sun.⁹’

Dägül erlik ağızğa yumruq urmaq. (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 açığ aḡunī tiryak, tilāp tur kōknār içindā aflāk. (DN257v:1) ‘He who turned bitter poison into elixir, was looking for heaven inside the poppy-head.¹⁰

Kim ay burcida yulduznī tapip tur, tikänni gul saḡinip oḡsatip tur. (DN257r:10) ‘He who has found a star in the house of the Moon, has considered the thorn [to be] a rose and made himself to caress it.’

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

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

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

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

¹¹ Numeratives in numerative phrases occur only in the singular.

Bulardan heç biri turup iki rakʿat namāz qilmas. (Sayf53r:11) 'None of these [people] gets up and performs a two-rakʿat prayer of gratitude.'

yeti uluḡ baş sarımsaq (KBV67v:5) 'three large bulbs of garlic'
bir parça kâğızpāra (RM8v:1) 'one piece of paper'

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

(1) Adverbial of place:

Cin diyārī bitildi bu nāma. (MS17r:3) 'This copy was written in the land of China.'

Bil Buhārā muvalladī nasabīm, ham Hurāsān ʿilm-i muktasabīm (MS17r:2) 'Know that Bukhara was the place where my lineage originated from and Khorasan where I obtained my education.'

(2) Adverbial of time:

Munga maşḡulluq etgil barī vaqt: Ḥayf ḡaflatta ötār akşarī vaqt. (RB8r:1) 'Be occupied with this [thought] always. It is a pity when most of one's time [on earth] passes in unawareness [of Him].'

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

Hamagī-i dil aning maşḡulī bu mahall bolḡay va ol maqbūlī. (RB5v:10) 'At this point his [<the believer's] entire heart is occupied with Him and his heart is accepted by God.'

Keçā taʿat bilān uyḡaq bolḡil kim kündüz sanga barmaq va kelmāk uzun uzaq turur dunyāning işigā. (RM34r:9) 'Remain awake at night and occupy yourself with act of obedience [to God] since during the day you are too busy with wordly things...'

(3) Adverbial of manner:

Bolḡay ol navʿ atinī deridā, qalmaḡay ol nafs ḥadīşī yāridā. (RB5v:7) 'This is how His name should be pronounced[, and then] the suggestions of the Carnal Soul will be completely eliminated.'

Bolḡay aqvāl u kalāmīng bu sifat könglūngā baʿiṣ-i nūranīyat. (RB3r:8) 'If your utterances are of this nature, they will illuminate your heart.'

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

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

Ay şaba barsang Samarqand kelibān nā eltgā sen, furqat va hic-rān otindin elā yüklāp kätgā sen. (ShD126r:6-7) 'O, Zephyr, if you go to Samarqand what will you bring when you return? From the fire of loneliness and separation you load up and be on your way.'

3.1.4.2.2. The Vocative Case

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

Baş üzā maş qilmaq, ay ʿĀqil! (MS4v:4) 'To rub the head, O Wise one!'

Qilma isrāf, ayā Şarīf-i zāmān. (MS7v:2) 'Do not be wasteful, O Noble one!'

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

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

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

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

Şabāniyā sanga Ḥaqq nuşratī azaldin dur: Ravāc-i sunnat va şarʿ-i payambarī mīraş. (ShD27r:3-4) '[Remember,] O Shabānī, the victory of the Truth has been assigned to you since eternity without beginning. [Your task is] to assert the *Sunna* and to enforce the *Shariʿa*, your inheritance from the Prophet.'

Kardgarā qadira bu nafs-i dūndin saqlaḡil. Firʿaun dek ḡarq etibān taşlaḡil anī kanar. (ShD32r:10-11). 'O [God], Creator and Omnipotent! Protect us from the base Carnal Soul. Drown him as you drowned Pharaoh and cast [his body] ashore.'¹³

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

¹³ Qur. 10,90-92. [MA, Cf. fn. 1153].

3.1.4.2.3. Accusative Case

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

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

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

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

Hwaš ermäs cavrnī haddīn ašurmaq, kelip oq atmaq va yanī yašurmaq. (DN244r:11) 'It is not nice to increase cruelty beyond measures: to come forth, shoot the arrow, and then hide the bow.'

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

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

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

Camalimdīn oquğay ol raqamnī, ki avval başina qoyğay qadam-nī. (DN241v:7) 'Only the person who first puts a foot upon his head [in perfect submission] will decipher the numbers from my beauty.'

Kemāci ravān ol yipnī yigitning elindān üzdi dağı ketti. (Sayf 101v:1) 'The boatsman suddenly yanked the rope from the hand of that youth and went away.'

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

Qilibān mušknī ol 'anbarin meng, cihan icrā qara tofraq bilān 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 ačığ ağunī tiryāk, tilāp tur kōknār içindā aflāk. (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into elixir was looking for heaven inside the poppy-head.'

Kōngülñi qoymay ol ruhsār hālī, dimāğina salīp savdā hīyālī. (DN256v:1) 'Those cheeks [of the Beloved] do not leave the heart empty. They put the phantoms of madness into its brain.'¹⁴

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

Mavlāna Ya'qūb Čarhining risalasida tahaccudnī on ikki rak'at buyurup tur. (RM17v:6-7) 'Mavlana Ya'qūb Čarhī in his treatise ordered that the night prayer should be twelve rak'ats.'

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

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

3.1.4.2.3.2. Direct Objects Marked by **-n**

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

Tili ačiq sözün šakargā qatīp, közi ta'riz oqin cān[im]ğa atīp. (DN243r:1) 'Her tongue dipped her bitter words into sugar. Her eyes shot the arrow of reproach into my soul.'

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

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

Labīm nuqlin alur bolsang aģizğa, čiqarģil baštīn ol maynīng humārīn. (DN254v:3) 'If you take the sweetmeat of my lips into your mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of wine.'¹⁸

¹⁴ Into its innermost part.

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

¹⁶ Lit., throw back into its face

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.3.3. Direct Object Marked by zero

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.3.4. Direct Object Marked by -ti/-ti

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

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

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

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

Ol darahtti beş bunyadi bilän kesken 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 Hanning uluğ qizini falaq salıp singlining qizini alğanda bu baytni aytıp yibarıldı. (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 Saytanni ayıldı nafsni ayıldı havatir ol bolur. (RM3v:1) ‘What has been referred to [above] as [the evil effects of] Satan and the Carnal Soul is what is really meant by [the term] thoughts about other than God’ [> ‘what I said above about...’].

Ol sababdın bu risalanı Turki [tili] bilän Muḥammad Tīmūr Bahādur üçün ayıldı. (RM2r:3-6) ‘For that reason this treatise was composed in the Turki language for Muhammad Tīmūr Bahādur’ [> ‘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 -ra which in classical Persian was used to mark the dative case. E.g.,

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

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.3.7. Verbs Governing the Accusative Case

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

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

E.g.,

Meni desäng demä sen özgä cādin, közüngni yum barī cān u cihādin. (DN253v:6) 'If you choose me, do not talk about others. Close your eyes to life and to this world entirely.'

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

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

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

Māning nāmūs u nāmimni talaşqin, alif teg kelgin va elgä ulaşqin. (DN260r:9) 'Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].'
Sen unutup maḥabbat peşalarni, **sağınip qandağı andeşalarni**. (DN257r:4) 'You have forgotten the lovers, thinking about the concerns of old days.'

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

3.1.4.2.4. Genitive Case

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

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

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

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

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

Közümning qiblası anıñ camālī, dağı **umrumning ra's-mālī** anıñ vişālī edi. (Sayf124v:10-11) 'Her beauty was the qibla of my eyes and union with her was the capital of my life.'

Nagah yucüdining ayası acal balçıqına battı. (Sayf125r:2). 'The feet of her existence suddenly sank into the mud of death.'²³

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

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

²² She put kasma's and fatha's where they belonged.

²³ I.e., He suddenly passed away.

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

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

Payğambarnī yaši boldī ravāna (H82r:2) '([All the while) the Prophet's tears poured forth.'

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.5.3. The Genitive Case Marked by -n

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

Qarindaşıngizning ölgänin habarini eşitip siz kim bu türlüğ iztirab qılır siz? (RM20v:7-9) 'Is it perchance because you have just heard news of your brother's death that you are so upset?'

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.5.5. The Genitive Case is not Marked

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

Ağaç körkī yemiş ārning karam dur. (Sayf94r:11) 'The beauty of a tree is the fruit, that of a man is [his] generosity.'

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

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.5.6. The Genitive Case Used Alone

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

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

3.1.4.2.5. Dative Case

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

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

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

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

²⁴ Lit., 'the hand of generosity'

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

Sān on altunnī algil daği bir özgä yergä bargil. (Sayf111v:10-11).
 '[Now] you take the ten dinars and go elsewhere.'

Va⁶dağa yettim qilip män bandalik. (BN90r:2) 'I have fulfilled my promise by proving myself a good servant.'

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

Ne bolsa käy daği äygü 'amal qıl, şaqavatnı sa⁶adatkä badal qıl. (Sayf51r:12) 'Put on whatever you have and do good deeds. Trade misery for happiness.'

Sān ol dägül mi sān kim atam sāni firanč qaydından on altunğa satın aldı? (Sayf68v:11) 'Aren't you the one whom my father bailed out from Frank captivity for ten dinars.'

Tagāful daftarin açmaq ne, ya⁶nı? Salip ot evgä va qaçmaq ne, ya⁶nı? (DN244v:1) 'To open the book of feigned carelessness, what is it good for? To set the house on fire and [then] run away, what is it good for?'

Tili ačiq sözün şakargä qatıp, közi ta⁶rız oqın cān[im]ğa atıp. (DN243r:2) 'Her tongue dipped her bitter words into sugar. Her eyes hurled the arrows of allusions into [my] soul.'

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

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

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

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

Könglümä salğil mening yā Rabb qanā⁶at rāhatı. (BH18r:6) 'O Lord, send into my heart the peace of contentment.'

Közümä ol otdan čäkkil kim tavarlar közinä čäkär sän. (Sayf 147r:10) 'Apply to my eyes from the ointment that you apply to the eyes of cattle.'

Ay Şabānī boldi muşkafşān daming, har sözüng bir 'ālama 'attār emiş. (ShD71v:9-10) 'O, Shabān, your breath scatters musk all around. Every single word of yours is a perfumer for the entire world.'

Qadding alifin dardına tegti Şabānī cān ara, sen ay tabib em-gänmägil 'ışq dardining darmanı yoq. (ShD75r:9-10) 'In [his] soul Shabānī has come down in the pain caused by the alif-like body of yours. [Listen] you, doctor, do not exert yourself, there is no remedy for the pain of love.'

Ol ikisin lutf qilğil, dardıma sen sen dava. (BH2v:5) 'Grant your grace to both, for you are the remedy for my pain.'

3.1.4.2.5.3. Dative Case with bar

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

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

3.1.4.2.5.4. Dative to Express the Agent

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

Qalmas andeşa-i ğayrı ol dam, unutulğay sanga mahbūb atı ham. (RB7r:3) 'Then no concern for anything other than Him remains. Even the name of the Beloved is forgotten.'²⁷

3.1.4.2.5.5. Dative Case with Arabic Participles

3.1.4.2.5.5.1. With intransitive verbs.

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

Talib er **tiligä** mazkur durur. Validiyya bilä maşhūr durur. (RB 2r:9) 'The tongue of the seekers [of the Truth] speaks about [his book]. It is known as the Spiritual Guide.'

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

Yigit öz quvvatına mağrūr edi. (Sayf101r:5) 'The youth was very proud of his strength.'

3.1.4.2.5.5.2. With transitive verbs.

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

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

²⁷ I.e., you will forget...

²⁸ Will be known by...

Qābil elgā sözini maqbul et, ‘āmil elgā özini ma‘mūl et. (RB 11r:3) ‘Make its words accepted by those who are willing to learn them. Make its precepts acted upon by those who are willing to put them into practice.’

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

3.1.4.2.5.6. Verbs Governing the Dative Case

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

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

E.g.,

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

Zamāne harf ‘ilminā isīndi, içi küydi, valē qorqup qisīndi. (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.’

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

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

Barī ay hirmānin bir cavğa satqan, elig tartip ayağini uzatqan. (DN247r:3) ‘He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³⁰ Establish yourself

³¹ Lit., mouth

³² Lit., a fish comes into his hands

Cihānī yaruğay cānī tirilgāy, tiriglār sanīna atī kirilgāy. (DN 251v:7) ‘May his world light up, may his soul come to life, and may his name enter the list of those who are alive.’

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

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

Könglūngā ĥeĉ ta‘alluq qalmas, ġayr-i iĥlās ilā qulluq qalmas. (RB8r:13) ‘There will remain no attachment [to other than God³³] in your heart. There will remain no servitude other than intimacy [with Him].’

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

3.1.4.2.5.8. Adjectives Governing the Dative Case

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

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

E.g.,

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

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

³³ I.e., mā sivā‘llāh

Firāqında keĉār har keĉā yel teg, tanīm bēlimgā oĥşaş boldī qıl teg. (DN259v:9) ‘Separated from me he strolls like a breeze every night. He became [thin] like a hair, resembling my body and my waist.’³⁴

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

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

Banaşsa boynin egdi gulgā qarşī; açip ‘abhar közin sūnbūlgā qarşī. (Say3v:5) ‘The violator 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.,

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

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

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

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

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

³⁴ The ideal shape of the Beloved was one with a waist as thin as a hair. Cf. *beli qıl* (Say117v:12).

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

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

Ol kişiğä aydı kim barğıl ol ikki 'avratnı munda ündägil. (NF 195r:2) 'He said to that person: Invite here those two women.'

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

3.1.4.2.6.2. Locative Case Marked by -ta/-tä

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.6.3. Locative Case Marked After Possessive Suffixes

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

3.1.4.2.6.3.1. With a connective [pronominal] -n-

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

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

'Alā's-şabāh turup başımdan taḥfifa bālimdān şaddim şeşip beş altun bilān ol muğannī nazarında qoydum. (Sayf60v:7-8) 'In the morning I got up, removed my cap from my head and the belt from my waist and put them in front of that singer.'

³⁶ Lit., comes into his mouth

3.1.4.2.6.3.2. Without a connective -n-

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.6.4. Verbs Governing the Locative Case

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

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

E.g.,

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

Hameşa uyqusizliqqa qılıp hū, tüşidä kirmäyın 'umrida uyqu. (DN253r:8) 'He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.'

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

Çaman şahnīda tōkūng mēvalarnī, tering sāqī közidin şēvalarnī. (DN268r:7) 'Pour fruits [of all kinds] upon the plate of the meadow and collect amorous glances from the cupbearer's eyes.'

Öz vatanından çiqīcaq pēşakar ḥaṣil etār qanda eriṣṣā diram. (Sayf98v:7) 'If a craftsman leaves his homeland, he will earn money no matter where he lands.'

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

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

3.1.4.2.7. Ablative Case

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

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

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

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

r kitgāy āftāb māhdīn, ḥukm birlā ḥazrat-i Allāhdīn. (BN 91r:3) 'At the Almighty's command light will depart from the sun and the moon.'

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

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

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

Agar könglūng manga küysā, 'acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigāy riqqatīmdin. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: The stone melts from having pity on me.'

Sačingda šāna ḥayran muşkilīdin, balalarğa ilinip öz tilīdin. (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 suhbatīmdin, egilgāy 'āqibat tüz niyyatīmdin. (DN245r:4) 'The [straight] cypress of your body scorns to be in my company but it bows down at the end when it realizes the straightforwardness of my intent.'

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

Bu 'adat ḥwaş yığačlar şēvasīdin, ki taş atsang berürlār mēvasīdin. (DN247v:8) 'This observation was made on the nature of fruit trees: If you throw stones [at them] they give you some of their fruit.'

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

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

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

Qaşımgā yetti ol yār-i ḥaqqī, bolup rangi yügürməktin 'aqīqī. (DN255r:4) 'That true friend came to my presence, its face turned red from running.'

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

Labīm nuqlīn alur bolsang ağizğa, çiqarğıl baştin ol mayning ḥumārīn. (DN254v:3) 'If you take the sweet-meat of my lips in the mouth, drive out of your head the intoxication caused by wine.'

Lēk bolğay başariyattin, bil, köngligā yupqa ḥicabi ḥaṣil. (RB 6r:10) 'Yet, because of [the weakness of] human nature, one's heart can become covered with a thin veil.'

³⁷ See footnote to 3.1.4.2.6.1.

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

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

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

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

Tilāsāng maʿrifat nūrīn körärgä, içing ḥālī keräk bolsa yemäk-tān (Sayf62r:7-8) 'If you wish to see the light of knowledge, your stomach must be empty of food.'

3.1.4.2.7.5. The Ablative Case After 3d Singular Possessive Suffixes

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

3.1.4.2.7.5.1. With a connective [pronominal] -n-

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

Ol qadar ketti kim bularñing nazarından ġāʾib boldi. (Sayf 51v:10) 'He walked so far that he disappeared from their sights.'

Ay şabā keltür Samarqand dilbarından muşkboy: 'Āšiq-i dilḥas-tanīng cānīğa ol taʾšir 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 buyruğından yığar. (MM180r:7) 'Pride diverts one from [obeying] the commands of God.'

3.1.4.2.7.5.2. Without a connective [pronominal] -n-

Kečär cānīdīn avval suda ġavvaş, ki ta aḥar bolur bir durrgä ol ḥaşş. (DN253v:7) 'First the diver risks his life in the water so that he could later be the exclusive owner of one [single] pearl.'

Saʿadat maykabīdīn muзда berip, başaratlıq ḥabarlarıni yibarip. (DN259r:3) 'Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, good tidings sent the news [about its being on the way].'

Kelmädi uyqu közümgä ol moġul hacranīdīn. Nātavān könglüm-nüñg ārzūsī bu kün bīdār dur. (ShD44v:9) 'Sleep eludes my eyes because of the absense of that Mogul child. Today the desire of my helpless heart is wide awake.'

3.1.4.2.7.6. Verbs Governing the Ablative Case

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

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

E.g.,

Šabīqu'l-anʿām guldin ne ḥaṭā kördi, 'acab! (Sayf29v:5) 'I wonder what impropriety did the former patron experience from the servant?'

Alardīn öttüm oġlumdīn ötär män, hameša ummatimdīn köz tutar män. (H75v:4) 'I gave them up, I will give up my son. I constantly keep my eyes on my community.'

³⁸ I.e., I suffer a lot

Netük men ävüräyin öz ğamimdin, ki pūlād erigāy otluğ damim-din. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sorrow³⁹ since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'

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

El-ulus rasminā köküngni tüzgin bu hāric nağmadin könglüngni üzgin. (DN260v:3) 'Throw out your roots⁴¹ in the ways of the community; separate⁴² your heart from this discordant melody.'

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.7.8. The Ablative Case to Express the Superlative Degree

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

Barčadin yahşī (MS2r:5) 'the best of all'

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

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

3.1.4.2.7.9. The Ablative Case to Express the Comparative Degree

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

Tā şanavbar sāya teg salğay ayaqıng altıda, cilva qilğil bağ içindā sarvdin çalākrāk. (ShD89r:3-4) 'Until the spruce throws itself like a shadow at your feet, may you show off in the garden more agile than the cypress.'

³⁹ I.e., how could I shake it off

⁴⁰ I.e., the one whose catch got away

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

⁴² Lit., rend away

3.1.4.2.8. Instrumental Case

Rare in Chagatay. It is gradually replaced by the postpositions **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: **baş töbān** 'head first', **yüzüqoyun** '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 yā igdin ünün iğlamaq. (MM183v:17) 'To cry aloud because of misery or sickness.'

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

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

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

Zuhr vaqtin uyumaq hattā ol zaman içindā halqnī āzār qılmağay sän. (Sayf20v:2) '[The best service you, the king, can render is] sleeping at noon because at that time you do not hurt [your] subjects.'

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

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

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

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

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

Şay³ lillāh şakkarin erningdin, ay kan-i namak, kim nabāt-i Mişridin ming qatla artuq tur tuzi. (GD223,3) 'Can you spare God from your sugar-sweet lips, O Mine of Elegance! The salt of them is a thousand times sweeter than the refined sugar of Egypt.'

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

3.1.4.2.9. Privative Case

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

Talı'sız şayyād tāngizdä baliq tuta bilmäs, daǵı **açalsız** baliq qurı yerdä ölmäs. (Sayf94v:10-11) 'A fisherman without luck cannot catch fish in the sea; a fish the final hour of which has not arrived, will not die on dry land.'

Heç iş bu kalimasız mu'tabar emäs. (RM4r:5) 'No undertaking is valid without these words.'

Har kim bang-i namāz maǵallıdā sözlägäy, anga ǵavf turur kim imānsız 'alamdın bargäy. (RM15v:6-8) 'It is to be feared that anyone who talks during the call to prayer will depart this world without [the security that his] faith [would otherwise provide for him in the Hereafter].'

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

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.10. Equative Case

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

3.1.4.2.10.1. Equative Case Marked with **-ča/-čä**

E.g.,

Män yaraǵımča dast u pā urdum. (MS4r:1) 'I have done my utmost.'⁴³

Nečä lazzat esä mayl anča bolur, mayl lazzatnı **tapǵanča** 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.'

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

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

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

3.1.4.2.10.1.1. After the 3d person singular possessive suffix

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

3.1.4.2.10.1.1.1. Without pronominal **-n-**

Tün ortasıdan sunnat vaqtıča anıng vaqtı turur. (RM17v:2-3) 'The time for the vitr prayer is between midnight and the time for the sunna rak'ats of the mandatory prayers.'

Qılıçtin qıl uçıča yoq anga vahm, yavutmas özigä ǵwad oqdın vahm. (DN245v:10) 'He has no fear of the sword, not even as much as the tip of a hair. He is not impressed even by the flying arrow.'

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

3.1.4.2.10.1.1.2. With pronominal **-n-**

İnqıtā'inča yenā mayl artar, maylča munqaı' olmaqlıq bar. (BH 10r:2) 'The more you are separated [from other than God], the more will [your] desire [for God] increase. You are separated

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

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

‘Arab tilinčā (KBV5v:1) ‘in Arabic’

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

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

E.g.,

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

3.1.4.2.11. Comparative Case

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

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

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

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

Tilägan teg sanga yüz qoydi maqsud tiläklaringni 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.’

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

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

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

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

Muhammad Hwāca beg ol kim ‘Ali teg üküş cavlan qilur maydan içindä. (MN295r:2) ‘Muhammad Hwaja Beg is he, who like ‘Alī, displays his skills quite often on the battle field.’

3.1.4.2.12. Terminative Case

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

E.g.,

Yol yürüp kečā şubh çağığāca yettilär šaharning qirğāğığāca. 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 payğambarğāca (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 yarutusigāca uyğaq bolup namaz qilgil. (RM30v:6) ‘Remain awake to the midpoint of the night and pray [during that period].’

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

3.1.4.3. Inflection for Possession

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

3.1.4.3.1. Possessive suffixes

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

3.1.4.3.1.1. Short Possessive Suffixes

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

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

3.1.4.3.1.2. Expanded Possessive Suffixes

Singular			
1st Person	-im/-im -um/-üm	közüm	'my eye'
2d Person	-ing/-ing -ung/-üng	közüng	'your eye'
3d Person	-i/-i	közi	'his eye'
Plural			
1st Person	-imiz/-imiz -ümüz/-ümüz ⁴⁵	közümüz	'our eye'
2d Person	-ingiz/-ingiz -ungiz/-ungiz ⁴⁶	közüngiz	'your eye'
3d Person	-lari/-lari ⁴⁷	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 gar desä içimdäki dağ, bulut teg yığlağay ün tartıban dağ. (DN256v:10) 'If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'

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

Camalindin munavvar qıl közümni. (DN257r:2) 'Light up my eyes with your beauty.'

3.1.4.3.3. Nouns with First and Second Person Singular Possessive Suffixes

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

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

⁴⁵ Rare variant -umuz/-ümüz

⁴⁶ Rare variant -unguz/-üngüz

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

Plural		
Nominative	atalarim	atalaring
Accusative	atalarimni	atalaringni
Genitive	atalarimning	atalaringning
Dative	atalarimğa	atalaringğa
	atalarima	atalaringa
Locative	atalarimda	atalaringda
Ablative	atalarimdan	atalaringdan
Equative	atalarimča	atalaringča
Comparative	atalarimteg	atalaringteg
Terminative	atalarimğača	atalaringğača

E.g.,

Atama aytтім, bulardan hēç biri turup ikki rak‘at namāz qıl-mas. (Sayf153r:10) 'I said to my father, none of these [people] gets up and performs a two-rak‘at prayer.'

Ol oğlan egāç yağrinima ağır qamçı indürdi. (Sayf45r:3) 'When I was young, with a whip he delivered a heavy blow upon my shoulder.'

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

3.1.4.3.4. Nouns with Third Person Singular Possessive Suffixes

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

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

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	atasi	atalari
Accusative	atasini	atalarini
	atasin	atalarin
Genitive	atasining	atalarining
Dative	atasiğa	atalariğa
	asina	atalarina
Locative	asida	atalarida
Ablative	asidan	atalaridan
Equative	asicha	atalaricha
Comparative	asiteg	atalariteg
Terminative	atasiğača	atalariğača

E.g.,

Camālīngdīn munavvar qīl közümnī ešitmā el sōzin ešit sōzümnī. (DN257r:2) 'Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.'

Bir oğlīn bir malik maktabgā berdi. (Sayf142r:2) 'A king put one of his sons to school.'

Du‘ā vaqtīn tazarru‘nīng elīnī kötārip Tangrīdan raḥmat tilār sän. (ShD93v:6) 'When you pray you raise your supplicating hands and ask blessings from God.'

3.1.4.3.4.1. Without a Pronominal -n-

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

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

İcīndā 'iṣq otīdīn bar mu sōzī, tilār aǧzīmī heč ol tangrōzī? (DN252r:11) 'Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love? Does this pauper long for my lips?'

Ötār könglīdā har dam bir dīlārāy, tilār közi ki körsā bir yangī ay. (DN254r:7) 'Every moment a beloved comes to his mind. His eyes wish to behold a new moon [among them].'

Dedi, sizdīn nācūk aldīn yoray mām? Hūdānī aldīdā 'aṣī bolur mām. (H76v:10) 'He said, "How can I, then, walk ahead of you? I will be a sinner in the sight of God."'

3.1.4.3.4.2. With a Pronominal -n-

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

Adīb er madhīna maǧrūr bolma. (Sayf166r:3) 'Do not fall for⁴⁸ a panegyrist's praise.'

Anīng hukmīna raṣī bolup tašvīšīmiz ketti. (Sayf157v:9) 'We were pleased with his decision and our differences were gone.'

İ'timādē nā qīlur sen bu falaknīng mīhrīnā: Ay vafadar qīl vafā husn va kamālīng barīda. (ShD13v:2) 'Do not rely for a moment upon the love of the sky. O Faithful One, be faithful while you have beauty and perfection.'

Muḥtasīb man' etmāgil ma'sūq köyīndīn har zamān. Köz yaşı bāda otīndīn har zaman ǧamnākī dur. (ShD49v:7-8) 'Inspector, do not keep me away from the street of the Beloved all the time. Tears that the fire of love brings to the eyes are saddening all the time.'

⁴⁸ Lit. Do not be proud of...

3.1.4.4. Persian Inflectional Elements

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

3.1.4.4.1. The Izafat Marker -i/-ī

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

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

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

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

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

Āṣittī cumla aṣḥāb-i payambar, keliṣtilār barīsī cumla yaksar. (H81v:9) 'All of the Prophet's closest companions heard [what had happened] and at once came [to see him].'

Dedim, "Ay mūnis u yār-i sabukruh, ki sendin tāza boldī cān-i macrūh!" (DN236v:8) 'I said, "O, Light-spirited Companion and Friend. Through you the wounded soul is rejuvenated."⁵⁰

Note: Compound Izafat structures are rare in Chagatay.

3.1.4.4.2. The Vocative Marker -ā

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dedilār, al-vidā^c, ay ham-nišinlār, ki körmäk emdi yoq, ay pāk-dinlār. (H79r:11) '(Then Ibrāhīm) continued, Farewell, O Class-mates! We will not meet again. O Adherents of the Pure Faith!'

3.1.4.4.3. The Prosodic Expletives -a, ā

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.4.4.4. The Relative -ī

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

İttisālī ki erür bēmānī^c, bu maḥall rūḥqa bolğay vāqī^c. (RB 6r:12). 'Then the soul, now unhindered, will find itself in union with God.'

Har baharī kim kelür bar dur ḥazānī kāynidā. (BH15v:9) 'Every spring that comes has an autumn in its wake.'

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

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

3.1.4.4.5. The Suffix -rā in Dative Function

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

Ay karimā luṭf qīl sargaştā-i āvararā. (BH18v:2) 'O Generous One, have mercy on me, [your] desperate and roaming [servant].'

Luṭf qīl iḥsān-i tavfiq bu faqīr beḥārārā. (BH18r:11) 'Grant me, [your] poor and destitute [servant], the grace of your assistance.'

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

3.1.4.4.6. The Indefinite Suffix -ē

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

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

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

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

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

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

Note: A noun with an indefinite *-ē* may occur in adverbial use. It may even join the lexicon as an adverb. E.g.,

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

3.1.5. Formation of Nouns

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

3.1.5.1. Formation by Suffixes

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

3.1.5.1.1. The Suffix *-ča/-čä*

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

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

3.1.5.1.2. The Suffix *-čaq/-čäk*

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

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

3.1.5.1.3. The Suffix *-či/-či*

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

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

3.1.5.1.4. The Suffix *-čil/-čil*

It indicates association of some kind with the base word.

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

3.1.5.1.5. The Suffix *-čin/-čin*

It forms, mostly, diminutives.

öpčin 'coat of mail' (Babur161r:8)
qalčaqčin 'wild goat' (Zam. 406a)
bildirčin 'quail' (AH36a:14)
orčin 'district' (Babur25r:5)
toqurčin 'a board game' (AH65a:11)

3.1.5.1.6. The Suffix *-čuq/-čük*

It forms diminutives, names of tools, adjectives.

bulğančuq 'dark, foggy' (PdC177)
ağarčuq 'chess, or nard' (AH16v:2)
qaburčuq 'box' (AH68r:19)
tağarčuq 'sack, bag' (AH64v:11)
bäbäčük 'pupil of the eye' (AH195,3)
munčuq 'glass beads' (Sayf158v:2)
čağančuq 'small falcon' (AH105,3)

3.1.5.1.7. The Suffix -daš/-däš

It expresses a companion or a mate.

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

3.1.5.1.8. The Suffix -laq/-läk

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

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

3.1.5.1.9. The Suffix -layin/-läyin

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

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

3.1.5.1.10. The Suffix -li/-li

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

- biligli 'learning, knowing' (Sayf170v:5)
- käligli 'ready to come' (AH39,13)
- bağıgli 'looking' (AH31,6)
- oqugli 'reading' (MM197r:3)
- çıqigli 'leaving' (MM197r:4)
- hōr qiliqli 'humiliating' (MM144v:4)
- yürugli 'passing, walking' (MM179v:3)
- yazuqli 'sinful' (Sayf50r:4)
- bahali 'valuable' (Sayf98r:9)
- yürakli 'brave' (AH93a:17)
- ärkli 'mighty' (Sayf176r:7)
- küçli 'strong' (Sayf156r:11)

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

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

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

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

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

- atliğ 'named, called' (IM5v:3)
- biliglig 'wise' (Qutb Zaj. 32)
- bitiglig 'written' (MM197v:12)
- bahaliğ 'valuable' (MM182v:)
- borcluğ 'insolvent' (MM190 v:4)
- māngizlig 'similar' (RM3r:1)
- şifatliğ 'of [a certain] quality' (MM181v:2)
- şubhalig 'doubtful' (MM196r:6)
- takabburlüg 'proud' (MM180r:6)
- vafaliğ 'faithful' (MM180r:11)

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.5.1.13. The Suffix -m

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

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

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

3.1.5.1.14. The Suffix -ma/-mä

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

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

3.1.5.1.15. The Suffix -mač/-mäč

Rare. It occurs mostly in names of food items.

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

3.1.5.1.15. The Suffix -maq/-māk

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

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

sirmaq 'donkey saddle' (Kašg. Brock. 180)
tāvmäk 'hammer' (AH40v:10)
yašmaq 'women's veil' (PdC527)
qaymaq 'cream' (Sayf78r:2)
toqmaq 'mallet' (NTM13r:6)
soqmaq 'a narrow street' (NTM13r:3)
kimäk 'clay' (NTM4r:9)
etmäk 'bread' (NTM10r:2)
bilmäk 'awareness' (MM186v:7)
yemäk 'food' (MM194v:6)
qasmaq 'thick broth, gravy' (PdC405)
türmäk 'sweet dish' (Kašg. Brock. 225)
yarmaq 'money' (NTM4v:5)

3.1.5.1.16. The Suffix -man/-mān

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

čäkman 'mantle, cloak' (Sayf186v, A5,6,)
tegirmān 'mill' (NTM9v:10)
köčmān 'nomad' (PdC464)
čüčümān 'rather sweet' (Babur285r:13)

3.1.5.1.17. The Suffix -miši/-miši

The derivatives are nouns, abstract and concrete.

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

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

Diminutive formants used with names of colors.

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

3.1.5.1.18. The Suffix -n, -an

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

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

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

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

3.1.5.1.20. The Suffix -ng

The derivatives are adjectives and nouns.

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

örüng 'white; white surface' (MM196v:3)
qaling 'thick' (KBV5v:25)
töšäng 'carpet' (NTM13v:2)

3.1.5.1.21. The Suffix -raq/-rāk

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

asahhraq 'the most correct' (MM184v:1)
ašagaraq 'a little below' (KBV13v:2)
azraq 'a little' (KBV19v:21)
‘azizrāk 'more precious' (MM177r:1)
ādizrāk 'higher' ('AtH26,23)
bašqaraq 'aside, apart' (Babur 113r:13)
qaviraq 'more important' (MM185v:3)
qisqaraq 'a short summary' (KBV11r:21)
yaḥširaq 'better' (KBV19v:3)
yāgrāk 'best' (MM191r:16)

3.1.5.1.21. The Suffix -saq/-sāk

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

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

3.1.5.1.22. The Suffix -si/-si

tütsi 'smoke' (PdC222)
artuqsi 'more than usual' (Sayf26r:2)
ayruqsi 'different' (Sang. 57v:4)
yansi 'side' (MA167,2)

3.1.5.1.23. The Suffix -siz/-siz

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

tügsiz 'hairless' (KBV20v:15)
balsiz 'without honey' (KBV20r:6)
sa‘adatsiz 'unhappy' (Sayf143r:9)
sağışsiz 'countless' (Sayf3r:4)
sansiz 'immense' (Sayf3r:4)

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

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

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

3.1.5.1.24. The Suffix -siz/-siz

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

suwsiz 'without water' (KBV20v:17)
cansiz 'without life' (MM197v:4)
nätāgliksiz 'without similitudes' (Sayf178r:11)
niyyatsiz 'without having declared one's intention' (MM186v:6)
otruşsuz 'without performing the internal sitting' (MM187v:5)
qirā'atsiz 'without the recitation from the Qur'an' (MM185r:10)
qulavuzsuz 'without a guide' (MM193v:17)
yönsüz 'in disregard of one of the alternatives [i.e., turning one's left or right cheek to the ground]' (MM194r:16)
zarūratsiz 'without being compelled' (MM186r:14)

3.1.5.1.25. The Suffix -suq/-sük

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

3.1.5.1.26. The Suffix -š

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

baqış 'glance' (Sayf127r:11)
billiś 'friend, acquaintance' (Sayf128v:6)
bitiś 'growth' (Sayf14v:7)
čapqulaś 'hand-to-hand combat' (NTM15v:7)
keliś 'coming' (Sayf114v:3)
külüś 'smile' (Qutb, Zaj., 107)
oqšaś 'alike, similar' (CCum 178)
otruś 'sitting position in the ritual prayer' (MM185r:6a)
öpüś 'kiss' (Sayf129r:6)
saqış 'thought, idea' (Sayf73v:1)
söküş 'abuse' (CCum.223)
toquś 'fight' (MM182v:2)
tutuś 'always' (MM198r:15)
uquś 'understanding' (MM196r:17)
uruś 'war' (NTM4r:3)
üküş 'much, many' (MM179r:10)
ülüś 'part, portion' (MM189v:8)
üwüş 'wet' (MM182r:14)
yaraś 'peace' (NTM4r:3)

3.1.5.1.27. The Suffix -ši/-ši [-šu/-šü]

qarši 'the opposite side' (Sayf3v:5)
qışlayişi 'winter quarters' (PdC449)
qonğşi 'neighbor' (Sayf82v:12)
yahşi [< yaq- 'to please, appeal to'] 'good' (Sayf45v:7)

Note: **ulašu** 'always' (MM176v:12) is a gerund form of **ulaś-** '[see 3.6.7.7.2.]'; **tutši** 'often' (Qutb188) is a derivative from **tutuś** 'always' [see above].

3.1.5.1.28. The Suffix -t, -ut/-üt

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

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

3.1.5.1.29. The Suffix -z

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

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

3.1.5.1.30. The Suffix -vul, -avul

Mongolian suffix applied to Turkish bases.

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

3.1.5.1.31. The Suffix -sa/-sä

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

3.1.5.2. Formation by Prefixes

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

3.1.5.2.1. The Prefix ham-

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

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

3.1.5.2.2. The Prefix sar-

It indicates top quality, highest rank, first position.

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

3.1.5.2.3. The Prefix šāh-, šah

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

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

3.1.5.3. Formation of Nouns by Composition

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

3.1.5.3.1. Determinative Compounds

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

- čašmasar** 'fountain' (DN 249v:10)
- dastgāh** 'seat' (DN 257v:6)
- gulbarg** 'rose-leaf' (DN 270r:6)
- šabnam** 'dew' (GD41:3)
- ābroī** n. 'honor, dignity' (DN253r:10)

3.1.5.3.2. Possessive [Bahuvrihi] Compounds

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

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

- dilḥasta** 'a broken-hearted person' (GD18,6)
- diltang** n. 'someone with a sad heart' (DN270r:5)
- ḥatīrparēšan** n. 'one who is distressed in mind' (Ḥ81v:10)

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

- maḥabbapeša** 'one whose profession is caring love' (DN257r:4)
- 'anbarsar** n. 'ambergrishead' (DN262v:11)
- gulandām** n. 'a slender, delicate person' (DN 269r:11)
- gulrang** n. 'rose-colored' (GD110-5)
- gul'izar** n. 'rose-cheeked' (GD110:27:4)
- gulruḥsar** 'rose-faced' (GD173:4)
- māhpaykar** n. '[a beloved] whose face is like the moon' (258r:5)
- sarvqāmat** n. '[a beloved] straight like a cypress' (DN249v11)
- sarvqadd** n. 'cypress-bodied [beloved]' (Ḥ77v:4)
- šabrang** n. 'a dark bay horse [of the color of the night]' (DN270r:5)
- šakarlab** n. 'sweet-tongued' (Ḥ78v:3)

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

- pakdīn** n. 'adherent of the pure faith' (Ḥ79r:11)
- parēšanrōzgār** n. 'one who is afflicted with troubles' (DN270r:5)
- šafmašrab** n. 'innocent' [< he whose drink is pure'] (DN258r:7)
- šābitqadam** n. 'steadfast' ['he who walks firmly'] (GD192:4)
- tangrozi** n. 'a person whose subsistence, allotted by Providence is scanty' (DN 252r:11)
- farḥunda-sur** 'one whose company is auspicious' (DN262r:10)
- farḥunda-maqdam** 'one whose arrival is auspicious' (DN248v:9)

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

3.2. Postpositions

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

3.2.1. Primary Postpositions

3.2.1.1. With the Nominative Case

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

3.2.1.1.1. The Postposition *ara* 'into, with'

Çu aldī nāmanī elin uzatıp, alurda muşk ara şandalnī qatı (DN251v:9) 'When she took the letter reaching for it with her hand, she added sandal fragrance to the scent of musk.'

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

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

3.2.1.1.2. The postposition *bigin* 'like'

Közüm yaşı bigin tofrağa tüştüm, Ḥudārā salmağıl meni na dīn. (ShD122r:10-11) 'Like the tears of my eyes I dropped the dust. For God's sake, do not cast me away from your sight.'

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

⁵³ Allusion to the Sufi tenet: *Balā qadḡu yutḡu sazā bolḡuḡa. Tālim tatḡu açḡ maza bulḡuḡa*. 199r:14) 'You must bear affliction and misery [just as you must bear the bitterness of medicine that you may be worthy [of His Love]. You will have to taste much bitterness to find a tasty medicine.'

⁵⁴ I.e., it will be silent.

Yaşı daryā bigin har yanī barıp, içidin 'umr açḡnī çıkarıp. (DN 246v:9) 'His tears like a big river [that burst its banks] ran in all directions bringing forth from his inside the bitterness of life.'

3.2.1.1.3. The postposition *bilā, bilān* 'with, together with'

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

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

Dedi, "Ol bēnava bulbul ne iştā, ki boldi ḡam bilān canī sirišta. (DN252r:4) 'What happened to that destitute nightingale that his life was molded with sorrow.'

Bāslāding aning süti bilā daḡı ulḡaydīng mānim qatimda. (Sayf 15v:5) 'You were nourished with her milk, and grew up in my presence.'

3.2.1.1.4. The Postposition *birlā, birlān* 'with, together with'

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

Manga körgüzmasūn Tengri ḡwad ol kūn, ki tofrağ birlā bir bolḡay zalālīm. (DN242r:7) 'May God never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with common dust.'

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

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

3.2.1.1.5. The Postposition *dek* 'exactly like'

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

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

⁵⁶ Lit., with the tongue

⁵⁷ Sign of disgrace.

Kim qazā yātkandā nādān dek bolurlar azkiyā. (BH16r:3) 'For when the Divine Decree manifests itself, the wise will be ignorant.'
‘İlm erür kündüz va cāhil dur qarangu kečā dek. (BH20r:3) 'Knowledge is [like] daylight, ignorance, like the dark of night.'
Kim zumurrad dek emäs har nečā sabz olğay giya. (BH15r:9) 'Just as grass will never be equal to emerald although it, too, is green.'⁵⁸
Şubh-i ‘ālam dek munavvar ham **künāš dek** bāsaḫā. (BH18v:8). 'It illuminates the word like the dawn. [It is] also serene and pure like the sun.'
Qizil gul dek yüzüngüz **za‘farān dek** açılğanda bolup dur sän **hazān dek.** (H78v:5) 'Your face like red rose now is like saffron. In the season of blooming you are like autumn.'
Va tağlar rēg-i ravān dek bolğay, ya‘nī uşaq **qumlar dek.** (RM 36r-10-36v1) 'When the mountains will become like shifting sand, that is fine grains of sand...'
Şafaq dek kōz yaşidin bādapaymāy, tanidin körgüzüp har kün yāngi ay. (DN259r:9). 'A wine-drinker consuming his tears red like the color of the dawn. [The One] who, through his body, shows the new moon every day.'

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

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

3.2.1.1.6. The Postposition içrā 'in, within, into'

Qiliban muşknī ol ‘anbarin meng, cihan içrā qara tofrağ bilān teng. (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris-scented beauty spot reduced the [the value of the] musk to [that of the] common clay in the [entire] world.'
Kim bu gulşan içrā tapti bulbul-i ṭab‘im navā. (BH22r:4) 'When in this garden the nightingale--my inspiration--hit upon a melody.'
Har biri içrā fikr qilğay miz. (MS3r:5) 'We will consider each one.'
Salip šahr içrā 'işq āvāzasini, açip yüzigā ḡam darvāzasini. (DB 240r:1) 'He spreads the rumor about [his] love all over the town. He opens the gate of sorrow before his face.'⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Lit., no matter how green it is

Sening köyüngdün, ay körk içrā bağim, başim gar barsa barmağay ayağim (DN244v:5) 'From your quarter, O, My Flowergarden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.'
Yüzüng ḫālī salip ot içrā filfil, fusun qılmağqa açip lablaring til. (DN244r:3) 'The mole of your face sprinkles pepper upon the fire and your lips open the tongue to perform magic'

3.2.1.1.7. The Postpositions ilā, ilān 'with, together with; and'

Şar‘ ilā zāhiri āraṣta dur, ḡayrdün bāṭini pērāsta dur. (RB9v:3) '[Join the group of those] whose behavior is governed by the Law and whose heart is cleansed from other [than God].'
Husn ilā ḡalq ara faṣāna durur, kim ki körsä anī dēvāna durur. (RB6v:3) 'For his beauty he is a legend among the people. Whoever beholds him, becomes a madman.'
Ḥaqq ta‘ālā sevār anī ki mudām kişi Ḥaqq cānibigā subh ilā şam. (RB3v:8) 'God, the Most High, loves the person who always, morning and evening, has his face turned toward Him.'
Taşavvur mantiqin cōn qildi taşdiq, bitidi nāmae lutf ilā ta‘liq. (DN246v:1) 'When he verified [with his heart] the logic of [his] imagination, he wrote a letter with graceful characters.'
Gar sorar sen yazuğumni ‘adl ilā va ḡasratā. (BH6v:4) 'If, by exercising your harsh justice, you ask me to render account of my sins, woe is me.'
Bar durur kündüz bilān kečā sabah ilān masā. (BH15v:10) 'Day is followed by night, morning by evening.'
Dōst birlān yaḡşiliq ḡwaş, duşman ilān yaḡşiraq. (BH13v:9) 'To treat a friend well is meritorious, to treat an enemy well is even better.'

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

Aning ilā yoq qilur va **aning ilā** bar qilur. (BH13r:14) 'With [that Power] He annihilates and creates.'

3.2.1.1.8. The Postpositions kebi, kābi, kābin 'like', 'as'

Kečälär bīdār bol ancum kebi uyqunī qoy. (BH16v:5) 'At night be vigilant. Like the stars, refrain from sleep.'

⁵⁹ I.e., He surrenders to sorrow.

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

Ay Šabānī, nay kābin har šubḥdam qilg'il navā. (BH12r:11) O Šabānī, like a reed, sing [of the sorrow of separation] every morning.⁶⁰

3.2.1.1.9. The Postposition sarī 'toward'

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

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

Tüzālmāsūn yüzūm dīn qiblasina, gar özgā sarī bolsa rōy u rāhīm. (DN257v:9) 'My face should not turn to the Qibla of [our] religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward others.' Aşna ič sarī taş begāna bu ravişca raviş olmas yana. (RB6r:6) 'The Friend [invited] in the stranger [kept] out: There is no better [principle of] behavior than this.'

Turup maktab sarī boldi ravāna, yürāklārī firāq otığa yana. (H75v:8) 'He got up and set out for the school, his heart burning in the fire of separation.'

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

Özüngni qılma asru be sar-u barg, kim egilmās sening sarī nihālim. (DN 242r:4) 'Do not feel too upset just because my branches do not bend toward you.'

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

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

(3) Sarī may take the dative case ending:

İcāzat bar mu? dep Qābizgā aydī, uşal maktab sarīğa barsa, dedi. (H78r11) 'The Prophet asked Qābiz, the Soultaker, "Will you grant him permission to return to school."'

⁶⁰ Reference to the opening lines of Rūmī's *Maṣnavī*.

3.2.1.1.10. The Postposition şifat 'like'

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

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

Qulnī körsām hizmet qilip qulī boldum, tofrağ şifat yol üstidā yoli boldum. (AY p.106) 'When I saw a slave, I became his slave and served him, like dust I was his road upon the road.'

3.2.1.1.11. The Postposition tapa 'facing; toward, in the direction of'

Qaçti Habaş çarigi 'adam qal'asī tapa. (Sayf181r:11) 'The army of Ethiopia fled toward the fortress of annihilation.'⁶³

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

Zikirdin zākırğa bu uns açlur ol, bu unsdın tafakkur tapa káčlur ol. (MM198v:12) 'Recollection makes intimacy accessible to the Recollector. From intimacy he progresses to contemplation.'

Basa qabrğa yaqin kelgāndā, kafsnī yā sarmōzanī çiqarip ölüg-nüng yüzi tapa, ħurmat bilā andağ olturğay kim aning tirigligidā olturğan bolğay. (RM45r:9-45v:2). 'And upon reaching the tomb, they should remove their shoes or overshoes and sit down facing the dead with the same respect that they used to demonstrate when these deceased were alive.'

3.2.1.1.12. The Postposition teg 'like'

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

Hamēşa sāya teg küngā mulāzim bolup erişmāki boynına lāzim. (DN258v:1) 'She is always in attendace to the sun, like a shadow. It is vital that it shine upon her shoulders [all the time].'

Ğamimdin gar desā içimdāki dağ, bulut teg yığlağay ün tartıban dağ. (DN256v:10) 'If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'

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

⁶² Mansur Hallaj (858-922)

⁶³ It was dawning.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.1.1.14. The Postposition üzä ‘on, upon’

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.1.1.15. The Postposition üzrā ‘on, upon’

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

İkki ruḥsārī erdi mah yangliğ. (Ḥ73v:2) ‘His two cheeks were like the moon.’⁶⁶

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 gulni yel yangliğ erishmä, savurmağil köngülning röz-garin. (DN254v:6) 'Beholding a rose do not rush there like the wind. Do not scatter the household of the of heart.'

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

Kim ki eşitsä bu yangliğ sözni, tapğusı dur anga mā'il özni. (RB 6v:5) 'A person who hears such words about him will surely find himself attracted to him.'

Uşbu yangliğ tartibi 'ālamda ayğil kim qılur. (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**, **sarī**, **üçün** above.

3.2.1.3. With the Ablative Case [see 3.1.4.2.7.7.]

3.2.1.3.1. The Postposition **burna** 'before'

huftan namazidin burna (MS15:3) 'before the night prayer'
zavāldin burna 'before noon' (MS15r:3)

3.2.1.3.2. The Postposition **burun** 'before'

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

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

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

3.2.1.3.3. The Postposition **cudā** 'separated from'

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

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

3.2.1.3.4. The Postposition **öng** 'before'

Barcadin öng qilmış erdi Muştafaning rūḥinī. (BH5r:6) 'Before all else the Eminent and Excellent Lord created the Spirit of Mustafā.'

Yemäkdin öng äl 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 ilāha temäk ne bolur: İdidin öngin yoq çığay bay qılur. (MM177v:3) 'You must know what *lä ilāha* means. [It means that] no one save the Lord makes one poor or rich.'

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

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

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

3.2.1.3.6. The Postposition **özgä** 'other than'

Manga yoq tur figārē sendin özgä, sanga yoq tur nigārē 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 'ālamda Raḥmān u Raḥīm. (BH7r:2) 'Other than you, there is in this world no Beneficent One, no Merciful One.'

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

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

3.2.1.3.7. The Postposition song 'after'

Uyğandın song, çon tüz olturğay, bu du'anı oquğay. (RM11r:5) 'After awakening, when he sits up, he should recite the following prayer.'

Basa vitr namazını tahaccuddın song oquğay. (RM17v:1-2). 'And he should perform the vitr prayer after the tahajjud prayer.'

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

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

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

3.2.1.3.8. The Postposition songra 'after'

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

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

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

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

3.2.1.1.9. The Postposition taş 'outside of'

Alta farzdur biling namazdın taş. (MS10r:6) 'There are six mandatory duties outside the prayer.'

3.2.1.4. With the Dative Case [see 3.1.4.2.5.9.]

3.2.1.4.1. The Postposition oħsaş 'like, similar to'

Va ba'zining hay'atini namazda olturğan kişilärgä oħsaş halq qilip turur--tağlar va taşlar dek kim bir yerdä olturup tebrän-mäy tasbiḥ ayturlar. (RM27v:5-8) 'And the appearance of others --such as mountains and rocks, which stay in one place and do not move--He has created so that they resemble people who are performing the sitting in the prayer and are saying the tasbiḥ.'

Firāqında keçär har keçä yel teg tanım belimgä oħsaş 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 qarşu, qarşı 'opposite to, facing; toward'

Ani ol aqar suwğa qarşu yüritgäy sän. (KBV63v:17) 'Make it [the horse] walk against the current of that river.'

Banafsa boynin egdi gulğa qarşı, açip 'abhar közin sunbulğa 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 tegrü 'until'

Neçägä tegrü sorar sen mending emdi bu habar. (BH9v:8) 'Now, how long will you keep asking me about this [journey]?'

Sahargä tegrü namazğa turur edi. (Sayf62r:4) 'He was at his prayers until morning.'

Ançägä tegrü eygü ating hayr üzä qalip sözlänsän el tilindä cihaning dilavari. (Sayf182v:3) 'Until that time your name will survive with good attributes and you will be called the valiant hero of this world.'

3.2.1.5. With the Locative Case

3.2.1.6.1. The Postposition kedin 'after'

Yarimi kim qalur ayağing yu. Anda kedin tamām bolur bu vuzū. (MS7v:5) 'With the half that remains, wash your feet. This done [< after this] the vuzū is complete.'

Cihānni Haqq yaratmışdın kedin. (Qutb294) ‘After God created this world.’

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.1.6.3. The Postposition song [see 3.2.1.3.7.]

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

3.2.2. Secondary Postpositions

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

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

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

⁶⁷ I.e., pronounce the testimony formula

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.2.2.4. The Postposition dargähingä ‘to the presence of’

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

3.2.2.5. The Postposition dargāhinda ‘in the presence of’

Qilmadim men heč iṣ šayista dargāhinda män. (BH18:1) ‘I have not produced anything worthy [of presenting] at your court.’

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

Nafs elindin män za‘if män hirs elindin nātavān; ‘İşq atin tergä tutup har tünlä şabgır etkä sen. (ShD125v:9-10) ‘I am weak because of the Carnal Soul, I am powerless because of my greed. Making the horse of love sweat you roam every night.’
Yürüp zulfung elidin kečälär tün, yaşunup haclatingdin äylär kün. (DN250r:7) ‘Because of your tresses evening becomes night. Hiding in shame because of you[r tresses] it lets the day appear.’
Zamanē ah elidin köngli tinmay fiğanlar tartıban nay teg erin-mäy. (DN253r:3) ‘At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the reed.’
Qilip ğam elidin hay’atni tağyır etip ‘İşq āyatın öziğä tafsır. (DN 253v:4). ‘He changes [his] figure because of [his] sorrow and makes for himself a commentary on the verse of love.’

3.2.2.7. The Postposition haqqi ‘for he sake of’

Payğambar bilä qarındaşlığingning haqqi (RM5v:8-9) ‘For the sake of your descent from the line of the Prophet...’

3.2.2.8. The Postposition haqqi(n)da ‘in reference to, regarding’

‘Umar, razıya’llāhu ‘anhu, su’āl qıldı kim, Yā Rasūla’llāhi, bu āyat munung haqqida kelip turur yā barča mu’minlär haqqin-da? (RM24v:7-9) ‘The Emir of the Faithful, Omar, may God be pleased with him, asked, O Messenger of God, did this verse come down in reference only to his case or in reference to all believers?’
Muntazir turup men, yuqaridan sening haqqında ne ħukm bolğay. (RM24r:8-9) ‘I will wait and see what decision regarding you will come from on high.’

3.2.2.9. The Postposition haqqina ‘in the interest of, in relation to, toward’

Malikning şafaqati anın haqqina dağı artuqraq boldi. (Sayf 21r:6) ‘The inclination of the King toward him increased even more.’

Ol zaman beglarindan bir beg bu ta’ifa haqqina ğayat i’tiqad bağlap dağı muhibb bolup idrār mu‘ayyan qildi. (Sayf28v:7). ‘One of the Begg of those days developed close ties with this group, became their friend and established an allowance for them.’

3.2.2.10. The Postposition ici(n)dä ‘in, within, inside’

Qaranğuluq içindä tapılır āb-i hayvān. (Sayf66r:3) ‘The water of life is to be found in the darkness.’

İşi yoq muhtasibning āv içindä. (Sayf49v:1) ‘The officer of weights and measures has nothing to do inside the house.’

Ol diyānatda şūfi va şāfi, şar‘ içidä vafi va ham vafi. (MS10r:2) ‘In matters of religion he is wise and clear-sighted. In matters of the Law he is comprehensive and correct.’

Bahr içindä qatranı ki qıldı durr-i bā bahā. (BH4r:7) ‘Who makes a drop [of water] in the sea a precious pearl?’

Uzun tün qalmağa allingda ğamlar, yaruğay ayş içindä şubh-damlar. (DN248r:7) ‘May sorrow not stay in your presence for long nights. May mornings dawn upon in luxury and pleasure.’⁶⁸

Muvabbab tapti anda ‘İşq razin, mufassal içidä bir bir bayānin. (DN252r:1) ‘There he found the secrets of love laid down in chapters with statements disclosed in paragraphs.’

Idioms: ol kün içindä ‘that day’

tarfatu’l-‘aynē içindä ‘in the twinkling of an eye’

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

Keräk qul dā’imā taqsiri ‘uzrin kätürgay ħwācasining hazra-tina. (Sayf3r:2) ‘It is necessary that the servant always bring to the presence of his master excuses for his indeficiencies.’

Hamın kim tapti yari hazratina, tavāzu‘ qıldı va qoydı qatına. (DN243v:2) ‘As soon as it arrived to the presence of the Friend, it greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.’

⁶⁸ Lit., while you enjoy food and company

Bir köp yazuqlı qul Haqq taʿālā hazratına kelip... (Sayf2r:12) 'A very sinful servant came to the presence of God, the Most High.'

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

Vaqt bolur kim nadimlārgā sultān hidmatında kīs bilān altun tegār. (Sayf24r:9) 'There are times when in the presence of the King a bagful of gold comes to the hands of the servants.'

Elig yup özidin su hidmatında, arıqlıq lafın urmay hazratında. (DN244r:2) 'The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.'

3.2.2.13. The Postposition kāyninā 'after'

Kişi kün yoğra ham kirişsā bolmas, safahat kāyninā erişsā bolmas. (DN246r:1) 'One cannot interfere in his actions day after day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.'

3.2.2.14. The Postposition kāynidā 'in the wake of'

Har bahārī kim kelūr bar dur hazānī kāynidā. (BH15v:9) 'Every spring that comes has an autumn in its wake.'

3.2.2.15. The Postposition ornina, orningā 'in the place of, for'

Agar ottuz altiğa tegsā tewā, mahāz orningā āmdi bint labūn. (MM189r:16) 'If the number of additional camels goes as high as thirty-six, give a *bint labūn* instead of a [*bint*]-*mahāz*.'

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

3.2.2.16. The Postposition qaşına, qaşığa 'to the presence of, to, at'

Żiyāfat fikri çon tüşti başımğa, tapuğčılarni ündādim qaşımğa. (DN268r:2) 'When the thought of the banquet occurred to me, I called the servants to my presence.'

Kirip keldi qaşımğa ol dilārāy, yüzi andağ ki muşkın pardada ay. (DN268v:8) 'The beloved entered and came to my presence; her face was like the moon upon a black curtain.'

Birāv Şayh Hasan Basrī qaşığa barip aytti. (RM212r:8-9) 'Someone went to Sheikh Hasan Basrī and said...'

Agar salsam nazarni köz yaşına, ne bolğay qatrae daryā qaşına? (DN250v:7) 'Suppose I cast a glance at the tears, what is the value of a single drop against [the waters of] a river?'

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

Taqi Bizing qaşımızda muhayyā' turur kāfirlar üçün dardnāk 'azablar. (RM36r:5-7) 'And We have with Us and ready harrowing tortures for the kāfirs.'

Üç kişi Hazrat-i Payğambar, 'alaihi's-salām, qaşida keldilār. (RM39V:4-6) 'Three people came to the noble Prophet, peace be upon him.'

Yüzi gul saçı sunbul sarv-qadd āzādalar qaşida, közi bādām dahani ğunça dek şahzādalar 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'

Yātişti Haqq qaşidin Cibra'il bāz, māni aldımğa keldi qıldı par-vāz. (H75r:7) '[Then] Gabriel again set out from the Divine Court and came flying to me.'

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

Bir ahmaq kişining közi ağırır edi. Baytar qatına barip aytti. (Sayf147r:10) 'The eyes of a fool were hurting. He went to see a veterinarian and said to him.'

Hamīn kim tapti yari hazratına, tavāzu' qıldı va qoydı qatına. (DN243v:2) 'As soon as he arrived to the presence of the Friend, he greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.'

Barçası munung qatına keldilār. (Sayf14v:13) 'All of them came to see him.'

Da'vāni qazi qatına eltürlār. (Sayf33v:4) '[People] take their claims to the Judge.'

Ol qavm kim andan zulm körüp edilār barça munung qatına kelip taqviyat qıldılar. (Sayf17r:4) 'All those people who had experienced ill treatment from him, came to this [sultan] and gave him support.'

3.2.2.20. The Postposition *qatında* ‘at the side of, by, with’

Bir baqqālning sūfilar *qatında* bir neçə ağçası borç yığildi. (Sayf 85r:11) ‘The sufis ran up an account of a few coins at the grocer.’

Bäsländing aning süti bilän dağı ulğayding mänim *qatımda*. (Sayf14v:6) ‘You were nurtured with their milk but grew up at my side.’

Sän tana‘‘um içində qayğung yoq, çön tapuğci *qatıngda* özdäng çöq. (Sayf 77v:1) ‘You live in affluence and have no worries as there are many goodlooking servants at your side.’

Öydä bolsang bu ihtiyätlarni qıl. Yoq dur israf *arığ qatıda*, bil. (MS8r:1) ‘When you are at home, take the measures enumerated above. Know that you should not waste [water even] at the side of a flowing source of water.’

Kelip iqbal *baş qoyğay qatıngda*, buzulmaqlıqğa yüz qoyğay sitamlar. (DN248r:11) ‘The name of sorrow will depart from the book of life. The numbers will draw to the total of the heart.’

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

Qaçan sürsä qulun *Tangrı-qatından*. (Sayf57r:13) ‘When God drives away his servant from His presence.’

Amiri asrağil sen köz yağı birlä, sen ol gulni ki barmasun *qatımdin*. (DN245r:10) ‘Amiri, nurture that rose with the oil of the eye so that it never leave us.’

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

3.2.2.22. The Postposition *üstı(n)dä* ‘upon; over’

Pahtaliq töşäk bigin *qar üstində* yattuq yalıng, keçä kündüzi barabar üstümä tondı savuq. (ShD79v:3-4) ‘We were lying naked on the snow soft like a cotton matrasse. Night and day at a stretch cold froze me over.’

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

Va har kim yatqay kim şubh *aning üstidä* tulū‘ qılğay. (RM 19v:8-9) ‘Anyone who goes to bed and [without getting up to pray] stays there until dawn rises over him.’

Magar lāf urdı gul bilmäy nihāni, kim ağanatting *tikān üstidä* anı. (DN244r:6) ‘Did the rose, not knowing discretion, engage in idle talk that you rolled it around upon thorns.’

Idiom: *Ayaq üstidä tur-* ‘to rise’

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

3.2.2.23. The Postposition *üstinä* ‘onto, upon’

Köngüldä ‘ışqıng otı saldı bulğaq, yana *dāğ üstinä* 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.’

Parēšan köngligä ağır⁶⁹ sevār cān, siriški *kahrubā üstinä* marcān. (DN259r:10) ‘The precious life is very heavy for his distraught heart. His tear drops are like coral beads upon [his] amber[-colored face.]’

3.3. ADJECTIVES

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

3.3.1. Syntactic Function of Adjectives

Chagatay adjectives may occur in the following syntactic roles:

3.3.1.1. Adjectives in Attributive Position

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

sarbasta rāz ‘innermost secret’

rangliğ guftar ‘colorful presentation’

altun varaq ‘a golden page’

bātil namāz ‘invalid prayer’

‘āqil er ‘a wise man’

qaranggu keçä ‘dark night’

⁶⁹ MS has ‘ğyz

3.3.1.2. Adjectives in Predicative Position

Adjectives may occur in predicative position in the following roles:

(a) either as subject complements. E.g.,

Sen ol ündin pareşan bolma ay gul! (DN238r:10) 'Do not be distraught by that voice, O Rose!

Kimining sözləri mavzun u şirin. (Sayf185v:6) 'The poems of some are well-proportioned and sweet.'

(b) or as object complement. E.g.,

Qilip şuhbatni hamdamlar dami garm. (DN234r:10) 'The talk of people of the same conviction make the conversation warm.'

Ani sen cumlä şa'ir kamtari bil. (Sayf185v:10) 'Know him the smallest of your servants.'

3.3.1.3. Adjectives Modified by Adverbs

Adjectives can be modified by adverbs. E.g.,

köp yazuqlı qul 'a very sinful servant'

engän biligsiz 'very ignorant'

ğayat hwaş 'very pleasant'

3.3.1.4. Adjectives Allow Formation of Degrees

Qualitative adjectives may have comparative, superlative, absolute or intensive forms created by inflection or by syntactic means, or both. E.g.,

sendän yahşirāq 'better than you'

eng äksük qul 'the lowliest servant'

müşükdän uluğraq 'bigger than a cat'

andan yahşirāq '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.,

Telbā Şabānī furqatī otiğa yansa nā 'acab?' (ShD145r:1) 'If Shaybanī, the fool is consumed by the fire of separation, no one should wonder.'

Sarayī Sayf-i beçara 'Sayf-i Sarayī, the unfortunate one.'

Luqmān-i haqīm 'Luqman, the physician'

qul 'Imādī 'Imādī, the servant'

Haqq ta'ālā 'God, the Most High'

Sayf-i Sarayī qul 'Sayf-i Sarayī, the servant'

3.3.1.6. Adjectives Occur as Modifiers in Izāfat Structures

In descriptive Izafat structures adjectives may occur as second elements.

E.g.

rah-i rāst 'straight path'

ša'r-i niḥānī 'hidden law'

şayyād-i mağbūn 'unwise fisherman'

yar-i haqiqī 'true friend'

bitig-i aşiqana 'love letter'

māh-i tabān 'shining moon'

3.3.1.7. Adjectives as Bases for Word Formation by Derivation

Adjectives can serve as bases for nominal as well as verbal derivation.

E.g.,

eygülük 'goodness'

< **eygü** 'good'

baḥilliq 'greed'

< **baḥil** 'greedy'

bayit- 'to enrich'

< **bay** 'rich'

ongal- 'to heal'

< **ong** 'right'

tiril- 'to come to life'

< **tiri** 'alive'

tüzāt- 'to establish'

< **tüz** 'plain'

3.3.1.8. Adjectives Substantivized [see 3.3.2.2.]

Adjectives can occur substantivized and have all the morphological and functional characteristics of a noun including inflection for cases and possession. E.g.,

Sağga sağliğı yātār. (Sayf 177r:8). For the right one its being right suffices.'

Äygülärgä bu yamaning tegmäsün. (Sayf110v:2) 'This wickedness of yours should not reach the good ones.'

Bilişlär birlä hwaş 'arifgä zindān ki **yatlar birlä bolğınca gulistan.** (Sayf68r:10-11) 'For the enlightened to be in prison among acquaintances is better than to be in paradise with strangers.'

3.3.1.9. Adjectives Modified by Measures

Adjectives can be modified by expressions of measurements. The adjectival phrase as a whole may modify a noun. E.g.,

Yaşimiz teng u bir ikki ay küçük ham. 'We are of the same age, he may be one or two months younger.'

yätmiş yaşar bir qarī er (Sayf133r:7) 'a seventy years old man'

Qatimizda yüz yaşar bir qarī er bar. (Sayf132r:10) 'There is a one hundred years old man in our presence.'

yaşı yetmişdä yetkän bir qarī er (Sayf133r:7) 'a seventy years old man'

3.3.1.9. Adjectives with Complements in Case Forms

Adjectives may require their complements in case forms other than the nominative case. [See 4.4.2.]

tikanlārgä yavuq	'close to the thorns'
qanīna sa'ī	'thirsty for his blood'
yüzümgä hayrān	'admiring my face'
iştin fariğ	'done, free from work'
kişigä dastgīr	'helping someone'
otqa giriftār	'captive in the fire'

3.3.1.10. Adjectives Used as Verbless Clauses

Adjectives can occur in absolute [unconnected] use as the realization of a verbless clause to express state, status, or attending circumstances. E.g.,

Yürüdüm ev sarī men zār u giryan, qīlīp parvāna teg özümnī biryan. (DN235v:11) 'I progressed toward the house, tearful and bitter. I scorched myself, as the moth [in the flame of the candle].'

3.3.2. Classification of Adjectives

3.3.2.1. Semantic Classification

By their meanings adjectives can be divided into qualitative and relative adjectives.

3.3.2.1.1. Qualitative Adjectives

Qualitative adjectives specify a noun by its quality [size, color, shape, consistency and temperature]. Since qualities occur in different degrees and can be compared, qualitative adjectives are gradable. E.g.,

şirīn 'sweet' > **şirīn söz** 'sweet [pleasant] words'
az 'small' > **az ot** 'small fire'
muşkil 'difficult' > **muşkil iş** 'difficult work'
'acā'ib hālat > 'strange condition'
yahşi farzand > 'good farzand'

3.3.2.1.2. Relative Adjectives

Relative adjectives specify a noun by its relationship to place or time. They are mostly derivative adjectives formed from nouns. Relative adjectives cannot be compared. E.g.,

qadīmī 'old, ancient' > **qadīmī divār** 'old wall',
qīşlaqdaki 'being in the winter quarter' > **qīşlaqdaki māl** 'cattle in the winter quarter'
elindāki 'being in his hand' > **elindāki ekmāk** 'bread in his hand'
eli altındaki 'being in his service' > **eli altındaki qavm** 'his vassals.'

3.3.2.1.2. Gradable and Nongradable Adjectives

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

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

3.3.2.1.2.1. The Positive Degree

There is no special grammatical marker for the positive degree. E.g.,

belgili faris (Sayf7r:8) 'an outstanding horseman'
yaman temür (Sayf15r:6) 'iron of bad quality'
yāngi qumaş (Sayf93v:10) 'a new robe'
rah-i rast (DN258v:5) 'a straight path'

3.3.2.1.2.2. The Comparative Degree

There are two ways to form the comparative degree in Chagatay.

(a) With the comparative marker **-raq/-rāk**:

Ġanīrāk kim esā muhtācrāk tur. (Sayf19v:4) 'He who is richer is more in need.'

Munung yalğan sözi sāning toğrı sözüngdān yahşīraq turur. (Sayf9v:1) 'The false words of this [vazīr] are better than your true words.'

Bu kağızpāra kim [anda] Tengri ta'ālā atī bolğay alardīn ağır-raq kelgāy. (RM8v:5-7) 'The piece of paper with the name of God the Most High on it will be heavier.'

Mening heç kişim ölmāy dur, va lēkin manga bir nemā vāqi' bolup turur kim yüz qatla qarindaşlar ölgānidin yamanraq turur. (RM10v:9-21r:1) 'None of my relatives has died, but something has happened to me that is a hundred times worse than the death of one's brothers.'

Note: Adjectives with the suffix **-raq/-rāk** may indicate a little greater or a little smaller quality [as in modern Uzbek]. Often they occur as adverbs.

Qur'ānnī āhastaraq oqup, harf harfini bilgürtā tartīb bilān oqu-ğil. (RM30v:8-9) 'Recite the Qur'an quite slowly, enunciating each sound in proper sequence.'

Agar uzunraq sūra bilsā, oquğay. (RM17r:10-17v:1) 'If he knows a longer verse, he should recite it.'

(b) The adjective with no marker occurs with the ablative case of the name of the thing to which something is compared. E.g.,

Körüp tur tā yangaqing sari dīda, bolup tur almadin könglüm guzida. (DN257r:7 'Ever since my eyes looked toward your face, my heart has been a preferable simile for the apple.'

Ne kim desām yüzüng dur andin artuq, köngül allida la^ling cāndin artuq. (DN263r:4) 'Whatever I call it, your face is more than that; in the presence of the heart, your ruby [lips] are [worth] more than life.'

Haşm sendan küçlü dur. (Sayf100v:7) 'The enemy is stronger than you.'

3.3.2.1.2.3. The Superlative Degree

The superlative degree is expressed in several ways.

(a) With the particle **eng** 'most' and, rarely, **engän** 'very much' placed before the adjective. E.g.,

eng äksük qul (Sayf46r:12) 'the lowliest servant'

engän qisqaçuq (MM187v:15) 'very short'

(b) The adjective is substantivized and put in possessive relationship with the name of the group out of which an individual stands out. The possessor may be without the genitive case marker. E.g.,

Baylarning yahşırağı ol durur kim faqirlär qayğusın yegäy dağı faqirlär yahşırağı ol durur kim baylardan köz yumğay. (Sayf158v: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 oqudı şı^r-i nihānī, ki toymay qaldı ol elning yamanı. (DN258r:8) 'She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil people would not comprehend it.'

Va işning yahşısı ol dur kim kişi anı dā'im qıla tura alğay, agarçı az bolsa. (RM32v:1-2) 'Yet it would be the best for people to pray every night, even if only a little.'

İbādatlarning yahşırağı Qur'an oqumaq turur. (RM9v:9-10r:1) 'The best of services [to God] is to recite from the Qur'an.'

(c) The adjective follows a noun with the postposition **ara** 'among'
bar payğambar ara uluğ (MS2r:6) 'the greatest of all prophets'

3.3.2.1.2.4. Intensive Forms of Adjectives

The intensive or absolute form of the adjective indicates a high degree of a quality with no reference for comparison. It is very closely related to the superlative degree. The difference being that the superlative degree

indicates 'the best among many', the intensive, 'the very best'. There are several ways to indicate intensive degree of adjectives.

(a) By adverbs of intensity such as **kāmil** 'perfect', **köp** 'many', **asru** 'very much'. E.g.,

bir kāmīl biligli er (Sayf23v:5) 'a most learned person'

bir köp yazuqli qul (Sayf4r:11) 'a most sinful servant'

asru badnām (ShD85r:13) 'of very bad reputation'

asru köp (ShD79v:2) 'very much'

(b) By repetition. E.g.,

Dahi bilgil uşbu yataq yahşi yahşi: uqlamasa çağdavul köpdin ozar. (ShD50r:12-13) 'Know also that this bed is very comfortable. If the guard does not sleep, he gets ahead of many.'

Hakimlär yemäkni keç keç yerlär. (Sayf168v:10) 'The wise eat very seldom.'

Ta'alluq dur ki sen gam hamdamı sen, anı tark et ki hwaş hwaş adamı sen. (DN241v:1) 'Dependence is at work when you associate with sadness. Abandon it because you are a cheerful person.'

Ay köngül dunya gamidin tolğanur sen peç peç, şandin ayru kimsä bilmäs bevafa dur heç heç. (ShD27v:4-5) 'O, heart, you are suffering terribly because of the concern about this world. Besides you nobody knows that [this world] is most unfaithful.'

Kişi andak kārāk dur talib-i yar. Uşol yar şavqı dur hwaş-hwaş zamanım. (ShD104v:8) 'This is how a person should be in search of his Beloved. The fervent desire for that Beloved is the very best of my time.'

(c) By reduplication of the first syllable:

ap-aq (MA p.91) 'clear white'

beşbatar (ShD79v:2) 'worse'

bom-boz (ML18) 'very light blue'

bom-boş (Zenker229a) 'entirely empty'

çup-çuqur (MLXIV-117) 'very deep'

köm-kök (PdC477) 'entirely blue'

qap-qara (PdC392) 'entirely black'

qıp-qirmizi (PdC443) 'entirely red'

qıp-qizil (ShD105r:9-10) 'very red'

sap-sağ (ML83:8) 'quite healthy'

sap-sariğ⁷⁰ (MLXIV-117) 'very yellow'
 sar-sabz (ShD86v:5) 'fresh green'
 tip-tek (Sayf17v:10) 'quite upright'; 'motionless'
 top-toğrı (Babur107v:7) 'perfectly straight'
 top-tola (ShD61v:7-8) 'completely filled'
 tüp-tüz (Babur106v:5) 'perfectly flat'
 yam-yaşıl (ML18) 'very green'
 yap-yaşıl (MabL83:5) 'very green'
 yus-yumrı (Sang.343r:2) 'perfectly round'

E.g.,

Şufi va zahid va mavla 'ışqdin begāna dur, 'ışq durdi **top-tola** dur bil bizing mayhānamiz. (ShD61v:8) 'The sufi, the abstinent, and the sheikh are strangers in the matter of love [whereas] our tavern is entirely filled with the dregs of love.'

Qip-qizil mayni körär män cur'ada, ay la'l-i lab, da'imā cur'a labindin hadd-din aştı sormağım. (ShD105r:9-10) 'I see red red wine in my drinking vessel, O Ruby of the Lip. My constant pulling at the lips of the drinking vessel has gone beyond measure.'

Bil ki dōstlar yah kebi cismimni tongdurdı savuq. Yahdin ham beş batar dur asru küydürdi savuq. (ShD79v:1-2) 'Know friends that cold froze my body like ice. Worse than the ice, cold burned me very much.'

Sunbul-i zulfin tararda bolsa köp der män Allāh, tāza va **sar-sabz** bolsun sarv'i būstānim mānim. (ShD86v:4-5) 'When she is combing her tresses curly like hyacinths I keep saying "Allāh"⁷¹. May the cypress of my garden be fresh and green.'

3.3.2.2. Substantivization of Adjectives [see 3.3.1.7.]

Adjectives are very often used as nouns without any change in form. In this role they can take plural markers, possessive suffixes, and case endings, mostly in this order. They can be abstract or concrete nouns. When they constitute the second element of a possessive structure, the possessor should be, preferably, in the genitive case. E.g.,

Agar bağ içrā oltursang çalip çang, **beyiklārdā** tüzüp boyung teg āhang. (DN263r:11) 'If you sit in the garden playing the harp, creating tunes in high altitudes [harmonious] like your body.'

Bu savuqnıñ şarhinı qılsa qalam yüz yıl tamām, yūzdā birin qılmağay kim asru köp boldı savuq. (ShD79v:11) '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 muhāriflār begi bir kez yana āvgülārgā bu yamanıñ tegmāsün.** (Sayf110v:2) 'O, Chief of Thieves! Your wickedness should not hurt the good, not even once.'

Note: Often the nouns **kişi** 'person' and **nāmā** or **nā ārsā** 'thing' are used to substantivize adjectives. E.g.,

şādiq kişi (ShD86v:13) 'the truthful or the truthful one'

bay kişi (Sayf150r:3) 'the rich'

eski kişi (Sayf102v:5) 'the old'

3.3.2.3. A List of Most Commonly Used Adjectives

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

āsān	'easy'
açığ	'bitter'
ağır	'heavy'
arığ	'pure, purified; hallowed'
aq	'white'
aqsaq	'lame'
az	'little'
bari	'all'
berk	'strong'
boş	'soft; empty'
buzuq	'destroyed'
cānsiz	'lifeless'
çak	'split open'
çin	'last'
eski	'old'
farāvān	'overwhelming'
keç	'late'
muşkil	'difficult'
ölüg	'dead'
qaranggu	'dark'
qari	'old'

⁷⁰ Variant *sapsari* 'very yellow' (PdC333)

⁷¹ To drive away thoughts of other than God, especially in an effort to ward off Satan's temptations.'

qatig̃	‘hard’
qisqa	‘short’
qiziq	‘hot’
ranglig	‘colorful’
roshan	‘shining’
sadiq	‘faithful’
sag̃	‘sound, healthy’
savug	‘cold’
sINUq	‘broken’
šor	‘bitter’
miskin	‘miserable’
tar	‘narrow’
telba	‘fool’
tira	‘dark’
tirig	‘alive’
toq	‘full’
uuz	‘cheap’
uluğ	‘big’
yangi	‘new; fresh’ [wound]
yavug	‘close’
yiraq	‘far’
zeba	‘beautiful’

E.g.,

Maḥabbat sarvidin bar yegüsi dur közüng suyü bilär niyazing. (DN261r:2) ‘From the cypress of caring love your cleansed by your tears will enjoy the fruit.’

Yavug tur kim kesäklär qilğay avaz, qilip ‘İsâ quşı teg parvaz. (DN266r:11) ‘It is close [now] that the clods will sin like the bird of Jesus,⁷² they will take flight and soar in the sk Ača berdi anga **sarbasta** rāzin, dedi bir bir barī söz-u gu (DN258v:3) ‘To her [the Beloved] disclosed her safely secret. He told her about all her pains and tribulations.’

Ġamī Farḥād yangliğ körgüzür zör, ġamī širīn valekin tāli (DN259v:5) ‘His sadness manifests the strength of a stone- His sadness is sweet, but his fortune is brackish.’⁷⁴

Halq-i cihān barçası arām edi, tira u tarik, ‘acab šām ed 322v:2) ‘The world’s creatures were all still. It was a strange dark and gloomy.’

⁷² That He formed from clay and let go.

⁷³ Tied as you tie up the opening of a bag in which you keep your *hashish* or sealed [with wax] as you seal the mouth of the bottle in which you store your wine.

⁷⁴ The traditional epic figures Farḥād [stone-cutter] and Širīn [sweet] are referred to.

3.3.2.4. Formation of Adjectives

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

3.3.2.4.1. Formation by Suffixes

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

3.3.2.4.1.1. Turkish Suffixes

3.3.2.4.1.1.1. The Suffix -daki/-däki

The locative case ending -da/-dä + -ğ/-gi, -q/-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 (DN260r:2) ‘that which is in your heart’

başındağī (Sayf15r:3) ‘those who are on the top of [the mountain]’

elingdäki (Sayf163v:5) ‘that which is in your hand’

yiraqdağilar (Sayf55v:5) ‘those who are far’

E.g.,

Mäning cānimda dur könglüngdäki āh, köngöldin bar köngül içinä cön rah. (DN260r:2) ‘The sighs of your heart are in my soul inasmuch as there is a pathway from one heart into another.’

Qaçan kim tükänsä elingdäki al, qiliç çeksäng ol dam qinından ḥalāl. (Sayf163v:5) ‘When the ruse [you hold] in your hand runs out, it is proper to pull the sword from its sheath.’

Māl va ni‘mat alip ol tağ başındağī haramilar mağārasına kirip atası yerinā olturdi. (Sayf15r:3) ‘He took merchandise and goods, retired into the cave of the highway-robbers on the top of the mountain, and occupied his father’s place.’

Yıraqdağılar böylə **hüzürda** **dağı** **yaqındağılar** başırsız yıraqda. (Sayf55v: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 Chagatay, however, many of the derivatives created by this suffix are adjectives.

atliq (DN250r:1) 'having the name of'
bağliq (DN252r:5) 'tied'
başaratliq (DN259r:3) 'auspicious'
çirayliq (NTM15r:5) 'beautiful'
fahmliq (NTM15r:8) 'intelligent'
ğamliq (DN253r:7) 'sorrowful'
kayfliq (NTM12r:1) 'drunk'
pahtaliq (ShD79v:3) 'cotton [adj.]'
qariliq (ShD83r:12) 'old age'
qilliq (NTM15v:1) 'hairy'
uyatliq (DN250r:1) 'ashamed'

E.g.,

Pahtaliq **töşäk** **bigin** **qar** **üstidä** **yattuq** **yalıng**, **keçä** **kündüzi** **barabar** **üstümä** **tondı** **savuş**. (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.'

Saçıngdın 'anbar **erür** **köp** **uyatliq**, **qara** **qul** **dur** **sanga** **bir** 'anbar **atliq**. (DN250r:2) 'Because of your hair the ambergris is put to shame. What is called ambergris, is an unskilled servant of yours.'

Sa'adat **mavkabidin** **muşda** **berip**, **başaratliq** **habarlarnı** **yıbarıp**. (DN259r:3) 'Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, sending good tidings [about its being on the way].'

Saçımda **bar** **mu** **dur** **bağliq** **hiyalı**, **neçük** **tur** **ol** **parēšanlıqda** **hālı**? (DN252r:5) 'Is his imagination tied to my hair? How is his condition in being so distraught.'

3.3.2.4.1.1.3. The Suffix -liğ/-lig

ayliğ (D262v:2) 'monthly'
egärlig (NTM6r:3) 'saddled'
qutluğ (DN262r:3) 'auspicious'
ranglig (DN271r:7) 'colorful'
uyatliğ (DN268v:2) 'ashamed'
yarağliğ (DN262v:3) 'equipped'
yazliğ (DN267v:11) 'summerly'
munluğ (H75r:3) 'sorrowful'

E.g.,

Dedim, "Ay **qutluğ** **ağızliq** **qarınım**, **tili** **şirın** **yarağliğ** **hamnişinim**." (DN262r:3) 'I said: O my companion of auspicious mouth, my associate blessed with a sweet tongue!'

Yüzüñ **hwarşed** **hününig** **zakati**, **qamarğa** **beribän** **ayliğ** **barātı**. (DN262v:2) 'Your face is the alms tax levied on the beauty of the sun, it grants the monthly patents to the moon.'⁷⁵

Bu **erdi** **söz** **çu** **qıldım** **ihtiyatin**, **ki**, **yazliğ** **yerdä** **yay** **şuhat** **bisatın**. (DN267v:11) 'This was the message, when I was able to pay heed: Spread the carpet of companionship in a summer place.'

Habar **qıldı** **yeti** **bir** **hwaca** **atliğ**, **eligi** **māya** **saridin** **uyatliğ**. (DN268v:2) 'Along came a merchant on horseback: his hands were bashful on account of his wealth...'

Erür **bu** **ranglig** **guftār** **muşkil**, **emäs** **āsān** **hiyalı** **bar** **muşkil**. (DN271r:7) 'This colorful speech is difficult, it is not easy, because the thoughts [it contains] are ambiguous.'

3.3.2.4.1.1.4. The Suffix -lu/-lü, -li/-li [see 3.1.5.1.10]

cirahatli (Sayf85v:7) 'wounded'
haybatli (Sayf102r:2) 'frightful, fearsome'
izzatli (Sayf29r:10) 'respectable'
küçli (Sayf100v:7) 'strong'
körklü (Sayf7r:11) 'beautiful'
maşlahatli (Sayf9v:5) 'well-meant'
yazuqlu (Sayf34v:7) 'accused'
yüklü (Sayf145r:2) 'pregnant'

E.g.,

Mu'allim **bolmasa** **haybatli**, **ay** **yār**, **saqalından** **tutup** **oğlanlar** **oynar**. (Sayf102r:2) 'If the teacher is not authoritative, O Friend, the boys will grab his beard and dance [around him].'

Fitna **yüzli** **rast** **sözdän** **bol** **yıraq**, **maşlahatli** **yalğan** **andan** **yahşıraq**. (Sayf9v:4-5) 'Keep away from the truth that has a cunning face. A well-meant lie is better than that.'

Bir **faqir** **ävdäşi** **yüklü** **edi**. (Sayf145r:2) 'The wife of a pauper was pregnant.'

Note: The suffix -lu/-lü, -li/-li is often added not to a single word but to an adjective + noun structure of modification to characterize a person or an object as a possessor of something. E.g., [ač > köz] + li:

⁷⁵ To go through its phases.

āb-i ḥayāt māngizli (Sayf186r:14) 'similar to the water of life'
ač közli (Sayf141r:5) 'greedy [< open eyed]
ač qarınli (Sayf23r:7) 'hungry' [< having a hungry stomach]
aq saqallı (Sayf135r:1) 'having a white beard'
hamza yürakli (Sayf182r:7) 'lion-hearted'
ḥwaš sözlü (DN261r:9) 'of beautiful speech'
keyik közli (Sayf70r:4) 'of the eyes of a deer'
köp mallı (Sayf59r:2) 'rich' [< having much merchandise]
pulad qollı (Sayf32v:12) 'strong-handed'
yaman tirlikli (Sayf141r:5) 'having a bad conduct'
yumşaq tanlı (127v:4) 'having a soft body'

E.g.,

Mufarriḥ šīvali dīlbār, tili tūṭi sözi şakkar, kāyik közli qamar-manzar malāḥat mulki sulṭānī. (Sayf197v:13) 'She is a heart-ravisher with exhilarating glances, her tongue is a parrot, her words are sugar, she is a moon-faced beauty with the eyes of a deer, she is the sulṭān of the kingdom of beauty.'
Sevünüp yetti ol ḥwaš sözlü qaşid, ki qıldı mantıqı şarḥ-i maqāşid. (DN261r:9) 'Happily the letter carrier of pleasant speech arrived and right then and there his eloquence expounded on [the object of] desires.'
Bir karīḥ ünli ḥaṭīb bar edi. (Sayf11v:11). 'There was a preacher who had an unpleasant voice.'

3.3.2.4.1.1.5. The Suffix -māngiz 'like'

From the noun **māngiz** 'face'.

bulbul-māngiz (Qutb199) 'like a nightingale'
cannat-māngiz (Sayf181v:10) 'like Paradise'
kül-māngiz (Sayf181v:13) 'like ashes'
kün-māngiz (Qutb34) 'like the sun'
qav-māngiz (ShD182r:7) 'like straw'
qu-māngiz (ShD182r:6) 'like a swan'
şams-māngiz (Sayf167v:11) 'like the sun'
musafir-māngiz (MM179r:3) 'like travellers'

E.g.,

Bu cumlā ḥalā'iq musafir-māngiz. (MM179r:3). 'All creations are like travellers.'
Cannat-māngiz bāzādīsā ol dam özin cihān. (Sayf181v:10) 'The world decorated itself [to look] like paradise.'
Tili bulbul māngiz ham māngzi gulzār. (Qutb199) 'Her tongue is like a nightingale, her face, like a flower garden.'

3.3.2.4.1.1.6. The Suffix -şifat, -şifāt gulşifat (Sayf66r:1) 'like flowers' şabnamşifat 'like dew'

E.g.,

Gah bolur 'uryān ağaclar, gah kāyārlār gulşifat. (Sayf66r:1). 'Sometimes the trees are naked, sometimes they are dressed up like flowers.'

3.3.2.4.1.1.7. The Suffix -süz/-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.

'amalsüz (MM186r:1) 'without action'
arıḡsüz (MM179r:5) 'without action'
asıqsüz (DN 265v:6) 'without benefit'
bānisüz (MM178r:12) 'without a builder'
gulḡunasüz (DN265r:5) 'without make-up'
ḥaddsüz (Sayf11v:2) 'immense' [< without bounds]
ḥicabsüz (MM179r:8) 'evident' [< without a veil]
köḡsüz (MM197r:6) 'with no need to set off'
nişansüz (MM192v:15) 'without a sign'
rangsüz (NTM9v:7) 'colorless'
ḥurufsuz (MM199v:2) 'without sounds'
saçsüz (NTM4r:5) 'hairless'
yaminsüz (DN254:7) 'without an oath'

E.g.,

Ne ḥacat kim qasam kirgāy araḡa, yaminsüz bilgil işingning yasārın. (DN254v:7) 'What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without reference to the right.'⁷⁶
Yüzi gulḡunasüz cānlarḡa āfat, ayaqtın baş barī ḥusn u laṭāfat. (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.'
Asıqsüz 'umrī savdā kečāsi teg, qara künlāri yaldā kečāsi teg. (DN 265v:6) 'His useless life is like the night spent in melancholy: His dark days are long like the longest night of the winter.'

⁷⁶ The sinister side of a matter should be recognized not in reference to the right side but on its own merit. The opposite cannot be a prompter of good things. When Satan says "Do not say Allah", you do not respond by pronouncing God's name because your meritorious action would be prompted by Satan. The Tradition says "God Loves the right side in everything even in putting on one's shoes or when one begins to chew." (Muhammad Shaybānī Khan, RM1v:7-8). However, the position of the left side should not be the cause (*sabab*) of our beginning things on the right side.

3.3.2.4.1.2. Persian Suffixes

Adjectives with Persian derivational suffixes are mostly loan elements in Chagatay. Only in a few cases appear these suffixes with Turkish bases. Chagatay owes its lexical riches to adjectives and nouns with Persian suffixes.

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

3.3.2.4.1.2.1. The Suffix -ālūd [old past participle of *ālūdan* 'to stain']

‘anbar-ālūd (DN 252v:8) ‘stained with ambergris’

šitāb-ālūd (Steingass733b) ‘hasty’

haṭa-ālūd (Steingass95b) ‘stained with crimes’

E.g.,

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

3.3.2.4.1.2.2. The Suffix -āna

The suffix -āna in Persian forms adverbs to express the way how an action was carried out. Its meaning was expanded and applied to the agent as adjective. In Chagatay most of the derivatives with -āna can be used also as adverbs. [Cf., *Gar otursa bizing bilān qāzī, turuban ‘ašiq-āna raqş urur.* (Sayf59v:12) ‘If the qāzī were sitting with us, he would stand up and dance in an amorous way.’

‘ašiqāna (Sayf114r:13) ‘amorous’

gustaḥāna (H85v:2) ‘impudent’

hwābālūd (Steingass478b) ‘sleepy’

masbūqāna (MM182v:6) ‘in the manner prescribed for latecomers’

turkāna (DN269v:5) ‘Turkish’

E.g.,

Ayağ alıp içip *turkāna* tilni, kōtārdi qızlar⁷⁷ ilān mu‘tadilni.
(DN 269v:5) ‘She took a cup and absorbed the Turkish language;
she exalted both the new wine and its tempered form.’

⁷⁷ Cf. P. *duḡtar-i raz* ‘grape, wine’

Äylār erdi sözni *gustaḥāna* yād; bolur erdi Haqq ta‘ālā anga šād.
(BN85v:2) ‘He would utter impudent words, (yet) God the Most High took delight in him.’

Note: The derivative *šukrāna* [< given as a token of thanks] has become a noun meaning ‘gratitude’, specifically, a gift given in gratitude in response to a felicitous piece of news such as the Beloved’s arrival. E.g.,
Šukrāna dep bu cān u köngülñi nişar etāy, sunbul sačing na-simin agar keltürür şabā. (GD11,3) ‘Calling them a gift for the good news I would sprinkle my life and my heart [as gold coins] if the Morning Breeze brings the scent of your hyacinth-like hair.’

The following derivatives produced by -āna have also become nouns:

dēvāna (BN85r:2) ‘madman’ [< *dēv* ‘demon’]

gustaḥāna (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 foal⁷⁸, it is to see you that our guest has come.’

Bar ekān dur bir ‘acab *dēvāna*, ‘iştq maydānida ol *mardāna*. (H 85r:2) ‘There was a strange madman, a brave in the arena of love.’

Dedi Mūsā sän nečük *dēvāna* sän, ‘arż etip nāčük ki *gustaḥāna* sän. (BN91v:9) ‘(Then) Moses said (to Baraq), “What a madman you are to talk so insolently!”’

3.3.2.4.1.2.3. The Suffix -in

This suffix indicate a quality derived mostly from concrete nouns.

ātašin (ShD159r:10) ‘hot, fiery’

‘anbarin (DN268v:6) ‘ambergris-color’

čirkīn (Sayf121r:13) ‘ugly’

rangin (DN262r:11) ‘colorful’

muškīn (DN268v:8) ‘musk-color’

širin (H80v:8) ‘sweet’ [< *šir* ‘milk’]

E.g.,

Boyī šimşad *rangin* ‘arizi gul, labī ‘unnāb *muškīn* sači sunbul.
(DN262r:11) ‘Her body is [straight] like the box-tree, her colored face is a rose, her lips are red like the jujube-tree, her black and fragrant hair is [curly] like hyacinth.’

⁷⁸ Endearing word for child.

Falak qoydī enginā ‘anbarīn ḥāl, ayaḡī ay bašidīn qıldī ḥalḥāl. (DN268v:6) ‘The sky put an ambergris-color beauty spot upon its cheek and made an ankle-ring from the new moon.’

Qılma Šabānī vaqt-i saḥar aḥ-i ātašin, kim tüşmäsün bu ahl-i ‘Iraq ol šarārīma. (DN159r:10) ‘Shabānī, do not heave a fiery sigh before dawn⁷⁹ lest the people of Iraq are caught up in the [shower of] sparks [I exhale].’

3.3.2.4.1.2.4. The Suffix -nāk

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

dardnāk (RM36r:6) ‘harrowing, excruciating’

ḡamnāk (ShD90r:12) ‘said, sorrowful’

namnāk (ShD88v:11) ‘wet, filled with tears’

sōznāk (AC323v:2) ‘burning’

E.g.,

Bar Bizning qatīmizda dardnāk ‘azāblar. (RM36r:6) ‘We have in Our presence harrowing tortures.’

Nalalarim ‘ud bigin soznāk. (AC323v:2) ‘My sound burns like the blaze of the aloe-wood.’

Čiqdī fiḡan ol dil-i ḡamnāktin: Ötti bu nuḥ parda-i aflāktin. (AC322r:10) ‘Sobs of complaint burst from my sorrowful heart and flew beyond the nine veils of heaven.’

Könglüm oldī ḡunčaning açılğanidīn čākrak: Aškī tolğan sabzalardin közlārim namnākrak. (ShD88v:11) ‘My heart is torn open more than an unfolding rosebud. My eyes are filled with tears more than the grass covered with dew.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.5. The Suffix -vār

‘Iraqivār (DN269v:2) ‘from Northern Persia’

mardānavār (ShD159r:1) ‘as befits a man’

sazāvar (AC322v:) ‘worthy of’

E.g.,

İšarat qıldī čon ol ḥusn zaynī, ‘Iraqivār men tuttum 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 Šabānī har saḥar yanmaq turur mardānavār. Hacr otidīn nā qilur taqī moḡulčinzadae. (ShD159r:1-2) ‘This Shabānī is burning

every morning as befits a [valiant] man. What does just one Moghul child do through the state of separation.’⁸⁰

3.3.2.4.1.2.6. The Suffix -arāy [< arāstan ‘to ornate, decorate’]

dilarāy (DN268v:8) ‘beloved’

maclisaray (DN231r:3) ‘decorating the company’

E.g.,

Kavākib orda va ol ortada ay; muḡannī zuhra va ol maclisarāy. (DN231r:3) ‘Stars are there and he is the moon among the stars. The musician is Venus and he is the gem of the company.’

Kirip keldi qašimḡa ol dilarāy, yūzi andaḡ ki muškīn pardada ay. (DN268v:8) ‘The Beloved entered and came to my presence; her face was like the moon upon a black curtain.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.7. The Suffix -āmēz [< āmīhtan ‘to mix, mingle’]

rangamezliq (DN271r:3) ‘the art of mixing colors’

‘uzrāmez (DN249v:6) ‘inclined to forgive’

E.g.,

Bitidim nāma etip ḡamanī tēz, sarāsar dard amma ‘uzrāmez. (DN249v:6) ‘I wrote a letter, moving the pen fast. It was pain from beginning to end, but was mitigated by excuses.’

Qalamḡa berdi zihning tēzliḡnī, anga oḡratti rangāmezliḡnī. (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’

nišatangēz (DN248v:10) ‘causing cheerfulness, raising the spirit’

šu‘laangēz (ShD131r:12) ‘producing flames’

šu‘badaangēz (AC325r:11) ‘juggler producing magic tricks’

E.g.,

Ḥirman-i ‘aqlimī yaqtīng šu‘laangēz āylābān; körmādim vašliḡi bir dam har saḥar-ḡēz āylābān. (ShD131r:13) ‘You scorched the harvest of my brain making it flare up in flames. I was not in union with you not even once although I would rise up early every morning.’

Alā ay mihri dardangēz qilḡan, içindā nālalnī tēz qilḡan. (DN253r:2) ‘Hark ye, whose love excites pity, who have sharpened the complaints in your heart.’

⁷⁹ After the *tahaccud* prayer.

⁸⁰ Just by not being here.

Har nafasē šu^cbadaangēz men. Maclis-i sultānda šakarrez men. (AC325r:12) 'I can produce a (new) magic trick at any moment. I am eloquent in the company of kings.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.9. The Suffix -bār [< bārīdan 'to rain down']

ātašbār (ShD83r:1) 'showering fire'

guharbār (Sayf29v:2) 'eloquent' [< 'showering jewels']

šakarbār (HB137b) 'sweet talking' [< 'spreading sugar']

E.g.,

Ayā 'aqlī tāngiz sözi guharbār! (Sayf29v:2) 'Listen you whose intellect is like the sea and whose words are eloquent.'⁸¹

Āh-i ātašbārdīn boldī qaranğu 'ālamē, ay köngül cahd āylā kim yātsün falakgā tozlarīng. (ShD83r:1) 'From the fire-showering sighs the world has become dark. O, Heart, exert yourself so that your dust may reach the sky.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.10. The Suffix -bāz [< bāhtan 'to play, risk']

huqqabāz (Navā'i, Dict.IV-208) 'magician'

sarbāz (Sayf45v:9) 'soldier'

'išqbāz (Navā'i, Dict.II-74) 'lover, addicted to love'

E.g.,

Küymāgān 'išq ičrā ermās 'išqbāz, 'āšiq ermās ol ki ermās cān-gūdāz. (Navā'i, LT-154-16) 'He who does not burn in passionate love is not addicted to love. He is not a lover who does not melt his soul in fire.'

Böylā şarf etti 'umrun ol sarbāz ne yegāy qış dağı be kāygāy yaz. (Sayf45v:9) 'The soldier spent his life with these [concerns]: What will I eat in winter and what will I wear in summer?'

3.3.2.4.1.2.11. The Suffix -band [< bastan 'to tie']

cigarband (H75r:2) '[dearly loved] son'

payband ((Navā'i, Dict. II,578) 'encumbered, fettered'

zabānband (DN270v:11) 'mute in amazement'

E.g.,

Sanga söz fayzī bolmay bir zamān band, sözüng sihrī qılıp elni zabānband. (DN270v:11) 'For you the benefit of words never stops flowing, not even for a moment; the magic of your words renders people speechless.'⁸²

⁸¹ Lit., scatter jewels like raindrops

⁸² Lit., ties the tongues of people

Dedi bizni tanımay sän cigarband, erür sän, ay azizim bizgā 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 [< bösīdan 'to kiss']

hakbos-luğ (Navā'i, Dict.III,406) 'kissing the dust, visiting'

paybös (DN269r:1) 'kissing someone's feet'

zamīnbös (Navā'i, Dict.614) 'kissing the ground' [a ritual act]

E.g.,

Yüzini açtı ol davlat 'arūsī, elig berdi sa'adat paybōsī. (DN269r:1) 'The bride of happiness unveiled her face and the kissing of the feet⁸³ of felicity took place.'

Dayr ara isma' nāqış āylāyin, but sucūdında zamīnbös āylāyin. (Navā'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 -cōy [< custan 'to look for']

fitnacōy (AC323r:4) 'quarrelsome'

E.g.,

Ṭanbūra-i ğamzagarī fitnacōy macma'^c-i ol sāzğa keltürdi rōy. (AC 323r:4) 'The coquettish and quarrelsome Ṭanbūra turned to the assembled string instruments.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.14. The Suffix -dār [< dāstan '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.

ābdār (DN269v:3) 'brilliant' [< āb 'lustre, splendor']

maš'aladār (Sayf161r:6) 'torchbearer'

pardadār (DN265r:1) 'doorkeeper' [> confidant]

kamāndār (DN326v:5) 'archer'⁸⁴

vafadār (Sayf121r:8) 'faithful'

E.g.,

İçidā pardadārī Zuhra bolsun, muhālifni çıkarıp 'uzr qolsun. (DN265r:1) 'Inside the planet Venus should be the doorkeeper; she should single out the opponents and ask them to leave.'

Oqudum la'li teg bir şī'r rangin, laṭif va abdār va narhī sangin. (DN269v:3) 'I recited a poem colorful like a red and white flower: it was delicate, brilliant, and its price was heavy.'

⁸³ I.e., being in the presence

⁸⁴ Warrior or hunter with the most prestigious weapon.

Dedi Ğicak, “Hurdak-i ‘ayyār men, s̄az içidā rind-i kamāndār men. (AC326v:5) ‘Then Ghijak spoke: I am a smart mischiefmaker. Among string instruments I am an intoxicated archer.’

Sağindim m̄an sāni yār-i yafādār, valēkin bilmādim böylā cāfā-kār. (Sayf121r:8) ‘I have considered you a faithful friend. I did not know that you were such a tyrant.’

Taqvāsiz ‘alim közsüz maş‘aladārğa oşsar. (Sayf161r:6) ‘A wise man without piety is like a blind torch-bearer.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.15. The Suffix -dōz [< dōhtan ‘to sew’]

cāndōz (AC326v:6) ‘heartrending [< piercing the soul]’

E.g.,

Ğamzam oqı nāvak-i cāndōz erür, nālalarım barça cigarsōz erür. (AC326v:6) ‘The arrows of my amorous glances are lances that pierce the soul. My plaintive voice burns people’s livers.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.16. The Suffix -gır [< giriftan ‘to take’]

dāmangır (Nava’ī, Dict., I, 499) ‘appealing for justice’ [< ‘holding on to s.o.’s skirt]’

dastgır (DN270v:5) ‘help, support’⁸⁵

dilgır (ShD122v:13) ‘annoyed, displeased, despondent’

şabgır (ShD31r:4) ‘vigilant’

E.g.,

Bu Camşid oldı cānim dastgırı, ki boldum şı‘r mulkining amiri. (DN270v:5) ‘This Jamshid was the supporter of my life, and I became the prince of the kingdom of poetry.’

Ay nasim-i şubh ol könglüm murādığa degil, bu Şabānini neçā hacringda dilgır etgā sen. (ShD122v:13) ‘O, Gentle Breeze of the morning, for the desire of my heart tell [me] how long will you keep Shabāni despondent in your absence.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.17. The Suffix -hwān [< hwāndan ‘to read’]

ğazalhwān (DN266r:8) ‘reciter of amatory odes’

şabhwān (DN269r:8) ‘singing at night’

qışşahwān (Nava’ī Dict. IV, 56) ‘story-teller’

E.g.,

Bolup bulbul cāman içindā şabhwān, ünidin açılıp gullar yüz al-van. (DN269r:8) ‘In the orchard the nightingale was the singer of the night; from her voice a hundred sorts of flowers burst into bloom.’

⁸⁵ Lit., he who takes the hand of those who have fallen

Ğazalhwān boldı bustān içrā durrāc, köngüldin şabrlarnı qıldı tārāc. (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 -hwāh [< hwāstan ‘to desire’]

havahwāh (DN263v:5) ‘adherent, devotee’

‘uzrhwāhim. (DN257v:8) ‘apologist’

E.g.,

Qutulmay qayğudın gar furqatingda ğamingdın özgā bolsa ‘uzrhwāhim. (DN257v:8) ‘I do not wish to rid myself of sadness in your absence if other than grief because of you is my apologist.’
İçimdin ötrü çıqqay nāla va āh, yüzüng hwarşedinā bolup hava-hwāh. (DN263v:5) ‘From my inside complaints and sighs emerge, since I am an adherent of the sun of your face.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.19. The Suffix -navāz [< navāhtan ‘to caress’]

dilnavāz (DN260v:7) ‘mistress’

barbatnavōz (Nava’ī, Dict., I, 215) ‘a harper’

E.g.,

Sanga yüz qoyğusi dur dilnavāzing kelip baş tüzğusi dur sarv-i nāzing. (DN260v:7) ‘Your mistress will for sure turn toward you. With head held high your sweetheart⁸⁶ will surely come.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.20. The Suffix -pāš [< pāšidan ‘to scatter’]

durrpāš (Nava’ī, Dict., I, 518) ‘scattering pearls’

guharpāš (DN255v:1) ‘scattering pearls’

E.g.,

Közümning kirpüki boldı guharpāš, qalam teg har haţfına qoyu-ban baş. (DN255v:1) ‘The eyelashes of my eyes were shedding gems. Like a pen I bowed to every character.’

3.3.2.4.1.2.21. The Suffix -paymā[y] [< paymūdan ‘to measure’]

bādapaymāy (DN259r:9) ‘wine-drinker’

cahanpaymā (Nava’ī, Dict., I, 11) ‘travelling all over the world’

E.g.,

Şafaq dek köz yaşidın bādapaymāy, tanidın körgüzüp har kün yāngi ay. (DN259r:9) ‘He is a wine-drinker consuming his tears red like the color of the dawn. His body reminds one the new moon everyday.’

⁸⁶ Lit., your stately cypress

Yār erür cān iĉrā, sen ġafil valē istāp anī, keĉā-kündüz el kibi bulmaq cahanpaymā nā sud. (Nava'ī, Dict., I,572) 'The Beloved is inside the heart. But unaware of this, what is the use of travelling all over the word night and day like the wind.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.22. The Suffix -pōš [< pōšidan 'to put on, cover']

curmpōš (ShD73r:9) 'forgiving'⁸⁷

hirqapōš (Nava'ī, Dict. III,400) 'dervish'

parniyanpōš (DN263r:7) 'wearing a garment of fine painted Chinese silk'

sabzapōš (Nava'ī, Dict. III,11) 'donning a green garment'

E.g.,

Damī kim bolsa [dar]yā parniyanpōš, tamadduḥ qīlsa ḥāšāk etmāgāy cōš. (DN263r:7) 'The sea, when it dons its garment of fine colored Chinese silk, is not going to be agitated by the chaff's [self-serving] praise.'

Barĉa cismim ḥacr otidīn rēš u marhamliq mamuq, ittišālīdīn men-i 'uryānnī derlār hirqapōš. (Nava'ī, Dict. III,400) 'From the fire of separation my entire body is covered with wounds and elixir-soaked cotton-balls. For union with her they call me, the naked, the one covered with a dervish robe.'

Ne qorqa dur qāzī bilān muftī qadaḥñing curmīdīn? Aḥmad šafā'atī turur, sulṭān-i 'ālam curmpōš. (ShD73r:11-12) 'Why are the Qazi and he Mufti afraid of the sin of the cup? [After all they should realize that] Aḥmad is the intercessor and the Sultan of the World is the forgiver.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.23. The Suffix -ras [< rasīdan 'to arrive']

firyādras (AC322r:7) 'he who answers a call for help'

dastras in dastraslik (DN242v:3) 'a having access to'

E.g.,

Ešikdin kirdi ol 'İsā nafaslig ki tapti kūn qašında dastraslik. (DN242v:3) 'Through the door entered the individual with Jesus's breath, who was granted access to the presence of the sun.'

Mūnisim ol Yār-i ḥiyālī, va bas. Ol edi firyādīma firyādras. (AC 322r:7) 'The vision of my Friend was my comforter; there was no one else. It was He who responded to my call for help.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.24. The Suffix -rēz [< riḥtan 'to pour']

bargrēz (Nava'ī, Dict., I,218) 'fall, autumn'

⁸⁷ Lit., covering sins for Ar. *ḡufrān*

gulrēz n. 'flowered silk material'

ḥūnrēz (Nava'ī, Dict., III,218) 'killer'

šakarrez (AC325r:11) 'scattering sugar'

E.g.,

Har nafasē šu' badaangēz men, maclis-i sulṭānda 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 [< afroḥtan 'to light up']

dilafrōz (Nava'ī, Dict., I,485) 'cheering up the heart'

maclisafroz (DN266v:2) 'one who brightens up the party'

E.g.,

Barīp bulbulnī qīlḡin maclisafroz; degin, "Āhang tūz, kim boldi navroz." (DN266v:2) 'Go and bid the nightingale brighten up the party; tell him: Tune [your instrument], for the new year festival is here.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.26. The Suffix -sāz [< sāḥtan 'to make']

damsāz (DN263v:3) 'friend, confidant'

ĉarasāz (DN260v:10) 'provider of remedy'

fusūnsāz (DN269r:4) 'conjurer, worker of spells'

kārsāz (Nava'ī, Dict., II,128) 'effective, creative'

suḥansāz (AC324v:8) 'liar'

qışsasāz (Nava'ī, Dict., IV,56) 'story-teller'

E.g.,

Va gar ev iĉrā salsang masnad-i nāz, boluban 'ayš ara ne birlā damsaz. (DN263v:3) 'And if you establish your seat of affection in the house occupying yourself with anything during the feast...'

Muḡanni siḥr ara boldi fusunsaz, ĉiqardī har eligidin bir avāz. (DN269r:4) 'The singer, spellbound, worked magic: he pulled melodies from his sleeves⁸⁸ one after the other.'

Bašarat kelgūsi dur ḥidmatinga sa'adat bolgūsi dur ĉarasazing. (DN260v:10) 'Good news will surely come to you.⁸⁹ Felicity will be your provider of remedy.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.27. The Suffix -sōz [< sōḥtan 'to burn']

cānsōz ((Nava'ī, Dict., I,592) 'heart-rending'

cigarsoz (AC326v:6) id.

dilsōz (Nava'ī, Dict., I,490) id.

⁸⁸ Lit., hands

⁸⁹ Lit., to your presence

E.g.,

Ğamzam oqı nāvak-i cāndōz erūr, nālalarım barča cigarsoz erūr.
(AC326v:6) 'The arrows of my amorous glances are lances that pierce the soul. My plaintive voice burns people's livers.'

3.3.2.4.2. Formation by Prefixes

In Chagatay only Persian prefixes are used for creating adjectives.

3.3.2.4.2.1. Formation by Persian Prefixes

A few nouns, adverbs, prepositions, and particles took on the role of prefixes already in classical Persian and became a favored means of Chagatay word formation. They most preferably occur on Persian and Arabic nouns. Some of them, such as **nā-**, spread over to Turkish word materials.

3.3.2.4.2.1.1. The Prefix **bā-** [< **bā** 'with']

bābahā (BH4r:7) 'valuable'
bāsaḡa (BH17v:8) 'pure'
bāḡabar (Navā'i, Dict., I,319) 'informed, knowledgeable'
banām-u nišan (ShD62v:4) 'famous'

E.g.,

Bu qaṣīda ṣāni'ung ṣun'in 'acā'ib kōrsātūr. Ṣubḡ-i 'ālam dek munavvar. Ham kūnāṣ dek bāsaḡa. (BH17v:8) 'This qaṣīda reveals the astonishing artistry of the Maker. It illuminates the World exactly like the dawn. [It is] also serene and pure like the sun.'

3.3.2.4.2.1.2. The Prefix **ba-** [< **ba** 'to, at, by']

baḡa (Navā'i, Dict., I,192) 'appropriate, good'
baḡūṣ (ShD73r:10) 'upon the shoulder'
baḡāyat (Navā'i, Dict., I,192) 'extremely'
basar (GD159,6) 'to an end'
baṣām (Navā'i, Dict., I,233) 'until evening'
bataḡṣīṣ (Navā'i, Dict., I,192) 'especially'
batang (Navā'i, Dict., I,229) 'narrow'
bayak (GD93,1) 'all at once'

E.g.,

Sirr bilmāyin qāzī neteg dayr-i muḡānni der ḡarāb? Gar bilsā erdi mastnī olḡay edi anī baḡōṣ. (ShD73r:10) 'Without knowing the secrets, how come the Qazī calls the house of the magi ruins? Had he known the drunk, he would have lifted him upon his shoulder.'

3.3.2.4.2.1.3. The Prefix **bar-** [< **bar** 'upon, on, over']

barbād (H77v:2) 'destroyed, ruined'⁹⁰
barcōṣ (DN234v:7) 'agitated'
barṡaraf (RM31v:6) 'at the side, aside'
barqarār (ShD2r:1) 'established, existing'

E.g.,

Andīn oldī cumla 'ālam barqarār. (ShD2r:1) 'Through him the entire word came into existence.'
Buzup barbād qildī neḡā yārdā ḡanmānlarnī. (H77v:2) 'He ruined and destroyed families in many places.'
Baṣīmdīn eltibān may naṣ'asī hōṣ, berip yüz ṣi'r baḡri tund va barcōṣ. (DN234v:7) 'The excitement caused by the wine took intellect from my head. The ocean of a hundred poems emerged, agitated and vehement.'

3.3.2.4.2.1.4. The Prefix **bē-** [< **bē** 'without']

beadab (AC325r:5) 'ill-mannered'
bēcān (DN258r:2) 'lifeless'
bēcāra (H77v:5) 'helpless'
bēḡumān (MM178r:6) 'without doubt, certain'
bēkas (H77v:5) 'destitute'
bēhaya (AC325r:3) 'shameless, impudent'
bēḡadd (DN265r:11) 'endless'
bēḡirad (AC326r:11) 'fool' [< without understanding]
bemadar (BN91r:2) 'ephemeral'
bemihr (DN270v:6) 'without the sun'
bēmūrād (BN86r:8) 'without intent'
benamāz (RM29r:9) 'he who does not perform the five prayers'
bēqarār (RB324v:6) 'restless'
bēqiyās (BN85v:7) 'immense'
bēravā (Sayf182v:11) 'without splendor'
bēsabab (BN85v:9) 'without motive'
betaḡayyur (DN247v:9) 'unchanging'
betakalluf (DN264r:11) 'unaffected, simple, frank'
bedard u ranc (DN271v:9) 'without pain and trouble'
bēḡwast adj. (DN247v:3) 'spontaneous'
bēmārliq n. (DN259v:10) 'a being sick, ailing'
bēnavā adj. (Sayf187r:4) 'destitute'
bē sar-u barg (DN242r:5) 'destitute, confused'
bēvafā (Sayf180v:6) 'faithless, deceitful'

⁹⁰ Lit., tossed to the winds

E.g.,

Oqur hālatda mīmi körgüzüp sīn, sevünüp bētakalluf qıldi tah-sīn. (DN264r:11) 'As she was engaged in reading [the letter] her mīm-shape mouth displayed a sīn [> a wide smile]; she was happy and candidly expressed her approval.'

Dedi, "Yetkür anga kim yoq qarārī, yolumda bar bēhadd intī-zārī." (DN265r:11) 'She said: "Deliver it to the one who has no rest, who keeps an eye on my road with endless expectations."'

Hudaya tā yarutur çarh bemihr, özin Zāhhāk körgüzür Minu-çihir. (DN270v:6) 'O Lord, until the [time comes when the] sky illuminates without the sun and Minuchihr displays himself a Dahhak.'⁹¹

Nizāmī teg işin bēdard u ranc et, aning Dahnāmasinī panc gan et. (271v:9) 'Make his work [enjoyable] without pain and trouble like those of Nizāmī, make his Ten Letters [as valuable as] the Five Treasures.'⁹²

3.3.2.4.2.1.5. The Prefix ġayr- [< ġayr '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.

ġayrdōst (ShD23v:4) 'enemy, rival'

ġayрмақсуд (MQ21r:14) 'not intended'

ġayr ahli (Sayf13r:7) 'a lowly person'

E.g.,

Tarbiyat ġayr ahliṇa qılmaq gunbad üstündä qoz qoymaq tı (Sayf13r:7) 'To educate a lowly person is like putting walnuts the tope of a dome.'

Yolnı yürümäy kirkän itär va ġayрмақсуд 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'

3.3.2.4.2.1.6. The Prefix hwaš-

hwašāvaz (Sayf98r:11) 'having a pleasant voice'

hwašalḥan (ShD161r:10) 'having a pleasant tone of voice'

hwašbāda (ShD156r:10-11) 'a tasty sort of wine'

hwašbū (ShD141v:11) 'having a pleasant fragrance'

hwašguvār (ShD155r:5-6) 'easy of digestion'

hwašmaqāl (Sayf46v:2) 'of agreeable speech'

⁹¹ I.e., for ever, because Minuchihr will never be remembered as a tyrant

⁹² I.e., the *khamṣa*, the five epics of Nizāmī

hwašnām (ShD144v:11) 'having a good reputation'

hwašrāy (Sayf106v:6) 'having good judgment'

hwašvaqt (Sayf59v:9) 'happy; safe'

E.g.,

Hwašdilbar va hwašsaqī, hwašbādaē hwašbaqī mān tašnalab va miskin ol ḥurram va azada. (ShD156r:10-11) 'A delightful heart-ravisher, an obliging cupbearer, tasty wines, and tasty leftovers: my lips are thirsty. I am miserable while she is happy and free from care.'

3.3.2.4.2.1.7. The Prefix nā- [< nā 'no']

nāahl (BH4v:5) 'lowly, mean'

nācins (Sayf120r:8) 'ignoble, lowly'

nāḥalaf (Sayf161r:8) 'worthless'

nāhwaš (MM180r:9) 'unpleasant'

nakas (Sayf87v:12) 'base, worthless'

nāmavzūn (Sayf115r:7) 'displeasing, offensive'

nāmurād (ShD118r:7) 'disappointed'⁹³

nāpāk (RM20v:2) 'impure'

nārasīda (H81r:8) 'child' (< 'not fully grown')

nāravā (MM192r:7) 'unjust'

nāsazā (H80v:9) 'improper'

E.g.,

Bēvafalardīn umēd tutğan kişi nāahl erür. Ot va yel topraq va su tarkibidā bolmas baqa. (BH4v:5) 'He who sets his hope on what is not constant is not worthy of being called a man, [for] there is no permanency in the compounds of fire and air, or earth and water.'

Sizā bārgāy ummatingnī qādirim rōz-i caza, ham keçürgāy garçi ummatdin ötär köp nāsaza. (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.'

3.3.2.4.2.1.8. The Prefix šahib- [šahib-i 'the owner of']

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

šahibcamāl (Sayf10r:11) 'beautiful'

šahibdavlat (Sayf5v:13) 'wealthy'

šahibhudā (MM185r:6a) 'wellguided'

⁹³ I.e., he who did not reach his goal

şahibihsān (MM178r:5) 'beneficient'
şahibkaram (Sayf160v:2) 'generous'
şahibniyāz (MM184v:13) 'needful'
şahibvuqūf (RM45r:1) 'aware'
şahibraşad (MM190v:15) 'faithful'
şahibuquş (MM191r:1) 'wise'
şahibvaqt (Sayf62r:5) 'pious'

E.g.,

İkkisi uzun boylu şahibcamāl dağı biri qısqa boyli edi. (Sayf 10r:11) 'Two of them were tall and handsome while one of them was short.'

Qanda kim şahibkaram tiktı saḥāvat naḥlini, köklärä çıqtı butaqları aning rif'at bilän. (Sayf160v:2) 'When a charitable person plants a tree of generosity its branches rise high and reach the sky.'

Kişi bu şifat birlä bolsa qačan bolur şahibihsān va ahl-i amān. (MM178r:5) 'If a person possesses these qualities, he will become generous and secure.'

Agar yesä awnı tutup it ḥarām, ḥalāl yemäs ersä, ay şahibuquş. (MM191r:1) 'If the dog catches a game and eats from it, that game is not allowed. If it does not eat from the game, it is allowed, O, Wise One!'

3.4 Pronouns

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

3.4.1. Personal Pronouns

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

	Singular	Plural
First Persons		
Nominative	men 'I'	biz 'we'
Accusative	meni 'me'	bizni 'us'
Genitive	mening 'my'	bizning 'our'
Dative	manga 'to me'	bizgä 'to us'
Locative	mendä 'in me'	bizdä 'in us'

Ablative	mendin 'from me' ~ mendän id.	bizdin 'from us' ~ bizdän id.
Comparative	mening teg 'like me'	-
Equative	menčä 'according to me' ~ meningčä id.	-
Privative	mensiz 'without me'	-
Second Persons		
Nominative	sen 'you'	siz 'you'
Accusative	seni 'you'	sizni 'you'
Genitive	sening 'your'	sizning 'your'
Dative	sanga 'to you'	sizgä 'to you'
Locative	sendä 'in you'	sizdä 'in you'
Ablative	sendin 'from you' ~ sendän id.	sizdin 'from you' ~ sizdän id.
Comparative	sening teg 'like you'	-
Equative	senčä 'according to you' ~ seningčä id.	-
Instrumental	senin 'with/through/by you'	-
Privative	sensiz 'without you' ~ sensizin id.	-

Third Persons:

Note: The forms of **ol**, **olar**, **alar**, filling in for the missing third person singular and plural, are identical with those of the demonstrative pronoun **ol** [see 3.4.5.].

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	ol 'he, she, it'	alar 'they'
Accusative	anı 'him, her, it'	alarnı 'them'
Genitive	anın 'his, her, its'	alarning 'theirs'
Dative	anga 'to him, her, it'	alargä 'to them'
Locative	anda 'in him, her, it'	alarda 'in them'
Ablative	andın 'from him, her, it' ~ andan id.	alardın 'from them' id.
Comparative	andaq 'like him, her, it'	-
Equative	anča 'like him' her, it'	alarča 'like them'
Instrumental	anın 'with him, her, it'	-
Privative	ansiz 'without him, her it' ~ ansizin id.	-

E.g.,

Men emdi bir gada **sen** pādšāhē, magar cān tartqay **allingda** ahē? (DN250v:8) 'I now am a beggar and you are a king. May a soul heave a sigh in your presence, I wonder?'

Meni sen šam^c teg küydürmäging ne? **Caḡa va cavr etākin tür-mäking ne?** (DN257v:3) 'What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself⁹⁴ in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty [upon me]?'

Kördüm ävlā vaqt bir zālīm uyur, aytтім ol fitna uyusa yahši-raḡ. (Sayf20v:6-7) 'I saw a tyrant sleeping at noon-time. I said [to myself]: He is a manace, it is better if he sleeps.'

Yüzüng bergäy manga, ay ḡusn bāḡi ināyat körgüzüp yarlıḡ ni-šanī. (DN251r:10) 'May your face, showing mercy, give me the sign of [your] command, O, Garden of Beauty.'

Notes: (1) For the first person singular, out of modesty, the words **banda** 'servant', **kamīna** 'the lowliest person', **bu faqīr-i ḡaqīr** 'this wretched poor', **bu qul** 'this servant' are used. E.g.,

Mundaḡ aytur faqīr-i ḡaqīr. (RM1v:4) 'Thus spoke [I] the poor and wretched [Muhammad Shaybānī Khān].'

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

Māni 'aybimnī yaw ḡaffar-i sattar. (Ḥ81v:8) 'Cover [> forgive] my sins, O Most Forgiving God, the Concealer of Sins!'

Biri aydi seni mungluḡ atang män. (Ḥ75r:3) '[Then one of them] continued, "I was your concerned father."'

İçim küydi alarnī sözlärigä. (Ḥ75r:5) 'When I heard their words [I suffered as if] my innards had caught fire.'

Anī kätidä yätmiş ming firištä. (Ḥ82v:1) 'Behind him came seventy thousand angels.'

Tanur mu sän māni cān dilimni? (Ḥ76r:2) 'Do you know, (my boy), the beloved of my soul and heart?'

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

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarçi yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) 'I am that dog that even if you chase away a

hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].'

Sen navgul-i ḡandān sen, män bulbul-i nālān män kim hacrīng ara iḡim faryād ilā afgān dur. (ShD34r:11) 'You are a beaming fresh rose, I am a supplicating nightingale: Separated from you I spend my time in moaning and lamenting.'

Män ol ṣubḡ-i sa^cadat män, ki Čingīs kökidin toḡdum: Qačan kim tābrāsām yel teg Tīmūr šam^ci öcār mendin. (ShD120r:3-4) 'I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis. When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Tīmūr goes out as I pass.'

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

Sän ök sen yaratḡan bu yer kök kün ay. (MM176v:6) 'You are the one who have created this earth, sky, sun and moon.'

Safar ḡacat ermäs, sän ök sän ḡicab. (MM197r:6) There is no need to travel: You yourself are the veil.'

Sän sän ol laškarda ṣafflar üzḡan er, er damında erdāmin körgüzḡan 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 **yoḡ** or **bar** expresses possession (i.e., the subject's having or not having something). E.g.,

Manga yoḡ tur figārē sendin özgä, sanga yoḡ tur nigārē mendin özgä. (DN253v:5) 'I do not have a sore wound other than [what I inflicted upon] you, you do not have a sweetheart, other than me.'

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

Tewä, uy kārāk aḡ, qatir, ya ḡimār alur bergä män ter yarīn kün sangar. (MM191v:1) '[Suppose] someone takes your camel, cow, horse, mule or donkey and says, "I will return it to you tomorrow."' **Angar māngzāḡan yoḡ, qamuḡdīn arīḡ.** (MM178r:14) 'Nothing is like Him, he is unrelated to everything.'

(7) Instead of **sizlär** the form **silär** may occur, as in colloquial Uzbek today. E.g.,

Nä bā^cisdin silär otqa giriftār? (Ḥ75r:5) 'Why are you captive in the fire?'

⁹⁴ Lit., tying up your skirt to your waist

- (8) Personal pronouns may be subjects [agents] to gerunds in **-p**. E.g.,
Sen unutup maḥabbatpēšalarni, saḡinip qandaḡi andēšalarni. (DN257r:4) ‘You have forgotten the lovers⁹⁵ anticipating the anxieties of those days.’
- (9) Personal pronouns may be used with imperatives for emphasis. E.g.,
Meni sen körmä ‘aciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat payasında dast-gāhīm. (DN257v:6) ‘Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.’
- (10) The genitive case form may occur in substantival role. E.g.,
Ču men boldum sāning ḡamni uzatma, bu savdāda meni ‘alam-ḡa satma. (DN260r:7) ‘Since I became yours do not prolong the sorrow. In this transaction, do not sell me to the entire world.’

3.4.2. Reflexive Pronouns

3.4.2.1. The Pronoun *öz* ‘self’

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

Sing. 1. özüm	‘myself’	Plur. 1. özümüz	‘ourselves’
2. özüng	‘yourself’	2. özüngiz	‘yourselves’
3. özi	‘himself’	3. özlari	‘themselves’
	‘herself, itself’		

E.g.,

Agar alisa özümningni alsun. Har iş qilsa Hudaḡim özi bilsün... (H74r:4) ‘But if He is determined to take [one of these three boys], let Him take mine. Whatever my Lord does, He should know that...’

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

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

Elig yup özidin su ḡidmatıngda, arıḡlıq lāfin urmay ḡazratingda. (DN244r:2) ‘The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.’

⁹⁵ I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God], i.e., sufis

Taniḡa čolḡaşıp zaḡmat cunūn teg, qoya berip özin ranc icrā nūn teg. (DN245v:9) ‘The pain turns and twists in his body like madness. Suffering made him look [curled] like the letter *nūn*.’
Öz özümä ayttım. (Sayf115v:4) ‘I said to myself.’

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

Sing. 1. özümḡä	‘to myself’	Plur. 1. özümüzḡä	‘to ourselves’
2. özüngḡä	‘to yourself’	2. özüngizḡä	‘to yourselves’
3. özigä	‘to himself’	3. özlariḡä	‘to themselves’
	‘to herself’		
	‘to itself’		

E.g.,

Qilip ḡam elidin hay’atni taḡyir, etip ‘işq āyatın özigä tafsir. (DN253v:4) ‘He changes [his] figure because of [his] sorrow and makes for himself a commentary of the verse of love.’

(2) In case form they are used to form reflexive verbs and verbal phrases:

özin bar ham ur- ‘to mess up oneself’
özigä kel- ‘to come to, regain consciousness’
özidin ket- ‘to be deeply moved’
öz özigä ta‘ammul qil- ‘to meditate to himself’

E.g.,

Saçim az bas ki özin urdī barham, sāning ḡāling bigin dur vaqtē darham. (DN260r:1) ‘My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].’

Aqar saylaba dek yaş közlāridin, ketip qaldī saḡāba özlāridin. (H82r:3) ‘The tears gushed from his eyes like torrents. (On beholding this) the companions were deeply moved.’

Ta‘ammul qildī bir dam öz özigä, qalam tilini açti söz yüzigä. (DN246r:11) ‘For a moment she meditated to herself [and then] opened the tongue of the pen in the face of the words.’⁹⁶

(3) *Öz* with no possessive suffix can precede a noun to express “own”. The possessive suffix on the noun that follows indicates the person. E.g.,

Cihan sultāni öz karamından yazuḡın baḡışlap āzad qilsa ne bol-ḡay edi. (Sayf13r:4). ‘What difference would it make if the King out of his generosity forgave his sins and set him free?’

⁹⁶ I.e., he put to writing what he had formulated in her mind

Zāhid öz maqāmına kelip hādīmdān sufra tilādi. (Sayf52v:9).
'The abstinent returned to his home and asked the servant to serve [him] food.'

3.4.2.2. The Pronoun **hwad** 'self'

Persian **hwad** 'self' occurs in two functions: as a reflexive pronoun and as a pronoun of identity. It is a closed [indeclinable] morpheme: no personal or possessive suffixes can be added to it. Also, it does not form an Izafat construction with the pronoun or noun it relates to.

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

‘Inād etip anga bulğaşmağaylar, valē inşāftin hwad aşmağaylar. (DN271v:3) 'They show no defiance and do not interfere; but they themselves do not go beyond what is just.'
Sān anī yüz aqçağa alıp sām, qudrat bilā hwad 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.,

Kişining pāklaḡa köngli tartar, husn hwad pākdamānliqtin artar. (HM307v:4) 'A person's heart is attracted to those who are pure. One's beauty itself increases if one lives in purity.'
Manga körgüzmasün Tengri hwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlā bir bolḡay zulālīm. (DN242r:7) 'May God Himself never make me see the day when my [source of lifegiving] water is equal in value with dust.'
Ay Ḥusaynī yetmäsā ol ay sening faryādīngğa, çarh u ancum hwad emäs dardīngğa darman qılḡu dek. (HBXXI,7) 'O Husaynī, if that moon does not answer your call for help, it is most likely that the firmament and the stars themselves are no remedy for your ailment.'
“Qiličtin qıl uçča yoq anga vahm, yavutmas özigā hwad 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 **kändü**, **kāndi**, **kändü özi** 'self'

Rarely though, the pronoun **kändü** 'self' is also used. Sometimes it occurs together with **öz** + a possessive suffix: **kändü özi** or contracted, as **känd-**

özi. These pronouns are declinable: **kändüsi**, **kändüsini**, **kändüsindä**, **kändüläri**, **kändözindin**, and so on. E.g.,

Käräk bolsam anga män kändü kelsün. (Qutb,94) 'If he needs me, he himself should come.'

Ne tiläsäng sanga beräyin. Sen manga kendözünḡi cüftländür-gil. (NF76v:2) 'Whatever you wish, I will give it to you. Agree to be my wife.'⁹⁷

Ahmaq ol kimärsä turur kim kendü özini barcadin artuq körsä. (NF74v:74v:7) 'Fool is that person who regards himself more than anyone else.'

Kändünä rahm qılmağan dā'im qurtula bilmäs ol maşaqqatdan. (Sayf92r:5) 'He who has no mercy on himself, will never be able to get rid of difficulties.'

Män turur män bu qin icrä mubtalā 'aciz bolup, ol ulaşu tün va kün kendini zavqında tutar. (Sayf180r:9) 'I am bogged down in this adversity incapacitated (while) she is having fun night and day all the time.'

3.4.3. Reciprocal Pronouns

The reciprocal pronouns are: **bir biri°**, **biri bir°**, **biri biri°**, **biri birisi°**. They are declinable. The case markers are attached to the second element. E.g.,

Hikāyatlar ulaşıp bir birigä qulaq salmay yirlavčılar yirigä. (DN 234v:1) 'Stories were going from one to the other. People did not pay attention to the songs of the singer.'

Firaqidin körüp cavr u sitamni, siḡişturup biri birigä ḡamni. (DN 236r:10). 'I suffered abuse and oppression because of her absence, adding one sorrow to the other.'

Biri birigä bay*°*i durust qabzi şart uşol maclis icrä, köngülḡä kä-miş. (MM191v:13) 'The selling of one for the other is correct. Note [however,] that [the items purchased] must be taken into possession at the moment agreement on the transaction has been reached.'

Idioms: **biri biri songinča** (MM186r:8) 'one after the other'
biri birisingä muhalif (MM187v:2) 'contradicting one another'
biri birigä mängzär (MM196v:14) 'they resemble each other'
bir birigä yaqin (ShD80r:9) 'close to one another'
bir birisidin sor- (GD138,6) 'to question one another'

⁹⁷ Lit., Let yourself be married to me.

3.4.4. Possessive Pronouns

The genitive case forms of the personal pronouns constitute the possessive pronouns. They occur in adjectival ['my'] or substantival ['mine'] forms. They have full and short [apocopated] variants. The short forms are not used in substantival function.

The noun governed by a possessive pronoun most of the time carries a possessive suffix equivalent in person, and, with some limitations, also in number. Postpositions which follow a noun in the nominative case [see 3.2.1.1.] usually require possessive pronouns.

Full forms	
Singular	Plural
mening 'my'	bizning 'our'
sening 'your'	sizning 'your'
aning 'his, her, its'	alarning 'their'

Short [apocopated] forms	
Singular	Plural
meni 'my'	bizni 'our'
seni 'your'	sizni 'your'
ani 'his, her, its'	alarni 'their'

E.g.,

Mening işimgä oħsar ol hikāyat, ki Hārūndin qılurılar el rivāyat. (DN232r:6) 'The story that people narrate about Harūn [ar-Rashid] resembles my case.'

Aning teg körgüzür söz rahnamūni ki tapti bir 'arab yazida suni. (DN232r:8) 'The roadguide of stories⁹⁸ thus represents: A Bedouin came upon [some] water in the desert.'

İşim işlägil ter bu kün sän mäning, yarın işlägil män işing ter sāning. (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'yyat, vazir, beg karāk sultāning. (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' **bizing**, **bizim** 'our, ours' **sizing** 'your, yours' are also used. E.g.,

Bizim cinsimizgä lā'iq dāgūl sultān hīdmatindā yalğan sözlāmāk. (Sayf9r:9) 'It is not appropriate for people of our class to lie in the presence of the King.'

Gar otursa bizing bilān qāzī turuban 'āshiqāna raqş urur. (Sayf 59v:11) 'If the Judge were [here] sitting with us, he would jump up and dance like someone who is in love.'

Agar sizing cahingiz bilān bir cihat hāşil bolsa cam'ıyyat-i hātir ücün 'azīm minnat bolğay. (Sayf25r:10) 'If through your position an allowance could be worked out for a piece of mind it would be a big favor.'

3.4.5. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Chagatay distinguish the position of objects in relationship to the subject. Their values are relative and mutually exclusive: An object can be close or remote. Anything that is not close is remote and anything that is not remote, is close. A third option, close but not as close as, is present in popular literature [see 3.4.5.2.].

Demonstrative pronouns can occur in adjectival [modifier] function. Only the singular forms participate in this role: **bu** şimşād 'this cypress', **bu** şifatlar 'these qualities'. Demonstrative pronouns in substantival role have plural forms in -lar/-lär: **Bular dağı çarik yasap qarşı yüridilär**. (Sayf 110v:13) 'These also prepared an army and moved out against them.'

3.4.5.1. The Demonstrative Pronouns bu 'this' and ol 'that'

These demonstrative pronouns have full nominal inflection. The case forms do not have an equal distribution. Some of the adverbial forms are paralleled with postpositional forms. The latter gradually take over the functions of the cases.

Singular		
Nominative	bu 'this'	ol 'that'
Accusative	munī 'this [acc.]'	anı 'that [acc.]'
Genitive	muning 'of this'	aning 'of that'
Dative	munga 'to this'	anga 'to that'
Locative	munda 'here'	anda 'there'
Ablative	mundin 'from here'	andin 'from there'
	~ mundan id.	~ andan id.
Equative	munča 'as [much as] this'	anča 'as [much as] that'
Terminative	munčağa 'up to this'	ančağa 'up to that'
Comparative	mundaq 'like this'	andaq 'like that'
Instrumental	munun 'by/with this'	anın 'by/with that'

⁹⁸ I.e., a narrator

Plural		
Nominative	bular ‘these’	alar ‘those’
Accusative	bularni ‘these [acc.]’	alarni ‘those [acc.]’
Genitive	bularning ‘of these’	alarning ‘of those’
Dative	bularga ‘to these’	alarga ‘to those’
Locative	bularda ‘among these’	alarda ‘among them’
Ablative	bulardan ‘from these’	alardan ‘from those’
	~ bulardan id.	~ alardan id.

E.g.,

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarçi yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) ‘I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].’

Labim nuqlin alur bolsang ağızğa, çiqarğıl baştin ol mayning humarin. (DN254v:3) ‘If you take the sweetmeat of my lips into your mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of that wine.’

Yüzüng közğü dur, ay husn icrä mahim, hazar qıl kim anı tutmasun ahim. (DN257v:5) ‘Your face is a mirror, O my Moon Among the Beauties. Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].’

Ani ol halatta körüp könglüm ağıridi. (Sayf143v:4) ‘Beholding him in that condition, I felt compassion for him.’

Neçä tozutsa bād-i bahārī ‘abir u muşk, neçä çamanda bād-i hāzān qılsa zargārī, ançağa tegrü eygü atıng hayr üzä qalip, sözlän-sän el tilindä cihānning dilavari. (Sayf182v:2-4) ‘As long as the spring gale scatters the dust of ambergris and musk, as long as the autumnal wind works as goldsmith in the meadow, so long will your good name remain with blessings and you will be called by people the hero of this world.’

Notes: (1) **Bu** ‘this’ (see 3.1.2.3.2.1.) and, less frequently, **ol** ‘that’ are used as definite articles especially with proper names. E.g.,

Rizq üçün cahd qıl keräk qılma, berür ol bir va bar ‘azza va calla. (Sayf173r:1) ‘Whether or not you exert yourself to obtain your sustenance, God the One and Ever Existing, the Most High and the Most Majestic will grant it to you.’

Bu Harining daniş ahli har neçä ‘ayb etsängiz qayda kim bolsa Şabanī ol Samarqand arzular. (ShD42v:7-8) ‘[You] learned men of Herat it does not matter how much you blame me. Wherever Shaybanī may be, he is longing for Samarqand.’

Dedi, “Netsün kişi bu mubtalāğa, ki küç birlän özin saldı balā-ğa?” (DN245v:7) ‘She said, “What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition brings trouble upon himself?”

Bu Şabanining sevāri şar‘i dur, aning üçün közidin yaş aqturur. (ShD5r:9). ‘Shaybanī’s beloved is the Law. That is why he lets his tears flow from his eyes.’⁹⁹

(2) The locative case forms **munda** ‘here’ and **anda** ‘there’ may occur with verbs of motion to indicate destination [see 3.1.4.2.6.4.]. E.g.,

“Ne der sen munda gar keltürsäm anı, nihufta ündäsäm ol bēnāvānı?” (DN258v:7) ‘What would you say if I brought him here? If secretly I invited that miserable person?’

Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān şuhbat yarağın qıl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) ‘Tell him that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will be there in no time.’

(3) Rarely, the locative case **anda** ‘there’ may also occur as an indirect object [see 3.1.4.2.5.8.]. E.g.,

Cavābida dedi ol qaşı hācib, kim anda parda açmaq bar munāsib. (DN258v:8) ‘In answer said [that intimate friend] whose eyebrow was like a chamberlain: It is now appropriate to open the the curtain.’

(4) Predicative compounds are, as a rule, preceded by the demonstrative pronouns **bu**, **ol**, or by the interjection **ay** (see 4.1.5.).

“Tişim lülüsüdün ol közi daryā, çiqarur mu falak yanglıg şuray-yā?” (DN252v:2) ‘From the pearls of my teeth will that ocean-eyed [beauty] produce the Pleiades as the sky does?’

Vafasiz dilrubā sän, ay beli qıl! (Sayf117v:12) ‘You are [surely] an unfaithful heart-ravisher, O [Beauty] with the waist [thin] like a hair.’

Ol yüzi ay kim cihānning canı dur. (Sayf179r:10) ‘The moon-faced [beauty] who is the life of this world.’

(5) The pronoun **ol** is part of the relative conjunction **kim ol** [cf. Persian *ki ān*]. E.g.,

Faravān dard-i dil körgüzüp anda, qılıp şarhı kim ol siğmas gumānda. (DN243r:11) ‘In it I presented plenty of complaints about my situation the exposition of which did not leave place for doubts.’

⁹⁹ Touched by the majesty of God manifest in the perfection of the Law.

(6) **Mundağ** 'like this; such' and **andağ** 'like that; such' are equative forms used mostly in the popular style. E.g.,

Boldi İsmā'il babam mīnāda qarabaši, anbiyālarğa hūdānī mundağ erür şevası. (H81r:4) 'Isma'il was my Father's servant while my father was still [unborn] in the shell. Such is God's way with His Prophets.'

Tilāp alsun ki sizni bir hūdādīn, ötünsün sizni andağ ašnādīn. (H79r:5) '(Go and tell Muḥammad) to ask God to restore you to him, to implore Him to return you to him since He is such a good friend.'

(7) The privative forms **munsiz** 'without this' and **ansiz** 'without that' and their expanded versions **munsizīn** and **ansizīn** also occur mostly in adverbial function. E.g.,

Kimgā kim inşaf yoq insān emās, munsiz atvārīda cuz nuqşān emās. (Navā'i, Dict., II, 355) 'He who has no sense of justice, is not a real man. Without this there is nothing but deficiency in his manners.'

Mufarriḥ şevālī nāzūk dilārām, qīla bilmās edi ansiz dil ārām. (Sayf70r:11). 'He is a delicate heartsoothing [beauty] with exhilarating coquettish glances without whom the heart would not be able to rest.'

3.4.5.2. The Demonstrative Pronouns **bol** 'this', **şol** 'this, that'

The pronouns **bol** 'this' [opposite of **ol** 'that'] and **şol** 'this', 'that' [not as close as **bol** and not an opposite of **ol**] are frequent in popular literature. They modify nouns in the majority of examples but occur also independently in predicative use. They have no plural form. E.g.,

Laşkar-i islāmī çāksām qizil bōrk üstinā, bolğusī yāvar Madina kişvarīndīn şol Habīb. (ShD15r:10-11) 'When I bring the forces of Islam against the people of the red cap, the Friend from the land of Madina¹⁰⁰ will surely be my helper.'

Bol sözümnī qılmāding bol kūn bacāy (BN90v:5) 'You did not grant my wish today.'

Bol işingā ol işing şadiq emās. (BN90v:8) 'That act of yours is not consistent with this one.'

Şahliğgā bol işing lā'iq emās. (BN89v:7) 'This act of yours is not becoming the status of a king.'

Yoq ersā ḥalīmiz bol dur parēšan. (H75r:4) 'But now we are in this pitiful state.'

Idioms: **bol dam** 'now'
bol kūn '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 **uşbu**, **uşol** or **uşal**

The deictic particle **uş** [see 3.9.3.] prefixed to the demonstrative pronouns **bu** and **ol** can occur both in adjectival and in substantival use. They are declinable although their paradigm is incomplete. The most frequently used forms are:

Singular				
Nominative	uşbu	'this same'	uşol	'that same'
Genitive	uşmunung	'of this same'	-	
Dative	uşmunga	'to this same'	-	
Locative	uşmunda	'just here'	uşanda	'just there'
Ablative	uşmundīn	'just from here'	uşandīn	'just from there'
Equative	uşmunča	'quite this much'	ušanča	'quite that much'
Comparative	uşmundaq	'just this much'	uşandaq	'just that much'

Plural				
Nominative	uşbular	'these same'	-	
Accusative	uşbularnī	'these same' [acc]	-	
Genitive	uşbularnīng	'of these same'	-	
Ablative	uşbulardīn	'just from them'	-	
Equative	-		-	
Comparative	-		-	

E.g., **Vaşl bāğında hīrāmān tūn edim řa'us teg, uşbu kūn čörgār māni čōn mār canān furqatī.** (Sayf125v:5-6) 'Yesterday, in the garden of our meeting, I walked pompously like a peacock. This very day the absence of the beloved makes me twist and turn like a snake.'

Tang atmazdīn uşbu kārāk niyyatī. (MM186v:9) 'One must state one's intention [to fast] before dawn.'

¹⁰⁰ I.e., the Prophet Muḥammad

Aşar qıldi manga gulning camālī; yoq esā mən uşol topraq mən bil. (Sayf8r:9) 'The beauty of the rose has affected me. Otherwise I am the same clay as I have been.'

Ay Şabānī uşbu makrūh dunyada şar'ini qilsang dā'im buldung calal. (ShD6v:8-9) 'O, Shabanī in this frowned upon world if you do His Law, you will always find majesty.'

3.4.6.2. The Pronouns in 'this', ān 'that'

The Persian demonstrative pronouns **in** 'this', **ān** 'that' are also used, especially to indicate exact opposites. The third option we have in Turkish is not available in Persian. E.g.,

Agar ol gavhar-i darya, talab qil, elinggä kirgäy. Yinä ol bolğay va in ham, valē nā ān nā in bolğay. (ShD176v:6-7) 'If that is the pearl of the sea,¹⁰¹ search for it and it will come into your hands. Again, it will be that and also this, but it will be neither that nor this.'¹⁰²

3.4.6.3. The Pronouns hamīn 'this very', hamān 'that very'

The Persian pronouns **hamān** 'that very, that same' and, less frequently, **hamīn** '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.,

'İsā āşakin Hicāza eltip kältürsä yana hamān āşak tur. (Sayf 139v:2) 'If they take Jesus' donkey [for a pilgrimage] to Hijaz, it will be the very same donkey [when it returns].'

Ne bilgäy sen bu daryaning bapayani hamīn bolğay: Buḥār ās-mān bolğay kaff-i darya zamin bolğay. (ShD176v:4-5) 'How would you know that the dimensions of the sea are exactly these: The sky is fog, and the earth is the palm of [your] hand.'

3.4.6.4. The Pronouns with the Particles oq/ök 'indeed, verily'

The demonstrative pronoun **ol** followed by the emphatic particle [see 3.9.3.] **oq** constitutes a deictic pronoun. The pronoun **bu** does not share this feature. E.g.,

Ol oq kitablardīn çiqarip taşnif qıldim. (RM2r:8) 'I drew upon those same books and composed [this manual].'

¹⁰¹ I.e., the object of your desire

¹⁰² The pearl desired and the pearl obtained are the same, but [in the market place] it has a price and that makes it different from what it was before: It is now a merchandise. Cf., Sayf şadafdan ayrılur bolsa tapar cavhar ağır qimat. (98r:10) 'The pearl obtains a heavy price after it is separated from the shell.'

Note: The particle **ök** is also used with the second person singular personal pronoun **sen** 'you, indeed you' for the purpose of emphasis. E.g.,

Safar ḥacat ermäs sän ök sän hicāb. (MM197r:6) 'There is no need to travel [in quest of Him], you yourself are the veil.'

Sän ök sän yaratğan bu yer kök kün ay. (MM176v:6) 'It is you who created this earth, the sky, the sun and the moon.'

Avval va Ähir sen oq sen: barča 'ālamda 'ayan. (ShD3r:3). 'You are the first and you are the last: It is obvious all over the world.'

3.4.7. Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns can be divided into three groups: (1) **Kim** 'who' and its case forms; (2) **Ne** 'what' and its derivatives; (3) Pronouns based on the root **qa-**.

3.4.7.1. The Pronoun kim 'who'

The interrogative pronoun **kim** and its plural form **kimlär** occur only in substantival use. It is declinable and follows the paradigm of inflection of nouns. E.g.,

Kim ḥabar berdi sanga **kim sen** böri oğlu **sän**? (Sayf14v:6) 'Who told you that you are the cub of a wolf?'

Kim qilip tur bu falakni nuḥ ṭabaq baştin ayaq? (BH3r:4) 'Who made these heavens in nine layers from the highest point to the lowest?'

Şab-i mi'rāc anī dōzaḥda kördüm: Bular kimlär bolur dep anda sordum. (H74v:10) 'On the Night of the Ascension I beheld them in Hell. Who are these [creatures], I asked.'

The following case forms of **kim** occur: **kimning** 'whose?' **kimgä** 'to whom?' **kimä** 'to whom?' **kimdä** 'in whom?' **'kimdän** 'from whom?' E.g.,

Kimgä qilayim sāning elingdän firyād? (Sayf33v:9) 'Whom should I complain to about what you do to me?'

Yadgarī qalsa kimning äygü at, ölmäs ol är kimdä 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 emphasizer 'what a...' E.g.,

Ne vāqi^c boldi? (RM21r:2) 'What has happened?'

Körär men har kečä tüštä qara zulfingni zancir teg: ne keltürgäy bu başımğa 'acab ol tüš parəšanī. (Mavlāna İshāq in Sayf179v:8) 'I see every night in [my] dream your black tresses as chains: What [calamity] will, I wonder, the disheveled one of that dream bring upon my head?'

Ne debän men anī közdin salayin, köngül aldım, barip ham cān alayin. (DN246r:3) 'By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?'

Meni, ay baht, 'amdā tepmäking ne? Cirāhat üstidä tuz sepmäking ne? (DN244r:7) 'O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt over my wounds?'

The following case forms of **ne** occur: **nečä** 'how much?'; **nečägä** 'to what extent?'; **negä** 'why?'; **nedän, nädin** 'why'; **nätäg** 'how' E.g.,

Haqiqatda Haqqa inanğan kişi nätäg ħali bolur üküš külgügä. (MM179r10) '[It also proves] how a person who truly believes in God will abstain from much laughter.'

Rāz-i 'išqimni nätäg bilgäylär, ay āram-i cān, zāhid va mavlā va qāzī šayḥ mufti va ḥaṭīb. (ShD17r:5-6) 'O, Serenity of my Life! How would the abstinent, the master, the judge, the sheykh, the magistrate and the preacher know about the secrets of my life?'

Malāmat qiblasidin yüz evürmäs, ħalā'iq nečä ʔa'n urša, dam urmas. (DN245v:8) 'He does not turn his face away from the qibla of blame, however much people criticize him, he does not say a word.'

Dilbarim nečägä tegrü men qulun qında tutar? Män qilič mu män, 'acab kim meni ol qında tutar. (Sayf180r:7) 'How long will my heart-ravisher keep me, her servant, in pain? Am I a sword, I wonder, that she keeps me in the sheath?'

The following derivatives of **ne** are in use: **nečük** 'how?' (< **nečä ök**); **nečün** 'why?' (< **ne üçün**); **netük** 'how?' (< **netä ök**); **nağu** 'why?'

E.g.,

Ḥukamā qavlinā nečük muḥālafat qılayin? (Sayf99r:6) 'How could I oppose the words of the wise?'

Nečün munča köp yalğan sözlär sözlägäy? (Sayf42r:11) 'Why does he tell so many lies?'

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

Basa 'ulamā iḥtilāf qılıp tur kim namāznıng sanı beş vaqtın nağu artuq äksük bolmadı. (RM25v:6-8) 'But learned men differ as to why there are only five prayer times, not more or less.'

Ḥurāsān cāhilin bilip nağu rahm äylädım anga? Dēvānalarğa tizgāndım dēvāna emdi män dur män. (ShD136v:12) 'Why did I have mercy on the ignorant of Khurasan after learning about them? I resembled the madman and now I myself am a madman.'

The following phrases based on **ne** are in use: **ne түrlüg** 'in what way?', 'what kind of?'; **ne miqdār** 'how much?'; **ne yüzün** 'in what way?'; **ne yosunluq** 'how?'; 'by what method?'; **ne yoldan** 'in what way?'; **ne yärdä** 'where?'. E.g.,

Ne yerdä kim ganc bar, anda yılan bar. (Sayf158v:5) 'Where there is treasure, there is snake.'

Māning cānimğa ne otluğ fiğanlar, sāning könglüngdä ne түrlüg gumānlar. (DN257r:5) 'What fiery wailing for my soul. What kind of doubts in your heart!'

Idioms:

ne asiğ 'what is the use of'

ne ḥācat 'what is the need of'

ne ḥāsil 'what is the outcome of'

netsün 'what should he do?' [with accusative case]

neyläyin 'what could I do?'

ne 'acab 'no wonder'

ne debän 'on what account'

E.g.,

Ne ḥācat kim qasam kirgäy arağa, yaminsiz bilgil išingning ya-sārın. (DN254v:7) 'What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without a reference to the right.'

Note: **Ne** and some of its derivatives, in combination with the conjunction **kim** are often used to introduce a simple comparison or a hyperbola. E.g.,

Eligdä ḥaṭṭ sözi durr-i samin teg, ne ḥaṭṭ kim ol nigāristān-i cīn teg. (DN255r:5) 'In the hand was the letter, its words were like costly pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.'

Ḥaṭṭ icrā saldı köz ol tūn cīrāği, netük kim tūn içindä kün cīrāği. (DN245v:4) 'When that Candle of the Night¹⁰³ glanced into that

¹⁰³ I.e., the moon

letter, it was like the lamp of the day¹⁰⁴ appearing in the [darkness of the] night.'

Tüzälip sarv boyung eşikimdin, kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä cānī. (DN251v:1) 'May Your cypress-like body rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.'

3.4.7.3. The Pronouns Based on the Stem qa-

The following pronouns, based on the stem qa-, occur in Chagatay:

qačan 'when; whenever [i.e., never]'

qay, qayu 'which'

qaysi 'which'

qanda 'where'

qandağ 'how'

qayda 'where'

qanī 'where'

qayan 'where to'

qandīn 'where from'

qaydīn 'where from'

E.g.,

Erür dunyā fānī, bu māl, mamlakat, qanī māli Qārūn, qanī ol karam. (MM188r2) 'The world is transitory as are riches and possessions. Where [today] is the wealth of Qārūn? Where is that ditch [that swallowed him and his wealth? All are gone].'

Gahe kim qilsa yüzin kün huvaydā, qačan hıwad sāya bolğay anda paydā. (DN255v:9) 'Sometimes when the sun discloses its face, would ever a shadow make an appearance there.'

Fašılning öngindin songınca qayu şurat tüssä sacda-i sahvni kätür. (MM184v:2) 'Make propitiatory prostrations for any [of the omissions] enumerated anywhere in this chapter.'

Qanī 'aqlim, qanī fahmim, qanī fikrim, qanī nāmūs yangaqing alinī körgäc manga nāmūs uşandan dur. (ShD33r:12-13) 'Where is my mind, where is my understanding, where is my thought, where is my honor? My honor comes right then when I behold the vermilion color of your cheeks.'

Bağ va bustan icrā köp tur sarvlar, ay bağbān! Lēk mundaq cilvagar sarv-i hıramān qayda dur. (ShD41v:5-6) 'In gardens and orchards there are many cypresses, O Gardener. But where is such a brilliant walking cypress?'

Kāfirilar qayda kirür. (IM4v:3) 'Where do the infidel go?'

¹⁰⁴ I.e., the sun

Ay faqir qanda kitär sän bu yol qattı yol durur. (Sayf58r:4) 'Hey, poor man, where are you going? This is a difficult road.'

Heç bilmän bu ot mänim ävimä qandan tüşti. (Sayf38r:9) 'I don't know from where this fire got to my house.'

Qaysi davlat muning dek bolğay? (RM42r:2) 'What happiness can be as great as this?'

Mihmaningiz qaydin dur, ay Şah? (H76v:2) 'Where is your guest from, O King!'

Ki sizdin ayrilip qandağ bola miz, yaruğ dunyada qandağ kün körä miz. (H79r:3) 'For how will we get along without you? What will our lives be like in this bright world?'

Qačan qopsa va Tengrini yad qilsa bir tügün açilğay. (RM20r:6) 'When he gets up [at night] and mentions God[ʼs 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) kişi 'one, someone'; 'no one' [with negative verbs]

E.g.,

Tabarruk birlä cān taʼvizi qıldim, kişi cōn bilmädi özümni bildim. (DN242v:7) 'I turned it into a sacred relic, a protective charm for [my] soul since I knew myself as no one [else] did.'

Dedi, "Netsün kişi bu muhtalağa, ki küc birlän özin saldı balāğa? (DN245v:7) 'She said, "What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition, cast himself into trouble?"'

Kişi kün toğra ham kirışsa bolmas safahat kāyninā erışsa bolmas. (DN246r:1) 'One cannot interfere with his actions day after day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.'

Bu ins parı qulluqindın yeg ol: İdi yigmişindın yigilsa kişi. (MM 179r:6) 'The best service men and fairies can render is to avoid what [our] Lord has forbidden.'

Qunut qalsa angsa rukūda kişi qayitmasdın urğay sucūdğa başı. (MM185v:7) 'If [the worshiper] has omitted the qunut supplication and remembers [this omission] during the bow, he should lower himself and put his head down in prostration without going back [to perform the qunūt].'

(b) **kimärsä, kim ersä, kimsä** ‘someone’; with negative verbs, ‘no one’.

E.g., **Nāgah eşikdän bir kim ersä kirip başarat kätürdi.** (Sayf18v:10) ‘Suddenly someone came in through the door and brought some good news.’
Kim ersä eşigin dağı sufrasın açuq körmädi. (Sayf93r:13) ‘No one has ever seen his door or his table open.’
Tört kişi tört kim ärsädän qorqar. (Sayf25v:11) ‘Four people are afraid of four [types of] people.’

(c) **nemä, nemärsä, nemäginä** ‘something’

E.g., **Baytarğa nemä kelmäs.** (Sayf147r:13) ‘The veterinarian is not to blame.’¹⁰⁵
Agar munung dek nemärsälär köngüldä kečsä zıkr ornıda bolur. (RM3r:10) ‘If such things occur in one’s mind, the *zıkr* is still in place.’

(d) **ne kim** ‘whatever’

E.g., **Çu mazmūnı sarāsar boldı ma‘lūm, ne kim [er]di mubham boldı mafhūm.** (DN255v:10) ‘When its content became entirely known, anything that was doubtful before now was completely understood.’

(e) **fulān** ‘someone, a certain, such and such’

E.g., **Munga fulān kim ärsä sökti.** (Sayf77v:9) ‘Someone cursed him.’
Fulān tağ başında. (Sayf12v:1) ‘On the top of such and such mountain.’

3.4.8.2. Adjectives in the Function of Pronouns

başqa ‘other’
barça ‘all’
ba‘zı ‘some’
nečä ‘some’
öngin ‘other’
özgä ‘other’
yana ‘other’

E.g.,

Barçanı räzi qıldım illä hasūdñi räzi qıla bilmädım. (Sayf15v:8) ‘I could please all, except the greedy whom I was not able to please.’

Va özgälär kim yer yüzidä yürürlär va safar qılurlar. (RM 38r:10) ‘And others who move on the surface of the earth and make trips.’

Ol kim malikning haqqı edi ba‘zısın adā qıldı. (Sayf35v:6) ‘He paid back some of what he owed the king.’

3.4.8.3. Numerals in the Function of Pronouns

birär ‘some, a certain’

biräv ‘someone’

E.g.,

Bilig bilmiş üçün ‘alimlär birär önginlär cāhil tep, takalluf qurar. (MM200v:10) ‘Some learned men, just because they have acquired knowledge, engage in false display by calling others ignorant.’

Biräv kim cān bilän yoq tur niza‘i, nečük men bolayın qanına sā‘i? (DN246r:4) ‘How could I be after the blood someone who has no quarrel with [his] soul?’

3.4.8.4. Pronouns with Possessive -i/-i

barısı ‘all’

barçası ‘all’

biri ‘someone’

E.g.,

Barçası munung qatına keldilär. (Sayf14v:13) ‘All came to join him.’

Tişi nārasıda cunub hatnasız boğuzlasa biri, ḥalāl ol, yätiz. (MM 191r:13) ‘If a female, a preadolescent boy, an unclean or uncircumcised person slaughters an animal, the slaughter is lawful and fully acceptable.’

3.4.8.5. Pronominal Phrases with bir

bir kişi ‘someone’

bir kim ärsä ‘someone’

bir nemä ‘something’

bir nečä ‘some, a little, a few’

bir nāng ‘something’

bir šamma ‘some, a little’

¹⁰⁵ Lit., No [blame] comes to the veterinarian.

E.g.,

Tayammum netäg qılğu sorsang äšit, ayitğil taqı bir kiši bilmäsä. (MM182v:17). 'If you want to learn how to perform the *tayammum*, listen and [then] instruct those who do not know how.'

Bir nečä šari 'atning aḥkamların kätürmäklik islām erür, bil yaqın. (MM178r:1) 'Know full well that by keeping [only] a few of the regulations of the Law one will achieve resignation to the Divine Will.'

Bu oğlaning körklü afşafından bir šamma vaşf qıldı. (Sayf 14v:2) 'He described some of the beautiful traits of this youth.'

3.4.9. Universal Pronouns

Universal pronouns are formed by the particle *har* 'each, every, any' placed before indefinite pronouns:

har kim (ShD15v:6) 'whoever'
har kim ki (DN248v:3) 'whoever'
har kimgä (DN250v:11) 'to whomever'
har kimsä (ShD15v:12) 'whoever'
har kiši (RM21r:6) 'whoever'
har qačan (RM15v:8) 'whenever'
har qanda (DN234v:7) 'wherever'
har qayan (GD66,5) 'wherever'
har qayda (ShD19v:2) 'wherever'
har qaysisi (ShD183r:13) 'whichever'
har ne (DN7r:3) 'whatever'
har nečä (ShD7r:3) 'however much'
har nečük (ShD173r:6) 'however'
har nemä (RM44r:1) 'everything, anything'
har nemärsä (RM39r:8-39v:1) 'everything, anything'
har sarı (DN262v:5) 'everywhere'

E.g.,

Har nemärsä kim ilgäri yibärsängiz Qiyamatğa özingiz üçün tä 'atdin va yahšiliqdin. (RM39r:8-39v:1) '[You will find with God the reward] for any acts of obedience and good deeds that you send ahead of you for yourself for the [Day of] Resurrection.'

Sevär sevgüçini har kim ki bolsa, sözi har nečä 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 kimgä yetmäs, bu savdāda tamannā asiğ et-mäs. (DN250v:11) 'But that rank is not granted for everyone. To have false hopes in this transaction¹⁰⁶ is of no avail.'

¹⁰⁶ Consider the double meaning of *savdā* 'madness' and 'transaction'.

Berür tağ ādamı karlığ nišanı, ki har ne desäng aytur ol ham anı. (DN248v:4) 'The man of the mountain¹⁰⁷ displays the signs of deafness. Whatever you say, he keeps saying the same thing.'

Fiqh ahlı man 'etär har qayda bolsa 'āşıqē, kim bularning qaşı-da 'ilm u hunar köp boldı '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

barča (RM41r:5) 'all, everyone'
barča 'alam (ShD12v:2) 'all, everyone'
barı nemä (RM8v:9) 'all'
hama (H77v:1) 'all'
birgä (ShD114v:7) 'together'
barı (MM176v:15) 'all'
bütün 'the whole'
bar 'all there is'
cumla (Sayf3v:13) 'all'
tegmä (MM181v:4) 'all'
tegmä kiši (MM177v:13) 'everyone'
tükäl (RM2r:2) 'all'

E.g.,

Yügürür cumla säning naf'ing üçün amr tutup. (Sayf3v:13) 'All run around following the order [to work] for your benefit.'

Šukur qılğu tün kün tazarru' bilä aning ummatı qılmišingä barı. (MM176v:15) 'Night and day we all must give thanks in humble supplication for His creation of this Community.'

Barča 'alam bolsa bolsun dušmanım sen bar bol. Dost sen bol-dung nä bolğay bolsa el dušman manga. (ShD12v:2) 'Let the entire world be my enemy and you be the ever existig. Since you are a friend, what difference does it make that [all the] people are my enemies?'

Bolmasun hargiz ḥiyālīm balki ma'šūqdın cudā. Hwaš yaraşur birgä bolsa dā'ima ol cān u tan. (ShD114v:6) 'Perhaps my thoughts should never be separated from the Beloved. It is becoming for the soul and body to be always together.'

Tükäl dunya malı yığar, ne asiğ? Öläz özgälärgä qalur ol yana. (MM180r:2) 'Of what benefit is it to him to accumulate he goods of he entire world? [In time] he will die and they will remain in the hands of others.'

¹⁰⁷ The echo.

Barčani *rāzī qıldım illā ḥasūdñi rāzī qıla bilmädım.* (Sayf15v:8)
'I could please all except for the greedy and jealous: I was not able to please them.'

3.4.11. Assertive Pronouns

There are two kinds of assertive pronouns: multal and paucal. These are relative terms. Multal pronouns indicate an amount or a quality somewhat more, paucal pronouns indicate an amount or a quality somewhat less than usual.'

3.4.11.1. Multal Assertive Pronouns

artuq (Sayf155v:3) 'more'
artuqraq (Sayf28:11) 'a little more'
köp (H80v:9) 'more'
köpräk 'more and more'
anča (MM189v:17) 'that much'
munča (MM179r:14) 'this much'
neča köp (Sayf89r:11) 'however much'
talay (PdC203) 'much, numerous'

E.g.,

Cavr köp qılma qulğa, ay ḥwāca! (Sayf148r:13) 'Do no inflict much cruelty upon the servant, O Master!'
Köp kelürlär mäne ziyarat qılmağa. (Sayf74v:2) 'Many come to visit me.'
Maşlahat körmädım dağı artuqraq sözlämägä. (Sayf28r:11)
'I did not see it reasonable to say more.'

3.4.11.2. Paucal Assertive Pronouns

az (Sayf171v1) 'few'
az buçuq (RM35v:7) 'some, a little'
azraq (RM37v:6) 'less'
azraqça (RM14r:3) 'a little less'
äksük (Sayf155v:3) 'less'
kam (Nava'i, Dict., II, 93) 'few'
kamtar (Sayf185v:10) 'less'

E.g.,

Az az yığılsa ḥayli bolur. (Sayf171v1) 'Little drops make an ocean.'
Muhlat ber alarnı az buçuq. (RM35v:7) 'Give them some respite.'
Meni emdi ḥalak etti firāqıng, şikēb az va farāvān iştıyāqıng. (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 *heç*

heç kim 'no one'
heç kişi 'no one'
heç nemä 'nothing'
heç nārsä 'nothing'
heç qaysi 'no one, none'

E.g.,

Zahidlärgä heç nemä bermägil. (Sayf71v:1) 'Do not give anything to the abstinent.'
Aning dardidin etmäy heç kim yād, yätip dardına gah gah nāla firyād. (DN240r:2) 'No one is mindful of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.'
Namāz buzmas ol ham vācib qılmas ol, taqī heç nārsä vācib qılmağay. (MM183v:11b) '[Such an omission] does not invalidate the prayer, impose a necessary duty, or require any other action.'

3.4.13. Relative Pronouns

Both the Persian **ki** and the Turkish **kim**, when used as relative pronouns, may require the suffix **-i** on the noun they refer to [see 3.1.2.2.]. Mostly Arabic and Persian words occur with this suffix.

ki 'who, what, that'
kim 'who, what'

E.g.,

Har bahārī kim kelür bar dur ḥazānī käynidä. (BH15v:9)
'Every spring that comes, has an autumn in its wake.'
Yel ki der män bilingiz, şubḥ-i azalning yeli dur. (BH19r:9)
'Know that the wind I speak of is the wind of the morning of eternity.'
Bu malā'ikdin ki bar dur törtni qıldi guzın. (BH20v:4) 'From among the already existing angels he chose four [archangels].'

3.5. Numerals

Chagatay has a full set of Turkish numerals. Sporadically numbers from Persian and Arabic also occur, especially in numbering chapters of poems or counting the elements of the ritual prayers. Numerals share grammatical features with nouns and adjectives, and, to some extent also with adverbs.

3.5.1. Cardinal Numbers

The cardinal numbers are divided into two groups: simple and compound.

3.5.1.1. Simple numbers

1	bir	10	on
2	ikki [~ iki]	20	yigirmä [~ yigirmi]
3	üç	30	ottuz [~ otuz]
4	tört	40	qırq
5	beş	50	ellig
6	altı	60	altmış
7	yetti [~ yeti]	70	yetmiş
8	säkkiz [~ sekiz]	80	seksän
9	toqquz [~ toquz]	90	toqsan
10	on	100	yüz
		1000	ming

E.g.,

Sän ol dägül mi sän kim atam säni firanč qaydıdan on altunğa satın aldı? (Sayf 68v:11) 'Aren't you the one whom my father has bailed out for ten gold coins from French captivity?'

Özi bir yerdä va yüz yerdä közi, tili iki va yüz ağızda sözi. (DN 254r:9) 'He himself is in one place but his eyes are in hundred places. His tongue is two¹⁰⁸ and his reputation is in thousand mouths.'

İki zidd ikisi birlä cam^c bolmas. (İM4v:6) 'Two opposing elements cannot be united.'

Bu toqsan toquz namaning allıda. (RM8v:1) 'As compared to [the weight of] those ninety-nine documents.'

Saçingdin 'anbar erür köp uyatlıq, qara qul dur sanga bir 'anbar atlıq. (250r:1) 'Because of your hair the ambergris is put to shame. What you call ambergris, is an unskilled servant of yours.'

3.5.1.2. Compound numbers

Compound numbers consist of coordinated entities either juxtaposed or, rarely, joined by the conjunctions **taqı**, **va** or **ham**. Their sequence is determined by their numerical values:

11	on bir	101	yüz bir
12	on ikki	212	ikki yüz on ikki
13	on üç	323	üç yüz yigirmä üç
14	on dört	434	tört yüz ottuz dört
15	on beş	545	beş yüz qırq beş
16	on altı	656	altı yüz ellig altı
17	on yetti	767	yetti yüz altmış yetti
18	on sekkiz	878	sekkiz yüz yetmiş sekkiz
19	on toqquz	989	toqquz yüz seksän toqquz

¹⁰⁸ I.e., false

10000	on ming
100000	yüz ming

Examples with conjunctions:

sekkiz yüz va on üç (MS16v:6) 'eight hundred and thirteen'

ming ikki yüz va yigirmä üç (MS17r:4) 'one thousand two hundred and twenty-three'

yüz taqı toqsan altı (MM189r:17) 'one hundred and ninety six'

The following Persian numerals occur:

100	sad
1000	hazār
10000	tuman
100000	lāk

Cardinal numbers generally precede the noun they modify. The noun is preferably in the singular. E.g.,

yüz fitna (DN256r:11) 'a hundred ruses'

on altun (Sayf68v:11) 'ten dinars'

toqsan toquz nama (RM8v:1) 'ninety-nine documents'

3.5.1.3. Approximate numbers are expressed by putting two numbers in sequence taking the lower number first. E.g.,

Tüli tahminan on tört on beş qarî bolğay. (Babur 47r:11) 'Its length is about fourteen or fifteen ells.'

3.5.1.4. In dates cardinal numbers are used starting with the higher figures. The last element may be in the locative case or followed by the postposition **icrä**. E.g.,

Bu daftar kim bolup tur Mişr qandî yetti yüz elli tört icrä tügändi. (MN312r:6) 'This book that turned out to be as sweet as [double refined] Egyptian sugar, was finished in [the year of] seven hundred and fifty four.'

İdi berdi tavfiq bu bir qaç kalām, oruç ayı icrä bitildi tamām. Tarih yetti yüz on üç erdi yili salāmun 'alaikum 'alaikum salām. (MM201v:3-4) 'The Lord granted me Divine Aid to compose these few words. This work was completed in the month of the Fast in the year seven hundred and thirteen. Peace be upon you, upon you be peace.'

Mundaq aytur faqir-i haqir...Muhammad aş-Şaybānī ibn Abī'l-Hayr Hān...kim [anga] bu tarih toquz yüz on üçdä Hurasan

taḥṭi muyassar boldi. (RM1v:7) '[I] the humble beggar... Muḥammad ash-Shaybānī, son of Abū'l-Khayr Khān... who in [the year] 913 [1507-1508] of our era succeeded in obtaining the throne of Khurasan, say as follows.'

Note: If the date is introduced by **ta'riḥi** or **ta'riḥ-i hicrat**, the case ending or pstposition after the cardinal number may be omitted. E.g.,

Čin diyari bitildi bu nama. Faqri Tahir qolida bu ḥama. Ta'riḥi Hicrat erdi ming ikki yuz ham yigirma üç. Erdi vaqti küz. (MS 17r:3-4). 'This copy of the book was written in the land of China. The pen [that wrote it] was in the hand of Faqri Tahir. It was in [the year] one thousand two hundred and twenty three of the Hijra. It was in the autumn.'

3.5.1.5. In fractions cardinal numbers are used. The denominator is in the ablative or locative cases while the numerator takes the nominative case. E.g.,

mingdā bir 'one thousandth'

Nečā ögsām ayitman mingdā birin. 'Much as I praise him, I cannot tell one thousandth of it.' (Eckm. Gr. p.107)

On ikki ming arşun erür bir yığaç. Munung üçdā biri açuq boldi qač. (MM182v:14) 'One Turkish mile equals twelve thousand Turkish yards. It is obvious how much one-third of this is.'

Bir artmişda tana bahāsindin on ülüş barı tört dā birini berür. (MM189v:8) 'On an additional one, the tax is one-fourth of the tenth part of the price of a calf in its third year.'

The word **ülüş** 'part' with cardinal numbers forms such fractions as **tört ülüş** 'one fourth', **üç ülüş** 'one third', **on ülüş** 'one tenth' [see above]. For one half **yartu** and **yarim** are used. E.g.,

Sening Tengring, ay Muḥammad, bilür kim sen köp qopar sen kečā namāzigā kečāning tört ülüşidin azraq, va kečāning yartu-sidin, va üç ülüşidin azraq. (RM37v:5-7) 'O Muhammad, indeed, your God knows that you frequently get up [at night] for the night prayer [and pray] during somewhat less than one quarter of the night, [sometimes] during half of it, and [sometimes] during somewhat less than a third of it.'

3.5.2. Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed from cardinal numbers by the suffixes **-inči/-inči** [after consonants] and **-nči/-nči** [after vowels]:

birinči 'first'
ikkinči, ikinči 'second'

üçünči	'third'
törtünči	'fourth'
bešinči	'fifth'
altınči	'sixth'
yettinči, yetinči	'seventh'
sekkizinči, sekizinči	'eighth'
toqquzunči, toquzunči	'ninth'
onunči	'tenth'

Note: (1) "First" is also expressed by **avval**, **avvalgi**, **burungi**, **avvalin**, and **ilk**.

E.g.,

Kečār cānīdin avval suda ḡavvās, ki tā āḥar bolur bir durrgā ol ḥaṣṣ. (DN253v:7) 'First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single pearl.'

İkkinči rak'atda bu āyatni oquḡay. (RM17r:4) 'In the second rak'at he should recite the following verse.'

Üçünči kün alar muḥkam uruštī. (Sayf138r:8) 'On the third day they had a big quarrel.'

Ay Šabāni dilbaringa avvalin āšnā eding, muḥtasib mastni nā qılḡay kim alastdin yar mām. (ShD111v:12) 'O, Shabāni 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.,

Avvalgi āyatdin songgi āyat kelgünčā on yıl kečti. (RM31:3-4) 'Ten years passed between the [coming of] the first and the last verses.'

Biri ol kim māl yiḡdī daḡi yemādi, ikinči ol kim 'ilm oqidi daḡi 'amal qilmadi. (Sayf160v:10) 'The first is the one who collected wealth but did not enjoy it, the second is the one who studied but did not use his learning in his actions.'

Qavlisin bilgil. Avval istiftah, anda kedin a'uz birlā falah. Ba'dahu bi'smillah 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 āksük yaqin bilmāsāng, erür avval Ādam, Muḥammad songi.** (MM176v:11) 'Even if you do not know them all by name, [know at least that] Adam was the first, and Muḥammad, the last.'

Note: Parts of the ritual prayer, especially the prostrations are counted by Arabic numerals. E.g.,

Bu avval, bu şanī, bu şalış teyü, kārāk qılsa sacda bilü atayu. (MM 185v:3) 'This is the first, this is the second, this is the third: One must carry out the prostrations knowingly and counting.'

A less frequently used set of ordinal numbers is formed by the suffix **-lanči/-lānci**:

birlānči	'first'
ikilānči	'second'
üçlānči	'third'
törtlānči	'fourth'
beşlānči	'fifth'
altılānči	'sixth'
yetilānči	'seventh'
sekizlānči	'eighth'
toquzlanči	'ninth'
onlanči	'tenth'

Note: The final cowel of the suffix **-lanči/-lānci** may be dropped. E.g., **Biri yüzni yumaq, ikinci āling, tutuş tirsäki birlä yumaq, biling! Üçinç başqa mash, et taqı törtılānç adaqni topuq birlä yup rāst qiling.** (MM180v:13-14) 'The first is to wash your face, the second, to wash your hands. Know that [by washing your hand we mean that] you must wash all the way up to your elbows. The third is to wipe your head, the fourth, to wash your feet, including hour heels. [Carry on these duties and] you will be acting properly.'

3.5.3. Collective Numbers

The majority of the collective numbers in use are formed by the suffix **-av/-āv**. [The paradigm is incomplete. One of Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān's ghazals [140r:12-140v:8] has the following forms:]

birāv	'one altogether, someone'
ikāv	'the two together'
üçāv	'the three together'
törtāv	'the four together'
beşāv	'the five together'
altav	'the six together'
yetāv	'the seven together'
sekizāv	'the eight together'
toquzav	'the nine together'

E.g.,

Uşbu dam keldi birāv ḥān qatığa. (Shayb. V56-29) 'At that very moment someone came to the presence of the Khan.'

Siz ikāv bir ataning oğlı siz. (Shayb.V180:49) 'The two of you are the sons of the same father.'

Agar havā va havasdīn bikullī desāng ötāy, şarābhāna töründä muğan birlä ikāv. (ShD140r:13) 'If you say I wish to pass over desire and passion once and for all, you and the tavern-keeper, the two of you, will be on the seat of honor of the tavern.'

Şabāniyā sanga bas uşbu köy-i pīr-i muğan; qalur ārānlār ayağında bilgil uş toğuzav. 'O, Shabānī the quarter of the elder of the magi is sufficient for you. The [gifts of] nine remains at thee feet of the saints.'

Note: Rarely **-ağu/-ägü**, the archaic form of **-av/-āv** is also represented in Chagatay:

Ay köngül boldung bizä sen pur hunar, kel ikägü baralī şubḥ saḥar. (ShD47v:8-9) 'O, Heart, You have become full of virtues for us. Come, let us walk, the two of us, [joined like] morning and daybreak.'

Rarely the suffixes **-avla/-āvlā** or **-avlan/-āvlān** are used. [The series is not complete].

ikāvlā, ikāvlān	'both, the two together'
üçāvlā, üçāvlān	'the three together'

E.g.,

Uşol damda yätiştilār ikāvlān. (Ḥ77r:1) 'At that moment they both arrived.'

Baqa baqa ikāvlān öygä keldi. (Ḥ76v:1) 'Looking around they both entered the house.'

Üçāvlāni birin cānin alur mān. (Ḥ73v10) 'I will take the soul of one of these three [boys].'

The suffixes **-la/-lā, -ala/-ālā, -lasī/-lāsī, -alasī/-ālāsī** also occur:

ikālā, ikālāsī	'both, the two together'
üçālā, üçālāsī	'the three together'
törtālā, törtālāsī	'the four together'

E.g.,

‘Āşiq bilä ma‘şūq ara bir qıl bolsa, ol ikkilāsī hargiz anī üzmäs emiş. (ShD180r:6) 'If there is one hair between the Lover and the Beloved [that ties them together], the two of them would never break it.'

3.5.4. Distributive Numbers

Distributive numbers are partly formed by suffixal derivation, partly by case forms or by repetition.

3.5.4.1. In suffixal derivation the suffixes **-ar/-är** (on consonantal bases) or **-šar/-šär** (on vowel bases) are used:

birär	'one each'
ikkišär	'two each'
üčär	'three each'
törtär	'four each'
bešär	'five each'
altışär	'six each'
yettišär	'seven each'
säkkizär	'eight each'
toqquzar	'nine each'
onar	'ten each'

E.g.,

Ay mu'minlar, cuftlaning ol kim sizka hwaš kelgäy hatunlardin ekkišär taqı üčär cuftlaning taqı törtär cuftlaning. (NF96v:16-97r:1) 'O Believers, marry two from women whom you like, marry three or merry four of them.'¹⁰⁹

3.5.4.2. The instrumental case forms of cardinal numbers also occur in the role of distributive numbers. E.g.,

Moğulning çapqunčisi birin ikin čerigning keynidin kelip. (Babur 19v:1) 'The Moghul raiders followed the army one by one or two by two.'

Vale bil, qiyamat künindä birin birin cumlasindin sorulğu turur. (MM193v:7) 'But know that on the day of Resurrection you will be asked about all [of your indulgences] one by one.'

In idioms:

Bešin vaqt namāz (RM25r:6) 'the five daily prayers'

3.5.4.3. Cardinal numbers repeated may serve as distributive numbers.

bir bir 'one by one'

E.g.,

Šabānī yurti haqqında baše emgāk körüp tün kün. Bu emgākdin

musulmānlar, tüşär bir bir bu dandānim. (ShD109v:11-12) 'For his fatherland Shabānī labors a lot night and day. Because of this labor I shed my teeth one by one.'

Andin song bir bir mangip mascid sari bargay. (RM15r:5) 'Then he should leave [his house] and [with other worshippers] set of for the mosque one by one.'

Muvabbab tapti anda 'išq rāzin, mufašsal içidä bir bir bayānin. (DN252r:1) 'She found in it the secrets of love laid out in chapters with statements disclosed in paragraphs.'

3.5.5. Multiplicative Numbers

The following words are used to express multiplication: **anča** [equative of *ol*], **qurla** [< *qur* 'weapon'], **qatla** [< *qat* 'layer'], **martaba** [< Ar. 'step'], **navbat** [< Ar. 'turn'], **ta** [< P. 'fold'], **vaqt** [< Ar. 'time']. E.g.,

Taqi qul ya ayyuha'l-kāfiruna-ni yāti qatla oquğay. (RM10v:7) 'And he should [also] recite: Say, O kafirs...seven times.'

Qirq qatla bu tasbiħni aytqay. (RM14v:2) 'He should pronounce the following tasbiħ forty times.'

Nečä navbat bu andišani qıldim. (Sayf24v:9) 'Several times I entertained this thought.'

namāzni beš vaqt Ka'bağa yüzlänip oqusa... (RM26v:2-4) 'if he recites the prayer five times turning his face toward the Kaaba...'

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarči yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) 'I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].'

Bir aytqanni yana aytma mukarrar, ki halvāni daği bir qurla yerlär. (Sayf108v:9) 'Do not repeat what you have already said once. Consider, people serve you halva only once.'

Yüz anča bolsang ärlikdä bilip köp türlü al ärdäm. (Sayf18v:3) 'Even if you are a hundred times better in valor knowing many kinds of ruses and skills.'

Tämür töggän biläk ming qurla yahši ol eldän kim kögüsdä beggä qarši. (Sayf45v:7) 'A fist that pounds on iron is a thousand times better than hands at the chest in the presence of a lord.'

Qavisi kündä üç navbat yemäk yer. (Sayf84r:7) 'The stronger one ate his meal three times a day.'

Idiom: **karrāt va marrāt** 'many times', e.g.,

Karrāt va marrāt bu mašlahatni kim aytur sän fikr ettim. (Sayf156r:7) 'I have considered this matter that you are saying many times'

¹⁰⁹ Qur. 4:3. Cf. Muhammad Ali's translation "merry such women as seem good to you, two, or three, or four"

3.5.6. Indefinite Numbers

Some of the indefinite numbers are also used as adjectives [see 3.4.8.2.]
The most frequently used indefinite numbers are:

az	‘few’
barča	‘all’
barī	‘all’
farāvan	‘many’
köp	‘many’
nečā	‘few’
öküş	‘many’
bir nečā	‘a few’
camī ^c	‘all’
cumla	‘all’
tamām	‘whole’
telim	‘much, many’
tükāl	‘entire’
tümān ming	‘a great many’

E.g.,

Kim avval şurati qıldı padidār, bu işdā şurat u ma‘nī barī yār. (DN271r:5) ‘The former brought into view forms, but in this work of art [of yours] form and meaning, both, are [inseparably together like two] friends.’

Bu kün tuttum ‘Uṭarid teg alamdin, dam urğaylar barī 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.’

Maḥabbat bābidin tartip nečā faşl, uzun fūmār ammā içidā vaşl. (DN261v:1) ‘From the chapter of caring love he pulled a few paragraphs; it was a long scroll but in it there was [a description of] union.’

Tümān ming rang berding bir qaradin, kōtārding Ćin mişālīnī aradin. (DN271r:2) ‘You presented endless number¹¹⁰ of colors from black [ink] and brought forth examples of Chinese [painting].’

Meni emdi halāk etti firaqing, şikeb az va farāvan iştīyaqing. (DN263v:6) ‘Now your absence drove me to destruction; patience is little, and the desire for you is overwhelming.’

Acun raḥtī tilār men tilā kirgāy, cihān şufi barī tafşila kirgāy. (DN264v:8) ‘I wish that the goods and chattels of this world be also brought up; that all the wool in the world be teaseded.’

3.5.7. Numeratives

Numeratives are counting words that specify an object through a common characteristic of the group of objects it belongs to. They are nouns with full meanings. In this role, however, they occur only in the singular.

The following is a selective list with illustrations of the most frequently used numeratives:

3.5.7.1. baş ‘head’

üç baş sarımsaq (KBV62v:8) ‘three bulbs of garlics’

yeti uluğ baş sarımsaq (KBV67v:5) ‘seven large bulbs of garlics’

3.5.7.2. batman ‘batman’ [a measure of weight].

bir batman buğday (ShD121r:8) ‘one batman of wheat’

3.5.7.3. pāra ‘piece’

bir pāra ‘anzarūt (KBV24r:6) ‘a piece/dose of Persian balsam’

3.5.7.4. pārcā ‘piece’

bir pārcā kağızpāra (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 ‘rak‘at; prayer-unit’

ikki rak‘at işraq namazī (RM16v:6) ‘a two-rak‘at sunrise prayer’

3.5.7.7. tiş ‘clove’

üç tiş sarımsaq (KBV30r:1) ‘three cloves of garlics’

3.5.7.8. zarr ‘an atom’

bir zarr mihr (DN245v:6) ‘an atom of love’

3.5.7.9. zarra ‘an atom’

bir zarra şafa (ShD84r:1) ‘an atom of purity’

3.6. Verbs

3.6.1. Morphological Elements of Verbs

Verbs occur in finite or nonfinite forms: **Qayttı** ‘he returned’ is finite because it tells us about concrete things: the agent [3d singular], the time [past], aspect [definite] and status [completed] of the action. **Qaytgan** is

¹¹⁰ Lit., ten thousand times thousand

nonfinite, because it does not reveal the agent or the concrete status or aspect of the action. What it says about time [sometime in the past] or status [hearsay] does not constitute a complete agent related expression. Finite verbs create verbal predicates in the sentence while nonfinite verbs mostly occur in nominal role, including the function of nominal predicates.

The finite verb consists of a stem, a tense and/or mood marker, and a personal ending. E.g., **qayt-ti-m** 'I returned'. The subject can be included for precision or emphasis: **Men qayttim** 'I returned'. The definiteness of the statement has been decided by the choice of tense [-**dī** forms].

The nonfinite verb consists of a stem and a nominal formant. E.g., **qayt-gan** 'a returning in the past'; **qayt-maq** 'to return; a returning.'

Negation of both verbs takes place on the stem: In case of finite verbs exclusively [**qayt-ma-dī** 'he did not return'], in case of nonfinite verbs, alternating with negative particles or negative auxiliaries [**qaytgan emäs**, **qaytmağan**].

More importantly, finite verbs, for a complete expression, are directly dependent on a subject, agental or grammatical. A nonfinite verb may have no subject or its subject may be expressed by syntactic structures [**qaytmaq** 'a returning', **amirning qaytmaği** 'the returning of the prince']. Both the finite and nonfinite verbs can have complements: adverbs, direct objects, indirect objects [**tēz qaytmaq** 'a fast return, to return fast', **šahrgä qaytgan** 'having returned to the city'].

3.6.2. Verbal Stems

Verbs and nouns are closed categories: to enter from one category into the other can generally happen through nominal or verbal derivation. There are, however, a few cases where a noun, without derivative elements, is used as the equivalent verbal stem. E.g.,

ač-	(Sayf101v:8) 'to go hungry'	< ač 'hungry, hunger'
ağri-	(Sayf147r:10) 'to ache'	< ağri 'pain'
kengäš-	(MA122-7) 'to consult'	< kengäš 'consultation'
küräš-	(Sayf38v:12) 'to fight'	< küräš 'fight'
qari-	(Sayf81r:5) 'to grow old'	< qari 'old'
qorq-	(NTM7r:) 'to be afraid'	< qorq 'fear'
qol-	(MM192r:16) 'to ask for'	< qol 'hand'
toquš-	(PdC240) 'to meet'	< toquš 'clash'
tüz-	(Sayf136v:2) 'to arrange'	< tüz 'flat'

3.6.2.1. Basic Stems

Basic stems are original stems with no recognizable derivational element. They are, with a few exceptions, mono- or disyllabic stems mostly with a closed syllable at the end. The following is a review of Chagatay basic stems according to their phonemic make-up.

(a) V stems [complete list]

e-	'to be'
u-	'to know, be able to'

(b) CV stems [complete list]

qo-	'to disregard'
sa-	'to count'
te-	'to say, tell'
ye-	'to eat'
yu-	'to wash'

(c) VC stems [quite a few, selective list]

ač-	'to open'
al-	'to take'
aq-	'to flow'
ar-	'to grow weak'
ay-	'to tell, say'
az-	'to go astray'
ät-	'to make'
es-	'to blow [wind]'
ič-	'to drink'
in-	'to descend'
iy-	'to send'
öp-	'to kiss'
öt-	'to pierce'
uq-	'to understand'

(d) CVC stems [many, selective list]

baq-	'to look'
bar-	'to go'
bat-	'to sink'
ber-	'to give'
bil-	'to know'
bol-	'to be'
bul-	'to find'
čäk-	'to draw'

küy-	'to burn'
kir-	'to enter'
käs-	'to cut'
min-	'to ride'
sor-	'to ask'
yut-	'swallow'

(e) VCC stems (few)

elt-	'to bring'
ört-	'to cover'
ürk-	'to start up'

(e) CVCC stems (few)

qorq-	'to fear'
sanč-	'to put on the spit'
tart-	'to draw'
türt-	'to cut through'
yanč-	'to bore, pierce'
yänč-	'to smash'
yirt-	'to rend, tear to pieces'

(f) VCV stems (few)

aya-	'to grudge'
oqi-	'to recite'
ödä-	'to pay'
ula-	'to join'
uyu-	'to sleep'

(g) CVCV stems

bäzä-	'to adorn'
büyü-	'to grow'
qari-	'to grow old'
fani-	'to recognize'
tilä-	'to wish'
toqi-	'to weave'
töšä-	'to spread, lay out'
yara-	'to fit'
yüri-	'to go, walk'

(h) VCVC stems (few)

äšit-	'to hear'
ayir-	'to split'

inan-	'to believe'
išit-	'to hear'
unut-	'to forget'

(i) CVCVC stems

buyur-	'to command'
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3.6.2.1.1. Improductive Derivations

There are a few verbs, mostly monosyllabic with a vowel base [see Brock. Ostt. Gr., p.188] that have recognizable derivational elements which, however, long have not been productive. There are very few data available and the nature of the derivation and the function of the isolated derivational means are not always easy to evaluate.

kö-r-	'to see'	cf. kö-z 'eye', kö-rk 'beauty'
to-d-/to-y-	'to eat one's fill'	cf. to-l- 'to be full'
yo-d-/yo-y-	'to annihilate'	cf. yo-q 'nonexistent'
ya-q-	'to burn'	cf. ya-n- 'to reduce to ashes'
ke-l-	'to come'	cf. ke-t- 'to go away'

3.6.2.1.2. Foreign Stems

Arabic and Persian words are introduced into the verbal system through means of verbal derivation, e.g., *āzār*l- 'to hurt' [< P. *āzār* 'injury'], *āzī*l- 'to respect' [< A. *āzī* 'respected'], *farmā*nla- 'to order' [< P. *farmān* 'order']. In a few examples the foreign word, preferably a noun, is directly used as a verbal stem. E.g.,

ağaz-	'to begin' (Qutb63r:4) [< P. <i>āğāz</i> 'beginning']
naza-	'to take coquettish airs' (MA38,7) [< P. <i>nāz</i> 'coquetry']

3.6.2.1.3. Augmented Stems

Closed, mostly monosyllabic, verbs are often expanded by a vowel. Many of them survived in Modern Uzbek and are used parallel with the original verbs. E.g.,

sana-	'to count' (MM184r:12) [< san-]
sämri-	'to grow fat' (Sayf71r:3) [< sāmīr-]
sora-	'to ask' (H76r:2) [< sor-]
sosa-	'to stretch' (Bay38r:1) [< sos-]
söyü-	'to love' (DN250r:5) [< söy-]
tälbärä-	'to act foolishly' (PdC265) [< tälbär-]
tutaš-	'to flare up' (BN87v:6) [< tut-]
tüzät-	'to arrange' (Sayf185v:8) [< tüz-]
yalqi-	'to be fed up with' (Sang336r:3) [< yalq-]
yigra-	'to be angry with' (Sayf140r:11) [< yigir-]

3.6.2.2. Grammatical Derivations

Grammatical derivations bring about forms that constitute structural elements in the verbal inflection. The derivatives are not part of the lexicon, although some of them may be listed as entry words or may be included in the word entry.

3.6.2.2.1. Negative Stems

Negative verbal stems are formed by the suffix **-ma/-mä** added directly to the positive stem. E.g.,

kelmä-	‘not to come’ [< kel-]
qaytma-	‘not to return’ [< qayt-]
tartma-	‘not to pull’ [< tart-]
sağınma-	‘not to think’ [sağın-]

3.6.2.2.2. Passive Stems

Passive stems are formed by means of the suffix **-l, -il/-il, -ul/-ül** added to the positive stem. Stems ending on an **-l** have the suffix **-n, -in/-in, -un/-ün** in the passive form.

3.6.2.2.2.1. Stems in -l, -il/-il, -ul/-ül

açıl-	‘to open, to be opened’ (DN246r:6)
ayıl-	‘to be related, told’ (MM195r:2)
ayrıl-	‘to be separated’ (DN248v:1)
aytıl-	‘to be said’ (RM3v:8)
ägil-	‘to be bent’ (MM184v:5)
äwrül-	‘to revolve’ [< to be turned] (MM199v:8)
bitil-	‘to be written’ (ShD178v:10)
buzul-	‘to be invalidated’ (MM183v:9)
kesil-	‘to give up’ [lit. to be cut off] RM2v:3
kiril-	‘to be introduced’ (MM251v:7)
münül-	‘to be ridden’ (MM179v:5)
oqul-	‘to be recited’ (RM2v:3)
qutul-	‘to be spared’ (RM37r:3)
säcil-	‘to be separated out’ (MM198v:13)
tapıl-	‘to be worshipped’ (RM42v:2)
tapul-	‘to be found’ (Sayf105r:8)
tüyil-	‘to stop’ (MM181v:1)
tiril-	‘to live’ (MM193v:3)
tökül-	‘to spill’ (MM194v:10)
tutul-	‘to get stuck’ (MM176v:3)
tüzäl-	‘to rise’ (MM251v:1)
urul-	‘to be cast’ (MM188v:16)

üzül-	‘to be separated from’ (MM192v:17)
yığıl-	‘to accumulate’ (Sayf85r:11)
yiqıl-	‘to collapse’ (Sayf26r:5)

E.g.,

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

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

Münülmäs ma‘ışat üçün iślāmäs nişāb bilgü uşbu tewädä beşi. (MM188v:16) ‘Camels which are not ridden and do not work for their owner are subject to taxation if there are at least five of them.’

Ayrılğay ğam atı cān daftarindin, köngül cam‘ına tartılğay raqamlar. (DN248v:1) ‘The name of sorrow will be deleted from the journal of life. The numbers will be drawn to the total of the heart.’

Bu fursat barça vaqтта tapulmas. (Sayf 105r:8) ‘This opportunity is not to find every time.’

3.6.2.2.2.2. Stems in -n, -in/-in, -un/-ün

After stem final **-l** and **-r** and after a vowel in monosyllabic stems the mark of the passive voice is **-n, -in/-in, -un/-ün**.

alın-	‘be held back, be stemmed’ (MM181r:17)
arın-	‘to be cleansed’ (MM177v:2)
bilin-	‘to be known’ (ShD100r:3-4)
bulun-	‘to be found’ (MM182v:1)
körün-	‘to be seen’ (RM31v:10)
qilin-	‘to be made’ (MM188v:13)
yän-	‘to be eaten’ (MM190v:15)

E.g.,

Pista ağzı birlä lāfē tartsa bir mīm-i matin, qıl tabassum kim bilinsün ğunça ħandānim mänüm. (ShD100r:3-4). ‘If a solid *mīm* flashes a smile with its pistachio mouth, return the smile so that my laughing rose bud be revealed.’

Kāfir atı mu‘min bulup tasmiyat qılıp tegdi yenmäs, ay şāhib-raşād. (MM190v:15) ‘If an unbeliever shoots his arrow, then becomes a believer and, pronouncing the name of God, touches [the animal which he has shot], the game animal cannot be eaten, O, Faithful One.’

Ayıt lā ilāha, arīnsun tiling. (MM177v:2) 'Recite lā ilāha that your tongue may be cleansed.'

3.6.2.2.3. Reflexive Stems

Reflexive verbs express actions that the subject carries out on himself, or does for himself, in his own interest [= middle voice]. Reflexive stems are identical with passive stems formed with the same suffix. A few reflexive verbs have also passive meaning. E.g.,

ban-	'to bind oneself' (MM198v:2)
bāzān-	'to adorn, ornate' (NF306-11)
bölün-	'to rid oneself of s.th.' (MM179r:4)
tayan-	'to lean on' (NF16-11)
körün-	'to seem, to appear' (Sayf63r:10)
isin-	'to be occupied with' ¹¹¹ (DN258r:6)
qisin-	'to restrain oneself' (DN258r:6)
quyun-	'to wash oneself' (MM182r:9)
salin-	'to sway' (Sayf182r:1)
saqlan-	'to hide [oneself]' (Sayf18v:)
saqin-	'to take care of oneself' (Sayf14v:10)
sevün-	'to rejoice' (DN252r:3)
sığın-	'to take refuge' (Sayf33v:8)
tilän-	'to beg' (Sayf86v:9)
yun-	'to wash oneself' (MM181:1)

E.g.,

Taning ham tapīnsun bir baş ayağnī, til ačip sözgä tīndursun qulağnī. (DN260v:2) 'Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ears.'

Munung teg quyunğu kārāk üç yolī, taqī sürgü arqa, kögüz, baş qolī. (MM182r:9) 'You must wash three times in this manner. Then you must scrub your back, chest, head, and arms.'

Sāvünmāk yoq körüp duşman ölūsin: kälīsār čön bizä ol davr ayağı. (Sayf46r:6-7) 'There is nothing to rejoice about the death of [our] enemy since the cup that goes around in that circle will for sure come to us.'

Tāngridān özgä sığınur yerim qalmadı. (Sayf33v:8) 'I do not have left other place of refuge than God.'

Zamānē harf 'ilminā isindī, içi küydi, valē qorqup qisindī. (DN 258r:6) 'For a while she was busy with the science of characters. She was filled with enthusiasm but, being afraid, she restrained herself.'

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)
birik-	'to unite' (MM177v:11)
ögrük-	'to congregate' (MA165-6)
qačiq-	'to run for one's life' (Eckm. Gr. p. 73)
qızıq-	'to heat up, become quite red' (Zenker, 728a)
siniq-	'to be utterly defeated' (MA159-5)
sızıq-	'to leak intensively' (MA130-5)
turuq-	'to stop and wait, halt' (Sayf36r:2)
uq-	'to understand' (MM179v:14)

E.g.,

Qanā 'at bilā ār ulaşu 'aziz: Äşitgil bu sözni, ayā 'āqil, uq! (MM 179v:14) 'A man possessed of contentment is always beloved [of God]. Heed these words, O Wise One, and [seek to] understand them.'

Ḥwāca bu söznüñ cavābına qorqup turuqtı. (Sayf36r:2) 'The Khoja was afraid of giving a [positive] answer and waited a while.'

Bu üç birikibān bolur, bil, imān. (MM177v:11) 'When these three are together, that is the faith, know full well!'

3.6.2.2.5. Frequentative Stems

A few frequentative verbs occur with the suffix -ğula/-gülä, -qula/-külä.

E.g.,

atqula-	'to shower arrows upon the enemy' [cf., atqulaş 'fierce fight' PdC 5]
čapqula-	'to be engaged in a hand to hand fight' [cf. NT capqulaş 'hand to hand combat' for Persian <i>cang-i šamšir</i> 15v:7]
tartqula-	'to fight' [cf. tartqulaş- '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'].

başış-	'to defeat one another' (MA198-2)
bozuş-	'to destroy one another' (MA144-4)
čäkiş-	'to pull one another' (Sayf157v:8)
körüş-	'to embrace one another' (Sayf118v:1)
mängzäş-	'to look alike' (MA113-5)

¹¹¹ Lit., to warm himself up

öpüş-	'to kiss one another' (Sayf123v:13)
söküş-	'to quarrel, scold each other' (Sayf158v:8)
tutuş-	'to quarrel' (Sayf168v:1)
uruş-	'to fight, beat one another' (Sayf168r:9)

E.g.,

Ol manga mən anga tuttum çakişip, yügürür artimizça halq külä. (Sayf157v:6) 'I grabbed him and he grabbed me and we pulled at each other. Behind us people were running [bursting] with laughter.'

Üçüncü kün alar muhkam uruştı. (Sayf138v:8) 'On the third day they had a bitter fight.'

Muni ayttım dağı yüz köz öpüşüp vidā^c ettim. (Sayf123v:13) 'I said this and kissing each other on the eye and the face, I said good bye.'

3.6.2.2.7. Cooperative Stems

Cooperative verbs indicate that two or more subjects are carrying out the same action directed not against one another but toward one common goal. Some of the cooperative stems are also used to express the middle tense.

barış-	'to go together' (MA118-7)
körüş-	'to embrace' (Sayf118v:1)
müngäş-	'to ride together' (MA104-7)
çöküş-	'to sit together' (MA124-8)
sığış-	'[for several] to go in' (Sayf12r:11)
sürüş-	'to rub together' (MM194r:6)
kiriş-	'to start, to set out to do s.th.' (DN243r:9)
turuş-	'to appear together' (Sayf138v:9)
yätış-	'to reach' (Sayf91v :1)
yürüş-	'to go together' (MM194r:7)

E.g.,

Sığar bir hucrağa on ikki mihmān, bir iqlīma sığışmas ikki sul-tān. (Sayf12r:11-12) 'There is enough room for twelve guests in a cell, but there is not enough room for two kings in one country.'

Kiriştım söz bezärgä hāma teg tund, işimdä sarzanişdin bolma-yin kund. (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to [choose] decorate words fast like the pen does, so that her reproaches may not make me tardy in my work.'

Şeşip belni andin körüşgü kārāk, körüşsä kögüzni sürüşgü kārāk. (MM194r:6) 'Before embracing one must untie one's belt. While embracing, both persons must rub their chests together.'

3.6.2.2.8. Similitive Stems

Similitive stems are formed by the suffixes -si/-si, -sun/-sün. The derivatives express incomplete, illusive or apparent actions. This formation was quite productive in the Karakhanid period. In Chagatay only a few examples exist:

umsun-	'to despair' (PdC81)
ulugsin-	'to grow' (MA170-4)

3.6.2.2.9. Desiderative Stems

Desiderative verbs indicate the subject's desire to carry out the action. They are formed by the suffix -sa/-sä. E.g.,

körsä-t-	'to show' (BN87r:2)
külümsä-	'to smile' (PdC 476)
ögürsä-	'to wish to have a mate' (MA17-8)
qapsa-	'to grasp' (MM182r:14)
suwsa-	'to be thirsty' (MA99-10)
susa-	'to be thirsty' (Sayf153r:12)

E.g.,

Körür miskīn susamış uyqusunda tamāmat yer yüzün tutmış aqar su. (Sayf153r:12) 'A thirsty poor person sees in his dream that running water covers the entire surface of the earth.'

Üwüş erkān ök yu, songinça beri taqī başnī qapsayu mash et ari. (MM182r:14) 'Do the ablution while your limbs are wet. Grasp your head with both hands and rub it thoroughly.'

Qudrātingnī körsät, ay qudrat-numā! (BN82r:2) 'Exercise your power, O Omnipotent One!'

3.6.2.2.10. Causative Stems

Formation of causative verbs constitutes a vital part of Chagatay verbal expression. There are more than a dozen derivative suffixes productive in the classical period. Many of them survived in modern Turkic languages, especially in modern Uzbek.

3.6.2.2.10.1. Causative Stems in -ar/-är

çiqar-	'to produce, pull out' (DN252v:2)
ketär-	'to remove, eliminate' (DN242r:9)
qaytar-	'to return' (Sayf124r:12)

E.g.,

Tazarru^c birlä, ay h̄wāca muẓaffar, harāmī altunung qaytarma-yisar. (Sayf124r:12) 'Just because you keep lamenting, O Glorious Master, the highway robber will not return your money.'

‘Uşur bergü ‘uşrī agar bolsa yer, ayaq onda batman çiqar nişfi ber. (MM188v:2) ‘One must pay a tithe if one’s land is subject to one. For every ten *ayaqs* pay half a *batman*.’
 Zalālimdin ketār könglüng hūyini, körübān yutmağil hasrat suyini. (DN242r:9) ‘Remove the sweat of your heart from my pure and limpid drink. Beholding it, do not swallow the water of regret.’

3.6.2.2.10.2. Causative Stems in -dur/-dür

bildür-	‘to inform’ (RM29v:6)
isindür-	‘to warm up’ (DN247v:6)
käydür-	‘to garb, to don’ (MM196v:4)
küydür-	‘to burn, to burn up’ (DN257v:3)
ozdur-	‘to go beyond a certain point’ (RM30v:7)
öldür-	‘to kill’ (MM180r:12)
qaldur-	‘to raise’ (MM194v:5)
sındur-	‘to break’ [transitive] (KBV41v:22)
soldur-	‘to make wither’ (MM199r:2)
söndür-	‘to extinguish, to put out’ (Sayf115v:9)
tındur-	‘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 dōstlar yah kebi cismimni tongdurdı savuq. Yahdin ham beş batar dur asru küydürdi savuq. (ShD79v:1-2) ‘Know, friends that cold froze my body like ice. It is much worse than ice, because this cold burned [me] very much.’

Kötārgān sihr eligin söz yüzidin, uyaldurğan közümi öz yüzidin. (DN247r:7) ‘He has lifted the hands of magic from the face of the word. He put my eyes to shame by his own face.’

Meni sen şam‘ teg küydürmäging ne? Cafā va cavr etākin tür-mäking ne? (DN257v:3) ‘What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?’

Tanıng ham tapınsun bir baş ayağni, til açip sözgä tındursun qulağni. (DN260v:2). ‘Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ear.’

Neçün sen meni körüp şam‘ni söndürdüng? (Sayf115v:9) ‘Why did you put out the candle when you saw me?’

3.6.2.2.10.3. Causative Stems in -qar/-kär; -ğar/-gär

ötkär-	‘to carry out, fulfil’ (BN85v:10)
qutqar-	‘to save’ (Qutb p.146)
qutğar-	‘to save’ (NF85r:13)

E.g.,

Ötkärür erdi sözini mäh sāl, kelmäs erdi Haqq taālāğa malāl. (BN85v:10) ‘For months and years God carried out his requests; the most high never wearied of them.’

Taqi māni Fir‘aunnung ‘azābindan qutğargil. (NF85r:13) ‘And save me from the cruelty of Pharaoh.’

3.6.2.2.10.4. Causative Stems in -ur/-ür

artur-	‘to increase’ (Sayf150v:8)
aşur-	‘to skip, pass by’ (Qutb, Zaj. 143)
bitür-	‘to finish’ (MM184r:15)
çömür-	‘to drown’ (Navā’i, Dict., IV, 484)
içür-	‘to make someone drink’ (KBV42r:7)
itür-	‘to lose’ (RB8r:2)
käçür-	‘to lead’ (MM179r:7)
kätür-	‘to perform’ (MM181v:13)
öçür-	‘to put out, extinguish’ (PdC50)
tatur-	‘to make s.o. taste s.th. (H75v:6)
tegür-	‘to send, transmit’ (MM177r:2)
tüşür-	‘to knock down’ (Sayf11r:9)
yaşur-	‘to hide’ (Qutb, Zaj. 74)
yatur-	‘to lay down on the ground’ (MM188r:17)
yetür-	‘to bring, drive, reduce to’ (H75r:4)

E.g.,

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

Yüzin dağlağaylar qaburğaların ham arqan yaturup quyup ot qorin. (MM188r:17) ‘His face and his side will be marked with a branding [tool]. Also, he will be laid on the ground and the embers of Hellfire will be poured upon his back.’

Halākatgä yetürdi nār-i sozān. (H75r:4) ‘The Burning Fire¹¹² has reduced us to this condition.’

¹¹² I.e., hell

Munī aytī daği duşman çārisinā kirip bir neçā bahādur ārānlār-ni **tüşürdi**. (Sayf11r:9) 'He said this and then drove into the hostile army and knocked down a few valiant soldiers.'

3.6.2.2.10.5. Causative Stems in -ğuz/-güz

kirgüz- 'to make someone enter s.th.' (DN248v:11)
körgüz- 'show, demonstrate, display' (Sayf164r:7)
tirgüz- 'to bring to life' (RM9v:7)
turğuz- 'to place, set up' (Bay41v:25)

E.e.,

Çu **körgüzdi** mahabbatnī yüz alvān, tükätti nāmanī va qıldı 'unvān. (DN246v:2) 'Having manifested [her] love in a hundred ways she completed the letter and wrote the address on it.'
 Bitig berdi va cān **kirgüzdi** tangā, hābar berdi tirigliktin badan-gā. (DN248v:11) 'It handed over the letter and made life enter the body. It brought news to the body about living.'

3.6.2.2.10.6. Causative Stems in -qur/-kür, -ğur/-gür

turğur- 'to make stand up' (Babur100r:16)
yatğur- 'to let sleep' (Rabg. 232.11)
yatkür- 'to make reach' (ShD104v:12)
yetkür- 'to get s.th. s.where' (DN249v:8)

E.g.,

Tikilip anda çon **yetkürdi** özin, elinā berdi va başladī sözin. (DN-249v:8) 'When he got himself over there, he stood straight, gave the letter in her hands and began his message.'
 'İşqing bilā Şabānī 'ālamda boldī maşhūr, **yatkürdi** dard-i hacring har yārgā dastānim. (ShD104v:2) 'Because of your love Shabanī became renowned all over the world. The pain caused by your absence took my story everywhere.'

3.6.2.2.10.7. Causative Stems in -t

arīt- 'to clean' (RM12r:10)
äksit- 'to eliminate' (MM180v:4)
bālgürt- 'to manifest, show' (MM179v:9)
işlāt- 'to make work' (MM191v:2)
kāngit- 'to extend [a row]' (MM184v:9)
tuhtat- 'to stop' (PdC 223)
körsāt- 'to show' (RB2r:1)
qarart- 'to blacken' (ShD83v:4)
qarat- 'to turn one's eyes to' (H75r:11)
qaynat- 'to boil' (Sayf121v:12)

sürt- 'to rub' (MM182v:4)
üvşāt- 'to wet [one's beard]' (MM181r:7)
yarat- 'to create' (MM176v:2)
yığlat- 'to make cry' (H78r:3)
yürüt- 'to carry out' (H79r:9)

E.g.,

Bu Şabānī qaşining mihrābida taptī murād, yoqsa yüzüngni **qarartur** bu Banī Haşim mening. (ShD83v:3-4) 'This Shaban has found his goal in the prayer-niche of her eyebrow. Had it not been like that, the Son from the House of Hashim would have blackened my face.'
 Äşittim Cibra'ildin uşbu sözni, yumup **qaratmadim** alarğa köz-ni. (H75r:11) 'When I heard these words from Gabriel, I closed my eyes and put (my parents) out of my mind.'
 Namazğa käligli şurū 'qilmadin şurū' qilsa buzamaz bu şaff **kengitip**. (MM184v:9) 'One should arrive for the prayer before it begins. If it has already begun, one will not cause a disturbance if one takes a position at the end of a row.'

3.6.2.2.10.8. Causative Stems in -tur/-tür

açtur- 'to cause to open' (Sang.31r:18)
barıştur- 'to reconcile' (BN87v:9)
ketür- 'to bring' (H75v:6)
keltür- 'to bring; to produce' (DN243v:6)
öltür- 'to kill' (Qutb, Zaj. p. 123)
qariştur- 'to mix' (KBV41v:18)
qatıştur- 'to mix s.th. into or with s.th.' (DN258r:4)
ulaştur- 'to join s.th. with s.th.' (Qutb, Zaj. p. 197)
üläştür- 'to hand out, to distribute' (Qutb, Zaj. p. 203)

E.g.,

Labing allida el cān **keltürürlär**, közüngni körüp imān keltürür-lär. (DN243v:6) 'People bring their lives to the presence of your lips. Upon seeing your eyes they bring forth the Faith [from a sincere heart].'
 Çu kördi nāmanī mihr etti ihsās, **qatışturdi** eli qunduz ara ās. (DN258r:4) 'When that sun saw the letter, she anticipated [what its message was]: Her hands added the white of the ermine['s fur] to the gray color of the beaver.'
 Ğaribni taş bilā **öltürmä** zinhār! ((Qutb, Zaj. p. 123) 'Do not kill a stranger with a [piece of] stone.'
 Manga icāzat bergil kim bu vazirni **öltüräyim**. (Sayf34v:9) 'Give me permission to kill this vizier.'

3.6.3. Substantive verbs

Substantive verbs express the existence of the subject either without qualification or with some added aspects such as sudden, unexpected emergence, prevailing states, or circumstances.

3.6.3.1. The Substantive Verb *bol-* 'to be'

The full paradigm is used, even the necessitative in *-isar/-isār*, which is rather rare. It is also used as an auxiliary verb in many roles within the verbal inflection. E.g.,

Sačining savdasidin boldum za'if, başima tüšti 'acab nāzük hiyāl. (ShD94r:10-11) 'From the fascination with her hair I was powerless.¹¹³ An unusually fine apparition occupied my mind.'¹¹⁴

Bu kün topraq bol andan burunraq kim ärtä gil täning topraq bolğay. (Sayf77r:6) 'Turn into dust today before tomorrow your clay body will become dust.'

3.6.3.2. The Substantive Verb *ol-* 'to be'

Oghuz variant of *bol-*. The full paradigm is not used: forms of the definite past, imperative [*olğil*] and gerunds [*olunča*, *olup*] occur. E.g.,

Zulf va yüzüngdin oldi har şubh va şam uyanmaq, bilmän nädin bolup tur riştasiz otqa yanmaq. (ShD75r:12) 'It was because of your tresses and your face that one was awake every morning and every evening. I do not know why it happened: burning in fire without [being tied with] a rope.'

Nafs hamrahligidin sen kezär sän mast olup, mast oldung uşbu dunyā mayidin emdi ayil. (ShD95v:2-3) 'Accompanied by the carnal soul you roam the land intoxicated. You have become intoxicated from the wine of this world: now sober up.'

3.6.3.3. The Substantive Verb *yürü-* 'to walk'

In the sense of 'exist, lead a life, move around in a certain state, carry on' the verb *yürü-* 'to walk' are used. E.g.,

Yüzüm hvarsēdidin hayrān yürür mü? Bolup bir zarra sargardan yürür mü? (DN252r:8) 'Doesn't he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn't he move perplexed?'

Ta'avvu' boyun mashī, bilgil, uya! Yawuzluqnī ädgün yürügül, yuya. (MM182v:6) 'Know, brother, that wiping your neck is [also] a supererogatory act. Live righteously, washing away wickedness.'

Nečä kim minmägä hāzır tevām yoq yürür män şādmān qarnīm közüm toq. (Sayf58r:7) 'Although I do not have camels ready to ride, I am happy, my stomach is full and my eyes satisfied [with what I have].'

3.6.3.4. The Substantive Verb *tüş-* 'to fall'

To express a sudden occurrence or a change of conditions the verb *tüş-* is employed.¹¹⁵ E.g.,

Ne kim vāhm u hātır hayālğa tüşär, uşol cumladin pāk, munaz-zah, ariğ. (MM178r:15) 'He is independent of whatever may occur in fantasy, memory, or imagination.'

Köp vaqt sözdä äygü yaman tüşär. (Sayf107r:1) 'Often good and bad occur in one's words.'

Bolur bir ayğa har kün muqābil, tüşüp tur ol nazar 'ilmidä qābil. (DN254r:6) 'He is facing a moon every day and has become an expert in the skill of observation.'

3.6.3.5. The Substantive Verb *kel-* 'to come'

An occasional emergence or accidental existence can be expressed by the verb *kel-* 'to come'.¹¹⁶ E.g.,

Tewä yüz taqı qırq beşindä zakāt maḥāz ikki ḥiqqa kelür bu üç at. (MM189r:13) 'On one hundred and forty-five camels the tax is a single [*bint*]-*maḥāz* and two *ḥiqqas*, that makes a total of three [camels].'

Baytārga nemä kelmäs. (Sayf147r:13) 'The veterinarian is not guilty.'

Kelip şarşar bigin ötti sitamlar, bi ḥamdi'llāh ki keçti barça ḡamlar. (DN266r:4) '[The times of violence] came and passed like a wild howling wind, praise be to God, all the sorrows are gone'

Bu pilla kim namāznīng şavābī anda bolğay ağır kelğay. (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.

¹¹³ Lit., weak

¹¹⁴ Lit., head

¹¹⁵ Cf., P. *ıftādan* '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-gäy-män** 'I will come', **bar-dī-ng** 'you went', **qil-ay-in** 'let me do'.

3.6.5.1. The Voluntative Mood

The voluntative mood has one person, the first, two numbers, the singular and plural, and two aspects, the positive and the negative. It expresses that the agent intends, suggests, volunteers, prefers or desires to carry or not to carry out the action.

In the first person singular the mark of the voluntative base is **-ay** [after a consonant] or **-y** [after a vowel]. The signs of the first person are **-in/-in** or **-im/-im** which are often dropped. If that happens, the voluntative base is used as the form of the first person singular.

First Singular

Positive	
alayin	'let me take, I wish to take'
ävüräyin	'let me turn away, I wish to turn away'
bolayin	'let me become, I wish to become'
çiqayin	'let me emerge, I wish to emerge'
qolayin	'let me request, I wish to request'
salayin	'let me cast away, I wish to cast away'
aytayim	'let me tell, I wish to tell'
baqayim	'let me consider, I wish to consider'
keläyim	'let me come, I wish to come'
kätüräyim	'let me bring, I wish to bring'
olturayim	'let me sit, I wish to sit'
qilayim	'let me do, I wish to do'
etäy	'let me make, I wish to make'

E.g.,

Yā ešik aç ravān çiqip kitāyim (Sayf60r:1). 'Or open the door so that I may walk out and leave.'

Dārū içip za'if bolup barayim hattā sultānning i'tiqādī manga artuqraq bolğay. (Sayf58v8). 'I intend to take drugs, look sick and [then] go so that the Sultan's compassion toward me be greater.'

Hinddān pūlād alip Halābgā kelāyim. (Sayf92v:8) 'Transporting steel from India I intend to come to Aleppo.'

Çiqayin yer içidin nāla yangliq, kafannī qanğa bulğap lāla yangliq. (DN244v:11) 'Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry¹¹⁷ and stain the shroud with blood [red] like tulips.'

Ne debān men anī közdin salayin, köngül aldīm, barip ham cān alayin. (DN246r:3) 'By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?'

Netük men ävüräyin öz ğamimdin, ki pūlād erigāy otluğ damimdin. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'

Bu nazik tarhlar kelmās kišidin, netük men naql etāy Mānī išidin. (DN271r:4) 'These fine designs do not come from common people: how could I talk about the work of Mani?'

Mān bir nārsā aytayim. (KBV2r:7) 'I want to say something.'

Mān dağī nā degāningni qilay, nā tilār bolsang sanga anī berāy. (BN86r:4) 'I will also do whatever you say. Whatever you ask for, I will give it to you.'

b. Negative [rare]. It is built on the negative stem in **-ma/-mä**:

bolmayin	'let me not be, I do not wish to be'
çiqmayin	'let me not emerge, I do not wish to emerge'
qutulmay	'let me not escape, I do not wish to escape'
qilmayin	'let me not do, I so not wish to do'

E.g.,

Neçük men qilmayin emdi du'ā 'arż, kim özgā elgā vācib tur manga farż. (DN270r:11) 'Now how couldn't I offer up my prayers since what is a necessary duty for others, for me is mandatory.'

Kirištīm söz bezārgā hāma teg tund işimdā sarzanišdin bolmayin kund. (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to [choose] decorative words fast as the pen, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.'

Qutulmay qayğudın gar furqatında ğamıngdın özgā bolsa 'uzrğwahim. (DN257v:8) 'I do not wish to rid myself from sadness if in your absence other than grief because of you is my apologist.'

Ol ħusn gancına men vērāna bolmay nedāyin, la'ī-i šerābing angip durrdāna bolmay nedāyin. (ShD123r:10-11) 'I do not wish to be the ruin for the treasures of that beauty, I cannot help it.'

¹¹⁷ The moaning of those suffering from the torment of the grave.

Remembering your thirstquenching lips I do not wish to be a unique pearl, I cannot help it.'

In the first person plural the mark of the voluntative mood is **-ali/-äli** [after a consonant], and **-li/-li** [after a vowel]. The personal signs are **-ng** or **-m**:

First plural

Positive	
ičäling	'let us drink, we wish to drink'
tüşälim	'let us spend the night, we wish to spend the night'
kitälim	'let us go, we wish to go'

E.g., **ičäling** bādānī gullar solisar, tanīmiz 'āqibat topraq bolisar. (MN309r:7) 'Let us drink wine [for] roses will wither and at the end our bodies will turn into dust.'

Barip anda түшälim kim sizgä savuq zaḥmat bermägäy. (Sayf 90:13). 'Let's go and spend the night there so that cold would not harm you.'

Ne yatur sän yatası yer dägül tur kitälim. (Sayf136V12). 'Why do you rest here? This is not the place to lie down. Let's go!'

Note: The personal ending may be omitted:

baralı	'let us go, we wish to go'
qılalı	'let us do, we wish to do'
sözläli	'let us speak, we wish to speak'
uralı	'let us beat, we wish to beat'

E.g., **Parda bilä sözläli.** (AC323r:6) 'Let us rather talk in melodies.'

Yamandın qılalı ihtiräz. (AC328v:8) 'Let us keep away from evil.'

Yā Muḥammad, ämdi barip uçmaqñi tafarruc qılalı. (MN30,15) 'O, Muhammad, let's go now and enjoy Paradise.'

Nāla va rindning kusun biz uralı bu ṭavr mayḥānağa qılmaq guzar. (ShD48v:10) 'Let us beat the drum of laments and debauch and in this fashion let us be on our way to the tavern.'¹¹⁸

Negative [rare]:

bilmäling 'let us not know, we do not wish to know'

¹¹⁸ The opposite of proper behavior prescribed for the true believer when he is on his way to the mosque.

E.g.,

Sen ve biz maydın içip mast olalı, bilmäling biz kufr va dīn va ḥayr 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/-ä**, [after a consonant] and **-ya/-yä**, [after a vowel]. They are directly added to the positive stem. The injunctive can be reinforced by the second personal pronoun or by the adverb **kād, ket** 'very much'.

bilä	'you should know'
käčä	'you should pass'
qıla	'you should do'

E.g.,

Ne tafarruc dir bilä sen dostum. [N70d] 'You should know what a pleasant sight that will be, my friend.'

Sadra gäčä sen nāz ilä dostum. [N64d] 'You will proudly proceed to the seat of honor, my friend.'

Äsiz qılğan ergä sän ädgü qıla, karamning başı bu erür, ket bilä. (AtH19v:3-4) 'Do good to the man who does wrong to you. This is the highest act of generosity, know full well.'

Taqi bilgil anşarı oğlanları ölüp bāz tirildi munı kād bilä. (MM 178v:7) 'Know also that the sons of his companions died and rose again, mark this well!'

3.6.5.3. The Imperative Mood

The imperative expresses direct orders to the second person and indirect orders, injunctions, admonishments, or prohibitions to the third person. It has two persons, the second and the third, and two numbers, the singular and the plural, and two aspects, the positive and the negative.

The base of the imperative mood is the verbal stem, positive or negative. In the second person, especially in the singular, the stem itself is used as one of the imperative forms. Both the second and the third persons have personal endings to mark the person and number of the imperative.

3.6.5.3.1. The Second Person

There are several ways to form the second person of the imperative: basic stem + zero ending, and basic stem + the endings **-ing/-ing**, **-ingiz/-ingiz**, **-gil/-gil**, **-gīn/-gīn**.

The second person singular personal pronoun can be added for emphasis. It can be placed either before or after the verb. Sometimes the admonitory particle **-a/-ä** is attached to either the stem form or to the suffixed forms in **-ğil/-ğil**.

3.6.5.3.1.1. The Second Person Singular

3.6.5.3.1.1.1. The Stem Form

As in many modern Turkish idioms [Uzbek, Kazakh, Azeri, and others], stem forms express direct orders, or, in the negative, direct prohibitions. They contain no morphological means to indicate greater intensity or higher social level. Versified manuals often use this form in giving instructions to students. E.g.,

Positive:

üz	‘cut off’
keltür	‘bring’
ketür	‘bring’
oltur	‘sit’

E.g.,

Köngül käyninä bargāndin umēd 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.’

Quṭn keltür qulağima qatayim. (Sayf60r:10) ‘Bring some cotton so that I may plug my ears.’

Ketür aqça kemāgā kir yoq esā taşqari oltur. (Sayf100r:8). ‘Bring [your] money and sit in the boat or else sit outside (on the shores)’.

Dedi qābiz yoq ersā munda keltür, özüng ham aldida tärmülüp oltur. (H75v:5) ‘(Then) the Soul-taker spoke saying: “Since that is the case bring your son, and you yourself sit here in his presence and watch.”

Negative

[The negative is often prohibitive or adhortative: ‘you should not’, ‘you must never’, or ‘you better not’. In CPD negative imperatives are often translated by Persian prohibitives. E.g., **oynama** (15r:3) ‘do not play’ P. *mabāz*; **kitmā** (111r:8) ‘do not go’ P. *maraw*.]

uzatma	‘do not prolong’
salma	‘do not cast’
satma	‘do not sell’
bolma	‘do not be’
tutma	‘do not take’

E.g.,

Meni desāng demā sen özgā cāndin, közüngni yum bari cān u cihāndin. (DN253v:6) ‘If you choose me do not talk about others. Close your eyes to life and to this world entirely.’

Çu men boldum sāning ḡamni uzatma, bu savdāda meni ‘alama satma. (DN260r:7) ‘Since I became yours do not prolong sadness, in this transaction do not sell me to the world.’

Aşiqqan er bilān yoldaş bolma. (Sayf78r:9). ‘Do not be a road companion to a person who is in a hurry.’

Yilanni quyrūqindan tutma. (Sayf99v:1) ‘Do not grab the snake by the tail.’

Qoyma Bāburni bu hirmān birlā, čāra qil dardīga darmān birlā. (RB2r:3) ‘Do not leave Bābur in distress. Cure his pain with [your] remedy.’

Camālingdin munavvar qil közümnī, eşitmā el sözün, eşit sözümni. (DN257r:2) ‘Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.’

Note: The particle **-či/-çi** may be added to the base form of the 2d imperative for polite expression. [Cf. Modern Uzbek **-чи**]: E.g.,

İčmāgān bolsang Şabāni, bar-çi ol mayhānağa, kim uşol gulgūna şūrat cāmīdin bolğil ‘aqil. (ShD95v:4) ‘Shabānī, 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 közgüsini ur-çi Ayyūb şayqalın, şabr-i Ayyūbğa munāsib bolmağay hargiz safal. (ShD96r:4-5) ‘Apply Job’s polisher to the mirror of your heart. The ignoble one [whose mirror is not polished to reflect God] is not suitable to the patience of Job.’

3.6.5.3.1.1.2. Forms in **-ğil/-gil**

Originally an emphatic form of the second person singular imperative. The suffix comes from **qil** ‘do it!’. E.g. **qayt + qil** ‘return for sure’, **bar + ġil** ‘do go away’. It occurs with both the positive and the negative stems: **qaytmağil** ‘do not return’, **barmağil** ‘do not go’.

Positive

ätkil	‘do, carry out’
beklägil	‘keep’
čiqargil	‘pull out’
ketkil	‘go’
işlägil	‘do (my) work’
tutgil	‘take’

E.g.,

Bu kündän song bu iştän tavba etkil, qılıp eygü ‘amal cannatkä ketkil. (Sayf139r:2) ‘Repent [and keep away] of this sin starting today. Do good deeds and go to heaven.’

İşim işlägil ter bu kün sän mäning. (MM191r:16) ‘Do this work for me today, you say.’

Adab beklägil, seni beklär adab. (MM194r:1) ‘Keep [the tenets] of good manners, and the good manners will keep you.’

Bir yarim fatmā¹¹⁹ birlä gusl ätkil. (MS7v:4) ‘With half a batman water perform the major ablution.’

Çiqarğil mu‘ammā muşkilidin, ki yalıp tur qulağim el tilidin (DN260v:8) ‘Pull me out from the crux of this riddle because my ears are deafened by peoples’ tongues.’

With the admonitory suffix -a/-ä:

Vācib ol haqīqat vācib tutğila. (MM183r:16). ‘It is a necessary duty, a real necessary duty, observe it!’

Bular gusli sunnat bilip qılğila. (MM182r:6) ‘The washing of these [parts of the body] is a traditional duty, perform it.’

Note (1): In MM183v:16 the phrase **kād bilä** is glossed by **bilgilä**.

(2) The positive imperative is often supported by adverbs such as **kād** ‘very much’, **köp** ‘excessively’, **mutlaq** ‘surely’, **ravān** ‘without delay’:

Munī kād saqıngıl inabat kätür. (MM193v:10) ‘Think well about this and be repentful.’

Ay hūwaca qulungga köp yigirmä. (Sayf148r:6) ‘O, Master, do not be too angry with your servant.’

Altıncı namazdan çıqmaq. Farz bilgil bularnı sen mutlaq. (MS 10v:6) ‘The sixth is to conclude the prayer. Be sure to regard the above mentioned as mandatory duties.’

Negative

bermägil	‘do not give’
qılmağil	‘do not make’
bolmağil	‘do not be’
äylämägil	‘do not make’
baqmağil	‘do not pay attention’
qoymağil	‘do not put’
ötmägil	‘do not pass’

¹¹⁹ For batman

E.g.,

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

Fazihat qılmağil özünğı ‘umdā, ki hargiz qılmadı sūdē bu savdā. (DN241v:2) ‘Do not make a disgrace of yourself on purpose, because this transaction never yielded profit.’

Bu aslı yoq havasqa qoyma bunyād, tükānmās dard u gāmdin bolmağil šad. (DN241v:8) ‘Do not put your foundation upon passion without essence. Do not be glad about endless pain and sorrow.’

Mundaq olğaç munī tark äylämägil, hāşıl olğay sanga tā lazzat-i dil. (RB5r:7) ‘Having reached [this stage], do not ever give it up so that the pleasure of heart may be your reward.’

Baqmağil sözläğüçining öziğä, özini qoy, nazar etgil sözigä. (RB 2v:4) ‘Pay no heed to the person who is speaking. Disregard him. Consider [only] what he says.’

Köngüldä ‘ışqıng otı saldı bulğaq, yana dāğ üstinā sen qoymağil dāğ. (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 desām ay ahtar-i sa‘d ötmägil ta‘cıl ilā, der ki öz sayrıda qılmas kavkab-i sayyār 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.’

3.6.5.3.1.3. Forms in -ğin/-gin

The imperative forms in **-ğin/-gin** for the second person [mostly on positive stems] are rather frequent. Judging from its use in Modern Uzbek, it probably belonged to the popular level of Chagatay.

Positive

[Quite a few occurrences in CPD: **qoyğın** ‘leave [it alone]’ P. *biguzār* 7r:10; **keltürğın** ‘bring [it here]’ P. *biyār* (10r:10); **saçılğın** ‘scatter!’ P. *bipāş* (14r:1)].

degin	‘say’
talaşqın	‘fight’
tutqun	‘take, keep [the fast]’
tüzğın	‘arrange’
ulaşqın	‘meet’
unutqın	‘forget’
üzğın	‘separate from’

E.g.,

Kirsä gar boğzınga ki toğ tütün, yoq dur nuqsān. Rōzanı tutqun. (MS15r:4) 'If dust or smoke gets in your throat, no harm is done. Carry on your fast.'

Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān şuħbat yarağın qıl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time.'

Tilär bolsang yüzümning lälazārın, unuqtın özgä gulning ħarħārın. (DN254v:2) 'If you desire the tulip patch of my face, forget the anxiety for other flowers.'

Māning nāmūs u nāmimni talaşqın, alif teg kelgin va elgä ulaşqın. (DN260r:9) 'Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].'

El-ulus rasmına köküngni tüzgin bu ħaric nağmadın könglüngni üzgin. (DN260v:3) 'Throw out your roots in the ways of the community; turn your heart away from this discordant melody.'

Negative: [rare]

yürümägin 'do not go [around]'

E.g.,

‘Aqling erür qısqa va boyning uzun. Lāf urup yürümägin kün-düzün. (AC324v:4) 'Your brain is small and your neck is long, (everyone can see that). So do not go around bragging in broad daylight.'

3.6.5.3.1.1.4. Forms in -u/ü

Verbal stems in **-ar/-är** and those ending in a vowel sometimes use **-u/-ü** [after a consonant] or **-yu/-yü** [after a vowel] to form the second person imperative. E.g.,

Positive

baru 'go'

ahtar 'turn upside down, search thoroughly'

E.g.,

Ay şabā, āvāra könglüm istäyü ħar yan baru; vādī u tağ u biyā-banlarnı bir bir ahtar. (Navaī, *Örnäklär* XXIV,1) 'O Zephyr, go in all directions and look for my vagrant heart searching through valleys, mountains and deserts very thoroughly [< one by one.]'

Ay şabā baru ketür yaħşı ħabarlarđın manga kim köngülñi şād etibān taqı savundur qulaq. (ShD78r:9) 'O, Zephyr! Go and bring

me some from the good news, make my heart happy and my ears pleased.'

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.1.5. Forms in -dek

Positive

içdek 'drink'

bititek 'write'

E.g.,

İstägünčä bāda içdek zahr davrān bazmida. (Navā'ī FK50r:7) 'Rather than asking for wine, drink poison at the banquet of the Time.'

Bititek emdi tārīhini kātib erür tārīhi üçün zabtı vācib. (DN271v:5) 'Scribe, put down now the date [of completion of this work]. It is necessary to record it by its date.'

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.1.6. Forms in -i/-i

The personal pronoun **sen** may occur after this form for emphasis.

Positive

qolı 'seek'

E.g.,

Ğam yemā dardınggä darmān qolı sen qılğay davā. (BH12r:7) 'Do not be sorrowful [but] seek remedy for your ailments and He will heal them.'

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.2. The Second Person Plural

3.6.5.3.1.2.1. Forms in -ng, -ing/-ing, -ung/-üng

Positive

alıng 'take'

biling 'know, be aware'

ögrāning 'learn'

soyung 'strip off'

sürüng 'drive'

alıp keling 'bring'

E.g.,

Olar milki bersä halāl hōš alīng. (MM190v:9) 'It is their property, it is appropriate for you to accept it.'

Ay oğlanlarim erdām ōgrāning. (Sayf139v:4) 'O my sons, learn some skills!'

Buyurdī kim tonun soyung daği bu kentdān sürüng. (Sayf 110r:5) 'He ordered them to strip off his clothes and drive him out of this village.'

Ol malik buyurdī kim Macnūnnī alip keling. (Sayf125v:11) 'That king ordered: "Bring Majnun to my presence!"'

3.6.5.3.1.2.2. Forms in -ngiz/-ngiz, -ingiz/-ingiz, -ungiz/-ungiz, -unguz/-unguz

Positive

[kelingiz (CPD3r:3) 'come!' P. *biyāid*; kiringiz (CPD3r:4) 'come in!' P. *dar āid*]

baqingiz 'observe'

körüngüz 'watch, behold'

tutunguz 'hold'

qilingiz 'do'

qoyunguz 'place, put'

bilangiz 'know'

E.g.,

Öfkā bilān ol qiya baqišin körüngüz. (Sayf127r:11) 'Behold his angry look from the corner of his eyes.'

Ay musulmanlar čirāği mānim yolumda tutunguz. (Sayf75v:4) 'O Muslims, hold a lamp to [light up] my way.'

Dedi, ay Ibrāhim canim kelingiz, māni kögsümgā başingiz qoyunguz. (H80r:10) 'Then (the Prophet) addressed him (saying), "Come, Ibrāhim, my dear and put your head on my shoulder!"'

Negative

[A connective -y- may be inserted between the negative stem and the imperative ending].

almangiz 'do not take'

demāngiz 'do not call him [a falcon]'

külmāngiz 'do not laugh'

qomāngiz 'do not bother'

qorqmayingiz 'do not be afraid'

qoymāngiz 'do not put'

sormāngiz 'do not ask'

tegmāngiz 'do not touch'

E.g.,

Ay qarindašlar netāyin¹²⁰ ušbu cāh u dunyānī tegmāngiz emdi manga asru za'if men ulğarip. (ShD18r:11-12) 'O, Brothers, there is nothing I can do about this rank and these world[ly values]. Do not touch me now, having grown old I am very weak.'

Qorqmayingiz kim bu ortada bir mān mān kim elli kišigā cavāb bergāymān. (Sayf102r:9, P. *andīša madārid*) 'Do not be afraid for in this group I alone would stand up against fifty people.'

Ay ša'irlar, 'anqānī köp qomāngiz: qušlar içidā bolup tur qu māngiz. (ShD182r:6) 'O, Poets, do not put down Phoenix all the time: Among birds she has become like a swan.'

Har ne dengiz, demāngiz šunqar anga, 'anqā dur, šunqar bigin yandurmāngiz. (ShD182r:4) 'Whatever you call her, do not call her a falcon. He is a phoenix, do not make her return like a falcon.'

3.6.5.3.1.2.3. Forms in -nglar/-nglär, -inglar/-inglär, -unglar/-ünglär

Positive

bilanglär 'know'

bitinglär 'write'

oqunglar 'read'

qalinglar 'stay, remain'

soranglar¹²¹ 'ask'

E.g.,

Dedi, ay ham-sabaqlar hwaš qalinglar, kitār mān fanī dunyādān bilanglär. (H78v:7) '[Ibrāhim] answered, 'O class-mates, farewell to you! Know that I am taking leave of this transitory world.'

Har zamān kelip soranglar ham anamnī könglini. (H79v:7) 'Any time you come, ask about my mother's heart.'¹²²

3.6.5.3.1.2.4. Forms in -ngizlar/-ngizlär, -ingizlar/-ingizlär, -ungizlar/-ungizlär, -unguzlar/-unguzlär

Positive

bilangizlär 'know'

sorunguzlar 'ask'

E.g.,

Halq-i 'alam bilangizlär mān anī nabīrasi. (H81r:5) 'People of this world, realize that I am [also] one of [Ismā'il's] descendants.'

¹²⁰ *Netāyin* 'there is nothing I can do about...' takes the accusative case.

¹²¹ Expanded stem *sora-* interchanging with *sor-* as in Modern Uzbek [see 3.6.2.1.3.]

¹²² I.e., console my mother

3.6.5.3.2. The Third Person

3.6.5.3.2.1. The Third Person Singular

3.6.5.3.2.1.1. Forms in -sun/-sün

Positive

tutsun	‘should/may keep’
aysun	‘should/may say’
bolsun	‘should/may be’
quvansun	‘should/may rejoice’

E.g.,

İki eligni köksidä tutsun, ham adab birlä boyni tüz tutsun (MS13r:2) ‘[Women] should place their hands [one upon the other] across their chests. They should also stand with their bodies upright as they have been taught.’

Käräk oynap aysun käräk kärtüläp. (MM192v:7) ‘May he say it in jest, or in earnest.’

Sultan yaşı uzun bolsun. (Sayf9r:5) ‘Long live the King.’¹²³

Mäni aldımda yor köglüm quvansun, körüp qaddingi mihrim laħza qansun. (H76v:7) ‘Walk ahead of me that my heart may rejoice, that my love may be quenched for a moment by beholding your body.’

Negative

tegmäsün	‘should/may not befall’
bilmäsün	‘should/may not know’
körgümäsün	‘should/may not show’
barماسun	‘should/may not go’
körünmäsün	‘should/may not show’

E.g.,

Äygülärgä bu yamaning tegmäsün. (Sayf110v:2) ‘May your evil deeds not befall upon good people.’

Hec kim ärsä mänim yahşi yaman hālimdan bilmäsün. (Sayf 24v:12) ‘No one should know about my good or bad situation.’

Manga körgüzümäsün Tengri hıwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlä bir bolğay zalälüm. (DN242r:7) ‘May God Himself never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with dust.’

Amiri asrağil köz yağı birlä, sen ol gulni ki barماسun qatımdin. (DN245r:10) ‘Amiri, norture that rose with the oil of [your] eyes¹²⁴ so that it never leave your presence.’

¹²³ Lit., may the king’s life be long

¹²⁴ I.e., with your tears

Yüzüng közğü dur, ay husn içrä mähim, hazar qıl kim anı tutmasun āhim. (DN257v:5) ‘Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].’
Körünmäsün deyü bu mändäki ‘ayb. (Sayf63r:10) ‘So that the sin inside me may not show.’

Note: The apocopated form in -su is represented by **bolsu** ‘should/may be’ [only in the positive]. E.g.,

Ruh-i rayhān-i Cannat u Rizvān Haqqdin aning sarığa bolsu ravān. (MS2v:3) ‘May the breath of the sweet basil of Paradise waft toward him [carrying] God’s blessings.’

Sān ök sān yaratğan 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.’

ökü bolsu az (MM183v:9) ‘be it many or few’

3.6.5.3.2.1.2. The form in -u/-ü is represented by **berü** ‘should/may give’ [negative is not attested]. E.g.,

Ki kördüm men aning nāz u ‘itābīn, keçiksām anda kim berü cavābīn? (DN243r:8) ‘For I have witnessed her coquettish behavior as well as her expression of displeasure. If I am late, who is there to account for [my tardiness]?’

3.6.5.3.2.2. The Third Person Plural

3.6.5.3.2.2.1. Forms in -sunlar/-sünlär

Positive

oynasunlar	‘should/may risk’
qalsunlar	‘should/may stay’

E.g.,

Ayar bolsa çarigdān mālī sultān, neçük baş oynasunlar tärk etip cān? (Sayf22v:6) ‘If the King begrudges his wealth from his soldiers, how would they risk their heads giving up their souls?’

Zāhidlärgä hec nemä bermägil kim zāhid qalsunlar. (Sayf71v:1) ‘Do not give anything to the abstinent so that they stay abstinent.’

Negative

etmäsünlär	‘should/may not make’
tilämäsünlär	‘should/may not demand’

E.g.,

İhtiyāt ettim kim manga qasd etmäsünlär. (Sayf 18r:13) ‘I took precautions so that they make no attempt on my life.’

‘**Ālimlārgā ol qadar ni‘mat bergil kim daği tīlāmāsūnlār.** (Sayf 71r:13) ‘Give as much means to the learned so that they do not ask for more.’

3.6.5.3.2.2.2. The form in **-ular/-ülār** is represented by **kelsülār** ‘should/may come’. [Negative is not attested]. E.g.,

Buyurdī šāh kim elning bilgälärin oqunguz kelsülār tep birgä barīn. (Qutb, H.4100) ‘The king ordered [his men] to proclaim that the wise of the land, all of them, should get together.’

3.6.5.3.2.2.3. The form in **-deklār** is attested by **bitidäklār** ‘should/may write’.

[Negative is not used.] E.g.,

Cunūnimdīn parīroyumğa gar savdā aşar qīlsa, bitideklār közi könglüm qoşidīn töksä qan ta‘vīz. (Navā‘ī, *Örnäklār* 14,5) ‘If due to my madness melancholy assails my fairy-faced beloved, you should write an amulet when her eyes draws blood from the pair of cups of my heart.’

3.6.5.4. The Definite Past Tense

The definite past tense expresses a past completed action the occurrence of which is certain. The grammatical marker of the definite past is **-dī/-di**, **-du/-dü** after vowels or voiced consonants, or **-ti/-ti**, **-tu/-tü**, after voiceless consonants. The person is indicated by the possessive type personal signs. E.g.,

Positive

Sing.			
kördüm	‘I saw’	keldim	‘I came’
kördüng	‘you saw’	kelding	‘you came’
kördi	‘he saw’	keldi	‘he came’
Plur.			
kördük	‘we saw’	keldük	‘we came’
kördüngüz	‘you saw’	keldingiz	‘you came’
kördilār	‘they saw’	keldilār	‘they came’

Negative

Sing.			
körmädīm	‘I did not see’	kelmädīm	‘I did not come’
körmädīng	‘you did not see’	kelmädīng	‘you did not come’
körmädi	‘he did not see’	kelmädi	‘he did not come’

Plur.

kürmädük	‘we did not see’	kelmädük	‘we did not come’
körmädīngiz	‘you did not see’	kelmädīngiz	‘you did not come’
körmädilār	‘they did not see’	kelmädilār	‘they did not come’

E.g.,

Yarudī hattlarindīn köz yüz alvān, qarangguluğda taptī āb-i hayvān. (DN242v:8) ‘From her writing his eyes brightened: In the darkness he found the water of life.’

Yāngindān tutup bu šī‘rni oqudum. (Sayf 94r:5) ‘I grabbed him by his sleeves and recited this poem to him.’

Yana unuttum özümni bolup sanga maşgūl. (Sayf115r:5) ‘I forgot about myself because I was occupied with you.’

Bir orman yanında qondılar. (Sayf63v:9) ‘They camped by the side of a forest.’

Cihān sāning üzā ol qadar mī tar bolup edi kim oğrīlīq etmädīng illā Tangrī āvindān? (Sayf57r:4) ‘Is this world indeed so tight for you that you could not burglarize any other place but the house of God?’

Bitidī nāma altun suyī birlān, vafā u mihr, rasm u hūyī birlān. (DN259r:2) ‘He wrote the letter with golden ink, with the rite and custom of faith and love.’

Zamānē harf ‘ilminā isindī, içi küydi, valē qorqup qisindī. (DN258r:6) ‘[The Beloved] wrote a letter with golden ink, with faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.’

1. In the first person the personal pronoun placed after the verb may be used for emphasis. E.g.,

Ki kördüm men anīng nāz u ‘itābīn, keçiksām anda kim berū cavābīn? (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 **Irşādu’l-mulūk** we must remember that in interlinear translations words or word groups are individually translated and the data obtained are not always indicative of the usage in normal compositional style. E.g.,

Tilādīm mām kim ant içkāy. (İM7v:3) ‘I wanted him to take an oath.’

şarṭ qıldıuq biz (İM4v:8) ‘we set the condition, we stipulated that’

ulašturduq biz (IM5r:7) 'we dispatched'

2. The definite past tense may occur in the same function as the aorist for a more forceful statement. E.g.,

Ravān qildī falak cōn cām-i Camšed, ačīqlanīp qīzarīp čīqtī hwaršed. (DN242r:11) 'When the sky set in motion the cup of Jamshid, the sun came forth shiny and red.' or: 'When the sky sets in motion the cup of Jamshid, the sun comes forth shiny and red.'

3. The definite past tense may express dynamic future, az in Modern Uzbek [MLU 3.6.6.3.1.2.2.11.1.] E.g.,

Degin anda kelūrgā rağbat ettūk, ravān shūbat yarağın qīl ki yettūk. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time.'

Harām ilāyīngdā dağī harāmī artīngdā. Agar kitting yetting va agar qaldīng öldūng. (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.'

Tanbūra dek yūznī qīlay pāymāl, āylādi oğlanlar anī dastmāl. (RB324r:8) 'I will trample a face like Tanbūra's under foot, so that servants will [be needed to] scoop it up with their hands.'

Ol kiši kim senī čalar bilgüčā qaldī balā dastida ol ölgüčā. (RB 327r:3) 'The person who learns to play you will be captive in the hands of misery until he dies.'

3. With a verb expressing a command the definite past tense is used to form pseudo-passive sentences. E.g.,

Ol oğrilar begi buyurdī tonun dağī yüz aqča bilān bir farva berdīlār. (Sayf110v:4) 'The chieftain of those thieves ordered that one hundred silver coins and a fur coat be given [to the poet] [< he ordered his treasurer to give the poet one hundred silver coins and a fur coat.]'

Buyurdī kim anlarning asbāb-i maʿāshīni avvalki qaʿida üzā muhayya qildīlar. (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.]'

Buyurdī bir yağšī hilʿat bilān ol hamyān altunnī faqirğa berdīlār. (Sayf21r:7) '[The king] ordered that a robe of honor with a bag [of money] be given to the poor man. [< The king ordered and [his treasurer] gave the poor man a robe of honor with a bag of money].'

4. The definite past tense may express the result of a past action existing in the present.' [It is equivalent to English present perfect tense]. E.g.,

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

Bu kün tuttum tamamī til bolayin, ne til birlān labīng ʿuzrīn 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 közümdān al bu köngül dādini manga, kim boldī köz balāsi bilān mubtalā köngül. (Sayf83v:12) 'O Lord, take vengeance on my eyes on behalf of my heart, mind you, because it is due to the calamity brought about by the eye that the heart has become afflicted.'

Kirištīm söz bezārgā hāma teg tund, išimdā sarzanīšdīn bolmayin kund. (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to [choose] ornate words fast as the pen, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.'

Muhammad ol ki bu acrām-i vālā anīng üçün yarattī Haqq taʿālā. (DN229v:7) 'He is Muhammad for the sake of whom God the Most High has created these heavenly bodies.'

5. The definite past tense occurs in idiomatic use.

(a) In suppositive role:

Cu tebrāndī ol ikki čerik ravān, dedīng kim yiqilgusi dur bu cahān. (ZN25r:14-15) 'When the two armies suddenly marched out you most likely thought¹²⁵ that the world was about to collapse.'

Ne boldī göy agar arz etti halin, dedi sargaštalikdin öz malalin? (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 boldī zavq üçün gar yolda turdum sāning birlān bir ikki harf urdum? (DN241r:5) 'For fun I stopped on the road and exchanged a few words with you. What about it?'

(b) With bolğay to express indefiniteness.

On ming evlūk kiši čīqtī bolğay, šahrlar šayad alardīn tolğay. (ShN132:18) 'About ten thousand persons with families moved out. You probably could fill cities with them.'

¹²⁵ Lit., you could have said

(3) In emphatic role with **-dur/-durlar**.

[Rare, illustration from Eckm. Gr. p.157]

Az fursatda huṭūtni bitidi, kim ol fan ustādlari ottuz yilda anča bitimādi durlar. (M.Naf. 79v:12) 'In a short time he learned how to write calligraphy to such perfection that even masters of this art were not able to produce.'

3.6.5.5. The Conditional Mood

The conditional mood expresses a present or future action the occurrence of which is bound to a condition of different degrees.

3.6.5.5.1. The Present Conditional

The grammatical marker of the present conditional is **-sa/-sä**. The person is indicated by the possessive type personal signs. E.g.,

kör- 'to see'		bar- 'to go'	
	Positive		
Sing.			
körsām	'if I see'	barsam	'if I go'
körsāng	'if you see'	barsang	'if you go'
körsä	'if he sees'	barsa	'if he goes'
Plur.			
körsāk	'if we see'	barsaq	'if we go'
körsāngiz	'if you see'	barsangiz	'if you go'
körsälär	'if they see'	barsalar	'if they go'
	Negative		
Sing.			
körmāsām	'if I don't see'	barmasam	'if I don't go'
körmāsāng	'if you don't see'	barmasang	'if you don't go'
körmāsä	'if he doesn't see'	barmasa	'if he doesn't go'
Plur.			
körmāsāk	'if we don't see'	barmasaq	'if we don't go'
körmāsāngiz	'if you don't see'	barmasangiz	'if you don't go'
körmāsälär	'they don't see'	barmasalar	'if they don't go'

1. The present conditional can occur in conditional sentences without a conjunction or with the conjunctions **gar**, **agar**. E.g.,

Buyursa beş yumurtqanı alurğa küc bilä sultān, navkarları tutup sançar yigirmi qaznı bir şışgä. (Sayf 31r:9) 'If the Sultan orders to take five eggs by force, his officials grab twenty geese and put them on one spit.'

Vali bir aqça izdäsāng berür cān, oqu alḥamd desāng yüz oqığay. (Sayf 137v:10) 'If you ask him for one coin, he would rather give up his life. If you ask him to say "praise be to God", he would say it a hundred times.'

Agar tandin desām bir ḥāksārē ne körüngäy eşikingdä ğubārē. (DN250v:5) 'If I tell about a person that he is humble¹²⁶, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?'

Agar sen anda töksāng yergä žāla, men alur men közümdin munda lāla. (DN260v:4) 'If you spill drops of dew on the ground there, here I get tulips from my eyes.'

Agar yazıdağī barča qumları inci bolsa, tilāncilärning közi tolmağay. (Sayf 156v:6) '[Even] if all the sand[grains] in the desert turn into pearls, the beggars would not be satisfied.'

Agar könglüng manga küysä, 'acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigäy rıq-qatımdin. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

Yüzüm āyinasindin gar dam ursang, körüngäy közüngä gah gah ḥiyālīm. (DN242r:3) 'If you talk about the mirror reflecting my face, my phantom image may appear to you¹²⁷ from time to time.'

2. The conditional form occurs also in temporal meaning. Instead of **agar** 'if' the conjunction **qačan** 'when' may be used in such sentences. E.g.,

Qačan cān algıci duşman ārişsä, acal bağlar yügürgänning ayağın. (Sayf95r:6) 'When the Soultaker enemy¹²⁸ comes, death ties the ankles of those who run [away].'

Ol safardan kelsām 'umrumning baqıyasın bir yerdä oturup keçürgäy män. (Sayf92v:2) 'When I return from that voyage, I will settle down in one place and spend the rest of my life there.'

Qačan kim tükänsä elingdäki al qilič çäksāng ol dam qinından ḥalāl. (Sayf163v:5) 'When you are out of tricks, it is proper for you to draw [your] sword from the sheath'

¹²⁶ Lit., he is mixed with earth. A hint at the creation of Adam.

¹²⁷ According the Navā'i's presentation Farḥād and Shirin saw each other for the first time in their mirrors.

¹²⁸ I.e., *Qābiṣu'l-arvāḥ*, the epithet of the death angel 'Izrā'īl

Bu ʿadat hwaš yığaclar ševasındin, ki taş atsang berürlär mēva-sındin. (DN247v:8) ‘This observation was made on the nature of

fruit trees: If you throw stones [at them] they give you some of their fruit.’

3. The conditional form is also used in concessive meaning. E.g.,

Yüz ança bolsang ärlikdä bilip köp türlü al ärdäm. (Sayf18v:3) ‘Even if in bravery you are a hundred times better, knowing many kinds of crafty skills.’

Tämürdän tağ bolsa yerindän qoparğaymān. (Sayf39r:9) ‘Even if it is a mountain of iron I will tear him up from its place.’

Sanga körgüzmägäy ruḥ zulf va ḥālīm agar yüz qatla bolsang pāymalim. (DN242r:1) ‘My tresses and my beauty spot will not chance to appear to you even if you are trampled upon under my feet a hundred times.’

Yalğan sözlämāk ol zaḥm bigin durur kim cirāḥatī bitsä nişanī qalur. (Sayf174v:3) ‘To tell a lie is like inflicting a wound: Even if it heals its scar remains.’

4. With the predicative word kerāk ‘necessary’ the conditional expresses a necessary [but not inevitable] action. E.g.,

Bu fasād ahlīnīng naslī munqaṭī bolsa kerāk. (Sayf 13r:9) ‘This offspring of brigands must be terminated.’

Bu niʿmat šukrīnī qilsam kerāk çoq. Kişi könglün yığarğa ādatim yoq. (Sayf 82r:11) ‘I must be most thankful for this grace. I don’t have the habit of destroying other people’s hearts.’

Qaçan kim maşvarat qılmaq kerāk bolsa, ol evdä yığılur ärdilär. (NF10r:1) ‘When it was necessary to hold a meeting, they gathered in this house.’

5. The present conditional of bol- is used to form the conditional of the aorist [3.6.5.6.4.]. The inflected forms of bol- follow the aorist theme of the verb. E.g.,

Tilär bolsang yüzümning lälazārīn, unuṭqīn özgä gulnīng ḥār-ḥārīn. (DN254v:2) ‘If you desire the tulip patch of my face, forget the anxiety for other roses.’

Kelür aḥmaq qulaqīna oyunçaq oqur bolsang yüz elli bāb ḥik-mat. (Sayf62r:1-2). ‘It will be a joke to the ears of a fool if you read for him one hundred and fifty chapters of wisdom.’

Kişi kim ‘işq lāfīnī qılur bolsa kečār baştin. Ne ‘āşiq bolur ol kişi kečā parvana teg yanmas. (ShD65v:2-3) ‘The one who brags

about love, will lose his head. He is not a lover who at night does not burn like a moth.’

6. The present conditional ersä of the defective verb er- ‘to be’ [see 3.6.5.15.1.3.] placed unchanged after the inflected verb forms the conditional of the definite past. E.g.,

Yengillik qıldim ersä [gar cafa]nī, sen ağır almağıl könglünggä anī. (DN247r:8) ‘If I was off-handed in inflicting cruelty [upon you], do not take it too much to [your] heart.’

Note: The auxiliary ersä ~ esä may be attached to the definite past form in which case it loses the initial vowel: bermädi + esä > bermädisä. E.g.,

Çon el bermädisä¹²⁹ vaşlī ölar män uş cafa birlä. (Sayf183v:11) ‘Since I had no chance of achieving union with her I will surely die as a result of that cruelty.’

Cannat mængiz büzädisä ol dām özin cahān, raqş urdī ‘āşiqāna yürüp çarḥ çambarī. (Sayf181v:10) ‘Then the world adorned itself to look like paradise. The circle of heaven danced moving amorously.’

7. The inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging bolur constitute one of the possibilitive forms. E.g.,

Köngül közgü dur anī bilsä bolur, içindäkini paydā 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 miḥnat ağu ḥayatğa sabab, munun tutsa bolur ḥidāyat quşī. (MM180r:10) ‘Misfortune, misery, and bitter experiences are means to [the devout] life. Through them one can catch up with the bird of guidance.’

Hukum qilsa bolur, biling, muttafiq, ‘amal qilsa bolur tutup qayışī. (MM190v:1) ‘Know that when they make a legal decision they are in agreement. It is [only] in [certain] practices that they differ.’

8. The inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging bolmas ‘is not [possible]’ constitute one of the prohibitive-exhortative forms. E.g.,

¹²⁹ Cf., P. *dast dādan* ‘to have a chance’

Kişi kün yoğra ham kirişsa bolmas, safāhat kāyninā erişsa bolmas. (DN246r:1) ‘One cannot interfere in his actions day after day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.’
Qizil altun ki vaşfin qilsa bolmas, anī küydürmāginčā bilsā bol-

mas. (DN247r:10) ‘The red gold the quality of which cannot be established by description, cannot be known until you burn it.’

Kişi desā sevür men ursa bolmas, bu yazuqdīn anī öltürsā bolmas. (DN247v:11) ‘If a person says, “I love” he should not be beaten.¹³⁰ He should not be executed because of this sin.¹³¹

9. The present conditional, often introduced by the conjunction **ki**, appears in subjunctive role. E.g.,

Ötār könglidā har dam bir dīlārāy, tīlār közi ki körsā bir yangī ay. (DN254r:7) ‘Every moment a beloved occurs to his mind. His eyes are eagerly waiting to behold a new moon.’¹³²

3.6.5.5.2. The Past Conditional

The past conditional expresses conditions that existed in the past with the implication that they did materialize or does not exist any more.

The past conditional has a compound form. It consists of the inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging **erdi**, the definite past tense of the auxiliary **er-** ‘to be’.

Positive Stem Sing.	körsā-
körsām erdi	‘if I had seen’
körsāng erdi	‘if you had seen’
körsā erdi	‘if he had seen’
Plur.	
körsāk erdi	‘if we had seen’
körsāngiz erdi	‘if you had seen’
körsālār erdi	‘if they had seen’

Positive Stem Sing.	barsa-
------------------------	---------------

barsam erdi	‘if I had gone’
barsang erdi	‘if you had gone’
barsa erdi	‘if he had gone’

Plur.	
barsaq erdi	‘if we had gone’
barsangiz erdi	‘if you had gone’
barsalar erdi	‘if they had gone’

Negative Stem Sing.	körmāsā-
körmāsām erdi	‘if I had not seen’
körmāsāng erdi	‘if you had not seen’
körmāsā erdi	‘if he had not seen’

Plur.	
körmāsāk erdi	‘if we had not seen’
körmāsāngiz erdi	‘if you had not seen’
körmāsālār erdi	‘if they had not seen’

Negative Stem Sing.	barmasa-
barmasam erdi	‘if I had not gone’
barmasang erdi	‘if you had not gone’
barmasa erdi	‘if he had not gone’

Plur.	
barmasaq erdi	‘if we had not gone’
barmasangiz erdi	‘if you had not gone’
barmasalar erdi	‘if they had not gone’

Forms of the past conditional occur in conditional clauses of complex compound sentences to express an unreal, impossible, or unfulfilled condition. The verb in the main clause is mostly in the past optative tense. E.g.,

Ay camāling maclisindā ičsām erdi cām-i may, tā qiyāmatğa tegü ‘aqlimni hayrān qılğa mən. (ShD113v:12-113) ‘Could I but drink up the cup of wine at the banquet of your moonlike beauty, I would make my intellect amazed to [the day of] resurrection.’

Bu kişining biligi bolsa edi, ahmaq bilān iši bu yergā yetmāgāy edi. (Sayf108r:6) ‘Had this person possessed some wisdom, his case with this idiot would not have gone so far.’

¹³⁰ Like fools are.

¹³¹ Like Mansūr was.

¹³² Lit., so that he may behold

Ayağing tofrağın gar tapsam erdi, anı elning közidin yapsam erdi, yüzüm altunğa tutğay erdi anı, közidä asrağay erdi nihānī. (DN250v:9) 'Had I but got hold of the dust your feet were walking on, had I but covered it from people's eyes, my face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.'

The past conditional form can express unfulfilled desires. The conjunction *kāš-ki* introduces sentences of this type. E.g.,

Har gadālar teg eşikdä qılmağıl sen dar ba-dar, bolsam erdi, kāški men eşikingdä ħākrāk. (ShD89r:9) 'Like all the beggars at the threshold don't make me wander door to door. Could I but be a most insignifant speck of dust at your doorstep'

3.6.5.5. The Optative Mood

The optative forms express an action or a state the occurrence of which is desired, expected, guessed, suggested or ordered. They fall in two full paradigms with a variety of alternate forms and are very frequent. They have two tenses, the future and the past.

3.6.5.5.1. Future Tense of the Optative

It is formed from positive or negative stems by the thematic morphemes *-ğay/gäy* [after vowels or voiced consonants] or *-qay/-kay* [after voiceless consonants] and the personal pronouns to indicate person and number. In the third persons only the number is marked: *-lar/-lär* in the plural and its absence in the singular. There is a set of apocopated thematic morphemes in *-qa/-kä*, *-ğa/-gä* the use of which is quite common. The morpheme *-a/-ä* [*-qa/-kä*, *-ğa/-gä*] is less frequent and has special semantic features.

Positive

Sing.			
<i>körgäy män</i> ¹³³	'I will see'	<i>barğay män</i>	'I will go'
<i>körgäy sän</i>	'you will see'	<i>barğay sän</i>	'you will go'
<i>körgäy</i>	'he will see'	<i>barğay</i>	'he will go'

Plur.			
<i>körgäy biz</i>	'we will see'	<i>barğay biz</i>	'we will go'
<i>körgäy siz</i>	'you will see'	<i>barğay siz</i>	'you will go'
<i>körgäylär</i>	'they will see'	<i>barğaylar</i>	'they will go'

Negative

Sing.

¹³³ The forms *män~men*, *sän~sen* are alternating. Popular works mostly have *-men*, *-sen*.

<i>körmägäy män</i>	'I will not see'	<i>barmağay män</i>	'I will not go'
<i>körmägäy sän</i>	'you will not see'	<i>barmağay sän</i>	'you will not go'
<i>körmägäy</i>	'he will not see'	<i>barmağay</i>	'he will not go'

Plur.

<i>körmägäy biz</i>	'we will not see'	<i>barmağay biz</i>	'we will not go'
<i>körmägäy siz</i>	'you will not see'	<i>barmağay siz</i>	'you will not go'
<i>körmägäylär</i>	'they will not see'	<i>barmağaylar</i>	'they will not go'

The use of the future tense of the optative:

1. The future optative most of the time expresses a future action without indicating or implying necessity, inevitability, or intensity. E.g.,

Ay şabā barsang Samarqand kelibän nä eltgä sen? (ShD126r:6) 'O, Zephyr, if you go to Samarqand, what will you bring on your return?'

Boyung sarvi ki nang yer şuhbatimdın, egilgäy 'aqibat tüz niyyatimdın. (DN245r:4) 'The [straight] cypress of your body scorns to be in my companionship but it bows down at the end, when it realizes the straitforwardness of my intent.'

Gavvaşliq netäg qıla sen bolmayın fanā, şahr-i vucūd ara sen özüngni bečara qıl. (ShD97v:4-5) 'How can you dive for pearls without annihilating your Self? In the city of existence¹³⁴ make your Self totally helpless.'

2. It very often occurs in admonishments, exhortations, or preachings. E.g.,

Qılmağıl sen namāzda taqşır, tā Qiyāmatda bolğa sen dilğır. (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 yātğä sän, ayıtmaq ħacat yoq körüp netğä sän. (MM199r10) 'You must go beyond this station in order to reach [your destination]. There is no need to tell you [the way]; just look and you will know what to do.'

3. It is used to express intent, resolve, or determination. E.g.,

¹³⁴ I.e., in this world

Bu masā'ilni zīkr qılğay miz, har biri içrā fīkr qılğay miz. (MS 3r:5) 'We will [now] take up these matters. We will consider each of them one by one.'

Tavba qıldım kim dağı hıṭba oqusam arqun oquğay mən. (Sayf

111r:13). 'I made a vow that if I recite the Friday sermon again, I will recite it slowly.'

4. It is very frequent in expressing hope, desire, or wish. E.g.,

Umedim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetğay vaşl bağdın manga bar. (DN245r:2) 'My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.'

Umedim Tengridin ol dur ki gah gāh, varuğay közlärım yüzüngdin, Ay Māh! (DN251r:6) 'My hope from God is that now and then my eyes may shine with joy beholding your face, O, Moon.'

Manga körgüzmasün Tengri ḥwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlä bir bolğay zalälim. (DN242r:7) 'May God Himself never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with dust.'

Közüm Cayḥunı üzä köprü bağladım qaşdın, bu ārzüda ki tüş-kāy bu köprükdin guzarı. (ShD176r:4) 'Over the the Jayhun river I raised a bridge using an eyebrow in the desire that by chance she may cross that bridge.'

Oqup uqqanğa köp şavāb olğay, ham nivisandağa savāb olğay. (MS16v:3) 'He who has read and mastered [this book] will obtain ample recompense. So will he who only copies it.'

Uzun tün qalmağa allıngda ğamlar, varuğay 'ayş içindä şubḥ-damlar. (DN248v:7) 'May sorrows not stay in your presence for long nights. May mornings dawn upon you in luxury and pleasure.'

Uzatqay sen saçıngdin vaşl tünin, üçürgay sen kelip hicrān tütünin. (DN251r:7) 'That by your hair you prolong the night of union; that coming to me you dissipate the smoke of separation.'

5. It often conveys a command, an injunction, or an ordinance. E.g.,

Ol yağni sürtğay¹³⁵ kečä kündüz. (KBV19r:12) 'You [sic] should smear on that ointment night and day.'

Sen bu çağlıq bilä bas qılmağa sen, tark qılmağni havas qılmağa sen. (RB8r:7) 'Do not be satisfied with this much. Never be willing to abandon the pronouncing of the zīkr.'

¹³⁵ The second person marker can be omitted in case the verb occurs as an imperative.

Boğaz yergä bolsa bīçaq türtkä siz. (MM191r:14) 'If its [i.e., the animal's] throat is turned toward the ground, cut it with your knife.' Meni sen körmägay sen özgä hargiz, parı teg közüngä uçqay camälīm. (DN242r:2) 'You will never see me in any other way. My beauty will draw your attention like a fairy.'¹³⁶

Keräk andaq ki köngüldä muṭlaq qalmağay heç ta'alluq, cuz Ḥaqq. (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 qačan munı mudām etğay sen, yenä bir martabağa yetğay sen. (RB8r:5) 'As long as you persist in this, you will reach a higher degree [of perfection].'

Eksāngān ḥayr urluqini biçkä sän, kuzagā ne qoysang anı içkä sän. (Sayf 5r:2-3) 'You will reap the ears of corn you have sown. You will drink what you have put in [your] jar.'

Kamāl-i nafs kişi bilğay ki mard-i rahbīn bolğay. (ShD177r:4) 'Only the man with vision of the road knows what perfection of Self is.'

Har kim ḥiyanat bilän tirilğay, ḥisāb vaqtında elläri titrägay. (Sayf25v:7-8) 'Anyone who lives in treachery, will face the reckoning with trembling hands.'

7. It is used to express promises, vows, and pledges. E.g.,

Vişalim ḥwanidin ol ḥasta toyğay, ki canini elig üstidä tutğay. (DN241v:6) '[Only] the tired one will eat his fill at the spread table of union with me, who holds his soul in the palm of his hand.'

Camälimdin oquğay ol raqamni ki avval başına qoyğay qadamni. (DN241v:7) 'Only the person who first puts a foot upon his head will decipher the numbers from my beauty.'

8. Sometimes it expresses a habit. E.g.,

Alında ne bolsa yegay ağzında ne kelsä degay. (Sayf80v:5) 'He eats whatever is in front of him, he says whatever is in his smouth.'

Oqu alḥamd desāng yüz oqığay. (Sayf137v:10) 'If you tell him to recite a Thanks be to God, he would recite it one hundred times.'

Men ol bulbul emäs men, ay gul-andām, ki bir dam bargsüz tapğay men ārām. (244v:6) 'I am not that nightingale, O Beloved

¹³⁶ Lit., my beauty will fly into your eyes

with a delicate body, that finds rest even for a moment without rose leaves.'

9. It is used in sentences expressing assessment, estimation or guess. E.g.,
Qaysi ganc bolğay aning teg, avliyalar anda dur: Biri Siğnaq, biri Qilič, biri Türkistān sarī. (ShD174r:10) 'What treasure could be like that [in the ruins]: the saints reside there. One [of those cities] is Siğnaq, one is Qilič, and one is Turkistan.'

Qurğandīn daryā bir oq atimi bolğay. (Babur 4r:8) 'From the fortress the river is at about a bowshot distance.'

10. It is frequent in similes, hyperbolas, metaphors. E.g.,
Netük men ävüräyin öz ġamimdīn, ki pūlād erigāy otluğ damīm-dīn. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'
Atasi ol şadaf dur kim bahālī cavhari bolğay. Şadafdan ayrilur bolsa tapar cavhar ağır qimat. (Sayf98r:10) 'Her father is that shell that has a precious pearl. The pearl obtains a high value [only] after it is separated from the shell.'
Agar könglüng manga küysä, acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigāy riq-qatīmdīn. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

11. It also expresses a supposition. E.g.,
Ne hācat kim qasam kirgāy arağa, yamīnsiz bilgil işingning yasārīn. (DN254v:7) 'What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without [a reference to] the right.'¹³⁷
Tüzälip ādamilār hōyīn alğīn, ne degāy el dağı āhir uyalğīn. (DN260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Be ashamed at the end of what people say.'¹³⁸
Negā kerāk kişi har cayı andaq, ne bar yegāy ču bolsa rāyi andaq. (DN254r:8) 'What he is needed for, that is his position since his philosophy is to eat whatever there is.'

12. It occurs in the main clause of conditional complex sentences. E.g.,
Sening köyungdīn, ay körk icrā bağīm, başīm gar barsa barmağay ayağīm. (DN244v:5) 'From your quarter, O, My Flowergarden

[in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.'

ġamīmdīn gar desä içimdäki dāğ, bulut teg yığlağay ün tartıban dāğ. (DN256v:10) 'If the pain I feel could talk about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'
Agar tang yaqīn bolsa, vitr namāzini tahaccuddīn burun oquğay. (RM17v:4) 'If dawn arrives early, he should perform the witr prayer before the tahajjud prayer.'

13. It may be used in the main clause of concessive complex sentences. E.g.,

Sanga körgüzmägāy ruḥ zulf va ḥālīm, agar yüz qatla bolsang paymālīm. (DN242r:1). 'To you my tresses and my beauty spot do not show their faces even if you are trampled upon'¹³⁹ under my feet a hundred times.'¹⁴⁰
Agar tandīn desām bir ḥaksārē, ne körüngāy eşikingdā ġubārē. (DN250v:5) 'Even if I tell about a person that he is humble, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?'

14. We find it, rarely though, in final clauses:

Dārū içip za'if bolup barayīm ḥattā sulṭānning i'tiqādī manga artuqraq bolğay. (Sayf58v:7) 'I take some medicine, become weak and then go [to the banquet of the Sultan] so that his good will toward me may increase.'
Murādīm ol durur har dam ki qilsam tün va kün qulluq, ki rāḥat tapqa men āḥar uşol ranc-i garān birlä. (ShD161v:3-4) 'My intention is that I do service every moment night and day so that I find ease finally in this heavy pain.'

3.6.5.5.2. Past Tense of the Optative Mood

The past tense of the optative mood is created by the forms of the future optative and the definite past tense forms of the auxiliary *e-*, *er-* 'to be':

	Positive
Sing.	
körgäy erdim	'I may have seen'
körgäy erding	'you may have seen'
körgäy erdi	'he may have seen'
Plur.	

¹³⁷ You should know what the left side is without reference to the right side. The author suggests the value of absolute knowledge. God loves when we begin our actions on the left side. [M. Shaybānī Khān, *Risāla*].

¹³⁸ About how they knew you.

¹³⁹ One of the ways of execution by the Mongols of Hülāgū was to let the victim, wrapped in a rug, trampled upon by galloping horses.

¹⁴⁰ The Lover is warned not to build any hope on the principle that cruel treatment by the Beloved could be a sign that she takes an interest in him.

körgäy erdük 'we may have seen'
körgäy erdingiz 'you may have seen'
körgäy erdilär 'they may have seen'

Sing.
barğay erdim 'I may have gone'
barğay erding 'you may have gone'
barğay erdi 'he may have gone'

Plur.
barğay erdük 'we may have gone'
barğay erdingiz 'you may have gone'
barğay erdilär 'they may have gone'

Negative

Sing.
körmägäy erdim 'I may not have seen'
körmägäy erding 'you may not have seen'
körmägäy erdi 'he may not have seen'

Plur.
körmägäy erdük 'we may not have seen'
körmägäy erdingiz 'you may not have seen'
körmägäy erdilär 'they may not have seen'

Sing.
barmağay erdim 'I may not have gone'
barmağay erding 'you may not have gone'
barmağay erdi 'he may not have gone'

Plur.
barmağay erdük 'we may not have gone'
barmağay erdingiz 'you may not have gone'
barmağay erdilär 'they may not have gone'

(1) It is used in the main clause of conditional complex sentences to express an action that did not materialize due to unfulfilled conditions. E.g.,

Emdi şanam firāğında mäning ħälimni kelip sorsang erdi ve taqi camäl-i vişalingning ħaṭṭ u ħalina muṭāla'a qilsam erdi, mäning ħälimdün ħabardär bolğay erding. (ShD153v:4) 'O my Idol, if while you were away you had come to ask about my state and if I

had been able to observe the lines and the beauty spot of your face at the meeting, you could have learned about my situation.'

İcmägäy erdim tana 'um davrida cām-i vişāl bilsām erdi hicrdin bolur bu davran özgäčä. (HBD42,6) 'I would not have drunk from the cup of union in the time of enjoyment, had I known how time would change due to separation from her.'

Bu kişining biligi bolsa edi, aḥmaq bilän işi bu yergä yetmägäy edi. (Sayf108r:6) 'Had this person possessed wisdom, his case with the fool would not have gotten as far.'

Ayağing tofrağın¹⁴¹ **gar tapsam erdi, anı elning közidin yapsam erdi, yüzüm altunğa tutğay erdi anı, közidä asrağay erdi nihanı.** (DN250v:10) 'Had I but found the dust your feet were walking on, had I covered it from peoples' eyes, my face would have considered it as gold and would have preserved it secretly in its eyes.'

(2) It is also used to express a coveted but unfulfilled desire. Often the Persian desiderative particle **kāski** is used to support the desiderative meaning. E.g.,

Yetmäs elgim çön vişaling etäkinä, kāski qilğay erdi gum meni yer yüzidin parvardigār. (Gadā'ī16r 2) 'Since my hand does not reach the skirt¹⁴² of union with you,¹⁴³ [I say:] O, had the Nourisher eliminated me from the surface of the earth.'

3.6.5.6. The Aorist

The action or state expressed by the aorist is not bound to a specific time or to a concrete location. Nor is it determined as to aspect, or status. This permits the speaker to use the aorist in a great variety of functions. The aorist is formed from verbal nouns in **-r**; **-ar/-är**, **-ur/-ür** [positive, see 3.6.5.6.] and **-mas/-mäs** [negative, see 3.6.5.7.] with the personal markers **-män**, **-sän**, **--**, **-biz**, **-siz**, **-lar/-lär**.

The aorist has present, past, indirect past tenses and conditional forms.

3.6.5.6.1. The Present Tense of the Aorist

The present tense of the aorist names the action related to an agent with no reference to a particular time. It provides no information as to aspect, status, or mood.

Positive

¹⁴¹ Variant of *topraq*.

¹⁴² Those who are in need reach for the skirt of the one they hope to get help from.

¹⁴³ I.e., I am not able to secure your help...

Sing.			
körär män	'I see'	barur män	'I go'
körär sän	'you see'	barur sän	'you go'
körär	'he sees'	barur	'he goes'
Plur.			
körär biz	'we see'	barur biz	'we go'
körär siz	'you see'	barur siz	'you go'
körärlär	'they see'	barurlar	'they go'
Negative			
Sing.			
körmäs män	'I don't see'	barmas män	'I don't go'
körmäs sän	'you don't see'	barmas sän	'you don't go'
körmäs	'he doesn't see'	barmas	'he doesn't go'
Plur.			
körmäs biz	'we don't see'	barmas biz	'we don't go'
körmäs siz	'you don't see'	barmas siz	'you don't go'
körmäslär	'they don't see'	barmaslar	'they don't go'

Since the aorist does not have a point of time or time frame specifically assigned to it and is devoid of aspects and status, in actual usage it may assume diverse time, mode, and status characteristics.

(1) Therefore the present tense of the aorist often expresses habitual actions. E.g.,

Sahargāhī barur men, bil, ḥarabāt. Ne der sen zāhid-i šāhib-karāmāt? (ShD25v:4-5) 'Early mornings, be aware of this, I go to the tavern. What do you say, abstinent, possessor of [the ability to perform] miracles?'

Labing tabassum ilā āylā tīrgüzür ki Masīh. Zāhī tabassum-i šīrin, zāhī kalām-i fašīh. (ShD29r:8) 'With a smile your lips bring one to life again, like the Messiah. What a sweet smile! What an eloquent speech!'

(2) The present aorist often indicates established unchanging facts. E.g.,

Ḥusrav u Sa'dī va Ḥafizğa nā aytur sen cavāb: Tāng emās tur šakkar va qand va 'asal birlä 'unnāb. (ShD21v:1-2-) 'How can you challenge Khusrav [Dihlavī], Sa'dī or Ḥafiz? The jujube is not equal to sugar, rock candy, or honey.'

Özüngni qılma asru bē sar-u barg, kim egilmās sening sarī nihā-līm. (DN242v:4) 'Do not feel too distressed just because my branches do not bend in your direction.'

Malāmat qiblasidīn yüz evürmās, ḥalā'iq nečā ta'n ursa, dam urmas. (DN245v:8) 'He does not turn his face away from the qibla of blame, however much people criticise him, he does not say a word.'

Cihānga qaysi cān keldi qulunum ölmäyīn qalmas. Ačılğan lāla gul yasmin tabassum solmayīn qalmas. Ḥ77r:6) 'My boy, every soul that has entered this world will not stay here, will not escape

death. The tulip, the rose, the jasmine, and the smile, once they have blossomed, will surely wither.'

(3) The present aorist is used to express a general truth. We often find it in proverbs. E.g.,

'İşq otı saldı Şabānī könglidä ol qıldi āh kim tütün paydā bolur har yärdä kim küydi kabab. (ShD23r:3) 'The fire of love flared up in Şabānī's heart. He let out a sigh because smoke appears in every place where kebab is burning.'

Kişi desä sevür men ursa bolmas, bu yazuqdīn anī öltürsä bolmas. (DN247v:11) 'If a person says, "I love" he should not be beaten.¹⁴⁴ He should not be executed because of this sin.'¹⁴⁵

Yaz faşlida quruğan kökärür. Zāhid va şūfī qalur taş dek qurup. (ShD23r:12-13) 'Whatever dries in summer, will green out [when spring comes]. The abstinent and the mystic remain dry like stone.'

Körär men 'işq ara yüz mihnat u ranc, balē, ranc körmäyīn tapmas kişi ganc. (ShD28r:12-13) 'Being in love I experience a hundred sufferings and pains. But without experiencing pains one cannot find the treasures.'

(4) It is used in conditional-temporal sense. The condition or time is taken for granted. E.g.,

Davlat tilär siz barčangiz davlat eşikkä kelingiz, andin burunraq kim degäy davlat sizä ḥazā firāq. (ShD80v:12) 'If you want good fortune, come to the threshold of good fortune before good fortune tells you, the time is here for separation.'

(5) It also expresses progressive or repeated present actions. E.g.,

¹⁴⁴ Lovers should not be treated as madmen who are chained and children would throw stones at them. (See 'Aynī, *Yoddoshtho*).

¹⁴⁵ As Mansur Ḥallāj was.

La‘ling bilä tişingning hacrında, ay moğulcın, har laħza kirpü-kimdin marcân va durr saçar mân. (ShD112v:11-12) ‘Being away from your lips and from your teeth, O Moghul Beauty, from my eyelashes I constantly scatter corals and pearls.’¹⁴⁶

Ol nârgis-i mastâna közümdä uçar har dam, könglüm quşin avlarğa asru tēz va laçin sen. (ShD120r:9-10) ‘That intoxicated narcissus¹⁴⁷ flies into my eyes¹⁴⁸ every moment. In hunting the bird of my heart you are immensely fast and [skilled like] a falcon.’

‘Âşiq üçün mân bilür men yâr cāfāsī köp turur keçä kündüz şukr etär men şol 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 çirāğini yarutsam hēç tang ermäs, ki öčkän Çingizî şam‘i biling beglär yanar mendin. (ShD120r:1-2) ‘If I relight the lantern of the empire no one ever should be amazed, since as you, lords, full well know, through me he dying candle of the House of Chingis flares up again.’

(6) For a vivid narration of past actions, the present aorist is used instead of the definite past.¹⁴⁹

Ulusnî başlap alur mülk va taht İskandar, ki himmat ilä tegär tāt va sarvarî mirāş. (ShD17r:1-2) ‘Leading his people Alexander took countries because it is through good efforts that leadership becomes your legacy.’

(7) The present aorist is also used to express future actions. E.g.,

Agar sen anda körsäng nāgah āzar, men eşitip bolur men munda afgār. (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 hālî aning ğam laşkarında, yanî aġrır mu miḥnat bista-rında? (DN252v:6) ‘What is his condition in the army of sorrows? Is his side aching in the sick-bed of misery?’

Yüz tūmān ‘ūd teg yanar men nā sababdīn dā‘imā: Çon moğul-çin tarra-i tarrārini bir bir etär. (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 emäs men, ay gulandām, ki bir dam bargsüz tap-ğay men arām. (DN244v:6) ‘I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, who could find rest without [rose] leaves even for a moment.’

Qalamlardin durust ermäs rivāyat, ki siğmas tillārigä ol ḥikāyat. (DN248v:4) ‘It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.’¹⁵⁰

Ki qalmas ādamī bir ḥuyi birlän, ariğ yoq tur hamēşa suyi birlän. (DN254r:2) ‘Because a human being does not prevail in one and the same habit. The irrigation canal does not keep its water’¹⁵¹ for ever.’

Note: Chagatay verbal inflection contains a few Azerbaijani forms. The most striking grammatical loans occur in the paradigm of the Aorist:

(a) Azerbaijani form of the positive aorist in -am/-äm. E.g.,

Qişsanî qılma uzun zulf-i mu‘anbardin yana, qorqaram andin uzunraq bolmağay afsānamiz. (ShD62r:1) ‘Of the scented tresses do not make the story long. I fear that my narrative will not be longer than that.’

Ol Ḥusaynî tili birlä ayturam bir neçä söz, bu Şabāniğa madadçi boldi Ḥwārizmim mānüm. (ShD100r:5-6) ‘I say a few words with the tongue of Ḥusaynî. My Khwarizmi has become the helper of Shabānî.’

(b) Azerbaijani form of the negative aorist in -man/-mān. E.g.,

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmān agarçi yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) ‘I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head’¹⁵² although you turn away’¹⁵³ yours.’

Özüm özümni bilmān, bu tūnlä yārīm bulman, vah zulfidin parēşān, yā rabb manga nādin dur? (ShD53v:11) ‘I do not know

¹⁴⁶ I.e., blood-stained tears

¹⁴⁷ I.e., beloved with beautiful eyes

¹⁴⁸ I.e., comes to my mind

¹⁴⁹ Historical aorist

¹⁵⁰ I.e., the nib of the pen

¹⁵¹ I.e., the same water

¹⁵² A sign of disobedience.

¹⁵³ In disregard, or contempt.

myself, tonight I do not find my friend. Ah, distraught by her tresses, O God! Why does this happen to me?

Heç bilmän bu ot mänim ävimä qandan tüsti. (Sayf38r:8) 'I have no idea from where this fire fell upon my house.'

3.6.5.6.2. The Past Tense of the Aorist

The past tense of the aorist consists of the aorist theme, positive or negative, followed by the inflected forms of the definite past tense of the auxiliary verb *er-*.

It expresses habitual, repeated, or continued past actions or states with no closer modal, status, or aspect characteristics.

Positive			
Sing.			
körär erdim	'I saw'	barur erdim	'I went'
körär erding	'you saw'	barur erding	'you went'
körär erdi	'he saw'	barur erdi	'he went'
Plur.			
körär erdük	'we saw'	barur erdük	'we went'
körär erdingiz	'you saw'	barur erdingiz	'you went'
körär erdilär	'they saw'	barur erdilär	'they went'
Negative			
Sing.			
körmäs erdim	'I did not see'	barmas erdim	'I did not go'
körmäs erding	'you did not see'	barmas erding	'you did not go'
körmäs erdi	'he did not see'	barmas erdi	'he did not go'
Plur.			
körmäs erdük	'we did not see'	barmas erdük	'we did not go'
körmäs erdingiz	'you did not see'	barmas erdingiz	'you did not go'
körmäs erdilär	'they did not see'	barmas erdilär	'they did not go'

E.g.,

Uşbu sirrni bilmäsün dep kizlär erdim dā'imā āşkārā qıldi āhir dāna-i durdānamiz. (ShD61v:11) 'I always hid my secret so that she may not learn it. At the end, however, a grain of my unique pearl¹⁵⁴ disclosed it.'

Vah uzun tün dilbarim hicrānini tartar edim, şurat-i naqşin köngüldä çäkkäli zarzār edim. (ShD103v:6-7) 'Woe, long nights I suffered from the absence of my Beloved, I was desperate to paint the picture of her face in my heart.'

Har yıl ming yığaç safar qılur erdi, ayağ ve baş yalang, ve heç şahrda on künden artuq turmas erdi. (NF87v:23) 'Every year he would travel a thousand miles barefooted and bareheaded. And he would not stay in any city more than ten days.'

Bir kün bu sultān maclisindä Şāhnāma kitābın oqur edilär. (Sayf16r:7) 'One day in the company of the King they recited [from] the book [entitled] Shahname.'

(1) The past tense of the aorist sometimes indicates that the action was attempted, or intended but, in fact, was not carried out. E.g.,

İssi tammüz künlärindä bir kün äylä issi edi kim boğaznı qurutup ağıznı qaynatur edi. (Sayf121v11) 'One day in the hot [month of] July it was so hot that [the heat] dried out the throat and brought the mouth to boiling.'

Gar közümnüñ yaşı bir dām aqmayın tinsa edi, küydürür erdi biling 'alamnı bir āhim yaqıp. (ShD17r:12-13) 'If my tears had ceased to flow for a moment, one sigh of mine would have set fire to this world and burned it down.'

3.6.5.6.3. The Indirect Past Tense of the Aorist

The indirect past of the aorist handles indirect, unconfirmed information, either what the speaker heard from someone else, or what he himself discovered but could not obtain certainty about it.

This tense form consists of the aorist theme, positive or negative, followed by the inflected forms of the indirect past of the verb *er-* or *e-* 'to be.'

Positive			
Sing.			
körär ermiş mən	'I guess I saw'	barur ermiş mən	'I guess I went'

¹⁵⁴ I.e., my tears

körär ermiş sän	'I guess you saw'	barur ermiş sän	'I guess you went'
körär ermiş	'I guess he saw'	barur ermiş	'I guess he went'
Plur.			
körär ermiş biz	'I guess we saw'	barur ermiş biz	'I guess we went'
körär ermiş siz	'I guess you saw'	barur ermiş siz	'I guess you went'
körär ermişlär	'I guess they saw'	barur ermişlär	'I guess they went'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäs ermiş män	'I guess I did not see'	barmas ermiş män	'I guess I did not go'
körmäs ermiş sän	'I guess you did not see'	barmas ermiş män	'I guess you did not go'
körmäs ermiş	'I guess he did not see'	barmas ermiş	'I guess he did not go'
Plur.			
körmäs ermiş biz	'I guess we did not see'	barmas ermiş biz	'I guess we did not go'
körmäs ermiş siz	'I guess you did not see'	barmas ermiş siz	'I guess you did not go'
körmäs ermişlär	'I guess they did not see'	barmas ermişlär	'I guess they did not go'

E.g.,

‘**Āşiq olğanni der ermişlär** basē nādān kişi, qaṭralar közüüm yaşı-din kelsä dānā bolğa män. (ShD134r:9) ‘Many would call ignorant those in love.¹⁵⁵ When my tears fall drop by drop, I wish I was a wise man.’

Nafsinî sevgān kişi dur har zamān dunyāparast, ay dirēgā köng-lüngä tüşmäs emiş gör va kafan. (ShD119v:5-6) ‘The person who loves his self¹⁵⁶ always appreciates this world. Alas, the grave and the shroud apparently did not occur to his mind.’

Bu nukta sirrini hargiz kişi qayda bilür ermiş? Aça ber nukta sirrini mäning pîr-i muğanim sen. (ShD112r12-13) ‘Did ever

people anywhere know the secret of this point? Open the secrets of points, [after all] you are my elder of the magi.’

Sizing yunmağıngizni män kördüm ärsä bildim kim män haṭa qılur ärmış män. (NF86v:4) ‘I observed [the way you performed] your ablution and realized that I probably was in error.’

3.6.5.6.4. The Conditional of the Aorist

The conditional of the aorist is based on the aorist theme, positive [-r] or negative [-mas/-mäs], followed by the inflected forms of the conditional of the verbs **er-** or **bol-**.

It is used in conditional clauses of complex sentences to express present or future simple conditions.

Positive

Sing.			
körär ersäm/ bolsam	'if I see'	barur ersäm/ bolsam	'if I go'
körär ersäng/ bolsang	'if you see'	barur ersäng/ bolsang	'if you go'
körär ersä/ bolsa	'if he sees'	barur ersä/ bolsa	'if he goes'
Plur.			
körär ersäk/ bolsaq	'if we see'	barur ersäk/ bolsaq	'if we go'
körär ersängiz/ bolsangiz	'if you see'	barur ersängiz/ bolsangiz	'I you go'
körär ersälär/ bolsalar	'if they see'	barur ersälär/ bolsalar	'if they go'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäs ersäm/ bolsam	'if I do not see'	barmas ersäm/ bolsam	'if I do not go'
körmäs ersäng/ bolsang	'if you do not see'	barmas ersäng/ bolsang	'if you do not go'
körmäs ersä/ bolsa	'if he does not see'	barmas ersä/ bolsa	'if he does not go'
Plur.			
körmäs ersäk/ bolsaq	'if we do not see'	barmas ersäk/ bolsaq	'if we do not go'
körmäs ersängiz/ bolsangiz	'if you do not see'	barmas ersängiz/ bolsangiz	'if you do not go'

¹⁵⁵ Cf. MM200v:10-11

¹⁵⁶ I.e., his carnal soul

körmäs ersälär/ bolsalar	'if they do not see'	barmas ersälär/ bolsalar	'if they do not go'
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Note: The conditional of the aorist based on the positive stem has contracted forms. E.g.,

Positive			
Sing.			
körärsäm	'if I see'	barursam	'if I go'
körärsäng	'if you see'	barursang	'if you go'
körärsä	'if he sees'	barursa	'if he goes'

Plur.			
körärsäk	'if we see'	barursaq	'if we go'
körärsängiz	'if you see'	barursangiz	'if you go'
körärsälär	'if they see'	barursalar	'if they go'

E.g.,

Luṭf duşmangä körgüzür bolsang, dōstluq şarṭın ol tamām qılur. (Sayf16r:7) 'If you show kindness to the enemy, he will carry out the necessities of friendship.'

Aning vaşfın sorarlar bolsa mändän, nişānsızdan ḥabarsız ne de-gäy raz. (Sayf5r:13-5v:1) 'If they ask me about His qualities, how could an ignorant report about one who has no characteristics.'

Ay tarsālar, agar bu kimärsälär birlä la^{nat} qilişur bolsangiz, qiyāmatqa tāgi yār yüzindä tärsä uruḡi qalmaḡay. (NF72v:9) 'O, Christians! If you go on cursing one another with this people, by the time the resurrection is at hand, no offspring of Christians will remain.'

(1) The second person of the conditional of the aorist is also used to express indirect commands. E.g.,

Sunnatı neçä dur bilür bolsang, keçä kündüz anı qılur bolsang. (MS13v:6) 'You must know how many sunna [rak'ats] are required in one day [and, having learned that] you must perform them.'

(2) The conditional of the aorist is used in temporal sentences. The conjunction **qaçan** 'when' may introduce the temporal clause. E.g.,

Oq qaçan yadan çiqar bolsa yana kelmäs. (Sayf169v:8) 'When the arrow is released from the bow, it does not come back.'

Farıza qalur bolsa buzlur namāz. (MM183v:9) 'When a mandatory prayer is left out, the prayer is invalidated.'

(3) The conditional of the aorist is also used in concessive sentences. The concessive clause uses the conjunction **gar** or may not need a conjunction at all. E.g.,

İnär bolsa qayadan bir ağır taş, keräk kim ketmägäy ʿarif yolundan. (Sayf80r:9) 'Even if a heavy boulder rolls down from a rocky mountain, the mystic does not go out of its path.'

Tuz etmäknı unutmas kalb gar yüz qovar bolsang, yana qay-tarmas ol yüz. (Sayf 175r:1-2) 'The dog does not forget the gratitude for sustenance¹⁵⁷ even if you chase him away a hundred times, it does not turn its face away [from you].'

3.6.5.6.5. The Optative of the Aorist

The optative of the aorist expresses an anticipated future action. It consists of the aorist base of the main verb followed by the inflected forms of the optative of the auxiliary **bol-** 'to be'.

Positive			
Sing.			
körär bolḡay	'I am to see'	barur bolḡay	'I am to go'
män		män	
körär bolḡay	'you are to see'	barur bolḡay	'you are to go'
sän		sän	
körär bolḡay	'he is to see'	barur bolḡay	'he is to go'
Plur.			
körär bolḡay	'we are to see'	barur bolḡay	'we are to go'
biz		biz	
körär bolḡay	'you are to see'	barur bolḡay	'you are to go'
siz		siz	
körär bolḡay-lar	'they are to see'	barur bolḡay-lar	'they are to go'

Negative			
Sing.			
körmäs bolḡay	'I am not to see'	barmas bolḡay	'I am not to go'
män		män	
körmäs bolḡay	'you are not to see'	barmas bolḡay	'you are not to go'
sän		sän	
körmäs bolḡay	'he is not to see'	barmas bolḡay	'he is not to go'

¹⁵⁷ Lit., salt and bread

Plur.			
körmäs bolğay	'we are not to see'	barmas bolğay	'we are not to go'
biz		biz	
körmäs bolğay	'you are not to see'	barmas bolğay	'you are not to go'
siz		siz	
körmäs bolğay-lar	'they are not to see'	barmas bolğay-lar	'they are not to go'

E.g.,

Tariq-i 'išqida ol kim özin bilür bolğay, ħabarni sāqī va dilbargā qılmamiš tamām. (ShD107v:11-12) 'He who is to know his Self in the path of love, apparently has not told the full story to the cupbearer and the heartravisher.'

(1) The optative of the aorist may express an eventual condition [that may arise, could occur, or chances are happens] in the conditional clause of a complex sentence. The clause may use the conjunction **agar**. E.g.,

Ya Muḥammad, agar čärigdä namāz qilur bolsang, ħala'iqni ekki (tā'ifa qilğil. (NF20v:9) 'O, Muḥammad, should you lead the prayer in the armed forces, split the soldiers into two groups.'

3.6.5.7. The Indirect Past Tense

The indirect past tense expresses a completed action the result of which is present at the speaker's time. There is, however, some lack of certainty about the agent or the action, or both. This can result from the clouded reliability of the source of our information We heard about an incident but we did not witness it ['as I hear']. Or we observed the result of an action but only guessed how it had come about ['I gather'].

This is a fine distinction which is not always realized by individual authors who may use it in the role of definite past, or past perfect. It is comparatively rare and occurs mostly in poetry. E.g.,

	Positive		
Sing.			
körmiš mән	'I have seen'	barmiš mән	'I have gone'
körmiš sән	'you have seen'	barmiš sән	'you have gone'
körmiš	'he has seen'	barmiš	'he has gone'
Plur.			
körmiš biz	'we have seen'	barmiš biz	'we have gone'
körmiš siz	'you have seen'	barmiš siz	'you have gone'

körmišlär	'they have seen'	barmišlar	'they have gone'
Negative			
Sing.			
körmämiš mән	'I have not seen'	barmamiš mән	'I have not gone'
körmämiš sән	'you have not seen'	barmamiš sән	'you have not gone'
körmämiš	'he has not seen'	barmamiš	'he has not gone'

Plur.			
körmämiš biz	'we have not seen'	barmamiš biz	'we have not gone'
körmämiš siz	'you have not seen'	barmamiš siz	'you have not gone'
körmämišlär	'they have not seen'	barmamišlar	'they have not gone'

E.g.,

Tariq-i 'išqida ol kim özin bilür bolğay, ħabarni sāqī va dilbar-gā qılmamiš tamām. (ShD107v:11-12) 'He who is to know his Self in the path of love, apparently has not told the full story to the cupbearer and the heartravisher.'

Nä aradan nä ulusdan nä umaqdan nä pari, şun'-i Haqq yazmiš seni, ay körklü sultānim mänüm. (ShD99v:12-13). 'Not from [our] neighborhood, not from [our] people, not from [our] race, not [even from the] fairies: The artistry of God has painted you, [I believe] O My Beautiful Emperor.'

Manga belğürdi emdi ittihādīng, bar ermiš zulfuma čin i'tiqā-dīng. (DN247v:2) 'Now your alliance has been revealed to me. Your faith in my tresses was apparently sincere.'

Sanga ol zamzama beḥwāst ermiš, har āhangī ki qıldīng rāst er-miš. (DN247v:3) 'For you that chant may have sounded spontaneous: Any tune that you produced was correct.'

Közlärīngning fannidīn bildim, čin ermiš bu maşal: Har kişining kim kişigā rahmī yoq, imānī yoq. [GD124v:10] 'From the art of your eyes I knew that the proverb was apparently true: He who has no mercy, has no faith.'

'Umrida miskin Gadā heč körmämiš 'işrat yüzin; dard üçün goyā yaratmišlar men qallaşnī. (GD153r:6) 'In his life poor Gadā

never saw the face of carefree enjoyment. Is it, I wonder, that I the worthless being, have been created for suffering [alone]?’

Māni laškarda asir etti Harīning dilbari, kim azal kōyinda yazmış dur bu türlüq taqririn. (ShD116r:2) ‘The heart-ravisher of Herāt made me a captive by her military forces. This confession was put in writing in the village of eternity without beginning.’

Avliyālar sarvarı ol şah-i Turkistān emiş, yār yüzini nūrī tut-qan mäh-i Turkistān emiş. (ShD68v:12-3) ‘The leader of the saints [people say] was the King of Turkistan, the one whose light shines upon the face of the earth was the moon of Turkistan.’

Cannat-i ma‘vā degān bağ-i Samarqand emiş, Kavşar-i a‘la degān ab-i Samarqand emiş. (ShD70v:6-7) ‘What is called the Blue

Paradise is the garden of Samarqand.¹⁵⁸ What is called the most exquisite Kauthar [river] is the waters of Samarqand.’

Hayr va şarr degil aning zulf va yüzün, biri nūrafşān ve biri mār emiş. (ShD71v:1-2) ‘Call her tresses and her face Good and Evil: One is the radiant [sun], the other is a snake.’

Note: In the first and second person of the singular Azeri forms are also met with: E.g.,

Şāhāna dur dilbarim yoq tur özümdä bir damim, āhim otin köp yaqmışam közdä yaşımdin nā ‘amim. (ShD100r:7-8) ‘My heart-ravisher is imperial, not a single breath is left in me. I let the fire of my sighs burn too long. What an ocean is in my eyes formed by my tears.’

Mān ki zulfung dāmida asru ‘aciz bolmışam, ‘arizingning üstidä sunbullaringni tartma sen. (ShD116v:12). ‘Since I have become utterly helpless in the net of your tresses, do not pull your hyacinths over your face.’

Aning teg bolmışam hayrān sanga kim körünmäs közümä ‘alamda diyār. (GD119r:4) ‘I am so much amazed at you that I do not notice the [wonderful] lands in this world.’

3.6.5.7.1. The Conditional of the Indirect Past Tense

The conditional of the indirect past expresses eventual conditions in the past: ‘if something perchance happened,’ ‘if someone eventually did something.’

The forms of the conditional of the indirect past consist of the indirect past theme in **-miş/-miş** followed by the present conditional of the verb **bol-** or **er-**.

Positive

Sing.			
körmüş bolsam	‘if I saw’	barmış bolsam	‘if I went’
körmüş bolsang	‘if you saw’	barmış bolsang	‘if you went’
körmüş bolsa	‘if he saw’	barmış bolsa	‘if he went’
Plur.			
körmüş bolsaq	‘if we saw’	barmış bolsaq	‘if we went’
körmüş bolsangiz	‘if you saw’	barmış bolsangiz	‘if you went’
körmüş bolsalar	‘if they saw’	barmış bolsalar	‘if they went’

Negative

Sing.			
körmemiş bol-sam	‘if I did not see’	barmamış bol-sam	‘if I did not go’
körmemiş bol-sang	‘if you did not see’	barmamış bol-sang	‘if you did not go’
körmemiş bolsa	‘if he did not see’	barmamış bolsa	‘if he did not go’
Plur.			
körmemiş bol-saq	‘if we did not see’	barmamış bol-saq	‘if we did not go’
körmemiş bol-sangiz	‘if you did not see’	barmamış bol-sangiz	‘if you did not go’
körmemiş bol-salar	‘if they did not see’	barmamış bol-salar	‘if they did not go’

E.g.,

Kim ki körmüş bolsa bir kün ay yüzügni dünyāda, ölsä dağı, bil yaqin kim zarra’e armāni yoq. (GD124v:9) ‘If someone saw your face one day in this world, even when he dies, know full well, he does not have a speck of sorrow.’

Emdi kim bilür bu dağı oğrılardan kelip özini ‘ayyārliq şuratına ta‘biya qılmış bolsa, fursat vaqtında anlarğa habar qılsa. (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 Shaybāni’s *Dīvān*.

Qayu qulğa kim Haqq taʿālā edgülik tilämiş bolsa aning yazuqlarining 'uqubatini dunyada berür ahiratqa qoymas. (NF326,5) 'If God the Most high wanted to do good to any of the servants, He would give retribution for his sins in this word and would not leave it to the hereafter.'

Tabi'in ol kimärsägä ayturlar kim şahabağa satğaşmış bolsa, Payğambar yaranlarını körmüş bolsa. (NF187,10) 'Tabi'in are called those people who had met with the Companions, who had seen the friends of the Prophet.'

3.6.5.7.2. The Optative of the Indirect Past Tense

The optative of the indirect past tense expresses a future action that will be completed by a future point of time indicated either by another action or by adverbials of time. It consists of the indirect past theme followed by the inflected forms of the optative of the verb **bol-**.

Positive

Sing.			
körmüş bolğay	'I will have seen'	barmış bolğay	'I will have gone'
män		män	
körmüş bolğay	'you will have seen'	barmış bolğay	'you will have gone'
sän		sän	
körmüş bolğay	'he will have seen'	barmış bolğay	'he will have gone'

Plur.			
körmüş bolğay	'we will have seen'	barmış bolğay	'we will have gone'
biz		biz	
körmüş bolğay	'you will have seen'	barmış bolğay	'you will have gone'
siz		siz	
körmüş bolğay-lar	'they will have seen'	barmış bolğay-lar	'they will have gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmämiş bolğay men	'I will not have seen'	barmamış bolğay men	'I will not have gone'
körmämiş bolğay sen	'you will not have seen'	barmamış bolğay sen	'you will not have gone'
körmämiş bolğay	'he will not have seen'	barmamış bolğay	'he will not have gone'

Plur.

körmämiş bolğay biz	'we will not have seen'	barmamış bolğay biz	'we will not have gone'
körmämiş bolğay siz	'you will not have seen'	barmamış bolğay siz	'you will not have gone'
körmämiş bolğaylar	'they will not have seen'	barmamış bolğaylar	'they will not have gone'

E.g.,

Tek otur kim säning atang ağır taş astından täbrängänčä keräk mänim atam cannatkä kirmış bolğay. (Sayf150r:11-12). 'Just you wait! By the time your father crawls out from under heavy stones, my father will have entered heaven.'

Kim kim bu alti kim ärsä haqqında yaman söz aytur bolsa, özingä zulm qılmış bolğay. (NF61r:10) 'Whoever says something bad about these six people, will bring great punishment upon himself.'

3.6.5.7.3. The Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense expresses a past action that was completed by a past point of time indicated by another verb or by an adverbial. It consists of the indirect past theme followed by the inflected forms of the definite past of the verb **er-**. In relative clauses it may indicate the past time with emphasis on the result of the action present or effective at the time the statement is made.

Positive

Sing.			
körmış erdim	'I had seen'	barmış erdim	'I had gone'
körmış erding	'you had seen'	barmış erding	'you had gone'
körmış erdi	'he has seen'	barmış erdi	'he had gone'

Plur.			
körmış erdük	'we had seen'	barmış erdük	'we had gone'
körmış erdingiz	'you had seen'	barmış erdingiz	'you had gone'
körmış erdilär	'they had seen'	barmış erdilär	'they had gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmämiş erdim	'I had not seen'	barmamış erdim	'I had not gone'
körmämiş erding	'you had not seen'	barmamış erding	'you had not gone'
körmämiş erdi	'he had not seen'	barmamış erdi	'he had not gone'

Plur.			
körmamiş er-dük	‘we had not seen’	barmamiş er-dük	‘we had not gone’
körmamiş er-dingiz	‘you had not seen’	barmamiş er-dingiz	‘you had not gone’
körmamiş er-dilär	‘they had not seen’	barmamiş er-dilär	‘they had not gone’

E.g.,

Dāğ-i ‘išqing bermiş erdi ‘aql u hūšumdin farāğ vah ki qoydī šu-‘la-i hicraning ol dāğ üzrā dāğ. (HB18-1) ‘The pain caused by your love made me lose my intellect and consciousness. Alas, the flames of your separation pressed a branding iron upon the wound made by a branding iron.’

Cumlasī mu‘allim ävindä erkän ol ävnüng saqfini tābrätmiş erdi. (NF330,5) ‘When all of them were in the teacher’s house, he shook the roof of the house.’

Bildir taqī män bu Madā’in šahringä kelmiş ärdim. (NF139,12) ‘Make it known that I had arrived to these two cities.’

Bir kün Abu Hanifa olturmiş erdi Kavfaning ‘alimlari birlä. (NF188,10) ‘One day Abu Hanifa was in session with the learned men of Kavfa.’

Qaçan kim Qaydūm atliğ yärgä yättilär ärsä bir taş aldī taqī bu oğul ‘ammīni ol taş birlä öltürmiş ärdi. (NF170r:13) ‘When they¹⁵⁹ reached the place called Qaydūm this boy took a stone and killed his uncle with that stone.’

3.6.5.8. The Progressive Mood

The progressive mood indicates the action in progress. It has two tenses: the present and the past. The basis for this paradigm is the locative case of the infinitive in **-maq/-mäk**. Rare in Chagatay but quite frequent in modern literary Uzbek.

3.6.5.8.1. The Present Tense of the Progressive Mood

An action in progress in the present time may be indicated by the present tense of the progressive mood.

It consists of the Locative case of the infinitive, positive or negative, and personal endings of the pronominal type.

¹⁵⁹ I.e., the boy and his uncle

	Positive		
Sing.			
körmäktä män	‘I am seeing’	barmaqta män	‘I am going’
körmäktä sän	‘you are seeing’	barmaqta sän	‘you are going’
körmäktä dur	‘he is seeing’	barmaqta dur	‘he is going’
Plur.			
körmäktä biz	‘we are seeing’	barmaqta biz	‘we are going’
körmäktä siz	‘you are seeing’	barmaqta siz	‘you are going’
körmäktä durlar	‘they are seeing’	barmaqta durlar	‘they are going’

Negative

Sing.			
körmämäktä män	‘I am not seeing’	barmamaqta män	‘I am not going’
körmämäktä sän	‘you are not seeing’	barmamaqta sän	‘you are not going’
körmämäktä dur	‘he is not seeing’	barmamaqta dur	‘he is not going’
Plur.			
körmämäktä biz	‘we are not seeing’	barmamaqta biz	‘we are not going’
körmämäktä siz	‘you are not seeing’	barmamaqta siz	‘you are not going’
körmämäktä durlar	‘they are not seeing’	barmamaqta durlar	‘they are not going’

E.g.,

Men emdi ҳаста ва ғам artmaqda; ҳiyāling allida cān tartmaqda. (DN257r:3) ‘Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing, facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.’

3.6.5.8.2. The Past Tense of the Progressive Mood

It consists of the locative case of the infinitive, positive or negative, followed by the full inflected forms of the definite past tense of the verb **e-**, or **er-**.

Positive

Sing.			
körmäktä edim	'I was seeing'	barmaqta edim	'I was going'
körmäktä eding	'you were seeing'	barmaqta eding	'you were going'
körmäktä edi	'he was seeing'	barmaqta edi	'he was going'

Plur.			
körmäktä edük	'we were seeing'	barmaqta edük	'we were going'
körmäktä edingiz	'you were seeing'	barmaqta edingiz	'you were going'
körmäktä edilär	'they were seeing'	barmaqta edilär	'they were going'

Negative

Sing.			
körmämäktä edim	'I was not seeing'	barmamaqta edim	'I was not going'
körmämäktä eding	'you were not seeing'	barmamaqta eding	'you were not going'
körmämäktä edi	'he was not seeing'	barmamaqta edi	'he was not going'

Plur.			
körmämäktä edük	'we were not seeing'	barmamaqta edük	'we were not going'
körmämäktä edingiz	'you were not seeing'	barmamaqta edingiz	'you were not going'
körmämäktä edilär	'they were not seeing'	barmamaqta edilär	'they were not going'

E.g.,

Atam 'Umar Şayh Mīrza ri'āyat qīlip edi va hanūz **ri'āyat qīlmaqta edi**. (BN52r:9-10) 'My father 'Umar Shayh Mīrza had respected him and still was respecting him.'

3.6.5.9. The Perfective Mood

Tenses built on the participle in **-ğan/-gän** belong under this heading. They do not constitute a fully developed system and have no clearly defined position in the Chagatay verbal inflection. Some of the forms are quite rare and occur mostly in prose works. Using these forms authors

treat the action as accomplished and its result, as a fact. They put greater emphasis on the factual result than on the subject or agent of the verb that brought about the result. Whether or not the action was witnessed or simply communicated as a hearsay, is secondary and most often does not come into play. The truth of the action is warranted by the result to be observed in the present.

3.6.5.9.1. The Present Perfect Tense

The present perfect tense expresses a past action the result of which plays a role of some kind in the present, e.g., **sanga kelgän dur** 'he is here to pick you up' [< he has come for you], **rōzi bergän** 'he is providing for' [the entire world] [< he has given provision to feed the entire world].

The present perfect tense consists of the past participle in **-ğan/-gän** followed by personal endings of the pronominal type. In the third person the predicative particles **dur**, **durlar** may occur. It has two negative forms: Negative I is formed from the negative participle created by the particle **-ma/-mä**, negative II, from the positive participle followed by the inflected negated forms of the verb **är-**, **er-**, or **e-**.

Note: The predicative particles **dur** and **durlar** in the third persons can be omitted.

Positive

Sing.			
körgän män	'I have seen'	barğan män	'I have gone'
körgän sän	'you have seen'	barğan sän	'you have gone'
körgän dur	'he has seen'	barğan dur	'he has gone'
Plur.			
körgän biz	'we have seen'	barğan biz	'we have gone'
körgän siz	'you have seen'	barğan siz	'you have gone'
körgän durlar	'they have seen'	barğanlar	'they have gone'

Negative I

Sing.			
körmägän män	'I have not seen'	barmağan män	'I have not gone'
körmägän sän	'you have not seen'	barmağan sän	'you have not gone'
körmägän dur	'he has not seen'	barmağan dur	'he has not gone'

Plur.			
körmägän biz	'we have not seen'	barmağan biz	'we have not gone'
körmägän siz	'you have not seen'	barmağan siz	'you have not gone'
körmägän durlar	'they have not seen'	barmağan durlar	'they have not gone'

Negative II

Sing.			
körgän ermäs män	'I have not seen'	barğan ermäs män	'I have not gone'
körgän ermäs sän	'you have not seen'	barğan ermäs sän	'you have not gone'
körgän ermäs dur	'he has not seen'	barğan ermäs dur	'he has not gone'

Plur.			
körgän ermäs biz	'we have not seen'	barğan ermäs biz	'we have not gone'
körgän ermäs siz	'you have not seen'	barğan ermäs siz	'you have not gone'
körgän ermäs durlar	'they have not seen'	barğan ermäs durlar	'they have not gone'

E.g.,

Ğusl sunnatları qamuğ beş ol. Yahşi **bilmägän** anı badkeş ol. (MS7r:2) 'The total number of traditional practices to be observed during the *ğusl* is five. He who is not aware of all of them is an impious person.'

İki yaqtu guhar 'alamğa **bergän**, mahabbat gancini 'adamğa **bergän**. (MN290v:2) 'He gave two shiny gems to the world. He gave man the treasure of love.'

Dedi, mardāna bol yalğuz qulunum sanga **kelgän dur**. Munı rōz-i azal parvardağarim sanga **qilgän dur**. (H77v:7) 'The Prophet said, be brave my foal¹⁶⁰, it is to see you that our guest has come. My Provider had decreed this from before the beginning of time.'

Toquz aflākni **tutgän** mu'allaq, yāti qat yärni ham **qilgän** mu'tabbaq. (LN4) 'He has suspended the nine layers of the sky. He has set up the seven layers of the earth.'

¹⁶⁰ Endearing word for 'my boy'.

Män aydım, Vallāhī, män **oqıgän ermäs men**. (NF8,1) 'I said, "By God, I cannot read."'¹⁶¹

3.6.5.9.2. The Indirect Present Perfect Tense

The indirect present perfect tense expresses a past action the result of which plays a role of some kind in the present, but of which the speaker has no direct knowledge, e.g., **kelgän ermiş** 'he apparently is here.'

Positive

Sing.			
körgän ermiş män	'I may have seen'	barğan ermiş män	'I may have gone'
körgän ermiş sän	'you may have seen'	barğan ermiş sän	'you may have gone'
körgän ermiş dur	'he may have seen'	barğan ermiş dur	'he may have gone'

Plur.			
körgän ermiş biz	'we may have seen'	barğan ermiş biz	'we may have gone'
körgän ermiş siz	'you may have seen'	barğan ermiş siz	'you may have gone'
körgän ermiş durlar	'they may have seen'	barğan ermiş durlar	'they may have gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmägän ermiş män	'I may not have seen'	barmağan ermiş män	'I may not have gone'
körmägän ermiş sän	'you may not have seen'	barmağan ermiş sän	'you may not have gone'
körmägän ermiş dur	'he may not have seen'	barmağan ermiş dur	'he may not have gone'

Plur.			
körmägän ermiş biz	'we may not have seen'	barmağan ermiş biz	'we may not have gone'
körmägän ermiş siz	'you may not have seen'	barmağan ermiş siz	'you may not have gone'
körmägän ermiş durlar	'they may not have seen'	barmağan ermiş durlar	'they may not have gone'

¹⁶¹ Lit., I have not learned how to read

E.g.,

Özi miñnatqa salğan ermiş sen, bu'l-*‘acab ğamğa qalğan ermiş sen.* (Navai, see Eckm. p.171) ‘You apparently have put yourself into misery. [As I see] you have bogged down in amazing sorrows.’

3.6.5.9.3. The Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense expresses an action that took place in the past before a given point of time. This may be indicated by an adverbial of time, by another action, or simply by a broader context. Here, too, it is the result of the action that is considered about which or about its agent the speaker has no direct knowledge.

Positive

Sing.			
körgän erdim	‘I had seen’	barğan erdim	‘I had gone’
körgän erding	‘you had seen’	barğan erding	‘you had gone’
körgän erdi	‘he had seen’	barğan erdi	‘he had gone’

Plur.			
körgän erdük	‘we had seen’	barğan erdük	‘we had gone’
körgän erdingiz	‘you had seen’	barğan erdingiz	‘you had gone’
körgän erdilär	‘they had seen’	barğan erdilär	‘they had gone’

Negative

Sing.			
körgän emäs erdim	‘I had not seen’	barğan emäs erdim	‘I had not gone’
körgän emäs erding	‘you had not seen’	barğan emäs erding	‘you had not gone’
körgän emäs erdi	‘he had not seen’	barğan emäs erdi	‘he had not gone’

Plur.			
körgän emäs erdük	‘we had not seen’	barğan emäs erdük	‘we had not gone’
körgän emäs erdingiz	‘you had not seen’	barğan emäs erdingiz	‘you had not gone’
körgän emäs erdilär	‘they had not seen’	barğan emäs erdilär	‘they had not gone’

E.g.,

İmām Ğazālī İhyā’u’l-ulūm atlıĝ kitābında kältürmiş: Abū Ḥanifa üküš *‘ibādat qılğan ardi.* (NF186,1) ‘In his book entitled *İhyā’u’l-ulūm* İmām Ğazālī reported: Abu Ḥanifa had carried out many acts of devotion.’

Tängiz körmäğan daĝı kemä zaḥmatin çäk-mäğan edi. (Sayf 17r:12) ‘He had never seen the sea and had not suffered the hardships of the boat.’

3.6.5.9.4. The Conditional of the Present Perfect Tense

The conditional of the present perfect tense expresses a real or eventual condition in the past the consequences of which in some way affect the present.

It consists of the participle in *-ğan/-gän*, positive or negative, followed by the positive inflected forms of the present conditional of the verb *bol-*, or, rarely, *ol-*.

Positive

Sing.			
körgän bolsam	‘if I have seen’	barğan bolsam	‘if I have gone’
körgän bolsang	‘if you have seen’	barğan bolsang	‘if you have gone’
körgän bolsa	‘if he has seen’	barğan bolsa	‘if he has gone’

Plur.			
körgän bolsaq	‘if we have seen’	barğan bolsaq	‘if we have gone’
körgän bol-sangiz	‘if you have seen’	barğan bol-sangiz	‘if you have gone’
körgän bolsalar	‘if they have seen’	barğan bolsa-lar	‘if they have gone’

Negative

Sing.			
körmäğan bolsam	‘if I have not seen’	barmağan bolsam	‘if I have not gone’
körmäğan bolsang	‘if you have not seen’	barmağan bolsang	‘if you have not gone’
körmäğan bolsa	‘if he has not seen’	barmağan bolsa	‘if he has not gone’

Plur.			
körmägän	'if we have not seen'	barmağan	'if we have not gone'
bolsaq		bolsaq	
körmägän	'if you have not seen'	barmağan	'if you have not gone'
bolsangüz		bolsangüz	
körmägän	'if they have not seen'	barmağan	'if they have not gone'
bolsalar		bolsalar	

E.g.,

Bu cihatdın her kişini bu ƒa'ifadın zāhir yüzidin piri ma'lūm bolmasa ve maša'ihdın birining rūhī anī tarbiyat qılğan bolsa, anī Uvaisī derlār. (NM p. 13) 'For this reason they call Uvaysī 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 sheykhs.'

Tüsmägän bolsa camālingdın köngülgä šu'la-ē, hacr ğavġāsın körüngüz Yūsuf-i Kan'an ara. (ShD9r:7-8) 'If a flame from the beauty of your face has not touched [your] heart, just observe the turmoil caused by separation in [the heart of] Joseph of Kanaan.'

3.6.5.9.5. The Future Perfect Tense

The future perfect tense expresses an action that will have taken place in the future before a point of time express or understood from the context. The tense suggests some degree of eventuality or uncertainty of the action. That, however, does not change the perfective aspect inherent in forms built on the verbal nouns in -ğan/-gän.

The future perfect tense consists of the participle in -ğan/-gän, positive or negative, carrying the inflectional [possessive] suffixes. It is followed by the third person singular of the present optative of the auxiliary *bol-* or, rarely, *ol-*.

Positive

Sing.			
körgän bolġay	'I may have seen'	barġan bolġay	'I may have gone'
mān		mān	
körgän bolġay	'you may have seen'	barġan bolġay	'you may have gone'
sān		sān	
körgän bolġay	'he may have seen'	barġan bolġay	'he may have gone'

Plur.			
körgän bolġay	'we may have seen'	barġan bolġay	'we may have gone'
biz		biz	
körgän bolġay	'you may have seen'	barġan bolġay	'you may have gone'
siz		siz	
körgän bolġay-lar	'they may have seen'	barġan bolġay-lar	'they may have gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmägän bolġay men	'I may not have seen'	barmağan bolġay men	'I may not have gone'
körmägän bolġay sen	'you may not have seen'	barmağan bolġay sen	'you may not have gone'
körmägän bolġay	'he may not have seen'	barmağan bolġay	'he may not have gone'

Plur.			
körmägän bolġay biz	'we may not have seen'	barmağan bolġay biz	'we may not have gone'
körmägän bolġay siz	'you may not have seen'	barmağan bolġay siz	'you may not have gone'
körmägän bolġaylar	'they may not have seen'	barmağan bolġaylar	'they may not have gone'

E.g.,

İhtimālī bar, ki öyümgä bargunča yolda kiši zarar tegürür dep qolumğa qılıç alğan bolġay men va mastlikdin özümning öyi ha-yal qılıp taht üzä yatıp qalğan bolġay men. (Bahtiyārnama, see Eckm. Gr. p.171) 'It is possible that I may have grabbed the sword thinking that while returning home someone might harm me on the road, and, also, I may have stayed lying on the throne imagining in my drunken state that the place was my own house.'

3.6.5.10. The Categorical Tenses

The categorical tenses are built on the verbal nouns in -ġu/-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 **-ğu/-gü**, the possessive suffix, and the predicative particle **dur**. The particle is spelled separately: [**kel-** + **gü-** + **si**] + **dur** = **kelgüsi dur** 'he will surely come'.

It is used to express a future action or state that will definitely and unconditionally take place. The relationship of the agent to the action is that of an obligation: the agent cannot but carry out the action.

Positive

Sing.			
körgüm dur	'I will surely see'	barğum dur	'I will surely go'
körgüng dur	'you will surely see'	barğung dur	'you will surely go'
körgüsi dur	'he will surely see'	barğusi dur	'he will surely go'
Plur.			
körgümüz dur	'we will surely see'	barğümüz dur	'we will surely go'
körgüngiz dur	'you will surely see'	barğungiz dur	'you will surely go'
körgülari dur	'they will surely see'	barğulari dur	'they will surely go'

Negative I

Sing.			
körmägüm dur	'I will surely not see'	barmağum dur	'I will surely not go'
körmägüng dur	'you will surely not see'	barmağung dur	'you will surely not go'
körmägüsi dur	'he will surely not see'	barmağusi dur	'he will surely not go'
Plur.			
körmägümüz dur	'we will surely not see'	barmağümüz dur	'we will surely not go'
körmägüngiz dur	'you will surely not see'	barmağungiz dur	'you will surely not go'
körmägülari dur/durlar	'they will surely not see'	barmağulari dur/durlar	'they will surely not go'

Negative II

Sing.			
körgüm yoq	'I will surely not see'	barğum yoq	'I will surely not go'
körgüng yoq	'you will surely not see'	barğung yoq	'you will surely not go'
körgüsi yoq	'he will surely not see'	barğusi yoq	'he will surely not go'
Plur.			
körgümüz yoq	'we will surely not see'	barğümüz yoq	'we will surely not go'
körgüngiz yoq	'you will surely not see'	barğungiz yoq	'you will surely not go'
körgülari yoq	'they will surely not see'	barğulari yoq	'they will surely not go'

E.g.,

Ki davlat **kelgüsi dur**, bolma ġafil, sa^cadat birlä **tüzgüng dur** maġafil. (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 **qoyğusi dur** dilnavāzing kelip baş **tüzgüsi dur** sarv-i nāzing. (DN260v:7) 'Your mistress will for sure turn toward you; with head held high your sweetheart will surely come.'

'Inayat şubġidin **savulğusi dur** damādam šam^c teg söz u gudāzing. (DN260v:8) 'From the morning of grace your burning and melting woes will gradually reduce like a burning candle.'

Farāgat yelidin **açilğusi dur** köngüldä ġunča teg sarbasta rāzing. (DN260v:9) 'From the wind of leisure your secret sealed in your heart will open like a bud.'

Başarat **kelgüsi dur** ħidmatinga sa^cadat bolğusi dur čarasāzing (DN260v:10) 'Good news will surely come to your¹⁶² presence; felicity will rise to your head [and] your abstinence will be gone.'

Başınga **çiqqusi dur** may ayaġi eligtin **barğusi dur** ihtirāzing. (DN260v:11) 'The cup of wine will rise to your head [and] your abstinence will be lost.'

¹⁶² Lit., to your presence

Niyāzıng qalmağusı dur kişigä, eliging yetsüsi dur vaşl işigä. (DN261r:4) 'There will be no need left for you in anyone else: you will for sure apply your hand to the task of achieving union.'
 Qılmağan gunāhni bilmän ki ne qılğum dur. (NM p.32) 'I do not know what to do about the sins I did not commit.'
 Bar erdi bar turur va bolğusı ham. (RB1v:7) 'He was, He is and He will [ever] be.'
 Ol kün kim men dünyādın kitsem, malā'ika tofrağ savurğusı durlar. (NM p.53). 'The day I leave this world, the angels will scatter dust.'

Note: The particle **dur** may be omitted from the phrasal paradigm. E.g., **Pas taharat içindä sunnat farz, barçasın hizmatıngdä qılğum arz.** (MS3r:6) 'Then I will enumerate for you all the traditional practices and mandatory duties [that must be observed] during the *taharat*.'
Ol taharatnı ki bozğusı bilgil, bu tayammumnı ham qılur bañil. (MS9r:3) '[Occurrences] that violate the [state of ritual purity achieved by means of the] *taharat* [that is, the ablution performed with water,] will also violate it, if it has been achieved by means of the *tayammum*.'
Anda kedin qılıp bayān-i namāz, rōza bahşını qılğumız āğaz. (MS3v:1) 'Then, after I have explained [the rules regarding] the prayer, I will take up the requirements of the fast.'

3.6.5.10.2. The Categorical Future in the Past

The categorical future in the past expresses an action that was planned in the past to be accomplished for sure at a later date, still in the past. Very rarely used.

It consists of the base of the categorical future followed by the definite past tense of the verb **er-/e-**. It has two negative forms: the basic negated by the auxiliary **ermäs erdi** and the emphatic, negated by the particle **yoq** and the auxiliary **erdi**.

Positive

Sing.			
körgüm erdi	'I was to see for sure'	barğum erdi	'I was to go for sure'
körgüng erdi	'you were to see for sure'	barğung erdi	'you were to go for sure'
körgüsi erdi	'he was to see for sure'	barğusı erdi	'he was to go for sure'

Plur.			
körgümüz erdi	'we were to see for sure'	barğumız erdi	'we were to go for sure'
körgüngiz erdi	'you were to see for sure'	barğungiz erdi	'you were to go for sure'
körgüläri erdi	'they were to see for sure'	barğulari erdi	'they were to go for sure'

Negative I

Sing.			
körgüm ermäs erdi	'I was not to see for sure'	barğum ermäs erdi	'I was not to go for sure'
körgüng ermäs erdi	'you were not to see for sure'	barğung ermäs erdi	'you were not to go for sure'
körgüsi ermäs erdi	'he was not to see for sure'	barğusı ermäs erdi	'he was not to go for sure'

Plur.			
körgümüz ermäs erdi	'we were not to see for sure'	barğumız ermäs erdi	'we were not to go for sure'
körgüngiz ermäs erdi	'you were not to see for sure'	barğungiz ermäs erdi	'you were not to go for sure'
körgüläri ermäs erdi	'they were not to see for sure'	barğulari ermäs erdi	'they were not to go for sure'

Negative II

Sing.			
körgüm yoq erdi	'I was not to see for sure'	barğum yoq erdi	'I was not to go for sure'
körgüng yoq erdi	'you were not to see for sure'	barğung yoq erdi	'you were not to go for sure'
körgüsi yoq erdi	'he was not to see for sure'	barğusı yoq erdi	'he was not to go for sure'

Plur.			
körgümüz yoq erdi	'we were not to see for sure'	barğumız yoq erdi	'we were not to go for sure'
körgüngiz yoq erdi	'you were not to see for sure'	barğungiz yoq erdi	'you were not to go for sure'
körgüläri yoq erdi	'they were not to see for sure'	barğulari yoq erdi	'they were not to go for sure'

E.g.,

Yibarğum erdi (Navā'i, Kulliyāt S 83r:13, see Eckm. Gr. p. 173)
'I was to send'

3.6.5.10.3. The Conditional of the Categorical Future

The conditional of the categorical future expresses a simple open condition the fulfilment of which is mandatory for the action in the main clause to materialize. It consists of the base of the categorical future followed by the present conditional of the verb **bol-**. It has one negative form based on the negative stem.

Positive

Sing.			
körgüm bolsa	'if I will have to see'	barğum bolsa	'if I will have to go'
körgüng bolsa	'if you will have to see'	barğung bolsa	'if you will have to go'
körgüsi bolsa	'if he will have to see'	barğusi bolsa	'if he will have to go'
Plur.			
körgümüz bolsa	'if we will have to see'	barğümüz bolsa	'if we will have to go'
körgüngiz bolsa	'if you will have to see'	barğüngiz bolsa	'if you will have to go'
körgülari bolsa	'if they will have to see'	barğulari bolsa	'if they will have to go'

Negative

Sing.			
körmägüm bolsa	'if I will not have to see'	barmağum bolsa	'if I will not have to go'
körmägüng bolsa	'if you will not have to see'	barmağung bolsa	'if you will not have to go'
körmägüsi bolsa	'if he will not have to see'	barmağusi bolsa	'if he will not have to go'
Plur.			
körmägümüz bolsa	'if we will not have to see'	barmağümüz bolsa	'if we will not have to go'
körmägüngiz bolsa	'if you will not have to see'	barmağüngiz bolsa	'if you will not have to go'
körmägülari bolsa	'if they will not have to see'	barmağulari bolsa	'if they will not have to go'

E.g.,

Mast u rusvā men, harābāt ičrā kördüng, ay rafiq: bolmağung bolsa mening dek rind-i durdāšam, ket. (Nava'i FK26V:4; Eckm. Gr. p.174) 'I am drunk and of bad repute, you have noticed me in the tavern, O Friend. Leave, if you are not to become like me, a consumer of the very dregs.'

3.6.5.11. Necessitative Verbs

Necessitative verbs express strong recommendations in the positive, and explicit prohibitions in the negative status. They are defective in that they occur only in the third person singular. Most of the time, they are impersonal and convey instructions valid for everybody: 'one must, one should not,' and so on.

It consists of the verbal stem, positive or negative, and the marker **-ğū/-gü**.

3.6.5.11.1. Necessitative Verbs with a Mandatory Aspect

Necessitative verbs with mandatory aspect express commands in the positive, and outright prohibitions in the negative forms. In Islamic religious manuals this is the verb form that conveys God's commands (*amr*) and prohibitions (*nahy*). There is only one person, the third, and two aspects, the positive and the negative, and only one number, the singular.

Positive

Sing.			
körgü	'he must see'	barğu	'he must go'

Negative

Sing.			
körmägü	'he must not see'	barmağu	'he must not go'

E.g.,

Külüp az üküš yığlağu bu kiši, musulmān boluğli kārāk yay qiši. (MM179r:13) 'A man [who meets the above requirements] should laugh little and weep much. He must be a Muslim under all circumstances.'¹⁶³
Ärān ärdin örtmiš teg ök ham tiši tišilärdin örtgü ham öz qizidün. (MM180v:17) 'Just as a man covers himself in the presence of

¹⁶³ Lit., both in summer and in winter

other men, a woman, too, must cover herself in the presence of other women, even in the presence of her own daughter.'

Buzulsa yunuğ yunğu halī ravān: yunuğ birlä turmaq ulaşu amān. (MM181v:11). 'One must wash oneself as soon as the state of ritual purity has been violated. The state of ritual purity is a permanent guarantee against falling into sin.'

Note: The predicative particle **keräk** is used to express the impersonal form of the necessitative 'one must, one has to'.¹⁶⁴ E.g.,

Muvahhid 'ibadat tilägu käräk, 'ibadatqa quvvat ülägu käräk. (MM182r:16) 'The Believer in the Oneness of God must be imbued with the desire to serve the Lord and must devote his energies to (His) service.'

Ne kim ol aydı anı qılğu käräk. Tā'atini boyunğa alğu käräk. (MS2r:2) 'One must do whatever He has commanded. One must willingly take upon one's neck [the yoke of] obedience.'

3.6.5.11.2. Necessitative Verbs with Inevitability Aspect

An action that is absolutely inevitable as known from human experience is expressed by a special form of necessitative verbs. It occurs in elevated style conveying a commonly known or humanly perceivable element of truth.

It consists of the gerund in -i/-ı, on positive stems, -y, on negative stems followed by the aorist of the verb **sa-** 'to wish'. There is only one person, the third, two aspects, the positive and the negative, and one number, the singular.

Sing.
körisär 'he will inevitably see' **barisär** 'he will inevitably go'

E.g.,

Har kim özinä su'āl eşigin açtı, ölgünçä ol er niyāz içindä bolisär. (Sayf106r:3) 'He who has opened the door of beggary before himself, will live in need during the remaining part of his life.'¹⁶⁵
Sävünmāk yoq körüp duşman ölüsın, kälisär çon bizä ol davr ayağı. (Sayf46r:6-7) 'There is no use to rejoice over the death of the enemy: The cup that goes around in that circle will inevitably come to us.'

¹⁶⁴ MS Bodrogligeti, p.104

¹⁶⁵ Lit., until he dies

İčäling bādani gullar solisär, tanımız 'āqibat topraq bolisär. (MN309r:8) 'Let us drink wine for roses will wilt away and our bodies will inevitably turn into dust.'

Tazarru' birlä ay Hwaca Muẓaffar harami altunung qaytarmayisär. (Sayf124r:12) 'Just because you cry bitterly, O Glorious Master, the highway robber will not return your money.'

Yaraş bu bağrı baş birlä Ay Yar, kim uş tün bardı bu kün qalmayisär. (Qutb 3946) 'Get along with the one of a wounded heart, O Friend: Because, look, the night has passed and the day of today will not stay for ever.'

3.6.5.11.2. Necessitative Verbs with Inevitability Aspect

The necessitative verb with desiderative aspect expresses an action that one would, by desire, carry out in the future. It is used only in the third person with an indefinite subject.

Sing.
köräsi 'one would see' **baräsi** 'one would go'

E.g.,

Kim ol dēvāna ergä ne qilası, ne čāra birlä andin qurtulası? (Qutb2496) 'What would one do to this obsessed man? By what means would one save him from this [obsession]?''

Azunda heç kişining yoq baqası, bu kün hwaş bolğu tangğa ne baqası. (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/-ä or -y + the auxiliary **dur** + the pronominal personal markers: There is no special marker for the third person.

Positive

Sing.			
körä dur män	'I see'	bara dur män	'I go'
körä dur sän	'you see'	bara dur sän	'you go'
körä dur	'he sees'	bara dur	'he goes'
Plur.			
körä dur biz	'we see'	bara dur biz	'we go'
körä dur siz	'you see'	bara dur siz	'you go'
körä durlar	'they see'	bara durlar	'they go'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy dur män	'I don't see'	barmay dur män	'I don't go'
körmäy dur sän	'you don't see'	barmay dur sän	'you don't go'
körmäy dur	'he doesn't see'	barmay dur	'he doesn't go'
Plur.			
körmäy dur biz	'we don't see'	barmay dur biz	'we don't go'
körmäy dur siz	'you don't see'	barmay dur siz	'you don't go'
körmäy durlar	'they don't see'	barmay durlar	'they don't go'

E.g.,

Yamanliq qilğan ergä äygülük qıl: qapar it ağzına luqma ata dur. (Sayf43v:9) 'Do good to the man who has harmed [you]. One should throw a morsel to the dog that bites.'

Neçä kim ol sa'adatsiz eşitmäs, anga sän etä dur pand u naşihat. (Sayf143r:9) 'Even if that unfortunate one does not listen, you keep on giving him caution and good advice.'

Ekip zulm urluqin hayr istäganlär cahannam otına özin yaga dur. (Sayf19v:12) 'Those who sow the seeds of injustice and expect [to harvest] blessings will burn for a long time in the fire of hell.'

Aning üçün mu qila dur siz fiğän? (AC328r:2) 'Is that why you are making this clamor?'

Yär hacridin saharlar aga dur yaşim mänim; din yolida cānga minnat gar barur başim mäning. (ShD83r:8). 'Separated from the friend I shed tears every morning. On the path of religion it is a grace for the soul if I lose my head.'¹⁶⁶

Har neçä qadring buland olsa özüngni past qıl, zarra-i davlatğa gar könglüng 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 **dä'im** or by adverbials of time. E.g.,

Erdäm bir čaşma durur kim dä'im suyi taşip kelä durur. (Sayf 139r:9) 'Skill is like a source that gushes its water constantly.'

Ma'suq etä dur dä'im könglümni parakanda. Bil amn va amān[at]dārī sarfitna-i gavğa dur. (ShD58v:7) 'The beloved makes my heart troubled all the time. Be aware that safety and trust are the very sources of trouble.'

Yigirmi yıl dur ki ol kişi yığlay dur va hālā közining suyi qanğa mubaddal bolup tur. (NM p.219) 'It is twenty years that this person has been crying. Now his tears [< the water of his eyes] have turned into blood.'

Bu kün mihmān sāni qabzi qila dur, 'aziz cāninga ham panca sala dur! (H78r:4) Today our guest will seize you and snatch away your precious soul.'

(2) Removal of the **dur** element from the first and second persons of the singular decreases the durative aspect of this paradigm. The verb gets a broader application covering present and future actions. [Cf. Present-Future Tenses in Modern Literary Uzbek]. E.g.,

Bir qatla anga dedi ki bu işlärni qila sen ve āhir bu šahrdin sen meni čiqarğung dur. (NM p.217) 'Once he said: If you keep on doing these things, at the end you will surely chase me out of this town.'

Nä sorar sen bil ki mendin ayta men, ay dardmand. Ğunča sarī baqmağay men la'i-i ḥandan barīda. (ShD12v:12-13r:1) 'Why do you ask me, O Suffering One, mark well what I am going to tell you: In the presence of her smiling lips I will not [even] look in the direction of the rose bud.'

¹⁶⁶ It is meant in the concrete sense, 'If I die'. A curious coincidence: In the final battle against Shah Ismail (1510) Shaybānī Khān's head was cut off and sent to Sultan Bayazid of Turkey. His headless body is resting in the Shaybānī mausoleum in Samarkand.

Ğavvāşlıq netäg qıla sen bolmayin fanā, šahr-i vucūd ara sen özüngni bečara qıl. (ShD97v:4) 'How are you going to dive for pearls without [your carnal soul] being annihilated? In the city of existence make yourself totally resourceless.'

3.6.5.12.2. The Past Durative Tense

The past durative tense expresses lasting or repeated actions in the past often with the aspect of necessity, propriety, or habitude.

It consist of the base of the durative present, positive or negative, followed by the definite past positive of the verb *er-*.

Positive

Sing.			
körä dur erdim	'I usually saw'	bara dur er-dim	'I usually went'
körä dur erding	'you usually saw'	bara dur er-ding	'you usually went'
körä dur erdi	'he usually saw'	bara dur erdi	'he usually went'
Plur.			
körä dur er-dük	'we usually saw'	bara dur er-dük	'we usually went'
körä dur er-dingiz	'you usually saw'	bara dur er-dingiz	'you usually went'
körä dur er-dilär	'they usually saw'	bara dur er-dilär	'they usually went'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy dur erdim	'I usually did not see'	barmay dur erdim	'I usually did not go'
körmäy dur erding	'you usually did not see'	barmay dur erding	'you usually did not go'
körmäy dur erdi	'he usually did not see'	barmay dur erdi	'he usually did not go'
Plur.			
körmäy dur erdük	'we usually did not see'	barmay dur erdük	'we usually did not go'
körmäy dur erdingiz	'you usually did not see'	barmay dur erdingiz	'you usually did not go'
körmäy dur erdilär	'they usually did not see'	barmay dur erdilär	'they usually did not go'

E.g.,

Göristānda oturup elgin tizigä urup bir nemä **dey dur erdi**. (NM p.106) '[Majnun] was sitting in the graveyard and hitting his knee with his palm he kept repeating¹⁶⁷ something.'

3.6.5.13. The Perfect Tenses

The perfect tenses are based on the gerunds in *-p* or *-y* [rarely *-map/-māp* and *-mayin/-mäyin*] and retain the basic semantic characteristics of this form: The action is cut or comes to an end and is relevant to the present time. It is, however, not the material result that is emphasized but rather the accomplishment itself.

3.6.5.13.1. The Present Perfect Tenses

A typical representative of the perfect tenses is the present perfect tense. It expresses a past action the completion of which affected the present time.

It consists of the perfective gerund, positive or negative, followed by the theme particle *-tur* [~ *turur*] and the pronominal personal signs *män*, *sän*, *biz*, *siz*.

Positive

Sing.			
körüp tur män	'I have seen'	barip tur män	'I have gone'
körüp tur sän	'you have seen'	barip tur sän	'you have gone'
körüp tur	'he has seen'	barip tur	'he has gone'
Plur.			
körüp tur biz	'we have seen'	barip tur biz	'we have gone'
körüp tur siz	'you have seen'	barip tur siz	'you have gone'
körüp turlar	'they have seen'	barip turlar	'they have gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy tur men	'I have not seen'	barmay tur men	'I have not gone'
körmäy tur sen	'you have not seen'	barmay tur sen	'you have not gone'
körmäy tur	'he has not seen'	barmay tur	'he has not gone'

¹⁶⁷ Lit., saying

Plur.

körmäy tur biz	'we have not seen'	barmay tur	'we have gone'
körmäy tur siz	'you have not seen'	barmay tur	'you have gone'
körmäy turlar	'they have not seen'	barmay tur- lar	'they have not gone'

E.g.,

Šabānī ḥusnunga ʿāšiq bolup tur; Bu ḥusnung ʿišqidi ḥabar qil. (ShD94v:11-12) 'Shabānī has fallen in love with beauty. Let him know [more] about love for this beauty of yours.'
Meni sindurma kim ḡam sindurup tur, barip köngülñi tındurup tur. (DM244r:10) 'Do not break me, because sorrow already crushed me. Going away from me, you pacified my heart.'
Naṣīhat birlā ol kelmās özigä, yüz evürmäy turup tur bir (DN245v:11) 'He does not recover his senses when given a word of advice. He does pay heed¹⁶⁸ to any of its [good] words.'
Kelip tur bağda guldin açılmaq, yaraşmas til tikän qılmaq. (DN246r:6) 'It has become appropriate for the tongue to be as sharp as the thorn.'

Män bu ev ni ʿmatī bilän bäsänip turur men. (Sayf131r) 'I was raised by the grace of this house.'

Tavbanī bu ḥālatda mī qilur sän kim giriftār bolup ḥalāk nā tüşüp turur sän. (Sayf130v:1-2) 'Are you showing repentance in this situation when you are a captive and gotten into a danger for your life.'

Kim etip tur açığ agunī tiryak, tiläp tur köknār içindi. (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into an elixir was for heaven inside a poppy-head.'

Kim alip tur ağızğa gök terin, bilip tur ḥusn ara şakarı. (DN257v:2) 'He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mouth to appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by it.'
Tikip mü dur közin ḥalimğa ol yār, agarçi ʿaynğa yod darkār. (DN252r:9) 'Has that friend kept staring at my spot although the dot has no use for the eye.'¹⁶⁹

Note: Sometimes the negative form is based on the rare negative in **-map/-mäp**. E.g.,

¹⁶⁸ Lit., does not turn his face to

¹⁶⁹ The Arabic word for 'eye' has no dot on the first character.

Tüşüp tur tā eşiking gardī közgä, körünmäp tur közümgä surma özgä. (DN257r:6). 'Since the dust at your threshold got into [my] eyes, nothing else is used as collyrium for my eyes.'

Note: Removal of the particle **tur** [~ **turur**] from the first and second persons of the paradigm deemphasizes the lasting or repetitive aspect of the verb. [Cf. the subjective past tense in Modern Literary Uzbek.]

Positive

Sing.			
körüp män	'I have seen'	barip män	'I have gone'
körüp sän	'you have seen'	barip sän	'you have gone'
körüp tur	'he has seen'	barip tur	'he has gone'

Plur.

körüp biz	'we have seen'	barip biz	'we have gone'
körüp siz	'you have seen'	barip siz	'you have gone'
körüp turlar	'they have seen'	barip turlar	'they have gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy män	'I have not seen'	barmay män	'I have not gone'
körmäy sän	'you have not seen'	barmay sän	'you have not gone'
körmäy tur	'he has not seen'	barmay tur	'he has not gone'

Plur.

körmäy biz	'we have not seen'	barmay biz	'we have not gone'
körmäy siz	'you have not seen'	barmay siz	'you have not gone'
körmäy turlar	'they have not seen'	barmay turlar	'they have not gone'

E.g.,

Şaybāniyā kirip men mardānavār yolğa, alip qilič elimğa Tengrim yolın açar män. (ShD113r:3-4) 'O Shaybanī, I have entered the road as brave people do. Taking a sword in my hands I clear¹⁷⁰ the road of my God.'

¹⁷⁰ Lit, open

Sen unutup maḥabbat pēšalarni, sağınip qandağī andēšalarni. (DN257r:4) 'You have forgotten the lovers,¹⁷¹ thinking about concerns of old days.'

Barip men ta tişing fikridā özdin, salip men sihr ara gavharni közdin. (DN257r:8) 'In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that, as if being under a spell, I have had no eyes for [genuine] pearls.'

Tapip men ta yüzüngdin cān navasın, çiqarip men köngüldin gul havasın. (DN257r:9) 'Since through your face I have found the sound of life, I have removed from my heart the desire for the rose.'

Kim aning nāzuk nihālin qildi közüm parvaraş, köz yaşımdan suğarip mən sarv-i bustān qayda dur. (ShD41v:6) 'Where is the cypress of the garden the tender plant of which my eyes nurtured and that I watered with the tears of my eyes?'

Barisi cāma-yi mātām kāyip tur, rasulu'llāh üçün hıdmat ātip tur. (H82v:2) 'All of them were in mourning and paid homage to the Prophet.'

3.6.5.13.2. The Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense consists of the perfective gerund, positive or negative, followed by the theme particle **-tur** [~ **turur**] and the inflected forms of the definite past tense of the auxiliary **er-**, **e-**.

Positive

Sing.			
körüp turur erdim	'I had seen'	barip turur erdim	'I had gone'
körüp turur erding	'you had seen'	barip turur erding	'you had gone'
körüp turur erdi	'he had seen'	barip turur erdi	'he had gone'
Plur.			
körüp turur erdük	'we had seen'	barip turur erdük	'we had gone'
körüp turur erdingiz	'you had seen'	barip turur erdingiz	'you had gone'
körüp turur erdilär	'they had seen'	barip turur erdilär	'they had gone'

¹⁷¹ I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God]

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy tur erdim	'I had not seen'	barmay tur erdim	'I had not gone'
körmäy tur erding	'you had not seen'	barmay tur erding	'you had not gone'
körmäy tur erdi	'he had not seen'	barmay tur erdi	'he had not gone'
Plur.			
körmäy tur erdük	'we had not seen'	barmay tur erdük	'we had not gone'
körmäy tur erdingiz	'you had not seen'	barmay tur erdingiz	'you had not gone'
körmäy tur erdilär	'they had not seen'	barmay tur erdilär	'they had not gone'

E.g.,

Kemä ketip turur edi. Yigit kemäçigä çağırıp ayttı. (Sayf100r:11) 'The boat had left. The youth shouted to the boatsman.'

Ol yigit maḥabbat tängizinä äylä mustağraq bolup turur edi, kim sözlämägä macālī yoq edi. (Sayf114v:5). 'That youth had been engulfed so much in the sea of love that he had no ability to talk.'

Yigitlik ayyāmında ḥāṭirim bir kim ärsä bilän muta'alliq bolup turur edi. (Sayf117v:4) 'In my young days my mind was occupied with someone.'

Tūṭi bilän ğurābnī bir qafaşqa qoyup tururlar edi. (Sayf119v:1) 'They had placed the parrot and the crow into one and the same cage.'

Note: Removal of the **tur** element from the paradigm deemphasizes the lasting or repetitive aspect of the verb. E.g.,

Bir kim ärsä dōstini bir muddat körmäyin edi. Körüp ayttı: **Qayda sän kim muştaq bolur biz.** (Sayf116r:1-2) 'Someone had not seen his friend for a while. When they met [again] he said to him: Where have you been? We missed you.'¹⁷²

¹⁷² Lit., Where are you? We desire [to see you].

Positive

Sing.			
körüp erdim	'I had seen'	barip erdim	'I had gone'
körüp erding	'you had seen'	barip erding	'you had gone'
körüp erdi	'he had seen'	barip erdi	'he had gone'

Plur.			
körüp erdük	'we had seen'	barip erdük	'we had gone'
körüp erdingiz	'you had seen'	barip erdingiz	'you had gone'
körüp erdilär	'they had seen'	barip erdilär	'they had gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy erdim	'I had not seen'	barmay erdim	'I had not gone'
körmäy erding	'you had not seen'	barmay erding	'you had not gone'
körmäy erdi	'he had not seen'	barmay erdi	'he had not gone'

Plur.			
körmäy erdük	'we had not seen'	barmay erdük	'we had not gone'
körmäy erdingiz	'you had not seen'	barmay erdingiz	'you had not gone'
körmäy erdilär	'they had not seen'	barmay erdilär	'they had not gone'

E.g.,

Bir yıl Basrada qaht tüştü. El istisqāğa çiqip erdilär. (NMP.62). 'One year hunger occurred in Basra. People had set out for water.' **Dedi kim Tengridin tilap erdim kim agar sening qaşingda qur-bum bolsa, meni Tarsusda ol 'alimğa elt.** (NMP.67) 'He said "I had asked from God, when I am in your closeness, take me to Tarsus, to that wise man."

Atamning Bağdād bazarıda bir dukkāni bar erdi. Men dukkān eşikidä olturup erdim. Nāgah biräv ötti. (NMP.68) 'My father had a store in the market place of Baghdad. I had been sitting at the door of the store. Suddenly somebody passed by.'

3.6.5.14. The Present Continuous Tense

Verbal nouns in **-maq/-māk + dur** serve to express continuous, long lasting actions. Only the 3d person singular is attested:

Subject + [V+ **-maq/-māk**] + **dur**

E.g.,

Har sahar Barlas hīyālī birlä yanmaq dur Šabān, ol parīvaš 'iš-qīda hum dana bolmay nedäyin? (ShD123r:10) 'Every morning Shaban keeps burning [enthralled] by the vision of the [Beloved from the] Barlas [tribe.] In love for that fairy-faced [beauty] the wine-jar is not the bait. There is nothing I can do.'¹⁷³

3.6.5.15. The Inflection of the Defective Verbs

Two auxiliary verbs do not have a full set of inflectional forms. The existing forms are as follows:

3.6.5.15.1. The auxiliary **er-** > **e-** 'to be'

The auxiliary **er-** > **e-** has one verbal noun: **erkān, ekān** 'a being' and one verbal adverb [gerund] **ergāč, egāč** 'right after being, as soon as...is' We find full paradigms in the aorist, the definite past, the indefinite past and the conditional.

3.6.5.15.1.1. Present tense of the Aorist

		Positive	
Sing.		Plur.	
erür män	'I am'	erür biz	'we are'
erür sän	'you are'	erür siz	'you are'
erür	'he is'	erürlär	'they are'

		Negative	
Sing.		Plur.	
ermäs män	'I am not'	ermäs biz	'we are not'
ermäs sän	'you are not'	ermäs siz	'you are not'
ermäs	'he is not'	ermäslär	'they are not'

		Negative	
Sing.		Plur.	
emäs män	'I am not'	emäs biz	'we are not'
emäs sän	'you are not'	emäs siz	'you are not'
emäs	'he is not'	emäslär	'they are not'

¹⁷³ Lit., What can I do?

3.6.5.15.1.2. The Definite Past Tense

Positive

Sing.		Plur.	
erdīm	'I was'	erdük	'we were'
erding	'you were'	erdingiz	'you were'
erdi	'he was'	erdilär	'they were'
Sing.		Plur.	
edīm	'I was'	edük	'we were'
eding	'you were'	edingiz	'you were'
edi	'he was'	edilär	'they were'

3.6.5.15.1.3. The Indefinite Past Tense

Positive

Sing.		Plur.	
ermiş män	'I was [I think]'	ermiş biz	'we were'
ermiş sän	'you were'	ermiş siz	'you were'
ermiş	'he was'	ermişlär	'they were'
Sing.		Plur.	
emiş män	'I was [I think]'	emiş biz	'we were'
emiş sän	'you were'	emiş siz	'you were'
emiş	'he was'	emişlär	'they were'

3.6.5.15.1.4. The Conditional Mood

Positive

Sing.		Plur.	
ersäm	'if I am'	ersäk	'if we are'
ersäng	'if you are'	ersängiz	'if you are'
ersä	'if he is'	ersälär	'if they are'
Sing.		Plur.	
esäm	'if I am'	esäk	'if we are'
esäng	'if you are'	esängiz	'if you are'
esä	'if he is'	esälär	'if they are'

3.6.5.15.2. The Auxiliary **dur** 'to stand, stay, stop'

Only the contracted aorist [**durur** > **dur**] form is used in the sense of 'to be'. It may interchange with **tur**, **turur**. It occurs mostly in the present tense:

Sing.		Plur.	
dur män	'I am'	dur biz	'we are'
dur sän	'you are'	dur siz	'you are'
dur	'he is'	durlar	'they are'

E.g.,

Dardī manga darmān dur cānim anga hayrān dur, rāhat kāti-bān mändin muhtāc-i alam¹⁷⁴ **dur män.** (ShD123v:3-4) 'The pain

she causes is an elixir for me. My soul admires her. My tranquility left me and I am in the need of suffering.'

For negation the forms **emäs män** etc. are used.

3.6.6. Verbal Nouns

Verbal nouns constitute one sizable group of the nominal forms of verbs. They name the action with or without its aspectual, phasal, or temporal characteristics but carry no endings of verbal inflection.

3.6.6.1. Verbal Nouns in **-ma/-mä**

The suffix **-ma/-mä** forms abstract nouns which in context occur mostly as concrete nouns or adjectives. They are limited in number.

isitmä	'fever'
egmä	'bent'
yämä	'food'
asma	'suspended'
tägmä	'all'
örmä	'braid'
qarişma	'hostility'
qavurma	'fried meat'
čäkmä	'riding boots'
toğma	'birth'

¹⁷⁴ In the Arabic orthography *alam* 'pain' consists of an *alif* [symbol for the Beloved's straight figure and unique character], *lām* [symbol for the Beloved's hair curled up at the ends in the shape of a *lām*] and *mīm* [symbol for the Beloved's mouth]. In essence this is what the Lover is in the need of.

E.g.,

Yüzüngnüng ğuşsasidin kün isitip, falak **isitma** naqvîdîn yititip. (DN250r:11) 'From the passion of your face the sun heats up. From the intensity of the heat the sky glows.'

Tütün teg egmä qaşı dusma qılğay, közi ħwad surmanî közigä ilmäy. (DN265r:4) '[Because she does not want] to change her curved eyebrows, black like smoke, into ashengray, her eyes have no regard to antimony.'

3.6.6.2. Verbal Nouns in -maq/-māk

The suffix **-maq/-māk** forms action nouns which serve also as one of the infinitives. E.g.,

Kelip badnāmliq taḅlini **çalmaq** özini tegmä¹⁷⁵ el tiligä **salmaq**. (DN239v:10) 'He comes to sound the drum of disrepute, making himself to be the talk on everybody's tongue.'

Cavabida dedi ol qaşı ħacib, kim "Anda parda **açmaq** bar munasib. (DN258v:8) 'In answer said that [intimate friend] whose eyebrow is the chamberlain: "It is now appropriate to open the curtain."'

Gahē šavq ilā šaftālūnī üzmāk, gahē ābini nār üstinā **tüzmək**. (DN269v:10) 'Now picking peaches with delight, now arranging quinces on the top of pomegranates.'

Ħwaš ermäs cavnri ħaddin ašurmaq, **kelip oq atmaq va yanı yašurmaq**. (DN244r:11) 'It is not proper to increase cruelty beyond measures, to come forth, shoot the arrow and then hide the bow.'

Taşarruf kücidin sözni uzatmaq, **bir oq yolida yüz ming qatla atmaq**. (DN271r:8) 'By the force of poetic licence to stretch out the words, in the path of one arrow to shoot a hundred thousand times.'

Köngül taḥtina andin songra ašti, ki olturmāk anga anda yaraştı. (DN269r:2) 'After that she ascended the throne of the heart because it was appropriate for her to sit there.'

3.6.6.2.1. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-māk in Oblique Case Forms

3.6.6.2.1.1. In the Dative Case

Yüzüng ḥālī salıp ot icrā filfil, **fusūn qılmaqqa açip lablariṅ til**. (DN244r:3) 'The mole of your face sprinkles pepper upon the fire and your lips open the tongue to perform an incantation.'

Ayağıṅa qoyuban başini qand, **labıṅdın suyı bir sormaqqā ḥursand**. (DN256r:10) 'The sugar places its head upon your feet [in submission] glad to request water from your lips.'

Salām etmäkkä cōn egildi qaşım, **ayağıṅa yügürüp tüşti yaşım**. (DN268v:11) 'When my eyebrow arched to say peace, my tears dropped to the ground and rolled to her feet.'

3.6.6.2.1.2. In the Ablative Case

Qaşımğa yetti ol yār-i ḥaqiqi, **bolup rangi yügürmäktin** 'aqiqi. (DN255r:4) 'That true friend came to my presence, his face turned red from running.'

Bu işning özgäcā varzişlari bar, **demäktin başqa anıṅ işlari bar**. (DN271r:11) 'This art has other practical exercises, beyond telling it has skills [of its own].'

Köngül cōn 'arz berdi cān talāşin, **bitimäktin qalam kötardı başin**. (DN262r:6) 'When the heart finished presenting the struggle of the soul, the pen raised its head from writing.'

Ravan boldi alip gulbargini yel, **elig tişläp anıṅ barmağıdın el**. (DN270r:6) 'She set out on her way [and] the wind carried off [its] rose petals; because of her departure, people bit their hands [in yearning for her].'

3.6.6.2.2. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-māk with Postpositions

Bu tirliging yemäk üçün **dägül durur yalğuz**. (Sayf 84r:3) '[The objective of] your life is not that you eat [and do nothing else].'

Yumaq bilān **kitār mi lavni qara kömürdān**. (Sayf 15r:7) 'Does washing eliminate the color of the coal?'¹⁷⁶

Çu körgüzdi köngül razin biligi, **bitimāk saridın tindı eligi**. (DN 265r:9) 'When her wisdom disclosed the secret of her heart, her hand stopped writing the letter.'

3.6.6.2.3. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-māk with Possessive Suffixes

Bayquş külätgäsinä kişi kelmäki muḥāl. (Sayf 12r:7) 'No one ever would come under the shadow of the owl [to seek the good fortune of becoming a king].'

Ya kirışindān dägül oq ötmäki. (Sayf 37r:10) 'The force of the arrow piercing the target¹⁷⁷ is not from the string of the bow.'

Köngül teg ḥaṭtlari macmū'-i şafi, **şafaṅa körmäki bar erdi kafi**. (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.'

¹⁷⁵ MS has *tkl*.'

¹⁷⁶ Lit., Can you wash off the color of the coal?

¹⁷⁷ The Turkish phrase implies that the arrow passes through [öt-] a ring displayed as the target.

Meni sen šam^c teg küydürmäging ne? Cafā va cavr etakin türmäking ne? (DN257v:3) 'What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?'

Hamēša sāya teg küngä mufāzim, bolup erišmäki boynına lāzim. (DN258v:1) 'She is always in the need of the sun, like a shadow. It is necessary that it reaches her shoulders [all the time].'

Du^ca yangliḡ anī boynına ildim, aning yetkürmägin boynına qildim. (DN249v:7) 'I hung it around his neck as a good-bye blessing. I made it his obligation to take it to its destination.'

Bēvafā dunyāda cavlan qılmaḡing nā dur sāning, bil cudā bolur cihānda murḡ-i cāndin ušbu tan. (ShD119v3-4) 'What is this parading of yours in this unfaithful world good for? Know that in this world life, like a bird, will depart from this body.'¹⁷⁸

3.6.6.3. Verbal Nouns in -maqliq/-mäklik

The suffix **-maqliq/-mäklik** forms verbal nouns that name the action in its concrete realization associating it with an unnamed agent. E.g., **kel-mäk** 'a coming' [unrelated until specified], **kelmäklik** 'someone's coming' [related without specification]. It also serves as the second infinitive. E.g.,

'Aqiḡing ārzūsī qildi baḡir qan, seni sevmäklik āsān ermāz, Ay Cān. (LN268) 'The desire for your ruby lips made the liver bleed.'¹⁷⁹ It is not easy to be in love with you.'¹⁸⁰

Yašši bolmaqliq yaḡširaq turur. (KBV10v:2) 'It is better, if it is flat.'

Tilāsāng anī bilmäklikkā (KBV12v:5) 'If you want to know it...'

Ölüg başına tepmäklik ḡwaš ermās, savuq su yüzigā sepmäk ḡwaš ermās. (DN246r:5) 'It is of no avail to kick the head of a dead person [to see whether he is alive].'¹⁸¹ It is of no avail to sprinkle water in his face.'

Dōst tutmaqliq ilā, Ay Dānā, dōstning yādini tutmaḡliq ara. (RB9r:2) [There is no difference] between [the following phrases]: To love the Friend, O Learned One, and to recollect the Friend.'

¹⁷⁸ The bird suddenly and unexpectedly taking off is often used as a symbol for the departing soul. Cf., MM *Vucūdunḡ diraḡt teg, bu cāning quš ol ; Usal turmaḡil kim bu nāḡāh uçar.* (179v:1) 'Your body is like a tree and your soul, like a bird. Do not be heedless of God for that bird takes flight unexpectedly.'

¹⁷⁹ The phrase is equal to 'made the heart suffer'. *Kōngül* or *qalb* cannot be used for this expression because of their explicite sufi content.

¹⁸⁰ Because the Beloved does not heed the prayer *yasir la tu'assir* 'make it easy, do not make it difficult'

¹⁸¹ For signs to indicate whether a wounded animal is alive or not see MM191r:9.

Bar zuhūriḡa šarā'iḡ ḡašil ašl u sarmāya bošatmaḡliq dil. (RB5v:3) 'To arrive in the Lord's presence one must fulfil several conditions: One must empty one's heart of [all attachments to] family and wealth.'¹⁸²

Kelip iqbāl baš qoyḡay qatingda, buzulmaqliqḡa yüz qoyḡay sitamlar. (DN248r:11) 'Prosperity comes and [as your] servant, salutes you.'¹⁸³ [Your] hardship faces complete annihilation.'

3.6.6.4. Verbal Nouns in -maqda/-mäkdä

The suffix **-maqda/-mäkdä** names an action that is in progress. It is rare. E.g.,

Men emdi ḡasta va ḡam artmaqda ḡiyāling allida cān tartmaqda. (DN257r:3) 'Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing, facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.'

Note: It is used as base of the Progressive Mood [3.6.5.8]. In this usage it is very frequent in modern literary Uzbek.

3.6.6.5. Verbal Nouns in -r

Verbal nouns in **-r** name the action with no aspectual or temporal implications. They display the activity itself irrespective of the time and circumstances in which it takes place. In context they occur either as action nouns [verbal nouns proper] or agent nouns [leaning toward participles].

The formation of the verbal nouns in **-r** has a few characteristics. Stems with a final vowel most of the time take **-r**: **sorar** [< sora-] 'asking', **bāzār** [< bāzā-] 'ornating', **bašlar** [< bašla-] 'beginning'. Sometimes stems in **-a/-ä** are expanded by a **-y** to which the suffix **-ur/ür** is added: **avlayur** [< avla-] 'hunting', **deyür** [< de-] 'saying', **sözläyür** [< sözlä-] 'speaking', **oynayur** [< oyna-] 'dancing'. Monosyllabic stems ending on a consonant take mostly **-ar/-är**: **açar** 'opening', **angar** 'remembering'; **aqar** 'flowing', **artar** 'increasing', **baqar** 'looking', **čiqar** 'leaving', **āsār** 'blowing', **egār** 'bending', **etār** 'doing', **inār** 'descending', **kečār** 'passing'; **münār** 'riding'; **ögār** 'praising'; **qorqar** 'having fear'; **sanar** 'considering'; **tapar** 'finding'; **tökār** 'pouring'; **uçar** 'taking flight'. Some of the monosyllabic stems, especially those ending in an **-l** or **-r**, use the

¹⁸² Reference to the Sufi tenet according to which the believer must empty his heart entirely from other than God so that he be able to fill it with God. Cf., Islam, *Sivā 'llāh sözidin kōngül ḡālī qil, nūrullāh nūrīdin tolu bilā sän.* (MM196v:2) 'Empty your heart of all but God, so that His light may fill it.'

¹⁸³ Lit., 'prostrating in your presence touching the ground with the left or right cheek. Not with the forehead because you use your forehead only when you perform the *sacda* to God.'

suffix **-ur/-ür**: **alur** ‘taking’; **bilür** ‘knowing’; **bolur** ‘being, becoming’; **çalur** ‘playing [a musical instrument]’; **kelür** ‘coming’; **qalur** ‘staying behind’; **qilür** ‘making, doing’; **salur** ‘putting aside’; **silür** ‘wiping’; **barur** ‘going’; **berür** ‘giving’. Consonantal stems with more than two syllables use **-ur/-ür**: **açilur** ‘opening’; **azdurur** ‘leading astray’; **ävrülür** ‘turning’; **biraqur** ‘leaving behind’; **buyurur** ‘decreeing’; **çıqarur** ‘taking out’. Note the variants: **turur** ~ **turar** ‘standing’.

3.6.6.5.1. Action Nouns

A great part of the verbal nouns in **-r** are action nouns. They are very rare in bare form. Most of the time they carry possessive suffixes or case endings or both. E.g.,

Burnung ağzığa min camī^c vucūh sol 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 dōst seni sevgāli özgā sevārim yoq. Tengrim haqqı kim sevgāli sendin guzarim yoq. (ShD183v:4) ‘O, Friend, since I am in love with you, I have no other beloved. I swear by my God, since I am in love, I cannot walk away from you.’¹⁸⁴

3.6.6.5.1.1. Action Nouns in -r in Oblique Case Forms

Action nouns in **-r** are more frequently used in oblique case forms, such as the dative, the locative, and the accusative.

3.6.6.5.1.1.1. Action Nouns in -r in the Dative Case

Kişi könglin yığarğa ‘adatim yoq. (Sayf82r:12) ‘It is not a habit of mine to destroy people’s heart.’

Aytayin män ay yigitlär uşbu sirrni tinglängiz: Sarvar olurğa la’iq yer cah-i Turkistan emiş. (ShD69r:10) ‘I should say, young men, listen to this secret: To be an emperor, the proper place is the throne of Turkistan.’

Kiriştım söz bezärgä hāma teg tund, işimdä sarzanışdın bolmayin kund. (DN243r:9) ‘I set myself to [choose] decorate words fast like the pen does, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.’

3.6.6.5.1.1.2. Action nouns in -r in the Locative case

¹⁸⁴ The original is slightly different. The expression is based on *guzar* ‘ford, shallows’ and love is conceived as a vast bottomless sea. There is no shallows in the sea for me to walk away from the Beloved.

Olturup yarğu yararda qıl yarar. (Sayf7r:4) ‘He is most accurate when he sits down to render judgments.’¹⁸⁵

Bil ki oqurda du‘ā va Qur‘ān cidd u cahd äylägä sen kim ol ān. (RB3r:11) ‘Know that whenever you pronounce a prayer or recite from the Qur‘ān you should do so with great devotion.’

Çu aldī namanī elin uzatıp, alurda muşk ara şandalnı qatıp. (DN251v:9) ‘When she took the letter reaching for it with her hands she added sandal¹⁸⁶ fragrance to the scent of musk.’¹⁸⁷

Nazar qılurda körünmäs bu dūd-i ahimdin, fiğan va ahim ilä toldi gunbad-i aflāk. (ShD89v:7-8) ‘When I behold her, she does not show from the smoke of my sighs. The dome of the sky is filled with my woes and sighs.’

Salıp tur ot cānima ol cahān-i ataşnāk nā ğam dur emdi yüzini körärdä bolsa halāk. (ShD89v:1-2) ‘That blazing world has cast

fire upon my soul. What does it matter now, since it perishes [anyway] while viewing your face.’

3.6.6.5.1.1.3. Action Nouns in -r in the Accusative Case

Hirāmān kelürüngni tā eşittim, özümün şabr dek behwāst yettim. (DN263r:8) ‘When I heard your elegant walk I was lost like my patience.’

3.6.6.5.2. Agent nouns

Agent nouns mostly occur as adjectives. In this function they are close to participles. E.g.,

Yamanlıq qılğan ergä äygülük qıl! Qapar it ağzığa luqma ata dur. (Sayf 43v:9) ‘Do good to the person who treats you badly. People throw a morsel into the mouth of a biting dog.’

Ādamī könglin yığar söz sözlāmā. (Sayf163v:1) ‘Do not [ever] say words that hurts¹⁸⁸ people’s hearts.’

Arangızda ‘acam tilin bilür kişi bar mı? (Sayf132r:8) ‘Is there anyone among you who knows Persian?’

Yetmiş yaşar bir qarī er qız oğlan evlāndi. (Sayf133r:7) ‘A seventy year old man married a young girl.’

Dahl aqar su turur dağı ‘ayş yürür tägirmān. (Sayf142r:10) ‘Income is like running water and good life is like a turning mill.’

¹⁸⁵ T. *qıl yara-* lit., ‘to split hairs’ > to be accurate’

¹⁸⁶ Cf. *şandal* 1. ‘sandal wood’ > yellow color, like henna used to paint ladies’ hands; 2. ‘sandal fragrance’

¹⁸⁷ Cf. *muşk* 1. ‘black’ > writing of the letter; 2. ‘musk fragrance’ added to the letter.

¹⁸⁸ Lit., ‘destroy’

Ayā muṭrib, bu maclisdā ününg tinglār kişi yoq tur. (Sayf61r:4) 'O, Singer, in this company there is no one to listen to your voice.'

Qaçan kim 'ālim er 'ilmin ḥalā'iqqa yürüp sattı, ol er naqdin eli birlän yanar otqa 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.'

Tāngridān özgä sığınur yerim qalmadı. (Sayf33v:8) 'Except God no other place of refuge has been left for me.'

Oqur ḥalatda mimi körgüzüp sin sevünüp bētaqalluf qıldı taḥ-sin. (DN264r:11) 'As she was engaged in reading [the letter] her *mim*-shape mouth displayed a *sīn*¹⁸⁹; she was happy and frankly expressed her approval.'

3.6.6.5.3. Agent Nouns in -r in Passive Use

Parēšan köngligä ağır¹⁹⁰ sevār cān, siriški kahrubā üstinā mar-cān. (DN259r:10) 'The precious life is heavy for his heart. His tear drops are like coral beads upon [his] amber[-colored face].'

Aşuğup qıldı atlanur varağın, zamanē cilva berdi ḥusn bağın. (DN265r:2) 'In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she showed off the beauty of the garden.'¹⁹¹

Tāngridān özgä sığınur yerim qalmadı. (Sayf33v:8). 'Except for God, I have no other place of refuge left.'

Note: In the verbal inflection, see above [3.6.5.6.], it is used as the theme of the aorist

3.6.6.6. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs

Verbal nouns in -mas/-mäs [rarely also -maz/-mäz] name the action that does not take place, with no aspectual or temporal implications. In context they occur either as action nouns [verbal nouns proper] or agent nouns [leaning toward participles].

3.6.6.6.1. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs Used as Action Nouns

They occur only with case ending or possessive suffixes or with both. E.g.

May iç paymāna tolmasdın burunraq, bu sudın ur ḥirad közinä topraq. (DN233v:5) 'Drink wine before the measure is filled'¹⁹².

From this water throw dust into the eyes of reason.'¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ I.e., a wide smile

¹⁹⁰ MS has 'ğyz

¹⁹¹ I.e., she appeared in full splendor

¹⁹² I.e., Before your life is over. Cf., P. paymānaş pur şud 'his measure is full, his days are numbered' (Steingass, p.270a).

¹⁹³ I.e., satisfy your intellect with inebriating wine.

İcmäsimni çön bilürlär edi, taklîf qılmadılar. (Babur 187r:13) 'Since they knew about my not drinking wine, they did not offer me any.'

Bilmäsımın yārdin asru bolup tur män¹⁹⁴ yıraq. Vah nā türlüg qılğusı dur uşbu dard ilā firaq. (ShD76r:11-12) 'Because of my ignorance I am far away from my beloved. O, what will separation do with this pain.'

3.6.6.6.2. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs Used as Agent Nouns

Agent nouns in -mas/-mäs occur mostly in adjectival use as modifiers to a noun. With this quality this verbal noun is very close to participles. E.g.,

Elig elgä urup aytqay caza dur ögüt almas kişigä böylä mihnat. (Sayf143r:13) 'Clapping his hands he would say: Such misery is a right punishment for a person who does not take a good [piece of] advice.'

Ol yazuqlı sultānga sökti, yaramas sözlär sözlädi. (Sayf9r:11) 'That convicted person, using indecent words, abused the Sultan.'

Künāş ança büyükligi birlän bir ayaça bulut körünmäs etär. (Sayf174v:1) 'The sun with that great size can be covered by a cloud of the size of one's palm.'

Ärdäm ärning davlatı dur, bil yaqın, kim tükänmäs māl erür 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 kişigä. (Sayf78r:8) 'Do not confide in a person who does not confide in you.'

3.6.6.7. Verbal Nouns in -mish/-miş

A verbal noun in -miş/-miş indicates an action not directly known [witnessed or experienced] by the speaker who realizes its occurrence by information provided by others or by his own judgment on the basis of its result, factual context, or attending circumstances. As action nouns they are rare. They occur more frequently as adjectives and in this function they share the characteristics of participles.

3.6.6.7.1. Verbal Nouns in -miş/-miş Used as Action Nouns

Ammā mutana¹⁹⁴ 'im edi, kölgädä bäslänmiş, cihān körmägän... (Sayf148v:10) 'But he was living in pleasure, raised in the shade, did not travel about in this world...'

¹⁹⁴ Present Perfect Tense [see 3.6.5.13.1.]. The situation described is the result of a past action.

Bu o'g'lan 'umri bāğindan yemiş yemişi yoq. (Sayf13r:3) 'This youth, I gather, have not [yet] eaten any fruit from the garden of life.'

3.6.6.7.2. Verbal Nouns in -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' > *susamiş* 'he who has been thirsty' > *susamiş er* 'a thirsty person.' E.g.,

Ağır işkâ sīnamiş er iya ber kim arslanni tutup keltürgäy ol er. (Sayf140v:10) 'To handle a difficult matter send an experienced person who is able catch the lion and bring it in.'

Yetsä tatli suğa susamiş er, qorqmas allinda bolsa aždarihā. (Sayf 48r:13) 'When a thirsty man comes to [a source of] sweet water, he has no fear, even if there is a dragon facing him.'

Äylä saqindim kim qurmiş buğday turur. (Sayf89v:5) 'I thought it was fried wheat.'

Aç yarli tapip bişi šalğam şislāmiş qaz eti bigin hwaş yer. (Sayf 90v:9) 'When a poor hungry man comes upon some cooked turnip, he eats it as if it was a goose roasted on the spit.'

Note: In the verbal inflection it is used as basis for indirect past tenses [see 3.6.5.5.5.].

3.6.6.8. Verbal Nouns in -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', *baqiş* '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:

<i>aytiş</i>	'saying' (ShD103r:2)
<i>baqiş</i>	'glance' (Sayf127r:11)
<i>bariş</i>	'going' (ShD102v:3)
<i>bitiş</i>	'growth' (Sayf14v:7)
<i>kāliş</i>	'coming' (ShD102v:7)
<i>külüş</i>	'smiling' (Sayf120v:9)
<i>oḥşaş</i>	'resembling' (RM27r:10)
<i>otruş</i>	'sitting position [in the prayer]' (MM185r:5a)

<i>öpüş</i>	'kiss' (Sayf129r:6)
<i>qaliş</i>	'remaining' (ShD102v:13)
<i>saqiş</i>	'thought' (Sayf73v:1)
<i>tariş</i>	'writing' [< sowing] (DN 229r:1)
<i>tolğaş</i>	'a being curly' (GD186,5)
<i>uruş</i>	'fight' (Sayf88v:5)
<i>yağış</i>	'rain' (NTM7v:6)
<i>yanış</i>	'burning' (ShD102v:13)

E.g.,

Öfkä bilän ol qiya baqişin körünüz. (Sayf127r:11) 'Behold that black look of anger from the corner of his eye.'

Köngülgä bu saqiş kelür kim ärtä oğul qiz turup ne yegäy. (Sayf73v:1) 'This thought comes to mind: What will the children eat when they get up in the morning?'

Ol qamar yüzli šakar sözli ḥabīb bir öpüşkâ cān alip minnat qilür. (Sayf129r:6) 'That moon-faced sweet-spoken friend takes your life for a kiss and holds you indebted for this favor.'

Yibarip Muštarini 'ilm işigä, tüzätip Tirni ḥatt tarişida. (DN 229r:1) 'He assigns Jupiter to the sciences. He commissions Mercury to writing.'

Zāhiding sözi bilä tüz toğri yoldin çıqmasam, bar durur mayḥa-na yolunda kālişim barişim. (ShD102v:6-7) 'Although I do not leave the right straight path following the words of your ascetic, I have my comings and goings on the road leading to the tavern.'

Har qačan keldi ḥiyālī šadman oldi köngül, yoq turur cānā cāfā-si birlä köngül qalişim. (ShD102v:12-13) 'Whenever her vision appeared the heart became joyful. I was never disappointed by the cruelty of the beloved.'¹⁹⁵

3.6.6.9. Verbal Nouns in -ğu/-gü

Verbal nouns in -ğu/-gü express actions with modal [necessitative or imperative] and temporal [immediate future] characteristics. E.g.,

Tavakkul dalil Haqq činuq bilgügä, inanmaq qiyāmat taqī ölgügä. (MM179r:9) 'Surrender to God is a proof that you truly know God, that you [truly] believe in Resurrection and Death.'

(1) The necessitative aspect in predication can be emphasized by the particle *keräk*. E.g.,

¹⁹⁵ The Beloved is testing us by her harsh treatment to see whether we are worthy of her love.

Muvahhid bu nafsning bašin kāsgügā qahırning qılıçin **bilāgü kerāk**. (MM182r:17). 'The Believer in the Oneness of God must sharpen the sword of wrath in order to behead his Carnal Soul.'
 Ne kim ol aydı anı **qılgu kārāk**. Ta'atini boyunğa **algu kārāk**. (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 **-gu/-gü** are used as bases of the Categorical Future Tense [3.6.5.11.1.]. E.g.,

Ki davlat **kelgüsi** dur, bolma ġāfil, sa'adat birlä tüzgüng dur maḥafil. (DN260v:5). 'Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: brighten up the meeting place with the felicity of paradise.'

Laşkar-i islāmni čaksām qizil bōrk üstinā, **bolgusi** yāvar Madina kişvaridin şol Habib. (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 **-guči/-güči**

Verbal Nouns in **-guči/-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 **ıçgüçilār** maşrabidin. (DN269v:8) 'She gave me some relish from the lips of her mouth. It betrayed [the taste of] the drink of the consumer.'

Tilāsäng äygü ating mängü qalğay, ayaqdan tüşkän elin **tutquči** bol. (Sayf172v:6) 'If you want that your name survive for ever, take the hand of those who have fallen.'

köngüllär **azar qılguči** [for Persian *mardum āzār*] (Sayf141r:4) 'a rude insulting person'

Aya oq **atquči** yahşi saqışlap ilk andan at. (Sayf169v:7) 'Hark ye, Archer! Think well first and then release your arrow.'

Ki, bir nargisgā ol köz **salguči** dur, tili susan bigin söz **salguči** dur. (DN254r:4) '[People who understood my situation said to me:] He laid his eyes on a narcissus and [since then] his tongue speaks like a lily.¹⁹⁶

Ki kim dur bu raqamğa nuktapardāz, maḥabbat kōyidin **qılguči** parvāz? (DN239v:3) 'She said, "Who is the one who showered witty points in this letter¹⁹⁷ taking to wings from the lane of love?"'

¹⁹⁶ I.e., he is mute

¹⁹⁷ Meaning who wrote this letter.

Özini küç bilān **bergüči** ġamğa, yasanip ötrü **barguči** alamğa. (DN239v:4) 'By force he gives himself over to sadness and is prepared to walk into the face of affliction.'

Maşaqat elinā **salguči** cānin, özi öz boynına **qılguči** qanin. (DN239v:5) 'He willfully gives over his soul to troubles. He takes upon himself his own execution.'

Sevār **sevgüçini** har kim ki bolsa, sözi har nečä kim 'ālamğa tolsa. (DN248r:3) 'To the loving lover, whoever he may be, however much his [ill] repute may have spread over this world...'

ıçguči rindlar bilä iç bāda tır-i mah. Hargiz yavunmasun şūfilar bu diyārıma. (ShD159r:7) 'Drinker, drink wine with the rogues in the month of June. Never ever should the sufis come [even] close to my district.'

3.6.6.11. Verbal Nouns in **-ğudek/-güdek**

Verbal Nouns in **-ğudek/-güdek** express actions which are on the point of being carried out or which look like or are as if taking place. E.g.,

Şingudek dur 'arş-i a'lā uşbu kün, **ingudek** dur čarḥ-i ġabrā uşbu kün. (BN88r:) 'This very day the Supreme Throne is on the point of tumbling down, this very day the dust colored sky is about caving in.'

Buzğudek har biri bir laşkarni, **alğudek** har biri bir kişvarni. (ShVāmb.94,21) 'Every one of them was ready to destroy an army [alone], every one of them was ready to take a country [alone].'

3.6.6.12. Verbal Nouns in **-ğuluq/-gülük**

This rather rare form of verbal nouns refers to things that are meant, or destined for some purpose or are doomed to be the object of an action. It occurs alone as a concrete noun or as an adjective either in predicative function or as modifier to a noun. E.g.,

Tüngä tegin ta'am va şuḥbat edi, **yegülüklärgä** zib u zinat edi. (PdC556) 'Until nightfall there was food and intimate conversation. The dishes¹⁹⁸ were beautiful and decorated.'

Va har yıl ihtiyac ahlığa **keygülük** yetkürgäylär. (PdC487) 'And every year they should send some clothes¹⁹⁹ to those in need.'

Şabr u qarar u hoşni almağlıgıng ne dur? Ay cānlar āfatı sanga canim dur **alğuluq**. (PdC32) 'Why do you deprive me of patience, rest, and intelligence? O, Disaster of Souls, my soul is here for you to take.'

¹⁹⁸ Lit., things to eat

¹⁹⁹ Lit., things to wear

Gar men öltürgülük men, öltürgil. (Babur, Eckm.Gr. p.137) 'If I am doomed to death, kill me.'

3.6.6.13. Verbal Nouns in -ğusiz/-güsiz

These verbal nouns express actions that are, for reasons unknown, not possible to carry out. They are adjectives and occur mostly in predicative function.

E.g.,

Sanga sänliking, bil, hicāb käçgüsüz; kitār bolsa sän män bolur säçgüsüz. (MM197r:5) 'Know that youness is your impenetrable veil. When it is eliminated, there is no longer any distinguishing between "me" and "you".'

Safar hācat ermās sän ök sän hicāb, qamuğ manzil uşbu, valē köçgüsüz. (MM197r:6) 'There is no need to travel, your youness itself is the veil. All the stations are right here, there is no need to set off [for other parts].'

3.6.7. Gerunds

Gerunds are verbal adverbs that play a very important role in Chagatay linguistic expression. They may indicate status, aspect, tense, mood and relationship to other actions.

3.6.7.1. Gerund in -p

The suffix **-p** is added directly to light stems and through a closed connective vowel [i, i, ü, u] to heavy stems:

asrap 'protecting, fostering, preserving' < asra- 'to protect'
tilāp 'wishing, asking for' < tilā- 'to ask for'
dep 'saying' < de- 'to say'
ağrip 'hurting' < ağri- 'to hurt'
āylāp 'going around' < āylā- 'to go around'
salip 'putting, casting' < sal- 'to put'
açip 'opening' < aç- 'to open'
yaşunup 'hiding' < yaşun- 'to hide' [intransitive]
körüp 'beholding' < kör- 'to see, behold'
qačip 'escaping' < qač- 'to escape, flee'
kōrsätip 'showing' < kōrsät- 'to demonstrate'
berip 'giving' < ber- 'to give'
tutup 'holding' < tut- 'to hold'

Note: The suffix **-p** is added generally to positive stems. With negative stems it occurs rarely: **turmap** (Babur105v:8) 'not able to resist'

Gerunds in **-p** indicate that an action ceased, came to an end, or was interrupted or completed at a point of time established by adverbs, other actions or by a broader context. They occur in adverbial, copulative, or predicative functions.

3.6.7.1.1. Gerund in -p in Adverbial Function

The gerund in **-p** is quite common in adverbial function. The action it expresses either occurs parallel with another action [mostly by the same agent] or stops before the other action begins. E.g.,

Çu aldı nāmanī elin uzatıp, alurda muşk ara şandalnī qatıp. (DN251v:9) 'When she took the letter reaching for it with her hands she added sandal²⁰⁰ fragrance to the scent of musk.'²⁰¹

Barqğa dedi: Negā čäkting āhnī, tirā āylāp āftāb māhnī? (BN 86v:6) '[God] said to Barq: Why did you sigh, fogging [with your breath] the sun and the moon?'

Yuqaridin inip yamğur tüşār pāk, ki tā andin tirilir hār hāşāk. (DN258v:11) 'Descending from above the rain falls evenly so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.'

Bir vaqt tüz yazıda yol taş etip azuqum tükānip yürür edim. (Sayf 89v:3) 'Once I was walking in the plain desert: I lost my way and my provisions were exhausted.'

İzdāp nāmā tapmadī. (Sayf50v:10) 'He was searching but he did not find anything.'

Qalamğa su berip açtım tilini, anga āsān qilip söz muşkilini. (DN 255v:11) 'I put water into the pen and opened its tongue. I made the difficult task of composition easy for him.'²⁰²

3.6.7.1.2. Gerund in -p in Copulative Function

Çiqayin yer içidin nāla yangliq, kafannī qanğa bulğap lāla yangliq. (DN244v:11) 'Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry and stain the shroud with blood [red] like tulip.'

Yüzüm hwarşedidin hayrān yürür mü? Bolup bir zarra sargardan yürür mü? (DN252r:8) 'Doesn't he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn't he move perplexed?'

Baştin keçip qara qan içip qan yaşım sacıp: tapman köngül tilāğini va-ħasratā köngül. (Sayf182) 'I give up my head, I drink

²⁰⁰ Cf. *şandal* 1. 'sandal wood' > yellow color, like henna used to paint ladies' hands; 2. 'sandal fragrance'

²⁰¹ Cf. *muşk* 1. 'black' > writing of the letter; 2. 'musk fragrance' added to the letter.

²⁰² Cf. the Arabic invocation *allāh yasir va lā tu'assir* 'Lord make it easy for me, do not make it difficult.'

black blood, and I shed blood-color tears. Alas, O Heart, I do [still] not find the desire of my heart’.

Yätip eldin ötüp şahra yeli teg yürüp köz yaşida daryā eli teg. (DN253v:3) ‘He comes and passes by people like the desert wind. He wades in tears like maritime creatures.’

Ravān qildī falak cōn cām-i Camšed, açiqlanip qizarip çiqti hwaršed. (DN242r:11) ‘When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshid, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.’

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

Körüp har dam qara bahtini tün teg, köngüldin tartip āhini tütün teg. (DN247v:1) ‘He always perceives his black fortune as [the darkness of] the night. He lets out sighs, like smoke, from his heart.’

Barip ‘arab qabilasinda istāp tapup alip keldilār. (Sayf 126r:11) ‘They set out, searched the Bedouin tribes, found her and took her [to the Sultan’s] presence.’

3.6.7.1.3. Gerund in -p in Predicative Function

Salip šahr içrā ‘išq āvazasini, açip yüzigā ğam darvāzasini. (DN 240r:1) ‘He spreads the rumor about [his] love all over the town. He opens the gate of sorrow to his face.’

Tili açıq sözün şakargā qatip, közi ta‘rız oqın can[im]ğa atip. (DN243r:2) Her tongue dipped her bitter words into sugar.²⁰³ Her eyes shot arrows of hints²⁰⁴ into [my] soul.’

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

Sāning üçün bir tüş körüp mām hayr bolğay. (Sayf 11r:6) ‘I have seen a dream concerning you, maybe it bodes something good.’

Agar sen anda körsāng nāgah āzar, men eşitip bolur men munda afgār. (DN260r:3) ‘If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.’

Note: Gerunds in -p serve as bases of the Perfect Tense [3.6.5.13.].

Meni sindurma kim ğam sindurup tur, barip köngülñi mendin tındurup tur. (DN244r:10) ‘Do not break me, because sorrow has already done so. Going away from me you pacified my heart.’

²⁰³ I.e., He mixed the bitter words of chiding with the sweetness of coquetry.

²⁰⁴ Expressions with obscure meanings rebuking and encouraging the Lover at the same time.

3.6.7.2. Gerund in-ban/-bān

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/-bān in Adverbial Function

Dedi, Ay Sözi Rangīnlārgā Artang, qalamdin körgüzübān sihr va nayrang. (DN270v:10) ‘He said. O, Mani [the painter] among those whose words are colorful,²⁰⁵ who produces magic and sorcery with the pen.’

Şabā elini optüm qoyuban baş, anga ihlās nūrīn etibān fāš. (DN 249v:1) ‘I kissed the hand of the Morning Breeze bowing my head and showing her the light of perfect sincerity.’

Men ol qul men ki bargim yerdā qalmas, valī bir yel kelibān eltā almas. (DN240v:9) ‘I am the rose whose petals don’t stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot sweep them away.’²⁰⁶

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

Ğah söz aytip Ĥudādīn āşitip, yiglabān har laħza özidin ketip. (BN85r:11) ‘Sometimes he said words that he had heard from God, crying he lost his senses every moment.’²⁰⁷

Ki mām ummat debān keçtim atadin. (H74v:9) ‘Having chosen the community I gave up my father.’

Ozup keçti aşiqqan atlı erni yürübān bir kişi arqun tün va kūn. (Sayf167r:2) ‘A person walking slowly night and day caught up with and passed by the hasty horseman.’

Nazar saldi saliban söz arağa, netük kim köz berür nūrīn qarağa. (DN264r:10) ‘She cast a glance [at the letter] and then became immersed in reading the text as her eyes lentled its light to [dispel] the darkness [of the ink].’

²⁰⁵ I.e., who paint with their words

²⁰⁶ I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.

²⁰⁷ Intensity is expressed by showing a point-action verb in repetition.

3.6.7.2.2. Gerund in -ban/-bän in Copulative Function

Avči çiqıban kâyıklâr avlar vaqtın arslan körübän tutup terisin yırtar. (Sayf105r:7) 'The hunter goes out in the season of hunting deer. A lion spots him, grabs him, and tears his skin into shreds.'

Keçä qoy halqına qoydı bıçağın, tilädi kim soyuban alsa yağın. (Sayf69r:2-3) 'At night he put his knife to the sheep's throat and wanted to slaughter him and take his fat [tail].'

Yüzni yuban, eligdä su quyğıl. Başqa mash tartıban, ayağnı yuğıl. (MS4v:3) 'Having washed your face pour water over your hand [and wash them]. Having wiped your head [with moistened hands] wash your feet.'

Közümning kirpüki boldı guharpāš, qalam teg har haţţına qoyuban baş. (DN255v:1) 'The eyelashes of my eyes were shedding gems.²⁰⁸ Like the pen I bowed to each of her characters.'

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

Bu Şabānı bu ƣavā'if beglärini qavlaban zulm u cavrın kötäribän elgä köp däd äylädük. (ShD82v:1-2) 'We, Shabānı, routed the chiefs of these tribes. We have restored justice to the people [of this town] by rooting out injustice and oppression.'

3.6.7.2.3. Gerund in -ban/-bän in Predicative Function

Qılıban muşknı ol 'anbarın meng, cihān içrā qara tofrağ bilān teng. (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris-scented beauty spot reduced [the value of] musk to [the level of] common clay²⁰⁹ in the [entire] world.'

Başına qoyuban hudhud bigin tāt, şaraf içrā alıp Simurğdın bāc. (DN267v:5) 'He put a crown upon his head like a hoopoe; in dignity he levied a tax on Simurgh.'²¹⁰

Yüzüm birlān saçimnı etibān yad, boluban keçälärdä aydın şād. (DN253r:9) 'He talks about my face and my hair; at nights he associates with the moon.'

3.6.7.2.4. Gerund in -ban/-bän in Idioms

The gerund in -ban/-bän occurs in a few idioms. E.g., *ne debän* 'by what right?':

Ne debän men anı közdin salayın, köngül aldım, barıp ham cān alayın. (DN246r:3) 'By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?'

3.6.7.3. Gerund in -a/-ä

Gerunds in -a/-ä indicate actions that are not completed. These actions are either going on uninterrupted, or are being repeated without a time limit. The time of their occurrence is indicated by a concurrent action, by adverbs, or by the context itself. They are used as adverbs to finite verbs or verbal nouns to express manner, time, purpose, aim, or limit.

They may occur in doublets [with the same word repeated or with the gerund form of another verb] for emphasis.

3.6.7.3.1. Gerund in -a/-ä in Predicative Function

Very rare. This is related to the adverbial use of the gerunds in -a/-ä with the exception that the gerund has its own subject. E.g.,

Aftab otura tağqa yavuq yettim. (Babur 60r:8) 'By sunset [$<$ as the sun was setting] I got close to the mountain.'

3.6.7.3.2. Gerund in -a/-ä in Adverbial Function

Seni kim sevdi, ay dilbar, közigä cān körünmäs tur. Qıya baq közüng uçdın barı ölügnı tirgüzgān. (ShD128v:12) 'No life is visible in the eyes of the one who has loved you. Cast a side glance from the corner of your eye because that is what brings the dead to life.'²¹¹

Neçä köp yädürsäng, sanga bir kün ol urur zağm, andan saqına yüri. (Sayf14v:10) 'No matter how much you feed him [the wolf cub] one day will cause you harm. Beware of him.'

Bir kün uşbu yerdä ekändä Ĥwaca Abu'l-Makārim kim bizning dek calāy-i vaţan bolup sargardān edi meni körä keldi. (Babur 60r:8) 'One day during my state in that very place, Ĥwaca Abu'l-Makārim, an emigrant like ourselves, was aimlessly wandering and came to see me.'

Vah ki kelür yolğa qıldım köz durrafsānın nişār, telmürä har yol başında közlärim duçar dur. (ShD44v:4-5) 'O, how I scattered the pearls of my eyes on the path she was to come! At every corner my eyes were eagerly looking for a sudden encounter.'

²⁰⁸ Tear drops of emotion.

²⁰⁹ Versus *gil-i ĥwaşböy* 'clay with fragrance' (Sa'dī) or *mufarriĥ gul gibi gil* 'clay fragrant like an exhilarating rose' (Sayfī Sarāyī).

²¹⁰ It possesses greater dignity than Simurgh.

²¹¹ In royal receptions the sultan signaled the acceptance of gifts by casting a side glance at them.

3.6.7.3.3. Gerund in -a/-ä in Doublets

Bolur asan bara bara muškil. (RB5v:6) 'What is difficult, will gradually become easy.'

Uşbu sirrni ayta-ayta kaçtı Mansūr-i ğarīb; oğrı va yalğançılar-din boldi ol dār özgäcä. (ShD150r:3) 'Repeating this secret all over again Mansūr, the strange one, passed. The tree²¹² that was meant for him was different from others meant for thieves and liars.'

Bu sāning hāling ol tülki hikāyatına oħsar kim kördilär yiqıla tura kitār edi. (Sayf26r:5) 'This situation of yours resembles that of the fox whom people saw running away in panic.'²¹³

Notes: (a) Gerunds in -a/-ä are used as bases for the Durative Present Tense [3.6.5.13.1.].

Köngül kim tarta dur ğam mātaminī, qalam teg başidın alğil qarasin. (DN264r:2) 'When the heart keeps wearing the livery of sorrow, remove melancholy from its head in the same way you remove ink from the tip of the pen.'

Tün kün saqlan ol erdin kim ol qorqa turur sändän. (Sayf18v:2) 'Night and day beware of the man who is constantly afraid of you.'

(b) It is used to form descriptive verbs [3.6.9.].

Men ol gul men ki bargim yerdä qalmas, valī bir yel kelibän eltä almas. (DN240v:9) 'I am the rose whose petals don't stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot carry them away.'²¹⁴

Bu nukta sirrini hargiz kişi qayda bilür ermiş? Ača ber nukta sirrini māning pīr-i muğanim sen. (ShD112r:13) 'How would one ever know the secret of this point? Open for me the secret of points: you are my elder of the magi.'²¹⁵

3.6.7.3.4. Gerund in -a/-ä in Idioms

Gerunds in -a/-ä occur quite often in set expressions and idioms. Here is a selective list of the most frequently used idioms.

bara bara (RB5v:6) 'constantly'

ħaddin aša (Sayf164r:9) 'excessively, beyond limits'

kün aša (Sayf57r:2) 'every other day'

otura tura ket- (Sayf137r:1) 'slowly, taking a rest'²¹⁶

²¹² I.e., the gallows

²¹³ Lit., falling to the ground and standing up again

²¹⁴ I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.

²¹⁵ Fig., innkeeper

²¹⁶ Lit., sitting and standing up

qiya baqmaq (ShD128v:12) 'to cast a side glance'

yaraša (ShD137v:7) 'accordingly'

yiqıla tura (Sayf26r:5) 'head over heels'²¹⁷

bilä (MM195v:3) 'knowingly'

E.g.,

Kün aša kelgil kim maħabbat ziyādat bolğay. (Sayf57r:2) 'Come and see me every other day so that our attraction to one another may increase.'

Sen emdi ħavsalanga yaraša talab qılğıl, umēding üzmä ki āħir Ĥudā qılur sababın. (ShD127r:7-8-) 'Now you seek according to your liking. Do not give up your hope because in the end God grants the means.'

3.6.7.4. Gerund in -ğanda/-gändä

The gerund in -ğanda/-gändä expresses an action in the course of which another action takes place. It may also express an action as a result of which another action is or is not carried out.

E.g.,

Ol hargiz qaranguluq körmäy dur, ki elgä qaranğu bolğanda anga yaruq erkän dur. (NMP.55) 'He never saw the darkness because during the time when darkness enveloped the ordinary folks for him there was daylight.'

Män kim qarī män qarī ħatunlar bilän ulfatim bolmağanda ol kim yigit turur māning kibi qarī bilän ne qadar dōstluq şuratin bağlağay. (Sayf138r:2) 'I am an old man and cannot put up with old women, how could the one who is young achieve friendship with an old man like me?'

Bal bigin çahra sarığ bolmaq keräk 'ışq ahlığa; arturur yapraq sarığ bolğanda afgän 'andalib. (ShD22r:4) 'For the people of love the face should be yellow like [the color of] honey. The nightingale increases its complaint when the leaves turn yellow.'

Saħini yād etip da'im oğärlär baħil atin ešitkändä sōkärilär. (Sayf94r:10) 'People always remember and praise the generous. When they hear the name of the miserly, they pronounce a curse.'

Tārat alğanda sözlämä 'amdä. (MS5v:6) 'Do not speak while performing the ablution.'

Nafydin songra ki bar illā'llāh munda yetgändä ešit bu dur rāh. (RB7v:10) 'After the negation follows [the phrase] *but God*. When you reach this point, here is how [you should proceed], listen well!'

²¹⁷ Lit., falling and getting up again cf. P. *uflān u ħizān*

3.6.7.5. Gerund in -i/-i

Gerunds in -i/-i indicate imperfect actions in progress to characterize another action that is taking place. [In this function they are close to adverbs expressing attending circumstances]. This gerund is also used with the auxiliary *başla*-‘to begin’ to create a derivative verb [3.6.9.1.3.]. E.g.,

Bu kün *iyi* tegäy cön keldi cïnlik, ki Simurğ içidä qılsun 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 bilän öz boğazın yırtıp halq mağzin kitärmägä *yırlay* başladı. (Sayf60r:4) ‘In a repulsive voice²¹⁸ ripping his own throat and driving people crazy he began to caterwaul.’

Bu nafs müngü kölük temiş haqq rasul öz özinä kötrür *mün* köp fasiq. (MM179v:5). ‘The Carnal Soul wants to ride an animal, as the true Prophet said. Many sinners carry [that animal] as it commands them.’

3.6.7.6. Gerund in -içaq/-içäk

The gerund in -içaq/-içäk [-uçaq/-üçäk after syllables with rounded vowels] expresses an action that indicates a point of time when another action is taking place. The action expressed by the gerund can be the point of reference, time frame or occasion for the action of the main verb. E.g.,

Toğan arslan bilän panca tutuşqan er dägül ‘a^qil, anı bil ‘a^qil er qahrı *keciçäk* sözlämäs bātil. (Sayf44r:11-12) ‘He who takes on a fierce lion in a hand-to-hand fight is not wise. Remember this: A wise man does not say idle words when anger overcomes him.’²¹⁹

Cān qačan bolğay gulistāndan malul cön *körüçäk* şadman bolur köngül. (Sayf6v:8) ‘How could the soul be weary of the rose garden? When one takes a look at it, the heart becomes joyful.’

Sāndān özgä heç ‘aybı yoq anıng, sän *ölüçäk* ol ming altunğa tegär. (Sayf110r:1-2) ‘Other than you there is nothing wrong with this [house]. When you die, it will be worth of a thousand dinars.’

Gabr agar yüz yıl ot yaqar bolsa, içinā *tüşçäk* küyär fi’l-hāl. (Sayf24r:8) ‘Even if the fire worshipper feeds the fire for one hundred years, the fire burns him in no time when he falls into it.’

Beş altı kün *keciçäk* ol bolur sukkar bigin şirin. (Sayf17v:7). ‘After five or six days it will be sweet like sugar.’

Note: Qutb has no examples for this gerund. Hacıeminoğlu’s *baruçaq*²²⁰ is an error for *barur çaq*.²²¹

3.6.7.7. Gerund in -u/-ü

The gerund in -u/-ü indicates incomplete actions. They occur mostly in adverbial role. E.g.,

Dälürmək, ağız *tolu* qusmaq kişi toluğ söz ayumaz tutup qus-mış. (MM181r:14) ‘Becoming insane, throwing up a full mouthful, [one’s mouth] is regarded as full when one’s speech is impeded by a mouth filled with what one has regurgitated from one’s stomach.’
Üwüş erkän ök yu, songinča beri taqı başnı *gapsayu* mash et ari. (MM182r:14) ‘Do the ablution while your limbs are wet. Grasp your head with both hands and rub it thoroughly.’

3.6.7.7.1. Gerund in -u/-ü used in Doublets

sävünü quvanu (Qutb1140) ‘happy and proud’
öpüşü oynaşu (Qutb4055) ‘kissing and playing’
külā oynayu (Qutb770) ‘laughing and playing’
qısa sıqayu (MM181v:9) ‘pressing and squeezing’

E.g.,

Sevündüm bu habardın teyü bānū, yer öpti şahqa *sevinü quva-nu*. (Qutb1140) ‘I am glad to hear this piece of news, says the Lady. She kissed the ground in respect to the king, happy and proud.’

Öpüşü oynaşu olturdılar hwaş, qılu bir biringä tangqa tegi nōş. (Qutb4060) ‘They set together cosily kissing and playing; drinking to one another until dawn.’

3.6.7.7.2. Gerund in -u/-ü Lexicalized as Adverbs or Postpositions

ulaşu (MM179v:14) ‘constantly’
tegrü (BH9v:8) ‘up to [but not including versus *tegi* ‘up to and including’]
yaşru (MA53-3) ‘hidden, concealed’

E.g.,

Qanā‘at bilä ar *ulaşu* ‘aziz. (MM179v:14) ‘A man possessed of contentment is always a beloved [of God].’

Dilbarim neçägä *tegrü* mән qulun qında tutar. (Sayf180r:7) ‘How long [< until when] will my beloved keep me in pain?’

²¹⁸ Cf., *karih* ‘ş-şaut ‘of a harsh voice’

²¹⁹ Reference to Qur. 3,128.

²²⁰ (p.161)

²²¹ Zaj, Glossary, p. 94 s.v. *kertäk*

Note: It is used to form descriptive verbs [3.6.9.].

3.6.7.8. Gerund in -may/-mäy

The gerund in **-may/-mäy** is the negative equivalent to the gerunds in **-p** and **-a/-ä** and is used in the same--predicative, adverbial or copulative--functions.

3.6.7.8.1. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Predicative Use

Aning dardidīn **etmāy** heç kim yad, yätip dardına gah gah nāla firyād. (DN240r:2) 'No one makes mention of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.'

Elig yup özidin su hīdmatingda, ariqliq lafin **urmay** hāzratingda. (DN244r:2) 'The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.'

Zamānē āh elidin köngli tīnmay fiğanlar tartıban nay teg erin-māy. (DN253r:3) 'At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the reed.'²²²

Tabassumda labing **qilmay** mudārā, guharnī la'ling etip āškārā. (DN256v:5) 'In smiling your lips do not act with moderation. Your ruby lips lay open the gems.'²²³

Sözüngni ešitip, ay cān hayātī, **çiqarmay** qand Hindustān nabātī. (DN256v:4) 'Having heard your words, O Life of the Soul, the sugar plant of Hindustan stopped producing sugar.'

Bu qariliqda manga **qilmay madad** köp kirdāšim.²²⁴ Tangri yār oldi bilingiz barça qardašim mening. (ShD83r:12) 'In this old age many of my neighbors do not help me. Know, all brothers of mine, God has become my helper.'

3.6.7.8.2. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Adverbial Use

In adverbial use this gerund expresses manner, method, or attending circumstances.

E.g.,

Tilādi allida **tīnmay** šabānī, bitigni berdi va tēz etti anī. (DN 246v:3). 'She summoned the Morning Breeze to his presence at once, gave it the letter and sent it off right away.'

Ayağıng tozi bolğay surma közgä, ulaşqay men yetip **tartīnmay** özgä. (DN251r:8) '[My hope is] that the dust your feet walk on be the collyrium for the eye. That I reach the Self without hesitation.'

²²² Reference to the opening line of Rumi's *Maṣnavi*.

²²³ They show their teeth.

²²⁴ Cf. M. Kaşğ. in Nadelaev, p. 308.

Qoymay eldin munī qilsang takrār, iḥtiyārī sanga qalmas, ay Yār! (RB6v:13) 'If you continue [to pronounce His name] and never cease to do so, it will no longer be a matter of choice, O Friend!'

Naşihat birlä ol kelmäs özigä, yüz **evürmāy** turup tur bir sözigä. (DN245v:11) 'He does not recover his senses when given a piece of advice. He does pay heed²²⁵ to any of its [good] words.'

Külümsindi nişat ağzini **yiğmay**, sevünüp gul bigin tonına **siğmay**. (DN252r:3) 'She was laughing without closing her cheerful mouth. She was rejoicing, like a rose bud, not able to fit in her robe.'²²⁶

3.6.7.8.3. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Copulative Function

Bolup qan köngli **tīnmay** köz yaşidīn, keçip ot ortasında su başı-dīn. (DN259v:4) 'His heart is suffering from his constantly flowing tears. From a source of water he passes into the middle of fire.'

Yavuş kelding iraq **salmay** özüngni, açıqtın **bağlamay** şirīn söz-üngni. (DN247v:7) 'You came close, you did not keep away, you did not let your sweet words be bottled up by bitterness.'

Qoymay eldin munī qilsang takrār, iḥtiyārī sanga qalmas, Ay Yār. (RB6v:13) 'If you continue [to pronounce His name] and never cease to do so, it will no longer be a matter of choice, O Friend!'

Note: The gerund in **-may/-mäy** is used to form the negative paradigm of the Present Perfect Tense [3.6.5.13.1.].

3.6.7.9. Gerund in -mayin/-mäyin

The gerund in **-mayin/-mäyin** is the negative equivalent of gerunds in **-ban/-bān**. It is used in the same--predicative, adverbial and copulative--functions. E.g.,

Agar sab'a rivāyat birlä qur'an oqusang bir **yangilmayin** sän, ay cān. (Sayf114v:6) 'Even if you recite the seven long chapters from the Qur'an,²²⁷ you make not one mistake, O Sweetheart!'

Gar közümnüñg yaşı bir dam **aqmayin** tīnsa edi, küydürür erdi, biling, 'alamnī bir āhīm yaqip. (ShD17r:12) 'If one day my tears suddenly stopped and became depleted, one breath of mine would set this world on fire, know full well.'

²²⁵ Lit., does not turn his face to

²²⁶ Hint at the moment when the rosebud is opening.

²²⁷ From *al-baqara* to *at-tauba*.

Yetibän turmayin bir yerdä el teg, kezibän kečä tang atqinča yel teg. (DN253r:5) 'When he arrives, he does not stay in one place as people do. At night he moves about like wind until dawn.'

Hameša uyqusizliqqa qılıp hū, tüšidä kirmayin 'umrida uyqu. (DN253r:8) 'He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.'

Qalam tartınmayin aytip zamirin, qılıp söz qandidin tilini širin. (DN255v:5) 'Without moving the pen he told the secret thoughts of the letter. With the sugar of the words he made his tongue sweet.'

Ani dā'im anga dur çon bilür sän unutmayin berür rizqing tün va kün. (Sayf144v:4) 'One must remember Him all the time so that you know that He is not oblivious of you but provides you with sustenance night and day.'

3.6.7.10. Gerund in -qinča/-kinča

The gerund in -qinča/-kinča, -ğunča/-günčä, -ğuča/-güčä is formed from the verbal noun in -ğu/-gü by the equative case marker attached to the base with or without a pronominal -n-.

It is frequently used in three major functions: terminative, durative, and preferential.

3.6.7.10.1. The Terminative use of Gerund in -qinča/-kinča

The gerund in -qinča/-kinča indicates that an action must be completed before or at the same time when the action expressed by the finite verb takes place. E.g.,

'İraqdan tiryāq kelginčä yılan zahmlı er ölär. (Sayf26r:11) 'By the time the elixir gets here from 'İraq, the man wounded by the snake, will die.'

Säning atang ağır taş astından täbränginčä mänim atam cannat-kä kirmiş bolğay. (Sayf150r:12). 'By the time your father crawls forth from under the heavy stone, my father will have entered heaven.'

Tiläp ay vaslini evürmägän yüz, sanağan kečä tang atqinča yulduz. (DN246v:11) 'He desires union with the moon and does not turn his face away. At night he is counting the stars until dawn.'

Qulaq bolğu avval açılğınčä til, açılsa ayitğil 'amal aşnu qıl (MM 194r:2) 'You must listen carefully before you begin to speak. Once you have begun [to speak], say [what you want] and then act accordingly.'

3.6.7.10.2. The Durative Use of the Gerund in -qinča/-kinča

The gerund in -qinča/-kinča indicates a lasting action in the course of which another action takes place. E.g.,

Ol oğlanning atası bu balanı öz tiläp taptı, tüni kün bäsłädi quş teg keyik bigin bügürgünčä. (Sayf145v:13) 'The father of this child obtained him upon his own wish. He nurtured him night and day like a bird while he was bleating like a deer.'

Nişani nişansız bolu bilmäki, munı tökmäginčä anın tolmasa. (MM192v:15) 'The sign [of a disciple who has reached his goal] is that he is without a sign. As long as he does not pour out [of his heart what is not God], he cannot be filled with [God].'

Özin kecmäginčä murid bolmas ol, murid bolmağınčä murād bulmas ol. (MM192v:14.) 'One does not become a disciple until one has renounced self. One cannot attain his goal until one has become a disciple.'

Taba'iyat anga bolmas haşıl bilmägünčä ki ne iştä dur, bil. (RB 4r:12) 'He cannot achieve [complete] emulation as long as he does not know in what matter he wants to emulate [him], know full well.'

3.6.7.10.3. The Preferential Use of the Gerund in -qinča/-kinča

The Gerund in -qinča/-kinča indicates an action that is preferable to another action. E.g.,

Mänim haläkligim yaşşıraq andan kim yazuqsuz qan tökülgünčä. (Sayf33v:13). 'My demise is better than shedding the blood of an innocent person.'

Anası toquz ay on kün kötärdi, hayri bolğay, dep. Yılan tapsa edi yaşşı ol oğlanni toğurgünčä. (Sayf146r:3) 'His mother carried him for nine months and ten days, saying "He will be a blessing!". It would have been better if she had had a snake rather than giving birth to that boy.'

Ne munča ʔarab 'ayş tamaşa kārāk, tamuğdın nacāt bulmağınčä başı. (MM179r:14) 'One should not engage in so much loud merrymaking, feasting and amusement, if one [seeks] to save himself from [the torments] of Hell.'

Toq bolup ölsä yaşşıraq aç bolup tiri yürügünčä. (Sayf84v:11) 'It is better to die full than to stay alive and be hungry.'

3.6.7.10.4. Gerund in -qinča/-kinča in Idioms

āftab batqunčä (Babur60v:9) 'until sunset'

köz açıp yumğınčä (NF429-2) 'in the twinkling of an eye' [cf. Ar. *turfatu'l- 'ain*]

köz yätgünčä (RM7v:9) 'as far as the eye can see'

tang atqinča (DN253r:5) 'until dawn'
toyğunča (Sayf172v:1) 'as much as he pleases'

E.g.,

Yetibän turmayin bir yerdä el teg, kezibän kečä tang atqinča yel teg. (DN253r:5) 'When he arrives, he does not stay in one place as people do. At night he moves about like wind until dawn.'
Har birining uzunluqı köz yätgünčä bolğay. (RM7v:9) 'Each will have the length as far as the eye can see.'
Toygünča yemäk yemädi. (Sayf172v:1) 'He did not eat his fill.'

3.6.7.11. Gerund in -ğanča/-gänčä

The gerund in -ğanča/-gänčä indicates measurement, proportion, or extent. E.g.,

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

3.6.7.11.1. The Gerund in -ğanča/-gänčä in Idioms

eligimdin kelgänčä (Babur 200v:5) 'to the best of my ability; as much as I can'

3.6.7.12. Gerund in -ğäč/-gäč

The gerund in -ğäč/-gäč expresses an action that takes place immediately before the action of the main verb. Most of the time there is a connection between the two actions. The one expressed by the gerund often leads up to, triggers or is the condition for the other action. Very frequent in modern literary Uzbek [MLU 3.6.4.2.7.]. E.g.,

Ay yüzüng nūr-i İlahi közlaringdän kün qamar. Yā qaşıng körgäç uşol ay eksilip özdin ketär. (ShD30r:4-5) 'Your moon-face [shines like] Divine light. The sun is dazzled by your eyes. Looking at your bow-like eyebrow that same moon²²⁸ shrinks and vanishes.'
Zulfi dāmığa tüştüm ħālī dānığa bolup, böylä muqayyad olğäç, muşkil emiş yaranmaq. (ShD75v:1-2) 'I fell into the snare of her tresses when I was after the grain of her beauty spot. As soon as I was tied like that, it was difficult for me to render any service.'²²⁹
Harī ħublarinī körgäç itürdüm 'aql va ħōşimnī, māning teg bol-mağay hargiz Cununning köyida la'iq. (ShD79r: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 mazkūr bolğäç şihhat āşari mizācida paydā boldi. (NM p.67) 'As soon as these words were pronounced, the signs of good health appeared in his being.'

Ay camāling burqa'in alsang cihān tābān bolur. Āftāb ol yüzni körgäç özidin pinhan bolur. (ShD41v:1-11) 'If you remove the veil from your beautiful face²³⁰ the world becomes illuminated. The sun beholds that face and hides from itself.'

3.6.7.13. The Gerund in -ğali/-gäli

The gerund in -ğali/-gäli serves to specify the action of the verb used in association with it. It can indicate starting point, or purpose.

3.6.7.13.1. The Gerund in -ğali/-gäli Indicates the Purpose²³¹

E.g.,

Zulf-i rayhān sarvqaddni körgäli men nāgahān gulistān bāğında tiktīm köz yaşimdīn nār nār. (ShD30v:7-8) 'In order to see the cypress with the fragrant tresses, I suddenly planted pomegranate trees from the tears of my eyes.'²³²

Meni 'alam qayğusidin fariğū'l-bāl etgäli, bersä gar pīr-i muğān bir cām bali bas turur. (ShD43v:13-44r:1) 'In order to relieve me from worldly sorrows it is enough if the elder of the magi gives me a cup of his honey wine.'²³³

Yolunda baş oynap cān tarkīn urup mān körgäli dildār körkin. (Sayf113r:13) 'Upon your path I risk my head and give up my life in order to see the beauty of the beloved.'

Ka'bagā ziyārat qilğäli bardim ārdi. (NF188:3) 'I had set out to visit the Ka'ba.'

Bir kim ārsä Dāvud-i Tāyī evingä kirdi ziyārat qilğäli. (NF 216v:15) 'Someone went to the house of Dāvud of Tāy in order to pay him a visit.'

Zulf-i rayhān sarvqaddni körgäli men nāgahān Gulistān bāğında tiktīm köz yaşimdīn nār nār. (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.'

²²⁸ The face of the Beloved shines like the sun.

²³¹ It often translates by the phrase 'in order to'

²³² The red seeds that fill the fruit of the pomegranate tree look like drops of blood-colored tears.

²³³ In *Bhang u Çağır*, a contest poem by the author of the *Dahnāma*, honey wine appears as a moderator and the peace of justice between hashish and wine.'

²²⁸ I.e., the real moon in the sky

²²⁹ Reference to the Sufi view according to which our services have no value when we reach the level of being in the presence of God. Cf. MM195v:3-4.

3.6.7.13.2. The Gerund in -ğali/-gäli Indicates the Starting Point²³⁴

E.g.,

Körgäli Sayf-i Sarāyī qul anī Haqq ta‘alā šun‘ining hayrānī dur. (Sayf179v:2) ‘Since Sayf-i Sarāyī, the servant, saw her, he is admiring the perfect artistry of God the Most High.’²³⁵
Yār qatindin kitkālī yana ne yanglıg hāl men, kim firāqī birlā vah ne yanglıg dāl 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 *dāl*.’

3.6.8. Participles [Verbal Adjectives]

In the Chagatay language participles are not a strictly confined category. Just as adjectives can very often be used as nouns, without any derivative element, so can participles in almost all nounal functions. Even when used as nouns participles retain some or all of their verbal characteristics.

3.6.8.1. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän

The definition above refers especially to participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän, which, when used as a noun, can not only have complements that

usually go with verbs, but can occur as the name of the action [action nouns] or that of the agent [agent nouns].

3.6.8.1.1. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän as Action Nouns

It is usually a completed past action or its result that these participles refer to in this use. Without an express subject it has a passive meaning as **buyurğan** [< buyur-] ‘that which has been commanded’, **ol buyurğan** or **buyurğanī** ‘that which he has commanded.’ E.g.,

Ol buyurğanī qilmasang, ay Yār, heç asiğ yoq, köp ziyānī bar. (MS2r:3) ‘If you do not carry out what He has commanded, O Friend, not only will you not benefit, you will suffer a great harm.’
Qullaring qilğan işgä nāzir sen. (MS4r:4) ‘You are the one who sees all that your servants do.’

Yüzüng šam‘ allida ol zulf tün teg, körünüp otqa tolğasqan tütün teg. (DN243v:11) ‘Your face is the candle, the tresses by it²³⁶ are the night. The scene looks like smoke coiling above the fire.’

²³⁴ It often translates by the conjunction ‘since’.

²³⁵ When the clergy blamed Muhammad Shaybānī Khan for bringing in girls to a party in the Blue Saray, his excuse was that he did so in order to admire the perfection of the creator (*sun‘-i Haqq*). See Archivum Ottomanicum XIII (1993-1994) pp. 85-100.

²³⁶ I.e., the tresses that frame the Beloved’s face

Közümni çon bitig yüzünä açtım, söyügändin guhar başına saçtım. (DN249r:5) ‘When I opened my eyes to look at the face²³⁷ of the letter, out of joy I sprinkled gems²³⁸ upon its top.’

Dușmangä asir bolmiş yoq, körmädi çärikdä yağğanın oq. (Sayf 149r:1). ‘He was never a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. He did not see arrows raining down upon the army.’

Keldi ketibän yana mäni öltürgän, öltürgäninä özi küyüp keldi magar. (Sayf114v:12) ‘The one who killed me left and came back again. Was she grieving because he had killed me, I wonder.’

3.6.8.1.2. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän as Agent Nouns

These participles name the agents of past, already completed actions. The verbs used are single action resultative verbs. Also, there is an implied relationship between the action and the agent. The latter assumes a characteristic, undergoes a change of some kind or gets somewhere as a result of his action. Positive participles are more frequent in this role, although negative ones also occur. E.g.,

İşqing cösina tüşgän kizlänibän turalmas, bolğay mu tevä min-ğan qoy içidä yaşunmaq. (ShD75v:5-6) ‘He who falls in the agitated waves of your passionate love, cannot stay hidden there. Is it possible for a person who rides a camel to hide among a flock of sheep?’

Oqup uqqanğa köp şavāb olğay. Ham nivisandağa şavāb olğay. (MS16v:3) ‘He who has read and mastered [this book] will obtain ample recompense. So will he who [only] copies it.’

Oquğanğa va ham oqutğanda, mas‘alanī oqup ham uqqanğa yā ilahī ‘a‘ālar āylā anga, qatıra andin naşib āylā manga. (MS 17r:5-6). ‘To the one who reads [this book] and also to the one who teaches from it, to the one who reads and masters these teachings O God, grant Your benefits, and let a drop of them be my share [too].’

Gusl sunnatları qamuğ beş ol. Yağşi bilmägän anī badkēş ol. (MM7r:2) ‘The total [number] of traditional practices [to be observed] during the *gusl* is five. He who is not fully aware of this is an impious person.’

Alā ay dard āhangini tutqan, özini naqşlar birlän avutqan. (DN 246v:7) ‘Hark ye, who tuned on the melody of pain, who console yourself with [phantom] images.’

²³⁷ The *recto* side of the paper.

²³⁸ I.e., tear drops

Tilap ay vaşlini evürmägän yüz, sanağan keça tang atqınça yulduz. (DN246v:11) 'He desires union with the moon and does not turn his face away.'²³⁹ At night he is counting the stars until dawn²⁴⁰.

Kötärgän sihr eligin söz yüzidin, uyaldurğan közümnü öz yüzidin. (DN247r:7) 'He has lifted the hands of magic from the face of the word. He has put my eyes to shame by his own face.'

Yasarlar alma teg el eritip müm, bolur ol tişlägän ağızğa ma'lüm. (DN247v:1) 'Melting wax people create [figures] exactly like apples. Only the mouth, that bites into them, will realize that.'²⁴¹

Ala ay mihri dardangez qılğan, içindä nälalarnı tüz qılğan. (DN253r:2) 'Hark ye, whose love excites pity, who has sharpened the complaints in [your] heart.'²⁴²

Acal bağlar yügürgänning ayağın. (Sayf95r:7) 'Death ties together the legs of the one who runs.'

Bilgäni Qur'an oquğay. (RM3v:10) 'Those of them who know must recite from the Qur'an.'

3.6.8.1.3. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän with Passive Meaning

Başqa hatun su quyay bolsa, kim üyürgän saçını yarmasa... (MS7r:5) 'If a woman [intends to] pour water on her head and does not undo her braided hair...'

Note: It is used as base for the gerund in -ğanda/-gändä [3.6.7.4.] and also for the gerund in -ğança/-gäncä [3.6.7.11.]. In verbal inflection the forms of the perfective mood [5.6.5.10] are based on it.

3.6.8.2. Participle in -ası/-äsi

The participles in -ası/-äsi are future participles. In adjectival function they indicate that the object named by the noun they modify is meant for the action they express, e.g., käläsi mihnat 'the misery that is bound to come', yatası yer 'a place for resting'. In predicative function they occur as impersonal verbs indicating a future, necessary, or inevitable action.

They are not used as nouns. E.g.,

baqası (Qutb, H. p. 412) 'prompted to look'

bolası (LN143) 'is bound to be'

käläsi (Sayf 142v:4) 'bound to come'

qılası (Qutb, H. p. 326) 'appropriate to do'

qurtulası (Qutb, H. p. 326) 'meant for saving'

yatası (Sayf136v:11) 'made for resting'

3.6.8.2.1. The Participle in -ası/-äsi in Adjectival Function

Bu naqd-i rāhatnı käläsi mihnat täşvişi bilän talaf qılmaq. (Sayf 142v:4). 'To destroy the ease at hand with the anxiety of future misery.'

Ne yatur sän. Yatası yer degül tur ketälim. (Sayf136v:11) 'Why are you resting? This is not a place for resting. Let's move on!'

3.6.8.2.2. The Participle in -ası/-äsi in Predicative Use

Labıng la'li erür dardım davası, bu dardımğa davā muşkil bolası. (LN143) 'The ruby of your lips is the cure for my pain. It will be difficult to find a cure for my pain.'

Kim ol dīvāna ergä ne qılası? Ne čāra birlä andin qurtulası? (Qutb, H. p. 326) 'What can one do in regard to this madman? By what means can one save him?'

Ažunda heč kişining yoq baqası, bu kün hoş bolğu tangğa ne baqası. (Qutb, H. p. 412). 'No one has permanence in this world. One should be happy today, one should not look forward to what comes tomorrow.'

3.6.8.3. Participles in -igli/-igli

The derivatives in -igli/-igli [-ig + -li] are, in essence, present participles. Originally they indicate that the result of an action is associated with or characteristic of the agent which may occur with them as head nouns, e.g., yürügli yol 'a path someone follows.' In addition to their adjectival

role they may also occur as nouns expressing the agent, e.g., namāzğa käligli. (MM184v:9). 'The one who has come for the communal prayer.'

3.6.8.3.1. Participles in -igli/-igli in Adjectival Use

Azıp yürügänlär tamuğqa čıqar, bolur säkkiz uştmağ yürügli yolun. (MM179v:3) 'He who goes astray is destined for Hell. He who follows the [proper] path, reaches [one of] the Eight Heavens.' Haqıqat haqıqat qoluğli ärän kārāk Haqqa qoysa qamuğ qoluğnı. (MM 199v:1) 'He who seeks the Supreme Reality must leave all desires to [the will of] God.'

3.6.8.3.2. Participles in -igli/-igli Used as Agent Nouns

Yoq erdük, yarattı, yana yoq qılır, biligli muni mu takabbur 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. P. darün '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?’

Namāzğa kälighi šurū^c qılmadın šurū^c qılsa buzmas bu şaff kengitip. (MM184v:9) ‘One should arrive for the communal prayer before it begins. If it has already begun, one will not cause a disturbance if one takes a position at the end of a row.’

Yürügli şari‘at bilä salık ol, valē bolsa maczūb qilumaz āram. (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‘vā qiliqli tälīm, kaling ayting ämdi, qanī netälim? (MM199v:3). ‘But all of you who have raised false claims, come and repent saying, “What can I do [to atone for my sins]?”’

‘İlim ‘alam içrā bilighi tälīm, taqī da‘vā birlä kädighi gilim. (MM 200v:14) ‘In this world there are many who have acquired knowledge. [There are] also many who have put on the woolen garment with pretension.’

Bu körügli ayttı: Yā Haccāc, ahvāling nā teg turur? (NF145-17). ‘This [person] who saw him [in his dream] said: O Hajjāj, How are you?’²⁴³

3.6.8.3.3. Participles in -ighi/-igli with the Particle kārāk

The predicative particle **kārāk** adds emphasis to the meaning of the participle. It makes the predication mandatory. E.g.,

Bu ‘alam kitāb ol oquqli kārāk, açuq haqq açip köz baqighi kārāk. (MM197r:3) ‘The world is a book, one must read it. The writing [in it] is plain, one must open one’s eyes and look upon it.’
Külüp az üküş yiglağı bu kişi, musulmān boluqli kārāk yay qışı. (MM179r:13) ‘A man [who meets the above requirements] should laugh little and weep much. He must be a Muslim under all circumstances.’²⁴⁴

3.6.9. Descriptive Verbs

The descriptive verbs are phrasal verbs consisting of the gerunds in -a/-ä, -u/-ü, -y or -p of the main verb and the inflected forms of one of the auxiliary verbs. The following auxiliaries are used:

With gerunds in -a/-ä, -u/-ü

al- ‘to take’
 baq- ‘to try’
 başla- ‘to begin’
 ber- ‘to give’
 bil- ‘to know’
 bol- ‘to be’
 kel- ‘to come’
 kör- ‘to see’
 qal- ‘to remain’
 sal- ‘to throw’
 tur- ‘to stand’
 tüş- ‘to fall’
 yavuş- ‘to draw near’
 yaz- ‘to miss’
 yibär- ‘to send’

With gerunds in -p

al- ‘to take’
 bar- ‘to go’
 ber- ‘to give’
 bol- ‘to be’
 çıq- ‘to leave’
 kel- ‘to come’
 keltür- ‘to bring’
 qal- ‘to remain, stay’
 taşla- ‘to throw away’
 tur- ‘to stand’
 yibär- ‘to send’
 yürü- ‘to walk’

3.6.9.1. Descriptive Verbs with Gerunds in -a/-ä

The gerunds are mostly formed from the positive stem of the verb.

3.6.9.1.1. Al- ‘to take’ expresses ability of the agent to carry out the action of the base verb. E.g.,

Duşman sāni körübän äygü ‘amal içindä, da‘vā quşun tuta almas **almas** **qurup bahāna ağın.** (Sayf63v:3-4) ‘If the enemy sees you

occupied in good deeds, setting up the net of pretext he cannot trap the bird of claim.’²⁴⁵

Men ol gul men ki bargim yerdä qalmas, valī bir yel kelibän eltä almas. (DN240v:9) ‘I am the rose whose petals don’t stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot sweep them away.’²⁴⁶

Şaba özin qatingda sala almay, yügürüp köp damini ala almay. (DN250r:4) ‘Zephyr, the Morning Breeze, cannot get itself into your presence [fast enough]. It runs a great deal not able to catch his breath.’

Bil ne tæg kizlāy alur män ‘ışq sirrin el ara, ol cavāhir ħirmanin-din anča toldi maḥzanım. (ShD106v:13-107r:1) ‘Consider this: How can I hide the secret of [my] love among people. My treasure house is quite replete with the yield of those gems.’

²⁴³ Lit., what is your condition alike?

²⁴⁴ Lit., in summer and in winter

²⁴⁵ This is a subtle reference to *Qābizu’l-arvāḥ*, the Angel of Death who is not able to claim the Believer’s soul while he is engaged in good deeds.

²⁴⁶ I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.

Mālsiz kişi ‘uryānni örtä bilmäs yā bir asirni halās etä almas. (Sayf153r:4) ‘A person without means cannot cover a naked nor can he bail out a prisoner.’

3.6.9.1.2. Baq- ‘to try, attempt’ indicates an effort to try to carry out the action of the base verb. E.g.,

Singä baqtım anga çon köz yaşı teg, qarağa mayl körgüzüp qaşı teg. (DN255v:2) ‘I tried to melt and flow²⁴⁷ to her like the tears of my eyes showing, like the eyebrows, a leaning toward the eye.’

3.6.9.1.3. Başla- ‘to begin’ marks the commencement of the action. E.g.,

Ta‘addi tilin uzatıp muhmal sözläy başladı. (Sayf157r:12) ‘He became impertinently arrogant and began to talk nonsense.’

Bir sulṭān öz ra‘iyyatı malına zulm elin uzatıp cavr etä başladı. (Sayf16r:2) ‘A king arrogantly seized the property of his own subjects and began to do oppressive acts.’

Ol maḥbūb olturup ‘itāb qıla başladı. (Sayf115v:8) ‘The beloved sat down and began to blame me.’

3.6.9.1.4. Ber- ‘to give’ indicates that the action is performed not for the subject, but for someone else. Sometimes it also implies that the action is carried out quickly. E.g.,

Aça berdi anga sarbasta rāzin, dedi bir bir barı söz-u gudāzin. (DN258v:3) ‘To her [the Beloved] revealed her safely kept secret and told her about all her pains and tribulations one by one.’²⁴⁸

Özin ḡam şaşdarına qoya bergän, farāḡat taḥtasindin muhra ter-gän. (DN246v:10) ‘He has resigned the six-door world²⁴⁹ of sorrow. He has cleared all the dice from the board of leisure.’

Qoya bermä özünḡni su şifatlig, çu körsäng bir malāḡat çaşma-sārın. (DN254v:5) ‘Do not [melt and] flow like water when you see the fountains of beauty.’

Tuta berdi manga cān tuḥfasini tegürdi ya‘nī cānān tuḥfasini. (DN255r:6) ‘He offered me the gift of life, he delivered the gift of the Beloved.’

²⁴⁷ Subtle hint at the Sufi experience on the Path to the Truth: At one point there will be no direction: The Sufi “melts” and flows and finds the way without being directed (MM196r:2).

²⁴⁸ Lit., removed the band from the bag in which his secrets were kept. Parallel meaning: opened the bag of hashish’.

²⁴⁹ The three dimensions expanded in opposite directions form a point of reference.

3.6.9.1.5. Bil- ‘to know’ with the negative stem is used to express the impossibility of the action. E.g.,

Ṭālī‘siz şayyād tāngizdä baliḡ tuta bilmäs. (Sayf94v:19) ‘An unlucky fisherman cannot catch fish in the sea.’²⁵⁰

Erdämsizlär erdäm äyäsın körä bilmäs. (Sayf168v:3) ‘Those who have no skills can’t stand those who have.’

Bir ölüni ming kim ärsä tirgizä bilmäs. (Sayf169v:6) ‘A thousand persons are not able to bring to life one dead person.’²⁵¹

Azuḡi yoḡ kişi ketä bilmäs, gar belindä köp altunı bolsa. (Sayf 90r:8-9) ‘A person who has no provisions cannot progress even if he has much gold [tied in a bag] at his waist.’

3.6.9.1.6. Bol- ‘to be’ expresses the possibility or impossibility of the action. In the negative form it indicates that the action of the base verb is or was not supposed happen. E.g.,

Anamḡa ḡwad mumkin emäs edi, kim mundaḡ söz ayta bolḡay. (Babur102r:3, Eckm.Gr.p.143). ‘Even my mother was not supposed to say words like that.’

Garci cān şirin erür ummat üçün boldum rızā tā ḡina maḡşarda ḡalā‘ıq aldıda bolmang aza. (Ḥ80v:8) ‘As dear as [my] soul is to me, I have consented to yield it for the sake of the Community, so that on the day of Resurrection [which seems but a day away], you will not fail in the sight of the whole creation.’

3.6.9.1.7. Kel- ‘to come’ an action that takes place in the direction toward the speaker or an action that results in a change of position. E.g.,

Ev äyäsı bildi daḡı tura keldi. (Sayf50v:2) ‘The owner of the house became aware [of the intruder] and got up.’

‘Aziz ‘umr tükändi uşol umid bilān: Köngül tilāḡi eşikdān qa-çan kirä kelḡay? (Sayf19r:5) ‘The precious life has passed with this expectation: Would ever the heart’s desire walk in through the door?’

Sävüngānimdān fī‘l-ḡāl tura kelip yengim tegip şam‘ söndi. (Sayf115v:3) ‘Overjoyed at once I jumped up. My sleeves touched the candle and it went out.’

3.6.9.1.8. Kör- ‘to see’ implies that the action of the base verb is being attempted. It may also imply that the subject should exert itself in carry out that action. E.g.,

²⁵⁰ The implication is that although the bounty of the sea is a source of good things [pearls, fish, gain on transporting merchandise] even a professional fisherman cannot catch fish there without luck.

²⁵¹ The author [Sa‘dī > Sarayī] is sceptical about the belief that multitude is power. This of course was against the Islamic view of the benefits of being a member of the *camā‘at*.

Hucandī muhtaşar qılğıl sözüngni, ‘aşıqlarğa qata körgül özüngni. (LN303) ‘Make your story short, Khujandi! Try to join [the company of] lovers.’

Bu şuratdın ne ayturlar baqa kör. (Quṭb H. 633) ‘Try to find out what do they say about this picture.’

Sala kördi yıraqdın baqtı nāgah. (Quṭb H. 633) ‘He did his best in releasing [his falcon] suddenly and from a distance observed [its flight].’

Yoluqmasa madayın yolını sor, sürüp Şabdiz anga yel teg yetä kör. (Quṭb H. 734) ‘If you do not come upon the cities, ask about the way to them. Drive on your horse and try to get there as fast as the wind.’

3.6.9.1.9. Qal- ‘to remain’ expresses lasting, persistent actions. E.g.,

Aning teg oqudı şı‘r-i nihani, ki toymay qaldı ol elning yamanı. (DN258r:8) ‘She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil people would not comprehend it.’

Har sari telmürä qaldı Mirza, yol başında tura qaldı Mirza. (Shaybani, Vāmb. 68,27) ‘Mirza stared in all directions with expectation. Mirza stood [for a while] at the head of the road.’

Gahı tanglap aning qir teg qaraqın, baqa qalur körüp andami aqın. (Quṭb H. 4048) ‘Now he admires her pitch black eyes, now he stares at the white of her body.’

3.6.9.1.10. Tur- ‘to stand’ indicates continuous, prolonged actions. E.g.,

Boynining terisi tepränä turğay. (KBV6v:14) ‘The hide on its body is constantly twitching.’

Botam mانی sora turğıl bu subh yelindin, aning teg içä turur men hacr mayin payman. (ShD119r:7) ‘My child, keep on asking about me from the wind of the early morning, [because] as long as you do so, I will keep on drinking from the cup of the wine of separation.’²⁵²

Şanavbar qadd u qamat hwaş yetürmiş, çiçäk ‘ışqında köngläk yırtı turmış. (Quṭb H. 1425) ‘The fir tree has developed pleasant shape and form. [Yet] it keeps tearing on its shirt²⁵³ in love for blossoms.

Kündäki vazifa ‘aḫsin käsmäyin dā’im berä turur. (Sayf3r:7). ‘He continues to give you the gift of daily sustenance without cutting back.’

3.6.9.1.11. Tüş- ‘to fall’ expresses a sudden, unexpected movement. [Cf., P. uftādan] E.g.,

Eşitkänlär seskänä tüşär edi. (Sayf111v:6) ‘Those who heard it suddenly became terrified.’

3.6.9.2. Descriptive Verbs with Gerunds in -p

3.6.9.2.1. Al- ‘to take, to receive’ indicates that the action takes place in the interest of the subject. E.g.,

Tilap alsun ki sizni bir Hudadin, ötünsün sizni andag aşnadın. (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 birävnı hwahlap alsun, nācā kün bu cihanda sizni qoysun. (H79r:6) ‘Or else let Him be content to take one of us and permit you to remain in this world a few more days.’

3.6.9.2.2. Bar- ‘to go’ indicates that the action of the base verb is accompanied by an advancing movement in the direction away from the speaker. E.g.,

Uşol damda yätiştilär ikävlän, kirip bardı atası birlä oğlan. (H77r:1) ‘Soon they arrived. Father and son entered by [the gate].’

Yätip bardı uşal dam haşş-i dargah, ki çıqtı aldığa bir baçça nāgah. (H76r:1) ‘As soon as the Chosen One of the Divine Court arrived at the school, a boy came running to him.’

Apardı²⁵⁴ könglümni bir hwaş qamar yüz cānfizā dilbar. (Sayf 184a:1) ‘A pleasant, moon-faced, life-giving heart-ravisher carried off my heart.’

3.6.9.2.3. Ber- ‘to give’ signals that the action is carried out in the interest of someone else.’ E.g.,

Dedim Bābā zaman muhlat alip ber, barip köräy alarnı cumla bir bir. (H78r:9) ‘He went on, Father, ask [the angels to give me] some time so that I may go back [to the school] and talk to them [= my classmates] one by one.’

Hamın kim tındı va aldı damını, çiqarip berdi ol cān marhamini. (DN267v:7) ‘As soon as it rested and recovered its breath, it pulled out [from its wings] the elixir of life for me.’

3.6.9.2.4. Bol- ‘to be’ with negative forms, expresses the impossibility of carrying out the action of the base verb. E.g.,

²⁵² I.e., the more you remember me the greater is my pain caused by separation.

²⁵³ Expression of regret and disappointment.

²⁵⁴ Early Azerbaijani form for *alip berdi*, cf. Isf.An. apar- ‘to take away’ (MM195r9).

Qilip tavba qutulmaqqa bolur Tangri ‘azabından, valēkin bu hālā’iqning elindān qurtulup bolmas. (Sayf62v:6) ‘Repentance saves you from God’s punishment, but it does not save you from people’s hands.’

3.6.9.2.5. Čiq- ‘to go/come out, leave’ expresses an action associated with a movement out or up from somewhere. E.g.

Aqip čiqmağu teg agar bolsa ol, nečā köp alinsa yunuğ ābzān. (MM181r:17) ‘If [these substances] do not flow out, the state of ritual purity is not violated no matter how great the quantity stemmed [by the dressing].’

3.6.9.2.6. Kel- ‘to come’ indicates an action associated with a movement in the direction toward the scene of the action, the agent or the narrator. E.g.,

Tüzälip sarv boyung eşikimdīn, kirip kelgāy netük kim tangā cānī. (DN251v:1) ‘May your cypress-like figure rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.’

Yibārdi Cibra’ilni bu zamīnga, yātip keldi rasūl-i ‘ālamaingā. (H73v:8) ‘[And so] He sent Gabriel down to earth. [Soon that] angel reached the Prophet of the Two Worlds.’

Alip keldim, dedi, Haqqnī salāmī, āšitgil ham firištalar payāmī. (H73v:9) ‘He said, I bring you salutations from God, the Truth! Listen to the message I, God’s angel, have for you.’

3.6.9.2.7. Ket- ‘to go away’ indicates an action directed away from the scene of the action, the agent, or the narrator. E.g.,

Balıq şayyad elindān ağin alip ketti. (Sayf94v:3) ‘The fish took away the net from the hands of the fisherman and left.’

3.6.9.2.8. Qal- ‘to remain, stay’ indicate the lasting effect of a completed action. The negative gerund in **-mayin/-mäyin** with the negated forms of **qal-** expresses a categorical or absolute negation. E.g.,

Külük atlar arip qaldı täväci sürär edi täväsin arqun arqun. (Sayf167r:5) ‘Race horses got tired [and were falling back] but the camel driver [moved on] driving his camel real slow.’

Cihānga qaysi cān keldi qulunum ölmäyin qalmas. (H77r:6) ‘My boy, every soul that has entered this world will not remain here, will not escape death.’

Tāqat-i vas‘ bariča aymaq tāk turup qalmaqidin avvalıraq. (MS 3v:6) ‘To speak in the measure of one’s ability is better than to remain silent.’

Ketip qaldı şahāba özlāridin. (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 andēşasına tüşüp turur mān. (Sayf19v:8). ‘I am occupied by concerns about a vicious enemy.’

Arslan bigin ārānlārni zarurat hukmī bilān teşiklārdā tutup topuqların yāncip 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.,

Azip yürügānlār tamuğqa çıkar. Bolur säkkiz uştmağ yürügli yolun. (MM179v:3) ‘He who goes astray is destined for Hell. He who follows the [proper] path, reaches [one of] the Eight Heavens.’

3.6.10. Verb Formation

Verbs are formed by suffixes or by derivative auxiliaries. Suffixes are added to nominal bases, e.g., **qan** ‘blood’ + **-a-** = **qana-** ‘to bleed.’ Derivative auxiliaries can be added to single words, e.g., **ğam** + **ye-** ‘to grieve’ or to bases, consisting of coordinated nouns, e.g., [**navha va zarī**] + **qil-** ‘to complain’.

3.6.10.1. Verb Formation by Suffixes

3.6.10.1.1. The Suffix **-a/-ä**

A narrow vowel in the second syllable of CVCVC or VCVC nouns is dropped. E.g.,

aşa- (Sayf 82v:3) ‘to eat’ < **aş** ‘food’

ata- (MM185v:3) ‘to name, call; count’ < **at** ‘name’

bāzā- (Sayf181v:10) ‘to ornate’ < **bāz** ‘linen’

boşa- (Sayf79v:7) ‘to divorce’ < **boş** ‘empty, free, liberated’

boya- (MA85-7) ‘to paint’ < **boy** ‘paint’ (cf. PdC179)

bulna (MA180-4) ‘to capture’ < **bulun** ‘prisoner’

elä- (NTM13v:8) ‘to sift’ < **el** ‘wind’

işä- (MA127-8) ‘to work’ < **iş** ‘work’

mengzä- (MM178r:14) ‘to resemble’ < **mengiz** ‘face’

oyna- (Sayf22v:6) ‘to play’ < **oyun** ‘play’

orna- (MA165-8) 'to settle in a place' < **orun** 'place'
 örtä- (Sayf178r:3) 'to burn' < **ört** 'flame'
 qina- (Sayf68v:6) 'to torment' < **qin** 'pain'
 sana- (NTM7v:3) 'to count' < **san** 'number'
 sava- (MA229-1) 'to produce a sound' < **sav** 'word'
 tengä- (MA114-3) 'to compare, confront' < **teng** 'equal'
 tona- (PdC427) 'to undress' < **ton** 'garment'
 yaša- (181r:3) 'to live' < **yaš** 'age'
 yana- (MA53-5) 'to draw near' < **yan** 'side'

3.6.10.1.2. The Suffix -i/-i

A narrow vowel in the second syllable of CVCVC or VCVC nouns is dropped. E.g.,

ağri- (Sayf147r:10) 'to ache' < **ağir** 'heavy'
 bayi- (PdC156) 'to become rich' < **bay** 'rich'
 berki- (MA158-8) 'to become strong' < **berk** 'strong'
 qari- (MM198v:1) 'to grow old' < **qar** 'snow'
 taši- (PdC201) 'to carry' < **taš** 'outside'

3.6.10.1.3. The Suffix -u/-ü

ögü- (MA8-8) 'to praise' < **ög** 'praise'
 ölü- (PdC79) 'to moisten' < **öl** 'moist, humid'

3.6.10.1.4. The Suffix -ay/-äy

körkay- (PdC466) 'to become beautiful' < **körk** 'beauty'
 mungay- (PdC504) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'
 uluğay- (Sayf66v:8) 'to grow up' < **uluğ** 'big'

3.6.10.1.5. The Suffix -da/-dä

alda- (Sayf70r:9) 'to deceive' < **al** 'ruse'
 indä- (Sayf57v:2) 'to call' < **ün** 'voice'
 izdä- (Sayf42r:8) 'to search, seek, look for' < **iz** 'track'
 qolda- (PdC435) 'to take by the arm' < **qol** 'arm'
 ündä- (Sayf4v:2) 'to call' < **ün** 'voice'
 yanda-š- (PdC537) 'to become adjacent' < **yan** 'side'

3.6.10.1.6. The Suffix -ğa/-gä

sayğa- (PdC346) 'to spend' < **say** 'number'
 tergä- (MA76-1) 'to make sweat' < **ter** 'sweat'

3.6.10.1.7. The Suffix -qar/-ğar

başqar- (PdC150) 'to guide, lead' < **baş** 'head'
 qutğar- (MA6-4) 'to save' < **qut** 'good luck'
 suğar- (PdC356) 'to irrigate' < **su(v)** 'water'

3.6.10.1.8. The Suffix -l/-al/-ül/-ül

azal- (PdC17) 'to diminish' < **az** 'little'
 mungal- (Navā'i, F., II-352) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'
 ongal- (Sayf185v:12) 'to heal' < **ong** 'right'
 qarşul- (ZN13r:17) 'to go to meet' < **qarşu** 'opposite'
 sağal- (Sang231r:28) 'to be cured' < **sağ** 'healthy'
 tiril- (Sayf94r:1) 'to come to life' < **tiri** 'alive'
 yoğal- (Qutb H. 4526) 'to disappear' < **yoq** 'nonexistent'

3.6.10.1.9. The Suffix -la/-lä

açığla- (BN90r:10) 'to implore' < **açığ** 'bitter'
 ağirla- (Sayf14v:10) 'to respect' < **ağir** 'heavy'
 arala- (MM181r:7) 'to let water run between the toes' < **ara** 'middle'
 arzula- (Qutb H2886) 'to desire' < **arzu** 'desire' [P. *ārzu*]
 avla- (Sayf105r:6) 'to hunt' < **av** 'game animal'
 bağla- (KBV42r:8) 'to tie' < **bağ** 'knot'
 boğazla- (MM191r:11) 'to slaughter' < **boğaz** 'throat'
 başla- (Sayf108r:1) 'to begin' < **baş** 'head'
 birlä- (IM3v:1) 'to declare as one' < **bir** 'one'
 dağla- (MM188r:17) 'to mark with the branding iron' < **dağ** 'branding iron'
 işlä- (MM188v:16) 'to work' < **iş** 'work'
 izlä- (MM190v:12) 'to follow an animal's tracks' < **iz** 'foot-print'
 kártülä- (MM192v:7) 'to pronounce in earnest' < **kártü** 'true, truth'
 közlä- (Sayf163v:2) 'to expect' < **köz** 'eye'
 mihmäzla- (KBV45r:2) 'to spurn' < **mihmāz** 'spurn'
 oğurla- (Qutb H) 'to steal' < **oğri** 'thief'
 otla- (ShD152v:12) 'to graze' < **ot** 'grass'
 songla- (MM197v:16) 'to follow' < **song** 'end'
 sözlä- (Sayf60r:11) 'to say' < **söz** 'word'
 şislä- (Sayf31r:1) 'to roast on the spit' < **şiş** 'spit'
 tişlā- (Sayf129v:13) 'to bite' < **tiş** 'tooth'
 yazuqla- (Sayf32r:13) 'to accuse' < **yazuq** 'sin'
 yirla- (Sayf60r:4) 'to sing' < **yir** 'song'
 yüklä- (NTM12r:4) 'to load' < **yük** 'load'

3.6.10.1.10. The Suffix -/-k, -iq/-ik, -uq/-ük

açiq- (Sayf106v:10) 'to be hungry' < **aç** 'hunger'

birik- (MM177v:11) 'to unite' < **bir** 'one'

tariq- (Sang.153v:1) 'to be dismayed' < **tar** 'narrow'

yoluq- (Sayf51r:1) 'to meet' < **yol** 'way'

3.6.10.1.11. The Suffix -r, -ar/-är

aqar- (MA163-5) 'to turn white' < **aq** 'white'

başar- (Qutb H2750) 'to accomplish' < **baş** 'head'

bälgür- (Sayf10v:10) 'to become clear' < **bälgü** 'sign'

eskir- (MA24-6) 'to become antiquated' < **eski** 'old'

ongar- (MM185v:10) 'to rectify' < **ong** 'right'

qarar- (KBV41v:2) 'to become black' < **qara** 'black'

qayğur- (Sayf4r:7) 'to grieve' < **qayğu** 'grief'

qizar- (DN237v:5) 'to turn red' < **qiz** 'fire'

sargar- (MA162-7) 'to become yellow' < **sariğ** 'yellow'

uyğar- (Sayf181v:13) 'to awaken' < **uyağ** 'awaken'

yaşar- (Sang.332r:19) 'to become wet' < **yaş** 'wet'

3.6.10.1.12. The Suffix -ra/-rä

telbärä- (BN91v:11) 'to talk nonsense' < **telbä** 'mad'

mungra- (Sang. 320r:7) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'

ögrä-n- (MM196v:11) 'to learn' < **ög** 'reason'

3.6.10.1.13. The Suffix -rğa/-rgä, -irğa/-irgä, -urğa/-ürgä

azirğa- (Babur349r:1) 'to consider s. th. very little' < **az** 'little'

mungurğa- (Sang.320r:8) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'

tangirğa- (Sayf179v:5) 'to admire' < **tang** 'astonishing'

taşirğa- (Sang.157r:1) 'to founder' < **taş** 'stone'

3.6.10.1.14. The Suffix -şa/-şä

oşşa- (Sayf24r:4) 'to resemble' < **oq** 'like'

qaqşa-l- (Sang.274r:29) 'to dry' < **qaq** 'dry [fruit]'

3.6.10.2. Verb Formation by Derivative Auxiliaries

Verbs created by derivative auxiliaries are called phrasal or syntagmatic verbs. They consist of a nominal part--mostly nouns, rarely adjectives--and an auxiliary verb. E.g., **cavāb** 'question' + **ber-** 'to give' + **cavāb ber-** 'to answer'. The sequence of their constituents--nominal element +

auxiliary verb--is flexible. The order of constituents may be reversed. Also, other sentence elements may occur between them.

There are numerous phrasal verbs in Chagatay. Since they can take complements or modifiers separately or as a unit, they are very expressive and occur quite frequently. Below is a representative list of the most frequently used phrasal verbs:

3.6.10.2.1. Bas- 'to press'

ayaq bas- (DN260v:1) 'to enter'

E.g.,

Elig urma malāmat daftarına, ayağ basqın salāmat kişvarına. (DN260v:1) 'Keep your hands off the book of complaints.²⁵⁵ Walk boldly toward the land safety.'

3.6.10.2.2. Ber- 'to give' forms directional verbs.

başarat ber- (DN248v:8) 'to bring good news'

cilva ber- (DN265r:2) 'to display, show off'

dast ber- (DN250v:2) 'to drive one to; to be overcome by'

dastūr ber- (Sayf156r:12) 'to let in'

icāzat ber- (Sayf34v:8) 'to give permission'

habar ber- (Sayf14v:6) 'to inform'

mužda ber- (DN259v:2) 'to bring good news'

yüz ber- (DN168v:1) 'to come forth, emerge, appear' [< P. *ruh dādan*]

E.g.,

Yarudī yer közi tün Maryamidin, başarat berdi Īsā hamdamidin. (DN248v:8) 'The eye of the earth brightened beholding Mary of the Night²⁵⁶ and conveyed the good news about the arrival of Jesus.'²⁵⁷

Berip aḥbāb savdasında ğam dast, ayağı sayr ara Macnūnga hamdast. (DN259v:2) 'In his love for his friend grief has overcome him. In roaming [aimlessly] his legs are the companions of Majnun.'²⁵⁸

Eşiklärindä muta'alliqlärindän büyük boyli küçli kişilär qoyarlar, hattā kelgān 'azizlārgä dastūr bermāgäylär. (Sayf156r:12) 'From among their dependents they post tall, strong people at their doors who would not let in even sainted people who come to visit.'

²⁵⁵ I.e., Stop whining.

²⁵⁶ Reference to mother Mary and her newborn child and to the star that indicated their whereabouts.

²⁵⁷ *Hamdam* lit., 'he who is breathing together with s.o.' like the newly born child with his mother.

²⁵⁸ He roams as much as the legendary Majnūn did when he was in love with Layli

Sa'adat mavkibidin muзда berip, bašaratliq habarlarni yibarip. (DN259r:3) 'Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, good tidings sent the news [about its being on the way]'
 Aşugup qildi atlanur yarağın, zamane cilva berdi husn bagin. (DN265r:2) 'In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she showed off the beauty of the garden.'²⁵⁹

3.6.10.2.3. Bol- 'to be, become' creates passive and intransitive verbs.

afgar bol- (DN260r:3) 'to be wounded'
 dahil bol- (DN249r:2) 'to enter'
 fariğ bol- (DN259r:4) 'to be through, to be done'
 ma'il bol- (DN254r:11) 'to wish, desire'
 mafhum bol- (DN255v:10) 'to be understood'
 ma'lum bol- (DN255v:10) 'to be known'
 mavjud bol- (DN252v:8) 'to be present'
 pamal bol- (DN260r:5) 'to be engulfed in'
 payda bol- (DN255v:9) 'to appear'
 qan bol- (DN259v:3) 'to be distressed'
 razı bol- (Sayf157v:10) 'to be satisfied'

E.g.,

Çu mazmunı sarasar boldi ma'lum, ne kim [er]di mubham boldi mafhum. (DN255v:10) 'When its contents were entirely known, anything that was doubtful before, now was perfectly understood.'

Tiladi kağid va çon boldi mavjud, 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.'²⁶⁰

Agar sen anda bolsang yaşqa pamal, men özümün barur men munda fi'l-hal. (DN260r:5) 'If over there you are engulfed in tears, here I lose my consciousness at once.'

Agar sen anda körsang nāgah azar, men ešitip bolur men munda afgar. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'

Qalam tili çon fariğ boldi andin, davat ağzini yaptı tarcuman-din. (DN259r:4) 'When the tongue of the pen was through, the inkholder that the interpreter was using closed its mouth.'

Köngül boldi farah öyinā dahil, közümgā abruyi boldi hasil. (DN249r:2) '[My] heart entered the house of joy.'²⁶¹ Its dignity became manifest to my eyes.'

²⁵⁹ I.e., she appeared in full splendor

²⁶⁰ I.e., he dipped the tip of the pen into the inkwell. Reference is made to the fragrance of the ink.

²⁶¹ The implication is that 'from the house of sadness moved into the house of joy'

3.6.10.2.4. Çek- 'to pull' expresses that the subject endures discomfort or pain of some kind.

cafa çek- (LN170) 'to suffer injustice'
 cavr çek- (Sayf60:13) 'to suffer'
 dard çek- (Sayf126v:8) 'to suffer [pain, or disease]'
 el çek- (Sayf12r:3) 'to reject, refuse'
 ranc çek- (Sayf160v:8) 'to suffer'
 yol çäk- (Sayf73v:10) 'to endure the hardships of traveling'
 zahmat çäk- (Sayf17r:2) 'to be exposed to discomfort'

E.g.,

Firaqingda cafa köp çektim, ay Yar. Valē har yiglamaqning kül-mäki bar. (LN170) 'I have suffered much injustice while I was separated from you, O Friend. But [as the saying goes], every crying is followed by a smiling.'

Ol qul çon tängiz körmäğän dağı kemä zahmatin çekmägän edi, taħammul etä bilmädi. (Sayf17r:12) 'Since that servant had no experience on the sea and was never exposed to the discomfort of [being in] a boat, was not able to endure [the trip].'

3.6.10.2.5. Et- to make, do' forms transitive verbs. Most of them have a passive equivalent with bol-.

aşkarā et- (DN256v:5) 'to manifest, to make clear, disclose'
 asiq et- (DN250v:11) 'to be of use'
 darc et- (DN249r:6) 'to collect'
 direğ 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'
 haşş et- (DN256r:1) 'to consecrate'
 işarat et- (DN255v:4) 'to nod'
 ittifaq et- (Sayf102r:4) 'to be united'
 kasb et- (DN258v:9) 'to obtain'
 parešan et- (DN256v:6) 'to disperse, destroy'
 rahm et- (DN256v:11) 'to have mercy on'
 ravān et- (DN252v:10) 'to release; to send forth'
 ravāna et- (DN253v:2) 'to shed' [tears]
 sucud et- (MM181r:13) 'to make a prostration'
 şur u ğavğa et- (DN256r:11) 'to stir up tumult and riot'
 tarcih et- (DN257r:11) 'to prefer'
 tez et- (DN246v:3) 'to dispatch in a haste'
 vahm et- (DN247r:11) 'to fear'
 zikr et- (RM9r:3) 'to mention'

E.g.,

Tabassumda labing qılmay mudārā, guharni la'ling etip āškārā. (DN256v:5) 'In smiling your lips do not act with moderation. Your ruby lips lay open the gems.'²⁶²

Vale ol martaba har kimgä yetmäs, bu savdada tamannā asıq et-mäs. (DN250v:11) 'But that rank is not granted for everyone. To have false hopes in this transaction is of no avail.'

Ne körär men, ibaratlar qilip harc, farāvān lutf yaqūti etip darc. (DN249r:6) 'What do I see? She has spent [plenty of] expressions and has put together lots of gems of grace.'

Bitidim nāmae 'unvāni ihlās, bayānimni ma'anīga etip hāss. (DN256r:1) 'I wrote a letter, its title was Sincerity. I formulated my message specifically to fit the meaning of [this word].'

Çu fāş etti falak ma'suqası mihr, cihān örüng boldi va mihr gul-çih. (DN248v:6) 'When the Beloved of the Sky disclosed her Love, the world became white and the sun, [beautiful] like the Rose-face.'²⁶³

Qilip ay teg yüzüng nūrini paydā, etip kün zarrağa mihrin hu-vaydā. (DN250v:2) 'Your moon-like face revealed its light. The sun manifested its love to a speck of dust.'²⁶⁴

Kim etip tur 'asalğa sirka tarcih, oqup tur muhtaşar 'ilmini tal-vih. (DN257r:11) 'He who prefers vinegar to honey is like the one who reads the science of abridgments in allusions.'

3.6.10.2.6. Kel- 1. 'to come'; 2. 'to seem' [cf. P. *āmadan*] with the first meaning it expresses actions that move in the direction toward the narrator, the subject, or the scene of the action. With the second meaning it indicates that the meaning of the base word [mostly an adjective] is the speaker's perception.

'acab kel- (MM189r:5) 'to seem strange'

durust kel- (Sayf26v:10) 'to come true'

ağır kel- (RM29r:5) 'to be heavier'

artuq kel- (RM29r:2) 'to be more'

muhalif kel- (MM187v:2) 'to differ from'

qarşı kel- (Sayf 27v:5) 'to meet'

qatığ kel- (DN256v:7) 'to be startled, aggravated'

rast kel- (MM185v:2) 'to be correct'

yaqin kel- (Sayf92r:4) 'to approach'

²⁶² They show their teeth.

²⁶³ Gulçih, the mistress of Aurang.

²⁶⁴ The sunrays make the invisible particles in the air shine.

E.g.,

Yā bint mahāz bu yā bint labūn, yā hıqqa yā caza'a 'acab kel-mäsün. (MM189r:5) 'You should be familiar [with the terms] *bint mahāz* or *bint labūn*, or *hıqqa* or *caza'a*.'

Magar tegmä rak'atda bir sacdası qalur bolsa niyyat bilä rast kelür. (MM185v:2) 'Let us assume that [the worshipper] has forgotten one prostration in each rak'at of the prayer, he may still correct [his mistakes] by stating his intention [to make up for the omitted prostration].'

Şabā allingda barip tartmay āh, ki qatığ kelmäsün könglüngä nāgah. (DN256v:7) 'The Zephyr comes to your presence but does not heave a sigh so that your heart be not aggravated.'

Hukamā qavli durust keldi. (Sayf16v:10) 'The words of the wise men came true.'

3.6.10.2.7. Kätür- 'to perform, carry out' expresses that the object indicated by the base word, mostly an abstract noun, is produced:

farah ketür- (Sayf2v:6) 'to cheer up'

imān kätür- (MM177r:11) 'to bring forth the faith'

inābat kätür- (MM193v:10) 'to repent'

irādat kätür- (MM193v:10) 'to exercise submission'

irtidād kätür- (MM190v:14) 'to commit apostasy'

i'tirāf ketür- (Sayf24r:2) 'to acknowledge'

nadāmat kätür- (MM198r:3) 'to produce repentance'

rak'at ketür- (MM185r:15) 'to perform the rak'at'

sacda ketür- (MM183v:4) 'to perform the prostration'

ṭaqat ketür- (Sayf62v:7) 'to endure'

E.g.,

Fasādni tilāmişdā ammāra ol, nadāmat kätürmişdā lavvāma ol. (MM198r:3) 'When [the Soul] drives to sin, it is commanding. When it produces repentance, it is blaming.'

Munī kād saqinğil, inābat kätür, inābatdin aşğil, irādat kätür. (MM193v:10) 'Think well about this and repent: [Indeed,] go beyond repentance and exercise submission.'

3.6.10.2.8. Kör- 1. 'to consider, regard as'; 2. 'to experience, perceive' in the first meaning it expresses that the speaker considers an object to be what the base word means. In the second, it indicates that the subject is experiencing a hardship of some kind.

'āciz kör- (DM257v:6) 'to consider weak'

āzār kör- (DM260v:3) 'to be injured'

direğ kör- (Sayf51r:5) 'to grudge'

emgāk kör- (Sayf32:13) 'to suffer a blow'

cavr kör- (Sayf36r:13) 'to suffer from injustice'
ğanimat kör- (Sayf12v:8) 'to regard s.th. as an oppor
ravā kör- (Sayf155v:7) 'to regard as lawful;

E.g.,

Meni sen körmä 'acı kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasinc
gāhīm. (DM257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten
 firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'
Agar sen anda körsäng nāgah āzar, men ešitip bolur men
afgar. (DM260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there
 be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'
Ol erānlār vaqt saqlap fursatnī ğanimat körüp **çiqtilar**
142v:9) 'Those people waited, took advantage of the opp
 and moved out.'

3.6.10.2.9. Körgüz- 'to show, demonstrate, manifest' expresses
 subject a moral quality or a physical skill.

ārdām körgüz- (Sayf11r:6) 'to display one's skills'
'inayat körgüz- (DN251r:10) 'to show mercy'
karam körgüz- (Sayf16v:2) 'to be generous to s.o.'
mayl körgüz- (DN255v:2) 'to manifest inclination'
muruvvat körgüz- (Sayf50v:5) 'to be humane'
sāya körgüz- (DN258v:10) 'to cast a shadow'
talbīs körgüz- (DN259r:5) 'to cheat'
tamannā körgüz- (DN255v:7) 'to show expectation'

E.g.,

Yüzüng bergäy manga, Ay Hısn Bağı, 'inayat körgüzü
nişanı. (DN251r:10) 'May your face, showing mercy, give
 sign of [your] command, O, Garden of Beauty.'
Singä baqtım anga çon köz yaşı teg, qarağa mayl ki
qaşı teg. (DN255v:2) 'I tried to melt and flow to her like tl
 of my eyes showing, like eyebrows, an inclination toward tl
Bäyiktin sāya körgüzür humāye, ki tā davlat tapar andır
yē. (DN258v:10) 'From high above Phoenix casts his sha
 that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.'²⁶⁵
Sulaymān paykına tapşurdı Bilqīs, ki Ber bir mūrğa kö
talbīs. (DN259r:5) 'Bilqīs²⁶⁶ handed over [the letter] to the
 of Solomon²⁶⁷ and said: "Deliver it, do not defraud an ant |
 is its due share]."'

²⁶⁵ Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous
 casts its shadow will become a king.

²⁶⁶ Name of queen of Sheba who visited Solomon.

²⁶⁷ I.e., to the wind

3.6.10.2.10. Kötär- 1. 'to raise'; 2. '[lift up and] carry'
āvāz kötär- (Quṭb Zaj.104) 'to begin to sing'
baş kötär- (DN259v:10) 1. 'to rise'; 2. 'to raise the head'
el kötär- (Quṭb Zaj.104) 'to give up, abandon' [cf. P *dast bar*
dāştan]
cavr kötär- (Sayf85v:4) 'to endure, to put up with' [harsh
 treatment]
minnat kötär- (Sayf140r:1) 'to be under an obligation due
 to a favor received'
minnat yükin kötär- (Sayf139v:13) 'to be burdened with an
 obligation due to a favor received'

E.g.,

Közüm hacrīngda köp bīdarlıqdın kötärmäs başını bēmārlıqdın.
(DN259v:10) 'In your absence my eyes, having been vigilant for
 so long, are ailing and do not rise [in the morning].'
Erdämsizlār luqma luqma tilānıp minnat yükin kötärıp yürür-
lār. (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. Qıl- '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'.

āram qıl- (MM195r:6) 'to rest'
ārzū qıl- (MM200r:12) 'to desire'
bay'at qıl- (DN255r:2) 'to promise loyalty'
darḥwāst qıl- (DN255r:2) 'to demand'
fānā qıl- (MM193v:12) 'to annihilate'
fidā qıl- (Sayf118r:8) 'to sacrifice'
fikrini qıl- (DN259v:11) 'to think about someone'
ḥarc qıl- (DN249r:6) 'to spend'
ḥazar qıl- (DN257v:5) 'to beware'
huvayda qıl- (DN255v:9) 'to make apparent, show'
israf qıl- (Sayf22r:3) 'to waste'
izhār qıl- (DN245v:6) 'to manifest'
malāmat qıl- (Sayf 22v:7) 'to blame'
minnat qıl- (MM197r:14) 'to give [a donation] with the
 expectation of return'
mudārā qıl- (DN256v:5) 'to use dissimulation'
munavvar qıl- (DN257r:2) 'to make shine, cheer up'
namāz qıl- (MM184v:6) 'to pray' [ritual prayers]
paydā qıl- (DN250v:2) 'to show, display'
ravān qıl- (DN248v:7) 'to set in motion'

qaṭl qıl- (Sayf114r:5) 'to kill'
qurban qıl- (Sayf137r:13) 'to sacrifice'
satıg qıl- (MM191v:12) 'to sell'
ta'ammul qıl- (DM242v:11) 'to reflect'
taşdıq qıl- (DN246v:1) 'to confirm'
tavazu' qıl- (DN243v:2) 'to show courtesy'
vida' qıl- (Sayf19r:9) 'to take leave'
ziyarat qıl- (Sayf19v:1) 'to visit'

E.g.,

Qaşım çandān sāning fikringni qıldı, ki qayğudın boyı ya teg egildi. (DN259v:11) 'My eyebrow had thought so much about you that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.'
Ne körār men, 'ibaratlar qılıp harc, farāvan lutf yaqūtı etip darc. (DN249r:6) 'What do I see? She has spent [plenty of] expressions and has put together lots of gems of grace.'
Yüzüng közgü dur, ay husn icrā māhim, hazar qıl kim anı tut-masun ahim. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'
Camalındın munavvar qıl közümnı, eşitmā el sözın eşit sözüm-nı. (DN257r:2) 'Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.'
Hamın kim taptı yārı hāzratına, tavāzu' qıldı va qoydı qatına. (DN243v:2) 'As soon as it arrived to the presence of the friend, it greeted her politely and put down the letter at her side.'

3.6.10.2.12. Qol- 'to ask for, to request'. The nominal part, most of the time a concrete noun, is the direct object of the verb.

amān qol- (NF6r:4) 'to ask for protection'
dad qol- (Qutb Zaj.p.139) 'to seek justice'
darū qol- (Qutb Zaj.p.139) 'to ask for remedy'
du'a qol- (ShD9v:10) 'to ask for a prayer'
uğandın öngin qol- (MM201r:1) 'to seek other than God'
'uzr qol- (DN249v:3) 'to dismiss'
zinhār qol- (Qutb Zaj.p.139) 'to ask for protection'

E.g.,

Qılayın surma tofrağıngni közgā, ne türlüg qolayın 'uzrüngni öz-gā. (DN249v:3) 'I wish to make collyrium for [my] eyes from the dust you are treading on. How else could I let you go?'
Emdidān song himmatıngni qayda barsang qoymağıl! Ol Buḥāra Hāfizidin, Ay Şabānı qol du'a. (ShD9v:10) 'From now on do not

abandon your good efforts wherever you go! O, Shabānı, request a prayer [for you] from Hafiz of Bukhara.'²⁶⁸

Başın topraqqa qoydı qoldı zinhār. (Qutb Zaj.p.139) 'He put his head on the ground and asked for protection.'

Yā Rasūla'l-lah, bizgā nuşrat bermāzmü sän? Bizgā Tangrıdın amān qolmazmu sän. (NF6r:4) 'O, Prophet of God, are you not granting us victory? Are you not asking from God safety for us?'

Note: The noun part of this phrasal verb can occur in the plural. E.g.,

Qulum sizlārgā yaman iş qıldı, sizlār keçürüng tep öküş 'uzr-lar qoldı. (NF49r:14) 'My servant has done a bad thing to you, please forgive, he said making excuses profusely.'

3.6.10.2.13. Qoy- 1. 'to put down'; 2 'to turn in the direction of'

arqa qoy- (MM182v:10) 'to turn one's back to'

baş qoy- (DN248r:11) 'to greet someone'²⁶⁹

toquş qoy- (MM182v:2) 'to surrender'

yüz qoy- (DN248v:2) 'to face s.th.'

yadgar qoy- (Sayf6v:9) 'to leave behind as a souvenir'

E.g.,

Kelip iqbal baş qoyğay qatıngda, buzulmaqlıqğa yüz qoyğay sitamlar. (DN248r:11) 'Prosperity comes and [as your] servant, salutes you. [Your] hardship faces complete annihilation.'

Toquş qoyma mu'min bu nafs birlā sän, 'ibādatnı şaff tut, yunuğnı silāh! (MM182v:2) 'Believer, do not surrender to your Carnal Soul. Employ service [to God] as a battle-array, the ablution, as a weapon.'²⁷⁰

3.6.10.2.14. Sal- 'to throw, cast' expresses that an action which involves the base noun is produced fast, suddenly, abruptly, unexpectedly, or, energetically.

köz sal- (GD143:4) 'to cast a glance'

nazar sal- (DN250v:7) 'to cast a glance at'

nidā sal- (MS14v:1) 'to declare'

qulaq sal- (H82r:6) 'to listen'

quş sal- (Qutb211) 'to set the falcon upon a game animal'

söz sal- (DN246v:8) 'to mention, talk about'

tarh sal- (Sayf32r:5) 'to lay the foundation of'

varaqa sal- (Sayf35v:9) 'to send a letter'

yaruğluq sal- (RM44r:8) 'to emanate light'

²⁶⁸ Shaybānı Khān's spiritual leader.

²⁶⁹ I.e., humbly and respectfully as a novice would greet his sheikh

²⁷⁰ A sword, or an arrow.

E.g.,

Agar salsam nazarni köz yaşına, ne bolğay qatrac daryā qaşına? (DN250v:7) 'Suppose I cast a glance at the tears,²⁷¹ what is the value of a single drop against [the waters of] a river?'²⁷²

Nā yemākdin nā uyqudīn salip söz, yemāktin toyup uyqudīn yu-mup köz. (DN246v:8) 'He does not speak of food or sleep. He is fed up with food, he turns the blind eye to sleep.'

Aning kim bar ālindā maṣīb u cāh, salip tarh ol qilur dā'im ti-cārat. (Sayf32r:5) 'He who has rank and position makes plans and is always engaged in trading.'

Rōzanī Tangrī özigā aldı. Anā uczi bihi nida saldi. (MS14v:1) 'God [has promised to] accept the believer's fast. He has declared, "I shall reward him for keeping it!"'

Uşal dam turdī payğambar cavāba: Sanga aytay qulaq sal, ay sahaba!" (H82r:6) 'In response the Prophet answered: "Listen carefully to what I am going to tell you now, O, Companions!"'

3.6.10.2.15. Tap- 'to find' expresses that the object represented by the base word is obtained, found, deserved, or gained.

āram tap (DN242v:10) 'to find peace'

bala tap- (Sayf145r:2) 'to litter'

cavāb tap- (Sayf35v:11) 'to find an answer'

davlat tap- (DN258v:10) 'to obtain a kingdom'

furşat tap- (Sayf15r:1) 'to find an opportunity'

infi'al tap- (GD139,3) 'to feel ashamed'

'izzat tap- (Sayf35v:11) 'to obtain dignity'

nacat tap- (GD331,4) 'to be delivered'

tabdīl tap- (DN259r:8) 'to experience a change'

tarbiyat tap- (Sayf13v:6) 'to receive education'

yol tap- (Sayf90r:5) 'to find a way'

zafar tap- (Sayf39v:9) 'to gain victory'

zavāl tap- (GD135,4) 'to decline'

E.g.,

Alā ay ġamda tapqan rangi tabdīl, ravān etkān közi şangarftin nīl. (DN259r:8) 'Hark ye whose color has changed in grief, whose eyes make the Nile river flow with vermillion red [tears].'

Bāyiktin saya körgüzür humāyē, ki ta davlat tapar andin gadā-yē. (DN258v:10) 'From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.'²⁷³

²⁷¹ If I take notice of or consider the value or significance of...

²⁷² Rivers and seas are considered infinite sources of wealth [fishing, pearls, transportation; symbol of the vast and the infinite].

Köngül bir sā'atē āram tapdī, ki dildār aġzidīn ol kām tapdī. (DN242v:10) 'My heart found quiet for a moment when it obtained gratification from the mouth of the Beloved.'²⁷⁴

3.6.10.2.16. Tart- 'to draw, drag' expresses a sluggish, dragging action that often takes place to the detriment of the subject.

āh tart- (RM20v:5) 'to heave a sigh'

cavr tart- (Sayf183r:7) 'to suffer'

elig tart- (DN247r:3) 'to give up' [cf. P. *dast kaşidan az*]

ġam tart- (DN252r:6) 'to suffer'

haṭṭ tart- (DN254v:4) 'to give up, cancel, cross out'²⁷⁵

ibarat tart- (DN255v:4) 'to employ metaphors'

E.g.,

Şabā allīngda barīp tartmay āh, ki qatīġ kelmāsūn könglūngā nagah. (DN256v:7) 'The Zephyr comes to your presence but does not heave a sigh so that your heart be not aggravated.'

Barī ay ħirmanīn bir cavğa satqan, elig tartip ayaġinī uzatqan. (DN247r:3) 'He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.'²⁷⁶

Qaşimning yasidīn tartar mu ġamnī, körār mü ġoşalarda ol alamnī? (DN252r:6) 'Is he in distress because of the arch of my eyebrow? Does he experience that pain in [every] corner?'

Parīlar 'arizina tartqil haṭṭ, köngüldā tilāmās bolsang ġubārīn. (DN254v:4) 'Cross out the faces of the fairies if you don't want to have scruples in your heart'

Tili qanūn bilān tartip 'ibarat, közi har nuqtada etip iṣarat. (DN255v:4) 'Her tongue employed metaphors according to the rules. Her eyes gave clues to every points.'

3.6.10.2.17. Tut- 'to hold, keep' expresses that the subject got hold of what is meant by the base word, made a pledge, acquired a habit or a new regime.

'ar tut- (DN259v:7) 'to be ashamed'

amr tut- (Sayf3v:13) 'to obey an order'

ālig tut- (MM176v:3) 'to help'

baq tut- (MM195v:15) 'to fear'

²⁷³ Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous bird *humā* cast its shadow will become a king.

²⁷⁴ Reference to Qur, 5,31.

²⁷⁵ It governs the dative case.

²⁷⁶ A sign of disregarding the rules of decent social behavior.

balıq tut- (Sayf94v:4) 'to fish'
guman tut- (MM181v:14) 'to doubt'
mātam 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'
qarār tut- (Sayf21r:9) 'to rest'
qulaq tut- (Sayf22v:12) 'to listen'
roza tut- (MM186v:7) 'to fast'
ṭama^c tut- (Sayf131r:2) 'to expect, desire'
tuhmat tut- (MM195v:14) 'to doubt'
umēd tut- (GD38,4) 'to hope'
uns tut- (Sayf67v:11) 'to associate'
yād tut- (Sayf93r:1) 'to learn, memorize'
yol tut- (MM193v:11) 'to take the path of'

E.g.,

Qilip özīgā āh u nālānī yār, tutup bir yolī nām u nangīdīn ʿar. (DN259v:7) 'He made friends with sighs and moanings and at once felt ashamed of his good repute and honor.'²⁷⁷

Ol yigit aytī: Karam qilip qulaq tutsang cavāb aytayim. (Sayf 22v:12) 'If you graciously listen, I will provide the answer.'

İcābat qılır Rabb, guman tutmağū. İcābat anuq sän duʿānī yā-tür. (MM181v:14) '[Our] Lord answers prayers, of that there can be no doubt. His answer is in readiness, it only remains for you to perform the prayer.'

Yarīn tutğa mән roza tep bilmäki, bu niyyat erür bil kişi öz özin. (MM186v:7) 'Express it thus with full awareness [of what you are saying] "I wish to fast tomorrow." O Believer, you should know [that the statement of your intention] is the very essence [of the rites].'

3.6.10.2.18. Ur- 'to beat' expresses, beyond the basic meaning, sudden, emphatic, or repeated actions.

āh ur- (GD12-3) 'to sigh, heave a sigh'
ağaç ur- (Sayf52r:1) 'to beat with a stick'
elig ur- (DN260v:1) 'to touch'²⁷⁸
barham ur- (DN259v:8) 'to destroy, annihilate'

dam ur- (DN246v:4) 'to speak'
lāf ur- (GD45,4) 'to boast, brag'
nafas ur- (DN259r:11) 'to breathe'
qadam ur- (Sayf58r:10) 'to go'
quş ur- (MM190v:10) 'to set a falcon upon a game animal'
raqş ur- (Sayf59v:12) 'to dance'
şayqal ur- (Sayf59r:12) 'to polish'
ṭa^cn ur- (DN260v:1) 'to criticize'
tark ur- (Sayf54r:1) 'to leave'
yüz ur- (MM182v:10) 'to turn one's face to'
zaḥm ur- (Sayf14v:10) 'to wound'

E.g.,

Elig urma malāmat daftarīna, ayağ basqin salāmat kişvarīna. (DN260v:1) 'Keep your hands off the book of complaints.'²⁷⁹ Walk boldly toward the land safely.'

Malāmat qiblasīdīn yüz evürmäs, ḥalā'iq nečā ṭa^cn urşa, dam urmas. (DN245v:8) 'He does not turn his face away from the qibla of blame,'²⁸⁰ however much people criticize him, he does not say a word.'

Dedi, dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarçi yel sen yanmaq keräk sen. (DN246v:4) 'She said, "You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind,"²⁸¹ you must turn around and come back [this time].'

Munī aytī dağı qadam yolğa urdī. (Sayf58r:10) 'He said this and set out on the road.'

3.6.10.2.19. Ye- 'to eat' expresses that the subject has a share of what the base noun means. Unless it is used in concrete sense [e.g. **ṭa^cam ye-** 'to eat, have a meal' MM194v:5], the verbal phrase refers to a negative, unpleasant experience.

dunyā ye- (Sayf161r:3) 'to enjoy the world'
ğam ye- (DN254r:3) 'to worry [oneself], grieve, sorrow'
nang ye- (DN245r:4) 'to be ashamed'
ḥaram ot ye- (MM191v:15) 'to practice usury'²⁸²
infī^cal ye- (Sayf46v:5) 'to be ashamed'
nadāmat ye- (Sayf147:1) 'to repent'
ökünč ye- (MM193r:8) 'to have regrets'

²⁷⁷ This is a Sufi reference: On the path toward obtaining true knowledge of God there is a stage when all our services lose their values. Cf. MM "When true knowledge has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences. All your learning and acts of pious devotions and services will appear to you as sins."

²⁷⁸ With the dative case.

²⁷⁹ I.e., Stop whining.

²⁸⁰ He constantly exposes himself to people's blame.

²⁸¹ That never returns.

²⁸² Lit., to graze your flock on a forbidden pasture

E.g.,

Küyār parvāna cāndin qayğu yemās, kişi parvānadin hıwad ek-sük emās. (DN244v:7) 'The moth goes up in flames and is not concerned about its life. [And] no one [among living beings] is smaller than the moth.'

Boyung sarvī ki nang yer şuḥbatımdin, egilgāy ʿāqibat tüz niyyatımdin. (DN245r:4) 'The [straight] cypress of your body²⁸³ scorns to be in my companionship but it bows down at the end when it realizes the straightforwardness of my intent.'²⁸⁴

Ğamimnī ol camaʿat kim yedilār, ʿariqingdin manga andağ dedilār. (DN254r:3) 'People concerned about me had this to say about the way you act.'

Zulfi şamında yanar sen şamʿ bigi, ay Şabān, ğam yemāgil har keçā zibā moğuling barida. (ShD13v:8-9) 'You burn in the night of her tresses like a candle, O Shabān. Don't be sad because every night you have a Moghul beauty in your presence.'

Köz yüzüngni har kişi körsä dili afgār dur. Yegān va içgān ğam va dard ilā fikr-i yār dur. (ShD44r:9-10) 'Whoever beholds your eyes and your face, has scars in his heart. Thought about the Friend goes together with suffering from grief and pain.'

3.6.10.2.20. Yut- 'to swallow'

hūnāba yut- (DN259v:8) 'to be bitter'²⁸⁵

qan yut- (ShD11r:1) 'to be bitter' [< 'to swallow blood']

qadğu yut- (Quṭb Zaj. 152) 'to grieve'²⁸⁶

E.g.,

Özin qoymay zamānē barham urmay, yutup hūnāba va andin dam urmay. (DN259v:8) 'He does not give up, he does not fall apart. He is bitter, but he is not talking about it.'

Ayaqdin qan yutar elgim şikast dur. Firaqdin qurudum qandim degändä. (ShD10v:11-12) 'My hand that held the cup out of which I would drink blood is broken. If I say, "I am [a piece of] rock-candy", it is because I dried out in your absence.'

3.7. Adverbs

Adverbs constitute a rich, diversified and very expressive category. They serve to indicate time, place, manner and other circumstances of an action. They have no special markers, grammatical or derivational. Among them there are many loan elements, especially from Persian.

²⁸³ I.e., your body which is straight like a cypress.

²⁸⁴ Intent [niyyat] is correct when it is properly stated in due time.

²⁸⁵ Lit., to swallow bloody tears

²⁸⁶ Lit., two swallow grief

The following is a morphological classification of adverbs:

3.7.1. Primary Adverbs

asru (RB2r:1) 'very much, excessively'

barī (DN244v:4) 'at least'

bat (RM10r:10) 'fast, quickly'

berk (RM43v:2) 'firm'

emdi (DN250v:8) 'now'

hargiz (H77r:9) 'never'

ilgāri (H76v:5) 'in front of, ahead'

köp (GD101,3) 'very much'

qatığ (Quṭb Zaj.p.135) 'very much'

taşqari (Sayf100r:8) 'outside'

E.g.,

Men emdi bir gadā sen pādşahē, magar cān tartqay allingda ahē? (DN250v:8) 'I now am a beggar and you are a king. May a soul heave a sigh in your presence, I wonder?'

Özüngni qılma asru bē sar-u barg, kim egilmās sening sarī niha-lim. (DN242r:4) 'Do not feel too distressed just because my branches do not bend in your direction.'

Dedi ol gul "Çu zā'ī' boldi avqāt, qalam birlān davātē keltürüng bat. (DN240r:8) 'The Rose said: "Now that [more than enough] time has been wasted, bring [me] a pen and an inkwell right away".'

Labing tuttum ki bermās ihtiyārī, köngülñi asrağil til bilā barī. (DN244v:4) 'I understood that your lips do not grant any options. Soothe [my] heart at least with your words.'²⁸⁷

Ketür aqça kemägā kir yoq esā taşqari oltur. (Sayf100r:8) 'Bring [your] money, get aboard the boat, or sit outside [on the shore].'

3.7.2. Adjectives in the Role of Adverbs

No category marker is used.

ahir (DN260r:11) 'later, after; finally'

basē (DN247v:5) 'often, quite a lot'

dā'im (AC324r:7) 'constantly'

hwaş (AC326r:5) 'gladly; thoroughly'

mudām (AC324r:6) 'always'

muttaşil (AC325v:9) 'all the while'

pāk (AC322v:19) 'completely'

ravān (AC327r:9) 'all of a sudden; suddenly, at once'

²⁸⁷ Lit., with the tongue. Cf. MM *silik söz* 'smooth words' (197r:4)

yaḥṣī (RB5r:3) 'well'
 tārk (MM179r:17) 'quickly'
 fēz (DN243r:3) 'fast'
 tükāl (MM185r:13) 'entirely'

E.g.,

Tüzälip ādamilār ḥoyin alğın, ne degäy el dağı ahir uyalğın. (DN 260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Whatever people say, do not be ashamed after all.'

Bitigläringdä saldim men base köz, tilädim köp sözüngdä tapmadım söz. (DN247v:5) 'I stared at your writing for a long time. Much as I wanted to I did not find words to express your message.'

3.7.3. Nouns in the Role of Adverbs

Nouns can occur in the role of adverbs without any special marker. They can only be recognized in that role in actual context.

3.7.3.1. Nouns in the Nominative Case

aqşam (Sayf72r:3) 'in the evening'
ertä (Sayf72r:3) 'in the morning'
keçä (Sayf69r:2) 'at night'
keçälär (DN259v:6) 'at nights'
kündüz (Sayf84r:6) 'by day'
şabāḥ (Sayf51v:12) 'in the morning'
saḥargāḥ (Sayf50r:11) 'early in the morning'

E.g.,

Tüzätip keçälär egri teg ünin, açip tırnaqı birlän ğam tügenin. (DN259v:6) 'At nights he tunes his voice, as you tune a guitar. [Picking the guitar] with his fingernails he unties the knots of grief.'²⁸⁸

Za'if kündüz oruç tutar, keçä iftar etär. (Sayf84r:6) 'The weak one had the habit of fasting by day and breaking the fast at night.'

Ertä ketip aqşam kelip kīs bilän altunnı öpüp sulṭān ilāyinā qoyup turur. (Sayf72r:3) 'He left in the morning and returned in the evening. He kissed the bag that contained the gold and placed it in front of the king.'

Yetibän turmayin bir yerdä el teg, kezibän keçä tang atqınça yel teg. (DN253r:5) 'When he arrives, he does not stay in one

²⁸⁸ In Shaybānī's *Risāla-i Ma'arif* at night Satan ties knots [*tügen bağlar*] on the head of the believer while he is sleeping (20r:6). They are removed ["untied"] by the believer's mentioning God's name, carrying out the ablution and performing the morning prayer.

place as people do. At night he moves about like the wind until dawn.'

Neçä kelsä şabā yeli saḥargāḥ, yüzüm yergä sürüp aytur mән Allāḥ. (Sayf50r:11) 'Any time the morning breeze comes early in the morning I rub my face to the ground and say "Lord!"'

3.8.3.2. Nouns Specified by Pronouns, Quantifiers, Particles or by a Possessive Suffix

bir sâ'at (Sayf179v:4) 'for a moment'
bir yan (DN253v:10) 'to the side'
bir yolı (DN259v:7) 'suddenly'
har keçä (Sayf73r:7) 'every evening'
har laḥza (DN247r:5) 'every moment'
har sâ'at (GD14:4) 'at every hour'
har saḥar (GD5,5) 'every early morning'
har sarı (DN253r:5) 'everywhere'
har yanı (DN246v:9) 'in all directions'
köp zamān (Sayf7v:1) 'for a long time'

E.g.,

Qılıp özigä āḥ u nālani yār, tutup bir yolı nām u nangidin ār. (DN259v:7) 'He made friends with sighs and moanings and at once felt ashamed of [his] good reputation and honor.'²⁸⁹

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

Base taşlarnı bir yan taşlar ağāḥ, ki tā yüz körgüzür bir la'ı nāgāḥ. (DN253v:10) 'How many pieces of stones tosses the expert lapidarist to the side until suddenly a piece of ruby shows its face to him.'

3.7.3.3. Nouns with Persian Indefinite -e Used as Adverbs

The indefinite suffix -e (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 zamān**:

muddate (GD17:2) 'for a while'
vaqtē (DN260r:1) 'for a while'
zamāne (DN259v:8) 'in a short time'

²⁸⁹ This is a Sufi reference: On the path toward obtaining true knowledge of God there is a stage when all our services lose their values. Cf. MM "When true knowledge has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences. All your learning and acts of pious devotions and services will appear to you as sins."

E.g.,

Saçım az bas ki özin urdī barham, sāning hāling bigin dur **yaqtē darham**. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'

Özin qoymay **zamānē** barham urmay, yutup hūnāba va andīn dam urmay. (DN259v:8) 'He does not give up not even for a moment, he does not fall apart. He is bitter, but he is not talking about it.'

Aşuğup qıldı atlanur yarağın, **zamānē** cilva berdi husn bağin. (DN265r:2) 'In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she displayed the beauty of the garden.'²⁹⁰

Qan yutup parvarda qıldı **muddatē** köz yaşini, 'aqibat qıldı bu könglüm sirr[i]ni 'alamda faš. (GD93,6) 'Suffering a lot'²⁹¹ the eye fostered its tears for some time. Finally [the blood-colored tears] disclosed the secrets of my heart for everyone in this world.'

3.7.3.4. Nouns in the Locative Case

arada (DN260r:6) 'in between'
hazarda (Sayf120v:3) 'in residence'
huzurda (Sayf55v:5) 'close by'
keçälärdä (DN229r:2) 'every night'
künda (Sayf6v:1) 'in [a few] days'
safarda (Sayf120v:3) 'on a journey'
tangda (Sayf142v:10) 'tomorrow'
yaqinda (Sayf143r:10) 'soon'
yiraqda (Sayf55v:5) 'far away'

E.g.,

Arada neçä bolğay miñnat u ğam, özünġni qayğudīn qutqar, meni ham. (DN260r:6) 'However much misery and sorrow may arise, save yourself from sorrow, and also me.'

Yarutup Kün yüzidin çarh bağin yürütüp **keçälärdä** Ay çirağın. (DN229r:2) 'By the face of the Sun He illuminates the garden of the sky. Every night He sets that lantern, the Moon, in motion.'

Yiraqdağilar böylä **huzurda** dağı yaqındağilar başıratsız **yiraqda**. (Sayf55v:5) 'Those who are far are so close and those who are close are so far away that eye cannot see them.'

Ğanīmat tut bu šadī furşatīn kim bu kün **tangda** üçün 'aqil yemäs ğam. (Sayf142v:10) 'Take this opportunity of joy as a gift, The wise one is not worrying today about what happens tomorrow.'

²⁹⁰ I.e., she appeared in full splendor

²⁹¹ Lit., drinking blood

3.7.3.5. Nouns in the Dative Case

They are mostly terminative adverbs. Their adverbial role is restricted to certain verbs.

qarağa (Sayf 136r:9) '[to paint something] black'

şahilğa (Sayf181r:13) '[to land] on the shore'

E.g.,

Daryağa çökti Ay şadaf teg körünmäs ol. **şahilğa** tüşti Zuhra va tilädi Muštari. (Say181r:13) 'The Moon sank into the sea and like a shell it does not show. Venus landed on the shore and was looking for [customers like] Jupiter.'

Bāzānīp bir qarī hatun tişi az, boyap saçin **qarağa** köp qılur nāz. (Sayf136r:9) 'An old woman with missing teeth is decorating herself. She paints her hair black and behaves coquettishly.'

3.7.3.6. Nouns in the Ablative Case

biyiktin (DN261v:5) 'from high above'

qıraqdīn (DN256r:3) 'from the side'

yıraqdīn (DN256r:3) 'further away, at a distance'

E.g.,

Çu yätti anda kirdi bir **qıraqdīn**, anga tapşurdi va turdi **yiraqdīn**. (DN256r:3) 'When he got there he entered through one side, handed over the letter to her and stood by at a distance.'

Tulū^c etti **biyiktin** himmat ayī, tüzäldi bazm ara 'işrat sarāyī. (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

künāš teg (Sayf143r:2) 'like the sun'

parī teg (DN262v:4) 'like fairies'

şadaf teg (Sayf181r:13) 'like a shell'

şakar teg (DN262v:9) 'like sugar'

E.g.,

Camāling şuhratī har yanī ketip, **parī teg** hūrlar uçmaqqa yetip. (DN262v:4) 'The fame of your beauty spread in all directions. Virgin-like fairies reached the gardens of paradise.'

Şakar teg erning va yoq anda qili,²⁹² **çibin teg** har sarī yüz ming qatili. (DN262v:9) 'Your lips are [sweet] like sugar and there is no hair around them. In all directions there are a hundred thousand murder victims [lying around] like [dead] flies.'

Şahrā yeli teg 'umr baqāsī keçti. (Sayf41v:4) 'Like desert wind the time span of [our lives] has passed.'

²⁹² The phrase is from the description of young male beauties.

3.7.3.8. Nouns in the Terminative Case

ahiriğaça (RM18r:3) ‘to the end’

qiyāmatğaça (MS2v:1b) ‘until the day of resurrection’

tangğaça (ShD142v:2) ‘until dawn’

E.g.,

Falak keygān yaşil tonni zamīn māhīsī dağladī; küyār ol tang-ğaça, bilgil, ki bağlar bağrıda lülū. (ShD142v:2) ‘The sky donned a green garment and branded the fish²⁹³ of the earth. It is ablaze until dawn, know full well, until inside it the ruby is set.’

3.7.3.9. Nouns in the Instrumental Case

With both forms of the instrumental case, i.e., in **-la/-lä** and **-n**.

3.7.3.9.1. With Suffix **-la/-lä**

bir tünlä (Sayf169r:3) ‘one night’

ikinci qatla (Qutb Zaj. p.135) ‘a second time’

kündüzlä (Qutb H.4058) ‘by day’

ming qurla (Sayf45v:7) ‘a thousand times’

teglä (DN241r:8) ‘all’

tümān qurla (MM187v:12) ‘ten thousand times’

tünlä (ShD124r:3-4) ‘at night’

har tünlä (ShD125v:7-8) ‘every night’

E.g.,

Çiqıban tolun ay tünlä bulut içrā bolur pinhān. Magar kim ay yüzin körgäc hicāb āylār camālindin. (ShD124r:3-4) ‘The full moon appears at night but hides in the clouds. Maybe it glanced at the moon face of [my Beloved] and [now] hides its face from her beauty.’

Vah firaqī otidīn har tünlä mān otqa yanip, uşbu otdin qalmadı ‘işq ahliğa nā bergä sen. (ShD125v:7-8) ‘Alas! Every night I was scorched by the fire of separation. Nothing has remained from that fire. What can you give now to the lovers?’

Eşittim anda yığlap āh urur sen, özüngni teglä elgä küldürür sen. (DN241r:8) ‘I hear there you are crying and sighing. You make a laughing stock of yourself in the eyes of everyone.’

Tāmūr töggān biläk ming qurla yaḥşī ol eldān kim kögüsdä beg-gä qarşı. (Sayf45v:7) ‘A wrist that pounds on iron is a thousand times better than hands folded on the chest in front of the Beg.’²⁹⁴

²⁹³ The fish that carries the globe on its back.

²⁹⁴ Ready to serve.

3.7.3.9.2. With the Suffix **-n, -un/-ün, -in/-in**

açin (Qutb H. 4331) ‘[die] of hunger’

arqan (MM188r:17) ‘[flat] on the back’

arqun (Sayf111r:13) ‘slowly’

azin azin (Sayf171v:7) ‘little by little’

ädgün (MM182v:6) ‘righteously’

çinin (MM190v:13) ‘firmly, convincingly’

kücün (Qutb H.1129) ‘by force’

kündüzün (AC324v:8) ‘in broad daylight’

öz iligin (Qutb H.1872) ‘by his own hand’

ünün (MM183v:17) ‘aloud’

yalğuzun (Sayf52r:5) ‘alone’

E.g.,

Tag içindä olturur sän yalğuzun lay-u nahār. (Sayf52r:5) ‘You stay in the mountains alone night and day.’

İzin izlāmākdā usal qılmadin yarīn yātsā yenür çinin sözäğü. (MM190v:13) ‘He should not delay in following the animal’s track’s and should keep in mind that, if he reaches it next day, it can still be eaten.’

Muşibat yā igdin ünün iğlamaq buzār, ḥavf-i ḥaqqdīn buzulmas, bilä. (MM183v:17) ‘Loud weeping because of misfortune or [pain caused by] disease invalidate the prayer, [but] know that when it arises from fear of God it does not.’

Ham arqan yaturup qoyup ot qurīn. (MM188r:17) ‘Also, lay him flat on the back and pour embers on him.’

3.7.3.10. Nouns in the Privative Case

The expanded form of the privative suffix **-siz/-siz** is used to create adverbs:

cānsizin (MM197v:4) ‘without life’

kābinsizin (Qutb H.3766) ‘without a marriage-portion’

nātāgliksizin (MM178r:11) ‘without [asking for] signs’

niyyatsizin (MM186v:6) ‘without [having stated one’s] intention’

otruşsuzun (MM187v:5) ‘without [performing the internal] sitting’

qira’atsizin (MM18r:10e) ‘without recitation from the Qur’an’

qulavuzsuzun (MM193v:17) ‘without a guide’

zarūratsizin (MM186r:14) ‘without being compelled’

E.g.,

Tarīqat yolında qulavuz adab, qulavuzsuzun yolğa kirmäk ‘acab. (MM193v:17) ‘On the [Sūfī] Path proper conduct is the guide. It would be contrary to common practice to enter upon the path without a guide.’

Camād cānsizin ol, ne işgä yarar? Qulaq mu äšitür, 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?'

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

İkinçi hācatim sendin erür ol, manga kābinsizin šāh sumasun qol. (Quṭb H.3766) 'My second need from you is this: The king should not reach for me without a marriage-portion.'

3.7.4. Gerunds Lexicalized as Adverbs

Gerunds--verbal adverbs--by their nature appear in adverbial function. They are the results of morphological word formation. Some of them, however, have entered the lexicon as adverbs.

3.7.4.1. Gerunds in -a/-ā

bara bara (RB5v:6) 'gradually'

otura tura (Sayf137r:1) 'resting and moving on'²⁹⁵

oynay külä (Sayf149r:2) 'playing and laughing'

yiğila tura 'head over heels' [< 'falling and rising' cf. P. *uftān u hīzān*]

E.g.,

Bolur āsān bara bara muşkil. (RB5v:6) 'What is difficult will gradually become easy.'²⁹⁶

Ol pahlavān yigit bilān oynay külä kelür edük. (Sayf149r:2) 'With that valiant youth we proceeded playing and laughing.'

Otura tura kitmək yahşırağ andan ki tark yürüp qalğay sän. (Sayf137r:1) 'To move on taking rest [now and then] is better than to walk fast and stay behind.'

3.7.4.2. Gerunds in -may/-mäy

dam urmay (DN246v:4) 'without taking a break'

tinmay (DN253r:3) 'without resting'

E.g.,

Dedi, dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarçi yel sen yanmaq keräk sen. (DN246v:4) 'She said, "You must be on your way without taking a break. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time]."'

²⁹⁵ Lit., sitting down and rising [again]

²⁹⁶ A Central Asian proverb.

Zamānē āh elidin köngli tinmay fiğānlar tartıban nay teg erin-mäy. (DN253r:3) 'At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the reed.'²⁹⁷

3.7.4.3. Gerunds in -p [3.6.7.2.1.]

aşuğup (DN262r:7) 'in a haste'

kārtülāp (MM192v:7) 'in earnest'

monup (Sayf13r:13) 'aged, old'

oynap (MM192v:7) 'in jest'

oynap külüp (H82r:2) 'playing and laughing'

tapşurup (AC326v:2) 'in trust'

E.g.,

Tilādi aşuğup allida şabrang, vidā'e körgüzüp atlandı diltang. (DN270r:5) 'Waisting no time she asked for her dark bay horse, bade good-bye, and, with a sad heart, mounted [her horse].'

Eligini uzattı ol hamāvāz, aşuğup aldı va körgüzdi parvāz. (DN262r:7) 'That understanding and kind person held out his hand, accepted the letter in a haste and took to flight.'

Kārāk oynap aysun, kārāk kārtülāp, tüşār ant qıl āzād, haram ittifaq. (MM192v:7) 'Whether the divorce was stated in jest or in earnest, the oath is no longer binding, one must set the woman at liberty. Union with her is henceforward forbidden.'

Künni kaç qılıp kelür alar öygä oynap külüp tapmağay mändin nişān ham ata ana yügürüp. (H80r:2) '[And], having spent the day [in such amusements], running and laughing, they return home, my father and mother will not see me among them.'

3.7.4.4. Gerunds in -ban/-bān

intikibān (AC322v:1) 'driven by a strong desire'

külübān (Sayf116r:12) 'smiling'

qorquban (Sayf142v:7) 'afraid'

E.g.,

İntiqibān, taşqarī çıqtım ravān. Tün yarimī ötüp edi ol zamān. (AC322v:1) 'Driven by a strong desire, I rushed out into the street. It was already past midnight.'

Külübān ayttı ki mən cam' şam'ı mən, Sa'di! Manga ne qayğū özin küydürürsä parvāna. (Sayf116r:12) 'Smiling she said, I am the candle of the assembly, Sa'di! What do I care, if a moth burns itself?'

²⁹⁷ Reference to the opening lines of Rumī's *Maṣnavi*.

3.7.4.5. Gerund in-u/-ü [3.6.7.7.2.]

ulašu (MM179v:14) 'constantly'

yaşru (MA53-3) 'hidden, concealed'

E.g.,

Bu ilhām-i Rabbānīdin yorğuçi malak teg ulašu oyağ turğuçi. (MM200r:15) 'The interpreter of the Divine revelation was, like an angel, always awake.'

3.7.5. Coordinated Nouns

Nouns can be coordinated by juxtaposition or by the conjunctions **u**, **va** or, rarely **ma**, **-i/-i**, **-a** and [in a few Persian words] **ba** or **a**.

dam ba-dam (Sayf56v:3) 'every moment, constantly'

ertā kečā (Sayf97v:5) 'night and day'

kečā kündüz (MS4v:2) 'night and day'

layl u nahār (Sayf76r:4) 'night and day'

mal sāl (BN185v:10) 'for months and years'

šām sahar (AC324v:10) 'from evening to dawn'

hwar u zār (AC322r:6) 'in a depressed and dejected state'

damādam (DN260v:8) 'gradually, progressively'

payāpay (DN236v:1) 'continuously, incessantly'

tün kün (MS3v:2) 'night and day'

tün va kün (Sayf59v:12-13) 'night and day'²⁹⁸

tün mā kün (Qutb Zaj. p.109) 'night and day'

tün mā kündüz (Qutb Zaj. p.109) 'night and day'

tüni kün (Sayf146r:1) 'night and day'

E.g.,

‘Ināyat şubhīdin savulğusī dur damādam šām teg sōz u gudā-zing. (DN260v:8) 'From the morning of grace your burning and melting woes will gradually reduce like a burning candle.'

Payāpay tanda öksüp hward u hwābīm, damādam yel teg artip iztirabīm. (DN236v:1) 'Gradually my appetite subsided and my sleep decreased. Progressively my anxiety increased like [rising] wind.'

Kečā kündüz tahārat ierā farz tört nārsā erür. Qılayīn 'arż. (MS 4v:2) 'Night and day, there are four mandatory duties [that must be observed] during the tahārat.'

Ötkārür erdi sözini mah sāl, kelmās erdi Haqq ta‘ālāğa malāl. (BN85v:10) 'For months and years God carried out his requests; the Most High never wearied 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'

hwaš hwaš (ShD36v:11) 'very god'

lahza lahza (RV3v:9) 'from moment to moment'

qoş qoş (ShD9v:5) 'in pairs'

rang rang (ShD155r:3) 'in colors'

şaff şaff (ShD7v:8) 'in rows'

zār zār (AC328r:3) 'sobbing bitterly'

zarra zarra (ShD139r:2) 'little by little'

E.g.,

Zarra zarra sendin öndi könglümüzde ‘ışq otı, uşbu mi‘rācnīng tünindā şāhib-i asrar sen. (ShD130r:2-3) 'Because of you the fire of love grew little by little in my heart. In the night of this very ascent to heaven you are the possessor of secrets.'

Umēdim Tengridin ol dur ki gah gah, yaruğay közārim yüzüng-din, ay mäh! (DN251r:6) 'My hope from God is that now and then my eyes may shine with joy beholding your face, O, Moon.'

Ača berdi anga sarbasta rāzin, dedi bir bir barī sōz-u gudāzin. (DN258v:3) 'To her [the Beloved] disclosed her safely kept secrets²⁹⁹ and told her about all her pains and tribulations one by one.'

Rayāhīn rangī bir bir boldi mahbūs, çaman teg cilvasīn körgüzdi fāvus. (DN266r:10) 'The colors of the sweet basil, one by one, became prisoners; the peacock displayed its splendor exactly as the flowergarden did.'

Tiriglik sarīdin urmay nafas heč, çiqip bat bat damī ammā kelip heč. (DN 259r: 11) 'He does not breathe at all to give a sign of being alive. He is panting³⁰⁰ fast but no word comes out of [his mouth].'

Canā bu ‘ışq yolıda ‘aql özidin ketār, zulfung salur kamandīni hwaš hwaš maħal bolur. (ShD36v:12-13) 'Sweetheart, on the path of this love reason is beside itself. This is a very good opportunity for your tresses to throw their lassos.'

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'
cahṛan (RM2v:3) 'aloud'
ḥaṣṣa (Sayf140v:3) 'especially'
ḥaṣṣatan (Sayf98v:2) 'particularly'
ḥufyatan (RM2v:2) 'silently'
maṣalā (RB6r:13) 'for example'
muqīmāta (MM187r:16) 'according to the duties of a resident'
qaṣdan (MM183v:9) 'by intention'
sahvan (MM183v:3) 'through inadvertence'

E.g.,

Meni, ay baht, 'amdā tepmäking ne? Cirāḥat üstidä, tuz sepmäking ne? (DN244r:7) 'O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt on the top of my wounds?'

Muqimluqda bolsa namāz qalmiši, muqīmāta qılğay safarda kişi. (MM187r:16) 'The person who has missed a prayer while a resident, must compensate for it according to the obligation of such a resident, even if he is on a journey.'

Ḥwaş kelür avāz-i tar bolsa ḥazīn ḥaṣṣatan 'aşıqlara vaqt-i şabūh. (Sayf98v:2) 'It is pleasant to listen to soft music if it sounds sad, especially for lovers at dawn.'

Farīza qalur bolsa buzluṛ namāz, kārāk sahvan qaṣdan, üküş bolsu az. (MM183v:9) 'The omission of a mandatory duty surely invalidates the prayer whether that omission occurs through inadvertence or by intention.'

3.7.7. Arabic Verbal Nouns

Arabic verbal nouns in -at are often used as adjectives or adverbs.

'aḳibat (DN245r:4) 'finally, at the end'
ḥazīmat (Sayf181v:7) 'destroyed'
kifayat (MS11v:5) 'sufficient, enough'
qana'at (Sayf82v:3) 'satisfied'
saḫamat (Sayf104r:3) 'healthy'
tamāmat (Sayf 153r:12) 'completely'
ḥalvat (Sayf72v:12) 'alone'
tamāmat (Sayf153r:12) 'completely'

E.g.,

Qurī etmäk aṣap ḥırqa kāyārgä cōn qanā'at män. (Sayf 82v:3) 'Because I am contented with living on dry bread and wearing tattered clothes.'

İkki sacda anga kifayat tur. (MS11v:5) 'Two propitiatory prostrations suffice [to atone] for them.'

Boyung sarvi ki nang yer şuhbatımdın, egilğay 'aḳibat tüz niyyatımdın. (DN245r:4) 'The [straight] cypress of your body³⁰¹ scorns to be in my companionship but it bows at the end, when it realizes the straightforwardness of my intent.'³⁰²

3.7.8. Arabic Phrases Used as Adverbs

abadu'l-abad (MM196:7) 'eternally'
'alā't-tamam (MS14r:2) 'totally'
al-maṣṣūd (Sayf91v:13) 'in short'
al-qıṣṣa (Sayf14v:11) 'to sum up'
'aḳibatu'l-qıṣṣa (AC327v:8) 'finally, at the end of the story'
bi't-taḫṣıl (MS5r:3) 'thoroughly'
bi't-taḫṣır (MS11v:6) 'through neglect'
fariḡu'l-bāl (DN243v:1) 'free from care, at ease'
fi'l-cumla (Sayf28r:2) 'in short'
fi'l-ḥāl (DN249r:3) 'at once'
fi'l-ḥaḳıqa (RB4v:13) 'in fact'
min camī' vucuh (MS5v:4) 'in any way'

E.g.,

Fiḡānim tındi va firyād ucti, tarab keldi va ḡam fi'l-ḥāl köcti. (DN249r:3) 'My sobbing has ceased, and the cry for help has gone. Celebration has arrived and grief at once has moved away.'³⁰³

Agar sen anda bolsang yaşqa pāmāl, men özümdin barur men munda fi'l-ḥāl. (DN260r:5) 'If over there you are engulfed in tears, here I lose my consciousness at once.'

Burnung ağzingä min camī' vucuh sol eligdä su alurung mak-rüh. (MS5v:4) 'It is reprehensible for you to use your left hand in any way for taking water up into your nose and mouth.'

Anga tapşurdum va ol ucti darḥāl, etip sa'y anda yätti fariḡu'l-bāl. (DN243v:1) 'I handed it over to [the Morning Wind] and it took to wings right away. Exerting itself, it arrived there free from care.'

3.7.9. Persian Phrases Used as Adverbs

ba davām (RB9v:12) 'always'
ba ḡayat (Ḥ82r:9) 'very much'
ba kamāl (RB4r:13) 'fully'
ba nāḡāh (Ḥ76r:3) 'suddenly'
ba taḥḳıq (RM33r:3) 'surely'

³⁰¹ I.e., your body which is straight like a cypress

³⁰² Intent [niyyat] is correct when it is properly stated in due time.

³⁰³ Like a nomad caravan Sorrow packed up its chattels and left [köcti].

ba tamām (RB8r:9) 'completely'
bar ḥasb-i kamāl (RB5r:12) 'best'
ba qadr-i nisbat (RB4v:7) 'in the measure of [one's] share'
bē mānī^c (RB6r:8) 'without hindrance'
bē šakk (RB5r:11) 'without doubt'
bē šakk u gumān (RB4v:6) 'without doubt and hesitation'
ḥwāh u nāḥwāh (RB7r:1) 'inevitably'

E.g.,

Nisbatī nafs ne birlā ol ān nafsīnga bolğusi bē šakk u gumān. (RB4v:6) 'Then without doubt or hesitation it will become obvious for what [your] soul has developed an inclination and readiness.'
Şifat-i nafsīdin uşbu fursat cazb etār nafs ba qadr-i nisbat. (RB 4v:7) 'On such occasions [your] soul draws from the qualities of [your master's] in the measure of [your] readiness.'

3.7.10. Semantic Classification

By their meanings adverbs are divided into four groups: adverbs of time, manner, quantity, and place.

3.7.10.1. Adverbs of Time

‘aqibat (ShD79v:8) 'finally'
avval (Sayf11r:2) 'first'
basa (RM2r:6) 'then, thereupon'
biltur (NTM5v:8) 'last year'
bir küni (BN86r:2) 'one day'
bu zamān (BN90r:8) 'now, at this time'
dā’imā (Sayf6v:1) 'always'
darḥāl (NF5r:17) 'at once, right away'
basa (RM2r:6) 'then; furthermore'
burun (ShD171r:12) 'formerly'
emdi (H77v:8) 'now'
hameša (DN253r:8) 'always'
har dam (DN247v:1) 'always, incessantly, invariably'
hargiz (DN242r:2) 'never' [with negative predicate]
har kün (DN259r:9) 'every day'
har laḥza (DN247v:5) 'always, constantly'
keç (Quṭb H253) 'late'
keçqurun (PdC482) 'late, in the evening'
kündüz (GD92,2) 'by day'
nagāh (Sayf124r:9) 'suddenly'
nagāhan (MM193r:10) 'suddenly'
nihayat (NF82v:16) 'finally'

oza (MM181r:6) 'before'
ol zamān (MM184v:15)
öngin (Quṭb H40) 'before'
songğida (RM30v:4) 'later'
songra (Sayf6v:10) 'afterward'
tangla (BN91r:2) 'tomorrow'
tanglasī (RM32r:9) 'next morning'
tutşu (Quṭb H2742) 'always'
tüni kün (Sayf146r:1) 'night and day'
tün qata (Sayf63v:8) 'all night, through the night'
tünlä (RM32r:2) 'at night'
tünlä kündüz (Quṭb H559) 'night and day'
ulaşu (MM176v:12) 'always'
uşol zamān (RM12r:10) 'then, at that time'

E.g.,

Anga tapşurdum va ol uçtı darḥāl, etip sa’y anda yätti fāriğū’l-bāl. (DN243v:1) 'I handed it over to [the Morning Breeze] and right then it took to wings. Exerting itself it arrived and completed its mission.'³⁰⁴

Hameša uyqusizliqqa qılıp ḥū, tüşidä kirmäyin ‘umrıda uyqu. (DN253r:8) 'He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.'³⁰⁵

Meni sen körmägäy sen özgä hargiz, parī teg közüngä uçqay camālīm. (DN242r:2) 'You will never see me in any other way. My beauty will draw your attention like a fairy.'³⁰⁶

Körüp har dam qara baḥtini tün teg, köngüldin tartip ahini tütün teg. (DN247r:1) 'He always perceives his black fortune as [the darkness of] the night. He lets out sighs, like smoke, from his heart.'

3.7.10.2. Adverbials of Manner

āhasta (RM31r:1) 'slowly'
āsān (RM10v:6) 'easily'
arqan (MM188r:17) 'upon his back'
arqun arqun (Sayf167r:5) 'slowly'
asru (RM14v:8) 'very much'
aşugup (RM45r:8) 'in a hurry'
az (Sayf86v:5) 'a little'

³⁰⁴ Lit., its wings were disengaged. *Fāriğū’l-bāl* is also the person who is free from care.

³⁰⁵ It is understood that being constantly awake is also the characteristic of angels and high-ranking saints. The author İslām attributes this quality also to his father, Babā İslām.

³⁰⁶ Lit., my beauty will fly into your eyes

äylä (Sayf114v:4) 'so much'
 bat (NTM13v:3) 'fast'
 ba taḥqīq (RM33r:3) 'surely'
 bārḳ (SHD38R:7) 'strongly, steadfastly'
 birgä (ShD114v:7) 'together'
 bu türlüg (RM20v:8) 'this kind of'
 cahran (RM2v:3) 'aloud'
 činīn (MM19v:13) 'firmly, convincingly'
 ḥufyatan (RM2v:2) 'silently'
 'iyan (RM46vv:4) 'clearly'
 kād (MM178v:7) 'very much, for sure'
 maṣbūqāna (MM184v:12) 'as prescribed for latecomers'
 nāgāh (DN253v:10) 'suddenly, inadvertently'
 nāgah (DN258r:2) 'suddenly'
 nihānī (DN250v:10) 'secretly'
 nihufta (DN258v:7) 'in secret'
 qaṣdan (MM183v:9) 'by intention'
 qatīg (MM181r:15) 'very much'
 ravan (DN259r:6) 'at once'
 ġa'ibāna (DN253v:2) 'invisibly'

E.g.,

Basē taṣlarnī bir yan taṣlar āgāh, ki tā yüz körgüzür bir la'ī nā-
 gāh. (DN253v:10) 'How many pieces of stones tosses the expert
 lapidarist to the side until suddenly a piece of ruby shows its face to
 him.'

Ne der sen munda gar keltürsäm anī, nihufta ündäsäm ol bēna-
 vānī? (DN258v:7) 'What would you say if I brought him here?
 If I secretly invited that miserable person?'

Degin anda kelürgä raġbat ettük, ravan şuḥbat yaraġin qıl ki
 yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that
 he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will
 surely be there in no time.'

Ruḥina köz yašin etip ravāna, ḥiyālīm birlä oynap ġa'ibāna.
 (DN 253v:2) 'He lets his tears run down on his cheeks. In secret
 he is dallying with my phantom image'

Şabr etār bolsa kişi Ayyub bigi har işdä bārḳ, dunyā va 'uqbā
 anīng dur, ġuşsa va ġamdīn ketār. (ShD38r:7-8) 'If a person
 exercises patience in all matters steadfastly like Job, the world and
 the hereafter are his and he walks out of [the realm of] sadness
 and grief.'

Kim asru bēvafā dur bu zamāna, cahān qalmas kişigä cavidāna.
 (MN295r:11) 'Because the times are most unfaithful. This world
 does not stay with anyone for ever.'

3.7.10.3. Adverbials of Quantity

anča (MM89v:17) 'as much'
 az (RM10r:9) 'a little'
 baġayat (Quṭb2990) 'very much'
 barča (Quṭb2349) 'entirely'
 bas (Sayf18v:3) 'enough, sufficient'
 bek (NTM14r:2) 'very much'
 biraz (NF12r:7) 'a little'
 bu munča (RM32v:8) 'so much'
 bu qadar (RM20v:8) 'this much'
 čandān (DN259v:11) 'so much'
 engān (MM194v:10) 'very much'
 faravan (DN243r:10) 'numerous, abundant'
 köp (DN247v:5) 'very much'
 munča (GD19,7) 'as much'
 üküš (MM179r:10) 'very much'
 tālim (MM191v:5) 'much, many'
 sarāsar (DN249v:6) 'entirely'

E.g.,

Ču mazmūnī sarāsar boldī ma'lūm, ne kim [er]di muḥham boldī
 mafhūm. (DN255v:10) 'When its content became entirely known,
 anything that was doubtful before now was completely understood.'
 Vafāsizliq ḥaṭṭinī tartma köp bitimās čon firišta ol gunāhim.
 (DN257v:10) 'Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain
 for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful, because the angel does
 not record that transgression of mine.'

Qašim čandān sāning fikringni qıldī, ki qayġudīn boyī ya teg
 egildi. (DN259v:11) 'My eyebrow had thought so much about you
 that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.'

Bitidim nāma etip ḥāmanī tez, sarāsar dard amma'uzrāmēz.
 (DN 249v:6) 'I finished writing the letter, moving the pen fast.
 It was pain in its entirety, but was mitigated by excuses.'

3.7.10.4. Adverbials of Place

anda (DN252v:3) 'there, then'
 andin (H75r:10) 'from there'
 ari bāri (Sayf181r:12) 'here and there'
 artinča (Sayf34r:9) 'behind, after [him]'
 bu maqamda (RM39r:5) 'here'

bu yärdä (H84v:4) 'here'
 munda (DN260v:3) 'here'
 mundin (MM193r:12) 'from here'
 bəri (Sayf125v:12) 'here'
 ilgəri (RM39r:9) 'forward'
 qoyi (RM36r:5) 'down, downward'
 taşqari (BN85v:3) 'outside, beyond'
 taşra (Quṭb, Zaj. p.162) 'out, outward'
 tört yaru (Quṭb Zaj. p.72) 'in four directions'
 utru (Quṭb Zaj. p.201) 'before'
 yaqin (Sayf55r:9) 'close'
 yiraq (Sayf9v:4) 'far'
 yuqari (Sayf155r:13) 'upward'

E.g.,

Agar sen anda körsäng nāgah āzār, men eşitip bolur men munda afgār. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'
 Ketür aqça kemāgā kir yoq esā taşqari oltur. (Sayf100r:8) 'Bring money and board the boat or else sit outside.'
 Artinča barip tutup ketürdilər. (Sayf34r:9) 'They went after him and brought him back.'
 Ma'āni har yanındin körgüzüp zōr, salip har laḥza söz bāzārına şōr. (DN247v:5) 'Charms manifest their power from all directions. Every moment they cause devaluation in the market of words'

3.8. CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions are divided into two groups: coordinating and subordinating. Coordinating conjunctions connect sentences that are not depending on one another to make a full sense. Subordinating conjunctions connect one or more subordinate sentences to a main sentence.

3.8.1. Coordinating Conjunctions

ammā (DN 246r:2) 'but'
 balki (DN258r:10) 'nay [more], in fact'
 basa (RW2r:6) 'and then'
 birlä (DN246r:2) 'with'
 birlän (DN253r:9) 'with'
 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'
 vale (H74v:11) 'but'
 valekin (H75v:9) 'but'
 yā (DN252v:1) 'or'
 yaḥu (Sayf154v:9) 'or else'
 yaḥud (RM30v:7) 'or'
 yoq esā (Sayf8r:9) 'otherwise'

E.g.,

Barur bat ḥusn va qalmas bu yigitlik, qalur ammā irig söz birlä itlik. (DN246r:2) 'Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But [what] will remain [with us] are rude words and meanness.'
 Ne bolsa käy dagı äygü 'amal qıl. (Sayf51r:12) 'Put on whatever you have and do good.'
 Tüzälip ādamilär ḥöyün alğın, ne degäy el dagı āhir uyalğın. (DN 260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Whatever people say, do not be ashamed after all.'
 Ol qarındaş kim nafs asiri turur ne qarındaş bolur ne yaqin. (Sayf78r:4) 'A brother who is captive of the carnal soul is neither a brother nor a relative.'
 Zarif va sarkaş va zibā va cammāş, qarın erdi anga balki qarındaş. (DN258r:10) 'She was witty, obstinate, elegant, and jolly. She was a close friend, nay, she was more, she was a close relative.'
 Tegär mü kirpükümdin cānina oq? Balāni tüş körär mü közi yā yoq? (252r:7) 'Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see affliction in his dream or not?'

3.8.2. Subordinating Conjunctions

agar (DN245r:7) 'if'³⁰⁷
 agarci (DN246v:4) 'even if, although'
 az bas ki (DN260v:1) 'inasmuch as'
 çon (DN242r:11) 'since, because; when'
 çu (DN246v:5) 'when; since'
 gar (DM242r:3) 'if'
 garci (DN256r:8) 'even if, although'
 göya kim (GD68:7) 'as if'
 magari (DN256v:6) 'by chance, may be, perhaps; except'
 ki (DN244v:6) 'which'
 kim (DN244v:7) 'which'
 kim andin (DN247v:11) 'from whom'
 kim anı (DN257v:5) 'whom'

³⁰⁷ With or without conditional in -sa.

ki tā (DN258v:10) 'because'
 ne kim (DN255v:10) 'whatever'
 nečük kim (DN258r:11) ['in the same way] as'
 qačan kim (Sayf162v:1) 'when'
 tā (DN243v:5) 'since, until; ever since'
 tā ki (Sayf152r:7) 'in order that'
 ya'ni (DN251v:10) 'which means'

E.g.,

Agar könglüng manga küysä, 'acab yoq, ki körüp taš erigäy riq-qatimdin. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'
 Ayağıñga qoyayin zulf teg baş, **agar** tolğanmasang bu hidmatimdin. (DN245r:9) 'I will put my head upon your feet like tresses if you do not move away from my service.'³⁰⁸
 Sahv **agar** bir **agar** on ayat dur, ikki sacda anga kifayat dur. (MS11v:5) 'No matter whether [the number of] Qur'an verses omitted [from the Qur'an recitation] is one or as many as ten, two propitiatory prostrations suffice [to atone] for them.'
 Dedi, dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, **agarci** yel sen yanmaq keräk sen. (DN246v:4) 'She said, "You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time].'
 Sačim **az baş ki** özin urdı barham, sāning hāling bigin dur vaqtē darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'
 Kečär canidın avval suda gavvaş, ki **tā** ahar bolur bir durgä of haşş. (DN253v:7) 'First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single³⁰⁹ pearl.'
Vaŋe ol martaba har kimgä yetmäs, bu savdada tamannā asiq etmäs. (DN250v:11) 'But that rank is not granted for everyone. To have false hopes in this transaction is of no avail.'
 Men ol kün **kim** ğamıng sāzini tüzdüm, seni dedim köngülñi cādin üzdüm. (DN244v:8) The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul.'
 Qılmağil sen namazda taqşir, **tā**³¹⁰ qiyāmta bolğa sen dilgır. (MS3v:4) '[So] do not be remiss in your prayers. Have a care or you will be filled with horror on that Day.'

³⁰⁸ Lit., from this presence of mine

³⁰⁹ In the sense of 'unique'.

³¹⁰ *Tā-i zinhāriya* 'the admonishing tā'

3.9. PARTICLES

Particles are modifying grammatical elements mostly without a lexical meaning. Their role emerges from the context. We distinguish seven groups of particles according to the manner how they influence the sentence.

3.9.1. Particles of Specification

Rare in Chagatay but quite frequent in Modern Uzbek.

nāk (ShD121v:4-5) 'exactly'³¹¹

E.g.,

Ay qāzi rişvagarī ay mufti haşyagarī, ğam ğam otin **nāk** söndürür 'işqdin habar anglamayin. (ShD121v:5) 'O, the Bribe-taking Judge! O, the Fear-inspiring Mufti! They promptly extinguish the fire of many sorrows without understanding what love is.'
 Közümdä **nāk** nihān sen könglümdä dur vişāling; Közüm uyalttı vaşling könglümdä sen 'ayan sen. (ShD129r:8-9) 'You are hidden from my eyes: union with you is in my heart. My eyes made you bashful of our union [but] in my heart you are clearly visible.'

3.9.2. Particles of Intensification

There are five groups of intensifying particles.

3.9.2.1. The Corroborative Particle oq/ ök

ök (MM176v6) 'indeed, exactly'

oq (ShD5v:1) id.

E.g.,

Sān ök sän yaratğan bu yer kök kün ay. (MM176v6) 'You are indeed the one who created the earth, the sky, the sun, and the moon.'
Sen oq sen manga pır va şayh va murid, **sen oq sen** manga murşid va bu'l-vafa. (ShD5v:1) 'You, indeed, are for me the elder, the sheikh, the novice; you, indeed, are for me the teacher and the faithful one.'

3.9.3. Deictic Particles

Very frequently used for precise pointing:

uş (MM177v:12) 'look!'

uşal (H74v:2) 'that same, that very'

uşol (MM177r:3) 'that same, that very'

uşbu (ShD6v:8) 'this same, this very'

³¹¹ Cf. Modern Uzbek **naq**,

mana (AYp.48) 'lo!, behold!'
şol (ShD15r:11) 'this same, this very'

E.g.,

'Amaldin riya ham tilingdin nifaq köngüldin kitär kēna **uş** boldi cān. (MM177v:12) 'Cast ostentation from your heart and then [a proper] soul is there.'

Ay Şabanî **uşbu** makrûh dünyâda şar'înî qilsang dā'im boldung calāl. (ShD6v:6) 'O, Shabānî, if you act according to His law in this detestable world, you will always be majestic.'

Laşkar-i islāmni čāksām qizil bōrk üstinā, bolğusî yāvar Madīna kişvaridin **şol** Habīb. (ShD15r:11) 'When I lead the forces of Islam against the people of the red hat, that friend from the land of Madina will be my helper.'

Bi'smillāh dep bayān āylāy hikmat aytip, tāliblārgā durr u guhar saçtım, **mana**. (AYp.48) 'I pronounced the name of God and stated my intention to declare the words of wisdom. Lo, I have sprinkled pearls and gems in front of the seekers.'

3.9.4. Interrogative Particles

-mu/-mü (DN252r:11) 'is it?'
heç (DN252r:11) 'at all?'

E.g.,

İçindā 'ışq otidīn bar **mu** sōzī, tilār ağzimnī **heç** ol tangrōzī? (DN252r:11) 'Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love [for me]? Does this pauper long for my lips?'

İtim firyādina gah gah yetār mü? Kişisizliğina ol raḥm etār mü? (DN252v:7) 'Does he respond now and then to the howling of my dog? Does he take pity on its loneliness?'

3.9.5. Subjective [Modal] Particles

-ā (ShD146r:3) [prosodic expletive]
-a (MS16r:5) [prosodic expletive]
kü (ShD131r:2) 'maybe'
-či (ShD95v:4-5) 'well'

E.g.,

Piyāla toldurup keltür, ay şālih, bu dünyā bizdin olsun pīr-i **Zal-a**. (ShD146r:3) 'I say, Traveler [on the Path]! Fill the cup and bring it to me. As far as we are concerned, let this world stay [nothing else but] an old man.'

Nā üçün tınmas közüngnüng yaşı dā'im kečālār suğarur **sen kü** yana ol bağ va bustāningnī sen. (ShD131r:2) 'Why are the tears

from your eyes unceasingly pouring always at nights? Are you, maybe, watering your gardens again?'

İcmāgān bolsang Şabanî **bar-či** ol mayhānağa. Kim uşol gulgūna şurat camidīn bolğil 'aql. (ShD95v:4-5). 'Shabānî, 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 künigā ikki ay tutar rōza, aranî üzmāyın ki har **rōza**. (MS 16r:5) '[As penitence] he must fast one day after another without missing a day for a total of two moths for every [single] day [that he omitted or violated the fast].'

3.9.6. Morphologic-Syntactic Particles

Particles of this group are permanent parts of set expressions with lexical status. All of them are of Persian origin and occur only with Arabic-Persian elements.

3.9.6.1. Coordinative Particles

-ū: **nām-ū nişan** (ShD35v:2)) 'name and sign'³¹²
şulḥ-u şalah (MM182v:1) 'peace and reconciliation'
rōz-u şab (ShD44v:11-12) 'day and night'³¹³
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-: **tün ma-kündüz** (Quṭb H1148) 'night and day'

tā-: **sar tā-qadam** (ShD130r:5) 'from head to toe'

-ā: **dam-ā dam** (ShD145r:8) 'always, every moment'
sar-ā sar (Navā'ī, Dict. III, 54) 'from head to toe'³¹⁶
bar-ā bar (ShD149v:11) 'together'³¹⁷

³¹² It expresses the total absence of any trace of a deceased person in the community he has left as opposed to Ānūshīrvān, the Just, whose good name and the effects of his good deeds survive for ever.

³¹³ This Persian phrase does not follow the Islamic practice of mentioning 'night' first.

³¹⁴ It often refers to permanent or lasting state of a person who enjoys the pleasures of Paradise [which renews every moment so that one does not get satiated or fed up with them].

³¹⁵ It is also used as a noun meaning 'vagrant, vagabond'.

³¹⁶ Lit., from this end to that end

³¹⁷ Lit., from breast to breast'

E.g.,

Bu Gulistānga tamāša qılğan er, dam ba-dam ma‘nī yemišin tā-za yer. (Sayf6v:7) ‘The one who walks around in this Rose Garden,³¹⁸ will enjoy the fresh fruit of meanings every moment.’

Kel bu yol savdasini biz oynali: yürisün mavla va şufi dar ba-dar. (ShD48v:13) ‘Come and play the madness of this path. Let the shaykh and the sufi go [begging] door to door.’

Ay basā emdi biling uşbu zaman, sarguzaştım ayğali yoq sar ba-sar. (ShD49r:1-2) ‘O, this world is just too much now, mark well! I do not feel like telling my story from beginning to end.’

3.9.6.2. Additive Particles

ham (H74r:1) ‘and even’

ham taqī (MM190r:16) ‘and also’

kārāk ham (MM190v:10) ‘or even’

taqī (RM5r:10) ‘and, and also, in addition’

yana (MM177r:6) ‘and, and also’

E.g.,

Bir oq birlä atsa, quş ursa neçä, kädik bir ya ikki kārāk ham üçä. (MM190r:6) ‘[Let us suppose that] a believer shoots one arrow or [releases] one falcon and [the arrow or falcon] wound several--one, two, or even three--game animals...’

Yana tört muqarrab şahaba üzä tümän ming bu ğufrān va rizvān saza. (MM177r:6) ‘And as to the four companions, who were the closest [followers of] Muhammad, let ten thousand thousand remissions and blessings be [their] share.’

Yunuğ icrā niyyat erür mustahabb taqī başlamaqlıq buyurmişça Rabb. (MM182r:13) ‘In the ablution the [statement of one’s] intent is praiseworthy. It is also [praiseworthy] to begin [and carry out] the ablution [in the manner that our Lord has decreed.]’

3.9.6.3. Restrictive Particles

-ğina (ShD127v:4-5) ‘a bit’ [diminutive]; ‘at all’ [emphatic]

E.g.,

Furqat mayidin içtim bir cur‘anī pur şor män. Man‘ etmä meni zähid andak ginä mahmür män. (ShD121r:10-11) ‘I drank a gulp from the wine of separation and I am full of bitterness. Ascetic do not stop me, I am a bit intoxicated.’

Qāzi bilä mavlalar Şaybānini ne bilsün; tegmä kişi bilmäs tur mastak ginä manşur män. (ShD127v:4-5) ‘How would the judge

and the sheikh know Shaybanī? Not all the people know that I am victorious because I am a bit intoxicated.’

Könglüngä kelsä sora turğil birärdä, ay moğul, sendin özgä bu Şabānning heç ginä iħrami yoq. (ShD77v:10) ‘If it occurs to you keep asking someone, O Moghul. Shabānī has no other refuge but you.’

3.9.6.4. Particles of Negation

dägül (Sayf13r:10) ‘is not’

ğayr- (ShD130v:8) ‘no’

heç (H81v:3) ‘at all’

nä (DN254r:11) ‘not’

ne (Sayf143v:5) ‘nor’

ne...ne (Sayf164v:1) ‘neither...nor’

E.g.,

Muruvvat körmädim bir faqirning cirāhatı üstünä tuz qoymaq ne öz könglümä. (Sayf143v:5) ‘I did not regard it compatible with magnanimity to sprinkle salt upon the wound of a poor man or upon my heart.’

Yılan öltürüp balasın bäsänip ‘aqillar işi dägül. (Sayf13r:10) ‘To kill the snake and bring up its young ones is not the work of the wise.’

Ne qattı bol kim el sändän üşängäy ne yumşaq qadrınga nuqşan ketürgäy. (Sayf164v:1) ‘Don’t be so hard as to break people who get in touch with you. Nor be so soft as to cause damage to your dignity.’

3.9.6.5. Particles of Affirmation

arī (H76r:3) ‘yes’

balī (Sayf26r:12)) ‘yes’,³¹⁹

arī balī (LN84)) ‘yes, sure’,³²⁰

E.g.,

Oğlı ayttı: Ay ata, balī, ranc çäkmäyin ganc haşıl bolmas. (Sayf 104v:13) ‘His son said: O Father, yes, you are right, without taking pains, you will not find the treasure.’³²¹

Beğim ağzıngda söz arī balī dur, sözüngüzgä cavāb arī balī dur. (LN84) ‘My Lord, the words in your mouth are [sweet] like honey. The answer to your words is “yes, sure”.’³²²

³¹⁹ I.e., you are right

³²⁰ I.e., yes sir!

³²¹ Cf., English ‘No pain, no gain.’

³²² Also, answer to the question ‘Am I not thy Lord?’

³¹⁸ I.e., the one reads the book “Rosegarden” [of Sayf-i Sarāyī]

Dedi, arī tanur mən, ay šahīnšāh! Kirip başlarığa ağrīg banāgāh. (H76r:3) '[The boy] answered: Yes, I know him, O King! He has just come down with a head-ache.'

3.9.6.6. Particles of Comparison

māngiz (Sayf167v:1) 'similar'

mişal (Sayf37r:11) 'similar'

şifat (ShD160v:6) 'like'

şifat (Sayf66r:1) 'like'

E.g.,

Bu cumla halā 'iq musāfir mengiz, taqī dünya tüpsüz qarīgşiz tengiz. (MM179r:3) 'All creatures are like seafarers and this world is like a bottomless and shoreless sea.'

Gah bolur 'uryān ağaclar, gah bolurlar gul şifat. (Sayf66r:1) 'The trees are sometimes naked, sometimes covered with flowers.'

3.9.7. Emphatic Particles

bas (H73v:4) 'very much'

base (H80v:4) 'very'

eng (Sayf46v:12) 'very much'

engān (MM187v:15) 'very much'

köp (DN250r:1) 'much'

-la/-lä (MS16r:6) 'for sure'

ma (MM178v6) 'and how'

E.g.,

Bärgäy altmış faqirlarğa ta'am yāhūd āzād äylägäy-lä gūlām. (MS16r:6) '[Or] he must feed sixty of the poor or set free one slave.'

Bu cān bermäk base duşvār ekān dur, bu yärdä kim manga ğam-ğwār ekān dur? (H80v:4) 'How very difficult it is to give up one's soul! Who is there to take pity on me?'

Saçıngdın 'anbar erür köp uyatlıq, qara qul dur sanga bir 'anbar atlıq. (DN250r:2) 'By your hair³²³ the ambergris is put to shame. What you call³²⁴ ambergris, is [but] an unskilled servant of yours.'

3.9.8. Quasi Particles

This is a mixed category consisting of adverbs, adjectives and predicative words, verbal or nominal.

³²³ The fragrance of the Beloved's hair is meant.

³²⁴ Lit., what is called

3.9.8.1. Sentence Modifiers

They influence the meaning of the entire sentence.

ahir (Sayf120v:4) 'at last, finally'

albatta (Sayf140v:8) 'certainly, for sure'

haşşa (Sayf140v:3) 'especially'

haşşatan (Sayf98v:2) 'particularly'

E.g.,

Ahir bir kün az naf' üçün hatirim āzārīn rava kördi. (Sayf 120v:4) 'Finally, one day for a small gain he saw it fit to hurt my feelings.'

3.9.8.2. Predicative Particles

bar (DN252r:11) 'is, exists'

dur (DN257v:5) 'is'

keräk (DN246v:4) 'it is necessary'

keräkmäs (Sayf163v:3) 'it is not necessary, one should not'

käräkmāz (MM177v:11) 'it is not necessary, it is not needed'

tur (DN246r:7) 'is'

yoq (Sayf128v:5) 'is not, it does not exist'

E.g.,

Dedi, "Dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarçi yel sen yanmaq keräk sen. (DN246v:4) 'She said, "You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time]."

Yüzüng közgü dur, ay husn icrā mähim, hazar qıl kim anı tutmasun ahim. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'

Meni sen körmä 'aciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasında dast-ğāhim. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'

Bu üç birikibän bolur, bil, imān. Valē boldi şurat, käräkmāz mü cān? (MM177v:11) 'Know that these three elements together constitute the Faith. But after the form had been created, is it not in need of a soul?'

3.10. INTERJECTIONS

Very frequent in the colloquial style.

al-amān (GD2:9) 'Mercy!'

allāh akbar (GD114r:1) 'God is Most Great'³²⁵

alā ay (DN259r:8) 'Hark ye!' ³²⁶

³²⁵ Used when the speaker expresses his admiration of God the Creator's mastery.

ay (DN244r:7) 'O'³²⁷
 biḥamdillāh (AYV,5d) 'Praise be God!³²⁸
 direğā (Sayf132v:2) 'What a pity!'
 fiğān (GD145:7) 'What a pity!'
 hay hay (AYIII,3b) 'Quick Quick!'
 hayhāt hayhāt (AYXVII,4a) 'Alas!'
 ḥayfā (AYXVI,9a) 'Alas!'
 ḥudāra (ShD122r:10-11) 'For God's sake!'
 ilāhī (ShD86v:4) 'O my Lord!'
 ta'ālā'llāh (ShD59v:3) 'the most high God'³²⁹
 vā direğā (AYV,11) 'It is a pity!'
 vā ḥasratā (Sayf182v:9) 'Alas!'
 vā'llāh bi'llāh (AYXXVII,6b) 'verily'
 vā's-salām GD150:7) 'That's all!'
 vāvaylā (GD1:7) 'Alas!'
 vā vaylata (AYI,250) 'Alas!'
 vāy (GD75:1) 'Alas!'
 vāy ne ḥasrat (AYII,230) 'O, what a pity!'
 zahī (ShD29r:8-9) 'What a...!, How excellent!'

E.g.,

Allāhu akbar uşbu ne zēbā camāl erür kim ḥusn içindā mazhar-i luṭf u kamāl erür. (GD114r:1) 'God is most great!³³⁰ What an exquisite beauty this is! As far as beauty is concerned, she is the place where elegance and perfection manifest themselves.'
Alā ay ğamda tapqan rangi tabdīl ravān etkān közi şangarftin nīl. (DN259r:8) 'Hark ye whose color has changed in grief, whose eyes make the Nile river flow with vermillion red [tears].'
Alā ay dard āhangini tutqan, özini naqşlar birlān avutqan. (DN 246v:7) 'Hark ye, who tuned on the melody of pain, who console yourself with [phantom] images.'
Biḥamdillāh iki nafsīm öldi, dōstlar. (AYV,5d) 'Praise be to God, Two of my souls³³¹ have died, O Friends!'
Zahī şāni' ki cān berdi, köngül ham berip, davlat ayağı qıldı mulham. (DN228v: 4) 'What an Artisan, who gave [us] soul and heart and inspired the cup of happiness.'
 Labing tabassum ilā āylā tırgüzür ki masih, zahī tabassum-i şirīn

zahī kalām-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 emäs men, ay gul-andām, ki bir dam bargsüz tap-ğay men arām. (DN244v:6) 'I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, who could find rest without [rose] leaves even for a moment.'

Yüzüñg közgü dur, ay ḥusn icrā māhim, ḥazar qıl kim anī tut-masun ahim. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'
On altımda barça arvāḥ ülüş berdi, ḥay ḥay sizgā mubarak dep Ādam keldi. (AYIII,3b) 'When I was sixteen all the spirits gave me their shares. Quick Quick! Adam had come and said: Blessings for you!'

Közüm yaşı bigin tofrağa tüştüm, Hudāra salmağil 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'ālā'llāh bu nā yüz dur yangaqı şu'lası cavhar, uşol cavharni saqlap tur iki saçı bolup aẓdar. (ShD59v:3) 'God the Most High! What a face is this? The flames of her cheeks are jewels. To guard those jewels, the two tresses turned into dragons.'

Ḥwāca men dep yolda qalsang, vāy ne ḥasrat. (AYII,23c) 'You say you are a teacher and [then] get stuck on the road. Oh! What a pity!'

Vā vaylata nadāmatni vaqtı yetti. (AYI,25c) 'What a pity! The time of repentance has arrived.'

Pir-i Ḥafiz ötti uşbu dunyādin, ay direğā qalmaidī ahl-i hunar. (ShD49r:3) 'Shaikh Hafiz departed this world. O, what a pity! No man of skills has been left behind.'

3.11. PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are foreign [Arabic or Persian] elements in Chagatay. Their use is restricted to lexical elements borrowed from these languages. Since these prepositions rarely occur with Turkish elements, they probably were borrowed into Chagatay together with the phrases they occur in. We distinguish primary and secondary prepositions and prepositional phrases.

3.11.1. Primary Prepositions

3.11.1.1. The Preposition bā 'with'

bā bahā (BH4r:7) 'precious'

bā ḥabar (Navā'i, Gr. I,319) 'informed'

bāmiqdār ((Navā'i, Gr. I,319) 'valuable'

³²⁶ Followed by a quality expressed mostly by a metaphor introduces an admonishment or a strong suggestion.

³²⁷ Used to address someone by some salient qualities, or by a proper name.

³²⁸ The first word of the Qur'an.

³²⁹ Meaning 'what a masterpiece of the Creator this is!'

³³⁰ In beauty we admire the artistry of the Creator. Observing one we call His name.

³³¹ I.e., the commanding and the blaming

bā nām u nišan (ShD63v:11) 'without name and sign'³³²
bā şafā (ShD151r:13) 'clean'

E.g.,

Bahr içində qatranı ki qıldı durr-i bā bahā? (BH4r:7) 'Who makes a drop [of water] in the sea a precious pearl?'
Ay Şabānī bil ki mihrāb-i du^{ca} dur qaşları. Tā^{ca} at äylä kim tapip sen bā şafā saccādaē. (ShD150r:12-13) 'O, Shabānī, know that her eyebrows are the prayer-niche. Carry out acts of devotion because you have found a pure prayer carpet.'

3.11.1.2. The Preposition ba 'to'

ba kamāl yātiş- (RB4v:11) 'to reach perfection'
ba davām (RB9v:12) 'constantly'
ba ğayat (H82r:9) 'very much'
ba nağah (H76r:3) 'suddenly'
ba dūş al- (ShD73r:9-10) 'to shoulder'

E.g.,

Taba^{ca}iyat çu yātişsā bā kamāl, dōst tutqay anī Hayy-i Muta^{ca}al. (RB4v:11) 'When a person's submission reaches such perfection, God, the Living and Most High will love him.'
Sirr bilmäyin qāzī ne teg dayr-i muğānnī der ħarāb? Gar bilsā erdi mastnī alğay edi anī badoş. (ShD73r:9-10) 'Without knowing the secret, why does the Qadi call the house of the magi ruins? Had he known the drunk, he would have carried him on his shoulders.'

3.11.1.3. The Preposition bar 'upon'

bar bād qıl- (H77v:2) 'to destroy'
bar davām ol- (RB6v:11) 'to continue'
bar guzīn (BH12r:2) 'select, chosen'
bar bār (ShD103v:11) 'loaded'
bar qarār (ShD2v:1) 'fixed, established'

E.g.,

Bar davām olsa sanga mayl artar, mayldin ħaşil olur lazzatlar. (RB6v:1) 'If you continue to [pronounce His name], your desire for Him will increase. From this desire you will receive pleasures.'

3.11.1.4. The Preposition bē 'without'

bēqarār bol- (H81r:8) 'to be agitated'
bē raf^{ca}-i ħicāb (RB5r:7) 'without lifting the curtain'
bē giş u gil (RB5r:7) 'without flow'

bē daf^{ca}-i niqāb (RB7r:13) 'without throwing back the veil'
bē mişal (GD131:1) 'peerless'
bē şakk (RB8v:8) 'without doubt'

E.g.,

Qurb tapmas kişi bē raf^{ca}-i ħicāb, çahra körmās kişi bē daf^{ca}-i niqāb. (RB7r:13) 'Without lifting the curtain one cannot draw near [to the Beloved]. Without throwing back the veil one cannot behold the Beloved's face.'

Vahm-i cāndin nārasīda boldi ol dam bēqarār. (H81r:8) 'Fearing for the fate of his soul, the child became agitated.'

3.11.1.3. The Preposition cuz 'other'

cuz ħaqq (RB7v:9) 'other than God'

E.g.,

Kerāk andaq ki köngüldä muṭlaq qalmağay ħeç ta^{ca}alluq, cuz ħaqq. (RB5r:13) 'It is important that absolutely no attachment but attachment to God remain in one's heart.'

3.11.2. Secondary Prepositions

Secondary prepositions are nouns that form an izafat construction with the noun they govern.

3.11.2.1. The Preposition 'ayn-i 'exactly like, same'

E.g.,

Bil ki bu yerdä durur bu muşkil: Ayn-i Mazkūr bolur zākir, bil. (RB9r:8) 'Know that it is here that the enigma is revealed. Know that (it is here that) the recollector becomes one with the Recollected.'

3.11.2.2. The Preposition 'azm-i 'setting out to'

E.g.,

Uşbu yaz faşlida 'azm-i Astarābād äylädük. 'Adl va dād ilā bu elni asru ābād äylädük. (ShD82r:2) 'This very summer we set out for [the town of] Astarābād. With equity and justice we made the people [of this town] prosper in many ways.'
Āh u vāvaylā³³³ ki dilbar äylāmiş 'azm-i 'İraq; qoyğusī dur bizni zār u ħasta dar band-i firāq. (GD111,1) 'O, dear me! [I hear] the heart-ravisher has set out for 'Iraq. For sure she is going to put me, the desperate and miserable one, into the chains of separation.'

³³² I.e., totally unknown

³³³ After this interjection a clause of cause follows.

3.11.2.3. The Preposition *ğayr-i* ‘other than, nothing but; without’

E.g.,

Könglüngä heç ta‘alluq qalmas. Ğayr-i ihlās ilā qulluq qalmas. (RB8r:13) ‘There will remain no attachment (to other than God) in your heart. There will remain nothing but intimacy (with Him) and service (to Him).’³³⁴

3.11.2.4. The Preposition *hilāf-i* ‘contrary to’

hilāf-i ‘adat (Sayf60v:10) ‘contrary to habit’

hilāf-i šar‘ (Sayf131r:6) ‘contrary to the law’

hilāf-i ʔab‘ (Sayf119r:9) ‘contrary to nature’

E.g.,

Muḥāl-i ‘aql dağī hilāf-i šar‘ durur kim sän bu kün mänim ‘uqubatim elindän bu fazl va balāğat bilän qutulğay sän. (Sayf 131r:6) ‘It is incompatible with [good] reason and against the law that you, by means of this eloquence and witticism be saved from my punishment.’

3.11.2.5. The Preposition *maḥz-i* ‘only because of’

E.g.,

Bil ki bar dur bu degänlär barī maḥz-i fazl u karam-i Cabbārī. (RB5r:2) ‘Know (too,) that all that I have explained (to you so far) is possible only because of the Almighty’s grace and generosity.’

3.11.2.6. The Preposition *mišl-i* ‘such as; like, exactly as’

E.g.,

Bātingā köp aning martaba bar, mišl-i nafs u dil u sirr, ğayr bular. (RB4r:9) ‘His interior has many levels, such as that of the tranquil soul, the heart, the innermost part of the heart, and so on.’
Šun‘-i İlāh yazmış yüzüng näyläsün ol hür u parī? Cannat içindä qayda dur mišl-i qadding şanavbarī? (ShD171v:3) ‘God drew up your face with His artistry. The houris and the fairies are at a loss. Where in Paradise is a cypress so straight as your body?’

3.11.2.7. The Preposition *qadr-i* ‘to the extent of’

E.g.,

Qıl qiyās uş munga sen özgälärin qadr-i nisbat bilä bahra taparın. (RB4v:10) ‘By analogy to this (situation with the wick) note how other people obtain their share (of perfection) to the extent of their affinity.’

³³⁴ Intimacy with God and attachment to other than God are mutually exclusive states.

3.11.3. Prepositional phrases

Chagatay prefers the use of prepositional phrases. They are of Persian origin. They consist of a preposition and a noun and are joined to the noun they govern by the izafat -ī. They occur with Persian or Arabic nouns only.

3.11.3.1. The Prepositional Phrase *ba qadr-i* ‘in the measure of’

E.g.,

Şifat-i nafsdin uşbu furşat cazb etär nafs ba qadr-i nisbat. (RB 4v:7) ‘On such occasions [your] soul draws from the qualities of [your master’s] soul in the measure of your readiness.’

3.11.3.2. The Prepositional Phrase *ba cuz* ‘except’

E.g.,

Ol nämärsä biling ğizā ermäs, yesä vācib ba cuz qazā ermäs. (MS16r:2) ‘Know that if a person swallows something that is not [considered] food, he need only make up for that fast day [later]. There is no other obligation [incumbent upon him.]’

3.11.3.3. The Prepositional Phrase *bar ḥasb-i* ‘according to’

E.g.,

Taba‘iyat anga bar ḥasb-i kamāl qayda dur men sanga aytay, yād al. (RB5r:12) ‘Now I will tell you how best to emulate him. Impress what I will say upon your mind.’

3.12. ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS

hū-hū (ShD142r:7) [moaning of nursing mares]

kū-kū (ShD142r:6) [call of doves]

qu-qu (ShD142r:2) [calling home falcons]

qul-qul (ShD183v:8) [noise made by wine when poured from a long-necked bottle called *şurāḥī*]

şu-şu (ShD142r:13) [sound of running water on a steep slope]

hū hū (AY Eraslan p.438) [Sufi’s ejaculation < *huwa huwa*]

ū ū (ShD124v:3-4) [sound of the frog]

E.g.,

Män ölsäm sän but-i şangul şurāḥī äylämä qulqul. Nä qulqul? Qulqul-i bada. Nä bada? Bada-i aḥmar. (Sayf184r:7) ‘When I die, [O] Beautiful Idol, do not make the long-necked bottle gurgle. What gurgle? The gurgle of wine. What wine? The wine of natural red color.’³³⁵

³³⁵ Strong intoxicating wine

Čölökkän körmäy inanmas nečä bar desälär su su. ‘Acā’ib söyü-nür şunqarçı anga desälär qu qu. (ShD142r:1-2) ‘The one who is parched [in the desert] does not believe without seeing when they tell him water, water!. It is strange, however, that the falconist is happy³³⁶ when he hears the call coo coo.’

‘Āşıqlar tavbasin dā’im buzār ol turra-i muškīn. Közi ġamzasī-dīn töklür alarnıng yaşları şu şu. (ShD142r:13) ‘The musk scented black ringlet always upsets the lovers’ vow not to sin again. Their tear-drops go “shoo-shoo” in response to the coquettish glances [of the Beloved].’

‘Āşıqlar askidīn ġarq ol uşol daryā-yi ‘irfānda. Durr üçün keči-bān baştın qıla kör anda sen ū ū. (ShD142v:3-4) ‘From the tears of the lovers drown in the sea of gnosis. Losing your head in the quest of pearls go “oo oo” [like frogs].’

4. SYNTAX

4.1. SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES

In carrying out their functions words in a sentence appear in relationships identifiable, both formally and semantically, as syntactic structures. The construction and application of these forms follow certain conventions which are part of the rules governing Chagatay syntax. There are seven kinds of syntactic structures:

4.1.1. Nouns Connected by Juxtaposition

Characteristic of this group is that the elements of the structure are semantically related.

ġam-ġuṣṣa (ShD45r:8-9) ‘sorrow and grief’

ḥadīs-naṣṣ (MM194v:3) ‘the Traditions and the Qur’ān’

ḥār-ḥaṣāk (DN258v:11) ‘thorn and rubbish’

ism-laqab (ShD45r:2-3) ‘names and their attributes’

nāla-firyād (DN240r:2) ‘complaint and call for help’

nafs-şayṭān (RM2r:9) ‘the Carnal Soul and Satan’

E.g.,

Sen emdi ṭalīb ersäng pīr-i muġāna bargīl, mayḥanadīn may iç-kil, ism-laqab barābar. (ShD45r:2-3) ‘Now, if you are the seeker [of their rank], go to the elder of the magi. Drink wine in the tavern, where names and their attributes are the same.’³³⁷

³³⁶ Without seeing the bird

³³⁷ Referring to simple and straightforward people. Cf. Cl.P. *yakrang*

Ol köydaki kişilär ġam-ġuṣṣadīn qutulġay. Ol vādīning içindä şād va ta‘ab barābar. (ShD45r:8-9) ‘The folks of that street are exempt from sorrow and grief. In that valley joy and weariness have an equal status.’

Yuqaridīn inip yamġur tüşār pāk, ki tā andīn tirilir ḥār-ḥaṣāk. (DN258v:11) ‘Descending from above the rain falls evenly³³⁸ so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.’

Aning dardidīn etmäy heč kim yād, yätip dardīna ġah ġah nāla-firyād. (DN240r:2) ‘No one is mindful of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.’

4.1.2. Coordinated Words

Coordinated words consist of two nouns with related meanings joined by the conjunction *u* ‘and’ which metrically belongs to the word before it. As in modern Uzbek, this conjunction is never stressed and, in prosody, it is short. No other sentence elements can come between the coordinated words. They take modifiers and suffixes as one indivisible entity. E.g., {*Māning* + [*nāmūs u nām*] + *im*} + *nī* ‘my good repute and honor.’

āh u nālān (DN259v:7) ‘sighs and complaints’

‘ayş u tarab (AC324r:3) ‘feasts and merriments’

cān u cihān (DN251v:5) ‘the soul and the transitory world’

cafa u cavr (DN257v:3) ‘harm and cruelty’

dard u ġam (DN249r:1) ‘pain and grief’

guft u goy (DN253r:10) ‘conversation’

ḥurd u kalān (AC328v:3) ‘small and great’

ranc u miḥnat (DN251v:3) ‘pain and misery’

nām u nang (DN259v:7) ‘good name and honor’

nāmūs u nang (ShD45r:1) ‘good repute and honor’

nāmūs u nām (DN260v:9) ‘honor and good name’

nang u ‘ār (AC328r:6) ‘shame and disgrace’

rasm u ḥoy (DN259r:2) ‘formality and disposition’

rūḥ u ravān (DN251r:11) ‘soul and heart’

rūy u rāh (DN257v:9) ‘face and road’

söz u gudaz (DN258v:2) ‘burning and sizzling’

vafa u mihr (DN259r:2) ‘faith and love’

E.g.,

Māning nāmūs u nāmimnī talaşqin, alif teg kelgin va elgā ulaşqin. (DN260r:9) ‘Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].’

³³⁸ The Creator bestows His grace upon everyone without distinction. Cf. Sa‘dī *Anıng sansız saġişsüz raḥmatining yaġmuri barçaġa yätip turur.* ‘The rain of His countless and boundless grace reaches everyone.’

Meni sen šam^c teg küydürmäging ne? Caḡa u cavr etäkin 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?'

Bitidi nāma altun suyī birlän, yafa u mihr, rasm u hüvi birlän. (DN259r:2) '[The Beloved] wrote a letter with golden ink³³⁹, with faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.'

Tüzälmäsün yüzüm dīn qiblasına gar özgä sarī bolsa rōy u rāhīm. (DN257v:9) 'My face should not turn to the qibla of [our] religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward others.³⁴⁰

Açıldım ol 'ināyat-nāmasidīn, qutuldu dard u ġam hangāma-sidīn. (DN249r:1) 'The deed of exemption cheered me up. Now I was saved from the multitude of pains and sorrows.'

Camāling nūr salġay tofraġimġa söyüngäy qālibim rūh u ravānī. (DN251r:11) 'May the beauty of your face throw light upon my grave so that the soul and spirit of my body could rejoice.'

4.1.3. Nouns Modified by Other Nouns

Nouns are often used to modify other nouns. Such structures can be marked, or unmarked depending on whether the modification relationship is indicated by morphological means.

4.1.3.1. Nouns Without Markers [noun adjuncts]

4.1.3.1.1. Attributive Relationship

In these structures the first element modifies the second. The order of elements is unchangeable.

ay yüz (Sayf117r:13) 'moon-faced'
altun qanat (Sayf181v:6) 'golden wing'
er oġlan (IM6v:2) 'boy'
erkäk at (KBV3r:18) 'stallion'
külük at (Sayf167r:5) 'race horse'
orta otuś (MM185r:6a) 'internal sitting [in the prayer]'
qisraq at (KBV3r:17) 'mare'
sarv boy (DN251v:1) 'cypress like stature'
song otuś (MM183r:16') 'final sitting'
tämür qazuq (KBV10r:17) 'iron stake'
tämür mih (Sayf59v:2) 'iron nail'

³³⁹ See the use of *altun suyī* in Sayf's *Gulistan* (96r:3).

³⁴⁰ The Sufi notion of *mā siva' llāh* 'other than God' is used in this distich. The heart should be emptied from all other than God and only then can it be filled with God.

E.g.,

Tüzälip sarv boyung eşikimdin, kirip kelġay netük kim tangä cānī. (DN251v:1) 'May Your cypress-like body rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.'

Altun qanatīn açti esä şubh şunqarī, kök kölgä batti cumlä kavakib kabutarī. (Sayf181v:6) 'When the falcon of the morning spread its golden wings, the doves of all the stars went down in the blue lake [of the sky].'

4.1.3.1.2. Possessive Relationship.

In these structures the first element is the possessor, the second element is the possessed. Their sequence is unchangeable.

aş nūkar (MM190v:9) 'servant in charge of providing food'
baş ağrıq (NTM14r:7) 'headache'
bel baġ (NTM14r:9) 'belt'
eşik ağa (NTM5r:5) 'doorkeeper of the king'
iç ağrıq (NTM14r:7) 'stomachache'
qiyamat kün (MM178r:8) 'the Day of Resurrection'
quduq su (NTM13r:9) 'well water'
tamuġ ot (MM199r:18) 'hellfire'

E.g.,

Basip yüzün otġa qarartip mängiz, basurġay başına tamuġ ot qīrin. (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.'
Ĥiyanat makrdīn köngül ġalī qıl, qiyamat kün artuq kün aydın yüzüng. (MM178r:8) 'Free your heart from fraud and malice and [then] on the Day of Resurrection, your face will be more radiant than the sun or the moon.'

4.1.3.2. With Possessive Suffix on the Head [Reference Structures]

The circumstance that the second element is dependent on the first is indicated by a suffix. The order of the elements is unchangeable. No other element can come between the two parts.

ay başı (NTM12r:8) 'the beginning of the month'
farah şafası (Sayf41v:4-5) 'the serenity of joy'
Ĥaqq rizası (Sayf25v:9) 'God's satisfaction'
iş atı (NTM9r:8) 'work horse'
iş igiti (NTM9r:8) 'warrior'
köz yaşı (DN251v:4) 'tears'
maşaaqat eli (DN239v:1) 'the grip³⁴¹ of difficulty'
mihnat tūni (DN257r:1) 'night of misery'³⁴²

³⁴¹ Lit., the hand

musulmān laškari (Sayf 174v:8) 'the armed forces of Islam'
navrōz küni (IM5v:4) 'New Year's Day'
ṣaḥrā yeli (DN253v:3) 'desert wind'

E.g.,

Uzun boldi ḡamim mihnāt tūni teg, tulu^c etkil manga davlat kū-ni teg. (DN257r:1) 'My sorrow became long like the night of misery. Rise for me, like the sun of happiness.'

Mašaqqaq elinā salḡuči cānin. Ōzi ōz boynina qilḡuči qanin. (DN 239v:5) 'He willfully gives over his soul to troubles.³⁴³ He takes upon himself to carry out his own execution.'

Ṣaḥrā yeli teg 'umr baqāsi kečti, ḡam cavrī daḡi farah ṣafāsi 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

āḥiratning davlati (ShD15r:7) 'the wealth of the hereafter'
elning kõngli (ShD82r:7) 'the heart of the people'
gulning ḥarḥari (DN254r:2) 'restlessness caused by the rose'
künāšning nuri (Sayf118r:4) 'sunlight'
mayning ḡumari ((DN254v:3) 'intoxication caused by wine'
sultānning i'tiqadi (Sayf58v:8) 'the confidence of the Sultān'
šaharning sirri (ShD46r:10) 'the secret of the city'
tasavvufning ḥaqiqati (Sayf72v:5) 'the essence of sufizm'
yüzümning lalazari (DN254r:2) 'the tulip patch of my face'

E.g.,

Tilār bolsang yüzümning lalazarin, unuṭqin özgā gulning ḥar-ḥarin. (DN254v:2) 'If you desire the tulip patch of my face, forget the anxiety for other roses.'

Labim nuqlin alur bolsang aḡizḡa, čiqarḡil baštīn ol mayning ḡumarin. (DN254v:3) 'If you take the sweet-meat of my lips in the mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of wine.'

³⁴² I.e., a night spent in misery [which is deemed very long]

³⁴³ Lit., tosses his soul into the grips of difficulties

Körüp bir gulni yel yangliḡ erišmä, savurmaḡil kõngülning rōz-ḡarin. (DN254v:6) 'Beholding a rose do not rush there like the wind. Do not scatter the household³⁴⁴ of the heart.'

Note: (1) Members of this structure can be separated from one another by other sentence elements. The second element, therefore, cannot have a modifier of its own. Also, the sequence of the members cannot be reversed: E.g.,

Cāhil er qilsa cafa bolma mukaddar, ay ḥakim! Ne bilür közsüz kim ärsä qadrini naqqašning. (Sayf170r:2) 'If an ignorant man does an act of cruelty, do not be sad, O Wise Man. How would a blind man appreciate the rank of a painter?'

Bir vazirning aning bilän ḡarazi bar edi. (Sayf34r:8) 'One vazir harbored a grudge against him.'

(2) Possessive structures can contain more than one noun in the genitive case. It must be remembered, however, that even such complex structures consist of two parts one or both of which can further break down into two constituents. E.g., {[Zavzan šahri + ning maliki] + ning bir ḥwācasī} 'one merchant of the king of the city of Zavzan' or {[qullar + ning 'amali] + ning cazāsī} 'punishment for the deeds of the servants.'

4.1.3.3.2. Nouns in the Dative Case

‘arifga qulavuz (MM198v:9) 'a guide for the mystic'
balāḡa ṣabr (MM195r:16) 'patience in misfortune'
balāḡa riza (MM195r:17) 'satisfaction in misfortune'
bu ‘alamga qal‘a (MM200r:1) 'a fortress for this world'
laṭafatga ma‘din (MM200r:4) 'in eloquence a deposit of precious stones'
qazāḡa riza (MM195r:16) 'acquiescence in Divine Judgment'

E.g.,

Laṭafatga ma‘din, karam kāni ol, ōzi birlā mavcūd, biling, erdi cūd. (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

ḥaqiqatda Ḥaqq (MM177v:5) 'the Real Truth'
ḥaqiqatda ‘irfan (MM195v:3) 'true knowledge of God'
qiliqlarda körkliḡ (MM200v:8) 'the beauty among virtues'

³⁴⁴ Do not destroy the heart.

E.g.,

Haqiqatda ‘**irfan** ačilsa sanga baqa bilmägäy sän kārāk öng songa. (MM195v:3) ‘When the true knowledge of [the Lord] has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences.’³⁴⁵

4.1.3.3.4. Nouns with the Equative Case

ay teg yüz (DN250v:2) ‘moon-like face’
künāš teg äygü at (Sayf143r:2) ‘good name [so well known everywhere] as the sun’
malak teg vucūd (MM200r:1) ‘an angel-like being’
lāla teg ruḥsār (ShD55v:8) ‘tulip-like cheeks’

E.g.,

Ḥalā ‘iqlar ara **malak teg vucūd**; **ğizāsi qiyām u rukū** ‘u **sucūd**. (MM200r:3) ‘Among creatures he was an angel-like being. His sustenance was standings, bows and prostrations.’³⁴⁶

4.1.4. Bahuvrihi Compounds

A bahuvrihi compound names an object or a person by one of his salient characteristics. It consists of two elements one of which can be a noun or an adjective. E.g., **ṣāf** ‘pure, unmixed’, **mašrab** ‘drink’ in composition yield **ṣafmašrab** ‘the one whose drink is pure’, i.e., a person who is innocent, naive, or unsophisticated. This typically Persian [< Indo-European] phenomenon is represented in Chagatay only by Persian loans.

‘alicanab (Ḥ326r:2) ‘eminent, honorable’
badaf‘āl (Sayf79r:2) ‘wicked’
bad‘alaf (AC326r:10) ‘a renegade’
gülbadan (Sayf125r:5) ‘slender, delicate’
māhpaykar (DM258r:5) ‘a moon-faced beauty’
maḥabbat-peša (DN257r:4) ‘lover [in the Sufi sense]’
parešan rōzgār (DN239v:7) ‘one who is afflicted with troubles’
farḥunda-maqdam (DN248v:9) ‘one whose arrival brings joy’
gulruḥ (Ḥ77v:2) ‘rose-faced’
ḥaṭirparešan (Ḥ81v:10) ‘distressed in mind’
pakdin (Ḥ79r:11) ‘adherent of the Pure Faith’
ṣafmašrab (DN258r:7) ‘naive, innocent, unsophisticated’
sarvqāmat (DM249v:11) ‘straight and erect like a cypress’
sarvqadd (Ḥ77v:4) ‘cypress-bodied’
šakarlab (Ḥ78v:3) ‘sweet-tongued’

³⁴⁵ The duality of the creator and the created disappears.

³⁴⁶ Elements of the daily prayers. Sainted people are like angels, they are not in the need of food.

širīnkālām (Ḥ224r:6) ‘eloquent’
tangrōzi (DN252r:11) ‘a pauper’

E.g.,

İcīndä ‘**išq otīdīn bar mu sōzi, tilār ağızīmni hēc ol tangrōzi?** (DN 252r:11) ‘Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love [for me]? Does this pauper long for my lips?’
Sen unutup maḥabbat-pešalarni, sağīnīp qandağı andešalarni. (DN257r:4) ‘You have forgotten the lovers³⁴⁷, thinking about concerns of old days.’
Šakar sözlüg niğar-i sarvqāmat, ki sen olturdung va qopti qiyāmat. (DN249v:11) ‘A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises.’³⁴⁸

4.1.5. Predicative Compounds

Predicative compounds are the Turkish equivalents to Iranian *bahuvrihi* compounds. They are preceded by the demonstrative pronouns **bu**, **ol**, or by the interjections **ay**, **ayā**. E.g.,

Vafasiz dilruba sän, ay beli qıl. (Sayf117v:12) ‘You are an unfaithful heart ravisher, O slender-waisted [Beauty].’
Bu aslı yog havasqa qoyma bunyād, tükānmäs dard u ğamdin bolmağil šād. (DN241v:8) ‘Do not set up your foundation³⁴⁹ upon passion without essence. Derive no gladness from unending pain and sorrow.’
Ol yūzi ay kim cihānning cāni dur. (Sayf179r:10) ‘That moon-faced beauty who is the soul of this world.’
Tişim lūlūsīdīn ol kōzi daryā, čiqarur mu falak yangliğ surayyā? (DN252v:2) ‘From the pearls of my teeth does this ocean-eyed [beauty] bring forth the pleiades as the sky does?’
Cavābida dedi ol qaşı ḥacib, kim anda parda açmaq bar munāsib. (DN258v:8) ‘In answer said that [intimate friend] whose eyebrow was the chamberlain: “It is now appropriate to open the curtain.”’

4.1.6. Izafat Structures

In izafat structures the head [notion to be modified] occupies the first position and is followed through a connective syllable [izafat -i] by the modifier. The izafat structure is Iranian by origin and occurs mostly with Persian and Arabic constituents. There are simple and complex izafat structures. Extra long izafat structures are called izafat chains.

³⁴⁷ I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God].

³⁴⁸ For the idiom see Sayf, *Gulistan* 12r:10

³⁴⁹ I.e., do not build on. The phrase refers to any enterprise we may consider to undertake.

In the Chagatay language simple izafat structures occur in abundance. Complex structures are favored only in prose works.

There are two types of izafat structures: Adjectival and Possessive.

4.1.6.1. Adjectival Izafat structures

The second element in adjectival izafat structures is a Persian or Arabic adjective. Turkish words are rare in this function.

‘*ā*siq-i bēcān (DN258r:2) ‘a lifeless lover’³⁵⁰

durr-i šamīn (DN255r:5) ‘a valuable pearl’

macmū‘-i šāfi (DN255r:8) ‘a pure collection’

rah-i rāst (DN258v:5) ‘a straight path’

ša‘r-i nihānī (DN258r:8) ‘a hidden law’

şayyād-i mağbūn (DN258r:8) ‘a dull fisherman’

yār-i haqīqī (DN255r:4) ‘a true friend’

bitig-i ‘āsiqāna (DN256r:2) ‘a love letter’

E.g.,

Eligdā haṭṭ sözi durr-i samīn teg, ne haṭṭ kim ol nigāristān-i ċīn teg. (DN255r:5) ‘In the hand was the letter, its words were like precious pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.’
Köngül teg haṭṭları macmū‘-i šāfi şafağa körmäki 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.’

Ötär köp çaşmadın şayyād-i mağbūn, ki tā māhī kirār elinā bir kün. (DN253v:8) ‘The dull fisherman³⁵¹ passes through many rivers until one day a fish comes into his hands.’

Qaşımğa yetti ol yār-i haqīqī, bolup rangi yügürmäktin ‘aqīqī. (DN255r:4) ‘That true friend³⁵² came to my presence, its face

4.1.6.2. Possessive Izafat Structures

In possessive izafat structures both elements are nouns. The first expresses the possessed, the second, the possessor: āb ‘water’, hayvān ‘life’ > āb-i hayvān (DN242v:8) ‘the water of life’

ahl-i dil (ShD55r:13) ‘people of heart’³⁵³

cam-i Camšed (DN242r:11) ‘the cup of Jamshīd’

³⁵⁰ A Sufi who “died before he died”.

³⁵¹ The fisherman’s ability to catch fish is the symbole of one who is able to recognize and make appropriate use of any given opportunity [*ḡaniṣmat tutmaq*]. A dull [*mağbūn*], weak [*za‘īf*], or unlucky [*īālī/siz*] fisherman could be one who, because of weakness (Gul. 94v:2), or lack of luck (Gul. 173r:5), or not being ready for the moment (Gul. 168v:9) misses the opportunity.

³⁵² I.e., the Morning Wind.

³⁵³ A Muslim with a perfect heart (*haqīqat köngül*).

dard-i dil (DN243r:10) ‘pain of the heart’

naḡir-i cang (DN247v:4) ‘battle trumpet’

nigār-i sarvqāmat (DN249v:11) ‘a cypress-bodied beauty’

nigāristān-i ċīn (DN255r:5) ‘a Chinese picture-gallery’

pir-i muḡān (ShD112r:13) ‘the elder of the magi’

sarv-i saman bar (DN245r:2) ‘a jasmine-bosomed cypress’

šam-i daycūr (DN259v:1) ‘a very dark night’

šoḡ-i šakarḡand (DN243v:5) ‘a mischief-maker with a sweet smile’

E.g.,

Ravān qildī falak ċon cām-i Camšed, aċiqlanip qizarip ċiṭti ḡwaršed. (DN242r:11) ‘When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshīd, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.’

Farāvān dard-i dil körgüzüp anda, qilip šarḡi kim ol siḡmas gumānda. (DN243r:10) ‘In it I presented plenty of complaints about my situation the exposition of which did not leave place for doubts.’

Naḡir-i cang teg har yerdä ċalip, fiḡānī yirlap āhī ötkān alip. (DN247r:4) ‘Like a battle trumpet he blares everywhere. His lament sounds like wailing, his sigh carries one away.’

Šakar sözlüg nigār-i sarvqāmat, ki sen olturdung va qopti qiyāmat. (DN249v:11) ‘A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises.’³⁵⁴

Eligdā haṭṭ sözi durr-i samīn teg, ne haṭṭ kim ol nigāristān-i ċīn teg. (DN255r:5) ‘In the hand was the letter, its words were like valuable pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.’

Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetgāy vaşl bağidīn manga bar. (DN245r:2) ‘My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.’

4.1.7. Arabic Izafat Structures

Arabic izafat structures occur as isolated elements of the vocabulary [set expressions, idioms, titles]. Turkish words do not participate in their formation.

Amīru‘l-mu‘minīn (RM28r:4) ‘the Commander of the faithful’

fariḡu‘l-bāl (DN243v:1) ‘free from care’

laylatu‘l-qadr ‘the darkest of the night’³⁵⁵

muizzu‘s-saṭṭanat (RM2r:5) ‘who brings honor to the Sultanate’³⁵⁶

rūḡu‘l-quḡūs (ShD176r:3) ‘Gabriel, the Holy Soul’

³⁵⁴ For the idiom see Sayf, *Gulistan* 12r:10

³⁵⁵ Lit., the night of power

³⁵⁶ Title of the son of Muḡammad Shaybānī Khān.

qābīzu'l-arvāḥ (H74v:3) 'Izrā'il, the Soul-taker angel'
sarī'u's-sayr (DN256r:2) 'quick in passing'³⁵⁷
rahmatu'l-lāhi (ShD166v:6) 'the mercy of God'
ṭarfatu'l-ʿayn (RB8r:1)) 'twingling of an eye'

E.g.,

Közi Čolpan munavvar ʿarizi badr, yangi ay qaṣi, sači laylatu'l-qadr. (DN256r:6) 'Her eyes are the planet Venus, her shining face, the full moon. Her eyebrows are the new moon and her hair, the darkest of the night.'

Anga tapşurdum va ol ucti darḥāl, etip sa'y anda yatti fariḡu'l-bāl. (DN243r:1) 'I handed it over to [the Morning Wind] and it took to wings right away. Exerting itself, it arrived there free from care.'

Sarī'u'sayr bitig-i ʿaṣiqāna, elimdin aldī va boldī ravāna. (DN256r:2) 'The One Who is Quick in Passing'³⁵⁸ took the love letter from my hand and set out on its way.'

4.2. GOVERNMENT

Verbs and to some extent adjectives require that their nominal complements be in certain case forms. This phenomenon is called government. It is similar to what we find in Indo-European languages. Individual Turkish verbs, however, often deviate from the conventions of their Indo-European equivalents, e.g., English 'enter the house' Chagatay **ḥanaga kirmāk** [complement in the dative case] 'left for Margilan' Chagatay **Margilanğa bardī** [complement in the dative case] or **bardī Margilan** [complement in the unmarked accusative case]. In discussing the case forms of nouns above we gave an extensive list of verbs and adjectives and provided ample examples for their usage. Here we discuss and illustrate the syntactic implications of government.

4.2.1. Government by Verbs

Verbs may govern the accusative, dative, locative, and ablative cases of nouns, i.e., they may require that the complement be in one of these case forms if it occurs with these verbs.

4.2.1.1. Accusative Case

Many verbs govern the accusative case [for a representative list see 3.1.4.2.3.7.] Most of them are transitive verbs with a direct object in the accusative case like their English equivalents. Sometimes, however, they

translate into English by prepositional phrases or idioms. E.g., **de-** 'to call someone something; choose', **ilin-** 'to be caught up in something'; **saḡin-** 'to think about'; **talaš-** 'to compete': **ṣirīnlik talaš-** 'to compete in sweetness'; **cān talaš-** 'to be in the throes of death' (< to fight for one's life); **yīg-** 'to gather, collect': **aḡiz yīg-** 'to close one's lips.'

4.2.1.1.1. Verbs Governing the Accusative Case

oḡša- (GD215:4) 'to resemble, look like'
saḡin- (DN257r:4) 'to think of or about'
talaš- (GD3:2) 'to compete, contest'
ṭāq yürü- (DN255v:8) '[for the sun] to sail in the sky'
ta'ammul qil- (DN242v:11) 'to contemplate'
tilä- (GD54r:5) 'to desire'
tüş kör- (DN252r:7) 'to dream of something'
yetür- (Sayf131r:5) 'to deliver a point'
yīg- (DN252r:3) 'to collect'

4.2.1.1.1.2. With Marked Accusative Case Forms

For grammatical and semantic reasons the noun in direct object role is marked by the accusative case ending. E.g.,

Bu latifani tangsuq yetürdüm. (Sayf131r:5) 'You delivered this point amazingly.'³⁵⁹

Tegär mü kirpükümdin cānina oq? Balāni түş körär mü közi ya yoq? (DN252r:7) 'Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or not?'³⁶⁰

Men ol kün kim ḡamīng sāzinī tüzdüm, seni dedim köngülñi cāndin üzdüm. (DN244v:8) 'The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul'.

4.2.1.1.1.2. With Unmarked Accusative Case Form

A nonspecific direct object may occur in the nominative case. E.g.,

Tutup Sayf-i Sarayī qiz erini, latifa sözladi közlöp yerini. (Sayf138v:11) 'Sayf of Saray grabbed the husband of the girl, noticing his situation he told him an anecdote.'

Sa'adat birlä ḥwarṣedi yürüp ṭāq, qilip har zarradın darḥwāst muṣṭāq. (DN255v:8) 'By her felicity she is like the sun sailing in the sky and demanding homage from every speck of dust.'³⁶¹

³⁵⁷ Epithet of the Morning Breeze often personified.

³⁵⁸ The Morning Breeze.

³⁵⁹ Note that D.O. is modified by *bu*.

³⁶⁰ The D.O. is specific.

³⁶¹ Intransitive verbs with direct objects.

4.2.1.2. Dative Case

A group of verbs [3.1.4.2.5.6] and adjectives [3.1.4.2.5.8] take their complements in the dative case. Most of the time the complement is the indirect object of the sentence. Depending on the semantic content of the verb the dative case complement may indicate the destination, reason, exchange value and other relations, e.g., *küy-* 'to burn' > 'to suffer', *manga küysä* 'if he suffers because of me'; *sat-* 'to sell', *bir cavğa sat-* 'to sell for or exchange with a grain of barley.' Here are a few examples for the special uses of the dative case with verbs or adjectives.

4.2.1.2.1. Verbs Governing the Dative Case

inan- (MM177r:17) 'to believe in'
küy- (DN245r:7) 'to suffer because of s.o.'
oḥša- (ShD1v:13) 'to look like, to resemble'
qoy- (DN243v:2) 'to put down s.where'
sal- (DN245v:7) 'to put or cast s.th. s.where'
sat- (DN247r:3) 'to sell s.th. for; give in exchange of s.th.'
sep- (DN246r:5) 'to sprinkle'
yet- (DN245r:2) 'to come to s.o.'

E.g.,

Agar könglüng manga küysä, 'acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigäy rıq-qatımdın. (DN245r:7) 'If If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

Dedi, Netsün kişi bu muhtalāğa, ki küç birlän özin saldı balāğa? (DN245v:7) 'She said, "What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition, brings trouble upon himself?"'

Barı ay ħirmānın bir cavğa satqan, elig tartıp ayağın ı uzatqan. (DN247r:3) 'He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.³⁶²

Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetgäy vaşl bağidın manga bar. (DN245r:2) 'My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.'

Hamın kim taptı yarı ħazratına, tavazü qıldı va qoydı qatına. (DN243v:2) 'As soon as it arrived to the presence of the friend, it greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.'

Ölüg başına tepmāklik ħwaş ermäs, savuq su yüzigä sepmāk ħwaş ermäs. (DN246r:5) 'It is not fair to kick the head of a dead person [to see whether he is alive]. It is of no avail to sprinkle water in his face.'

4.2.1.2.2. Adjectives Governing the Dative Case

hayrān (DN247v:1) 'amazed at'
ħursand (DN256r:10) 'pleased, satisfied with'
la'ıq (Sayf50r:8) 'worthy of, deserving s.th.'
lāzim (Sayf173r:11) 'necessary'
mağrūr (Sayf101r:5) 'proud of s.th.'
mulāzim (DM258v:1) 'needed'
munāsib (RM30r:4) 'appropriate for'
musallam (Sayf97r:12) 'granted to'
muştāq (GD141:5) 'longing for, desirous of'
muta'allıq (RB4r:8) 'dependent on'
sā'ı (DN246r:4) 'thirsty'
sazā (GD11:7) 'deserved'
sazavar (Nava'i Dict.III, 26) 'worthy of'
yaraşa (GD114:5) 'appropriate for'
yavuq (DN246r:7) 'close to'

E.g.,

Ayağınğa qoyuban başını qand, labıngdin suyı bir sormaqqā ħursand. (DN256r:10) 'The sugar places its head upon your feet [in submission] glad to request water from your lips.'

Hamēša sāya teg küngā mulāzim bolup erışmāki boynına lāzim. (DM258v:1) 'She is always in attendance to the sun, like a shadow³⁶³. It is vital that it shine upon her shoulders [all the time].'

Körüp tur gul yüzın bulbul hamēša tikanlārgā yavuq tur gul hamēša. (DN246r:7) 'The nightingale keeps her eyes on the face of the rose all the time. All the time roses are close to thorns.'

Birāv kim cān bilän yoq tur niza'ı, neçük men bolayın qanına sā'ı? (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:

arış- (Sayf99v:9) 'to reach s.where'
çıq- (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.

yaşun- (DH243v:9) 'to hide s.where'

yät- (DN243r:1) 'to arrive, to get to s.where'

E.g.,

Har mun'am öz sarāyına aḥşam turup kelür. Aḥşam ġarib qanda äriṣṣā sarāyī ol. (Sayf99v:9) 'In the evening every well-to-do person returns to his home. The stranger's home is where he arrives in the evening.'

Yaşunup gul yüzüngdin bağlarda, qaçip lāla çiqıban tağlarda. (DH243v:9) 'The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.'³⁶⁴

Anga tapşurdum va ol ucti darḥāl, etip sa'y anda yätti fariğu'l-bāl. (DN243v:1) 'I handed it over to [the Morning Wind]. It took to wings right away. Exerting itself it arrived there and was free from care.'

Köngüldä 'işqıng oti saldı bulğaq, yana dāğ üstinä sen qoymağıl dāğ. (DN244r:8) 'The fire of your love cast confusion into [my] heart. Do not press again the branding iron upon the wound made by a branding iron.'

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

Bitigläringdä saldım men basē köz, tilädim köp sözüngdä tapmadım söz. (DN247v:5) 'I stared at your writing for a long time. Much as I wanted to I did not find words to express your message.'

4.2.1.4. Ablative case

A group of verbs [3.1.4.2.7.6.] and a few adjectives govern the ablative case.

4.2.1.4.1. Verbs Governing the Ablative Case

bar- (DN245r:10) 'to leave, go away from'

eri- (DN245r:7) 'to melt [because of...]

köç- (MM196r:17) 'to depart from'

qol- (MM192r:16) 'to ask s.th. from s.o.'

qorq- (GD121:5) 'to be afraid of, to fear from'

qutul- (DN245r:8) 'to escape'

saqın- (Sayf14:10) 'to beware'

üz- (DN244v:7) 'to tear off or away'

üzül- (MM172v:17) 'to be separated from'

vahm et- (DN247r:11) 'to suspect'

yığıl- (MM179r:6) 'to avoid, refrain from'

E.g.,

Men ol kün kim ġamıng sāzını tüzdü, seni dedim köngülñi cāndin üzdüm. (DN244v:8) 'The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul.'

Agar könglüng manga küysä, 'acab yoq, ki körüp taş erigay riq-qatımdin. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

Tanımdin cān körüp ra'nā qaddingni, ravān boldı qutuldı min-naatımdin. (DN245r:8) 'The soul saw your graceful stature and left my body to escape my gratitude.'

Amiri asrağıl köz yağı birlä, sen ol gulñi ki barماسun qatımdin. (DN245r:10) 'Amiri, norture that rose with the oil of [your] eyes so that it never leave your presence.'

4.2.1.4.2. Adjectives Governing the Ablative Case

fariğ (DN251r:4) 'free from'

ḥālī (Sayf14v:13) 'free from, empty of'

mahrūm (GD219:5) 'debarred from'

malul (GD130:5) 'depressed'

munazzah (MM178r:6) 'independent [of everything]'

E.g.,

Munazzah cumladin ol Ḥayy-i Bāqī, yürür amri bilān ol davr ayağı. (Sayf80r:2) '[God,] the Everliving One is exempted of everything. The cup of that circle goes around by His command.'

Hiyanat makirdin köngül ḥālī qıl, qiyamat kün artuq kün aydin yüzüng. (MM178r:8) 'Free your heart from fraud and malice and [then] on the Day of Resurrection, your face will be more radiant than the sun or the moon.'

Tüşüp tofraq teg fariğ işidin, ne yel teg kim kelip ötkay kişidin. (DN251r:4) 'When free from his task he settles like dust unlike the wind that comes and passes on.'

4.3. THE SENTENCE

Sentences are grammatically organized syntactic entities expressing complete thoughts. By content they are positive or negative statements, questions, expressions of a will, wish, desire, or command. Accordingly, we distinguish: affirmative, negative, interrogative, exclamatory, desiderative, imperative and prohibitive sentences.

³⁶⁴ The tulip gives up the garden and flees to the wilderness.

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 boldi isarat bila. (MM178v:6) 'The moon split at [his] sign.'

Rasulga idi berdi ming mu'ciza. (MM178v:9) 'God granted [our] Prophet a thousand miracles.'

Misrda bir begning ikki ogli qaldi. (Sayf81v:10) 'In Egypt a merchant was survived by two sons.'

Shab-i mi'rac ani dozahta kordum. (H74v:10) 'On the Night of the Ascension I saw him in Hell.'

Busagadin Kingira qopti ravan. (AC327r:9) 'All of a sudden Kingira³⁶⁵ jumped up from the threshold.'

Hudaga yaqmad bu mihribanliq. (H74v:2) 'God did not approve of [his prophet's] attachment [to his son].'

Amanatga qilalmas man hiyanat. (H74r:5) 'I cannot violate the trust of those who have entrusted something to me.'

Cabra'il kelturdi Musaga habar. (BN88r:8) 'Gabriel forwarded the message to Moses.'

4.3.1.2. Interrogative Sentences

An interrogative sentence expresses a question and is construed in various ways:

4.3.1.2.1. By the yes-or-no particle mu/mü

Tanur mu san mani can dilimni? (H76r:2) 'Do you know [my son], the beloved of my soul and heart?'

Tegar mu kirpukumdin canina oq? Balani tus korar mu kosi ya yoq? (DN252r:7) 'Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or not?'

Ne dur hali aning gam laşkarında, yani agrir mu mihnat bistrında? (DM252v:6)? 'What is his condition in the army of sorrows? Is his side hurting in the sickbed of misery?'

Yuzum hwarshedidin hayran yurur mu? Bolup bir zarra sargardan yurur mu? (DM252r:8) 'Doesn't he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn't he move perplexed?'³⁶⁶

4.3.1.2.2. By Interrogative Pronouns

Ne ba'isidin silar³⁶⁷ **otqa giriftar?** (H75r:1) 'Why are you captive in the fire?'

Ne'uk kecar san bu halatta? (Sayf68r:3) 'How do you fare in this situation?'

Kongul qacan hwas bolgay? (NSMp.108) 'When is the heart good?'

Mening teg qani bir pir kar? (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.,

Camalingdin cihanni chavavar qil, uzatmagil hikayat muhtashar qil. (ShD96v:10-11) 'Make this world attractive by your beauty. Do not make the story long. Make it concise.'

Maning namus u namimni talaşqin, alif teg kelgin va elga ulaşqin. (DN260r:9) 'Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].'

Taning ham tapinsun bir baş ayağni, til açip sozgā tindursun qulağni. (DN260v:2) 'Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ear.'

Cunun sarhwaşlugidin özüngā kel, dimağingda havadin salmagil yel. (DN260v:4) 'Sober up from the intoxication of madness; out of passion do not occupy your mind with things of naught.'³⁶⁸

Camalingdin munavvar qil közumni, eşitmā el sözün eşit sözümni. (DN257r:2) 'Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.'

4.3.1.4. Exclamatory Sentences

In an exclamatory sentence the speaker expresses surprise, admiration, disapproval, or indignation about something irregular or out of the ordinary. It is often used in didactic works. E.g.

³⁶⁶ The image is: Whirling like a speck of dust made visible by the sunray.

³⁶⁷ Cf. Uzbek *сўлап* in the Tashkent dialect.

³⁶⁸ Lit., do not put wind in your brain

³⁶⁵ Name of a string instrument.

Meni sen šam^c teg küydürmänging ne!? Cafa va cavr etäkin tür-mäking ne!? (DN257v:3) ‘What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?’³⁶⁹

Meni, ay baht, ‘amdā tepmäking ne? Cirāhat üstidä, tuz sepmä-king ne? (DN244r:7) ‘O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt on my wounds?’³⁷⁰

Ne ḥacat başinga t̄ac-i mašā’ih! (Sayf57v:12) ‘What need is there to put the crown of sheikhs upon your head?’³⁷¹

Qanī māli Qārūn, qanī ol qaram! (MM188r:4) ‘Where [today] is the wealth of Qārūn? Where is that ditch [that swallowed him and his wealth].’³⁷²

Can qačan bolğay gulistāndan malūl? (Sayf6v:8) ‘When would the spirit be tired of the rose garden?’³⁷³

Bu ne fitna u gāvğā erür? (AC323r:5) ‘What is this uproar and racket?’³⁷⁴

4.3.2. Classification According to Status

4.3.2.1. Affirmative Sentences

An affirmative sentence contains a positive statement. E.g.,

Ušal damda yätištilär ikävlän. (Ḥ77r:1) ‘At that moment they both arrived.’

Taqvāsiz ‘alim köszüz maš‘aladārğa oḥsar. (Sayf161r:6) ‘A wise man without piety resembles a torchbearer who has no eyes.’

Ka‘badin afzal erür könglüm mäning. (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

İkävini atası mān emäs mān. (Ḥ74r:3) ‘I am not the father of either one of them.’

Manga ögrätmädi bu yolni ustād. (Ḥ76v:8) ‘The master did not teach us this way.’³⁷⁵

³⁶⁹ I.e., What is the meaning of...

³⁷⁰ I.e., It does not make sense. It is of no avail.

³⁷¹ I.e., No need whatsoever.

³⁷² I.e., All are gone.

³⁷³ I.e., Never! How could it!

³⁷⁴ I.e., Stop it!

³⁷⁵ I.e., What you have just said does not agree with the teachings of my master.

Ḥudāğa yaqmadi bu mihribānliq. (Ḥ74v:2) ‘God did not approve of this attachment.’

4.3.2.2.2. By the Negative Particle yoq

Dedilär al-vida^c ay hamnišīnlär ki körmäk emdi yoq, ay pākdi-nlär. (Ḥ79r:11) ‘[Then Ibrahīm] continued, Farewell, O Class-mates! We will no meet again, O Adherents of the Pure Faith.’

Čarasī yoq tur. (Ḥ79v:8) ‘There is nothing to be done about this.’

Bu mašalni ešitkāning yoq mu? (Sayf17r:13) ‘Have you not heard this anecdote?’

4.3.2.2.3. By the Negative Conjunction ne...ne, nē...nē ‘neither...nor’

Nē qattī bol ki el sändän üšängäy nē yumšaq qadrīnga nuqšan ketürgäy. (Sayf164v:1) ‘Don’t be so hard that people shatter when you touch them. Nor be so soft that they bring damage to your authority.’

4.3.2.2.4. By the Negative Particles dägül and emäs

Har quši ‘anqa degül dur, har başar insan emäs. (GD74-3) ‘Not every bird is a phoenix. Not every man is human.’

Bu išning songi ma‘lūm dägül. (Sayf42r:4) ‘The outcome of this matter is not known.’

Hwaš ermäs cavnri ḥaddin ašurmaq kelip oq atmaq va yanī yašurmaq. (DN244r:11) ‘It is not proper to increase cruelty beyond limits, to come and shoot the arrow and hide the bow.’

4.3.2.3. Conditional Sentences

A conditional sentence indicates the condition of an action, expressed or implied. E.g.,

Šam^c ḥacat dägül künäs togsa. (Sayf115v:11) ‘There is no need for candles if the sun is risen.’

Agar alsa özümingni alsun. (Ḥ74r:4) ‘But if he is determined to take [one of these three boys] let Him take mine.’

Öydä bolsang bu iḥtiyātlarni qil. (MŞ8r:1) ‘If you are at home take these options.’

4.3.2.4. Possibilitive Sentences

A possibilitive sentence expresses the feasibility of an action. E.g.,

Munun tutsa bolur ḥidayat quši. (MM180r:10) ‘Through them one can catch up with the bird of guidance [at the destination].’

Bu kün sorsa bolur. (MM194v:4) ‘Today it is possible to ask.’

4.3.2.5. Impossibilitive Sentences

An impossibilitive sentence indicates that an action cannot or should not be carried out. E.g.,

Binā bānīsiz bolmaqi, bil, muhāl. (MM178r:12). 'Know that a building cannot come into existence without a builder.'

Uruğ āksā bolmas, kirür yergä tong. (MM193r:10) 'It is not possible to sow the seeds [for] frost penetrates the soil.'

Bir iqlimā siğışmas ikki sulṭan. (Sayf12r:12) 'Two kings do not fit into one country.'

4.3.2.6. Desiderative Sentences

A desiderative sentence indicates the desirability of an action. E.g.,

İting ay kaş ki bolsa qarınım, özin etsä bu yerdä hamnişinim. (DN251r:1) 'If only your dog would be my associate. If only it would make itself my companion in this [very] place!'

Har gadalar teg eşikdä qılmağıl sen dar ba-dar, bolsam erdi kaş-ki men eşikingdä hākrāk. (ShD89r:7-8) 'Don't make yourself a vagabond at the threshold like all the beggars do. If only I could be at your threshold lowlier [in rank] than dust.'

4.3.3. Classification According to Structure

4.3.3.1. Simple Sentences

Simple sentences consist of a subject and a verbal or nominal predicate. These are the two main constituents of a sentence.

4.3.3.1.1. Bare Sentences

In bare sentences the subject and predicate occur without any modifiers or complements. E.g.,

Sözi şakkar. (Sayf70r:8) 'His words are [sweet, like] sugar.'

Qalmadı ẖwāca fulān. (Sayf10r:9) 'Merchant so-and-so passed away.'

4.3.3.1.2. Elliptical Sentences

In elliptical sentences one of the main elements, mostly the subject, is not directly expressed. E.g.,

Bağdadlıq tur. Faşih erkān dur. (NMp.108) 'He was from Baghdad. He was eloquent.'³⁷⁶

Ne miqdār? Qaç ayğa? Bahāsī neçä? (MM192r:1) 'How much? For how many months? What is its price?'

Nä 'İsrat? 'İsrat-i cannat. Nä cannat? Cannat-i Kavşar. (Sayf 184r:13) 'What pleasure? The pleasure of paradise. What paradise? The paradise of Kawşar.'

4.3.3.1.3. Expanded Sentences

In addition to a subject and a verbal or nominal predicate expanded sentences have other members, such as direct object, indirect object, and various adverbials. These are called secondary elements of the sentence. E.g.,

Yetti gardündin aşurdı nālasın miskin gadā. (GD162,6) 'Poor Gadā made his complaint rise above the seven heavens.'³⁷⁷

Dişār Bakr elindā bir aq saqallı ẖwāca māni evinā qonaq āltti. (Sayf135r:1) 'In the town of Dişār Bakr a white bearded Khoja took me to his home as [his] guest.'³⁷⁸

4.3.3.2. Secondary Elements of the Sentence

The secondary elements relate to one particular member or to the sentence as a whole.

4.3.3.2.1. Subject Complements

Bustān içindā qadding sarv-i ravān körünür. (Sayf184v:5) 'In the garden your stature appears to be a walking cypress.'

Şakar sözüngdān kelür mukarrar. (Sayf185r:5) 'Sugar becomes double refined from your words.'

Yuqaridin inip yamğur tüşär pāk, ki tā andin tirilür ẖar ẖaşāk. (DN258v:11) 'Descending from above the rain falls evenly so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.'

Giyahim çıqsa nāğah cān teg, ay dōst! Körüngäy 'āsiq-i bēcān teg, ay dōst! (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 şī'r ara kim qaldı mahzūn, radife bar edi, maqbūl va mavzūn. (DN258r:9) 'In that poem which remained somber she had a cowalker'³⁷⁹, very pleasant and wellshaped.'

³⁷⁷ The subject *Gadā* has an adjective modifier, *miskin*. The verb *aşurdı* has a direct object, *nālasın* and an adverbial phrase *yetti gardündin*.

³⁷⁸ The subject *ẖwāca* is modified by the adjective *aq-saqallı* and specified by the numeral *bir*. The verb *āltti* in the predicate has a direct object *māni* and a predicative object *qonaq*, and an adverbial phrase of place *Dişār Bakr elindā*.

³⁷⁹ Ar. *radif* 'one who rides behind another on the same horse'. Also: 'a word following the rhyme'

³⁷⁶ Person and number of the subject are indicated by the verb. Actual subject is provided by the context.

Saʿadat birlä hwarṣedi yürüp faq, qilip har zarradin darhwast muṣṭaq. (DN255v:8) 'By her felicity she is like the sun sailing in the sky and demanding homage from every speck of dust.'

4.3.3.2.2. Direct Objects

Direct objects can be marked and unmarked depending on morphological and semantic considerations.

E.g.,

Meni sen körmä 'aciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasında dastgāhim. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'

Tilādi kaḡid va cōn boldi mavcūd, qalam tilini etti 'anbar ālūd. (DN252v:8) 'She asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was provided, she covered the tip of the pen with ambergris.'

Qoyuban baṣini ḥaṭṭinggā ḥama, sözüng etip ṣabāni girdnāma. (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.,

Yollarıngning gardini qıldim közümdä tutıya: Közlärımgning yaşidin nāzuk nihāling saqladım. (ShD100v10-11) 'I made the dust of your paths collyrium of my eyes. By the tears of my eyes I nurtured your delicate branches.'

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

Neçük men dōstni duşman qılayin, elig bersä ayaḡini silayin. (DN248r:1) 'How could I treat a friend like an enemy?'³⁸² If he gives his hand, I will rub [my face to] his feet.'

Meni sen körmä 'aciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasında dastgāhim. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'

(Steingass, p.573)

³⁸⁰ I.e., he dipped the tip of the pen into the inkwell. Reference is made to the fragrance of the ink.

³⁸¹ *Girdnāma*, an amulet that makes the escaping slave return.

³⁸² Friendship has been highly valued in Uzbek tradition.

³⁸³ In humble respect and repentance. The image is taken from Sufi practices: When coming to the presence of the sheih the novice [*murīd*] prostrates and places his left or right cheek [depending on whether he is sinful or forgiven] upon the sheikh's feet

Qiliban muşknī ol 'anbarin meng, cihān icrā qara tofrağ bilān teng. (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris scented beauty spot reduced [the value of the] musk to [the level of the] common clay in the [entire] world.'

Etıp ḥaṣāknī gavhar bilān teng, qilip tofraqnī 'anbar bilān teng. (DN249r:10) 'She made a mote equal to a jewel. She made the dust equal to ambergris.'

Kim alip tur aḡizgā gōk terin, bilip tur ḥusn ara ṣakarni şirin. (DN257v:2) 'He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mouth will appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by beauty.'

4.3.3.2.4. Indirect Objects

Indirect objects are generally indicated by the dative case. After verbs expressing motion the locative [-da/-dā] or accusative [without case ending] can occur to mark the indirect object. In this usage the finite verb generally precedes the unmarked accusative case. E.g.,

Atinīn tilingā köp mazkūr et. (RB6v:9) 'Make your tongue always mention His name.'

Yüzüm altungā tutḡay erdi anī, közidā asraḡay erdi nihānī. (DN250v:10) 'My face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.'

Mundin ol vergā taraqqi qilur ol, 'aql ol vergā eṣit tapmas yol. (RB9r:5) 'Listen well, from here he will proceed to that place to which reason can never find a way.'

Kōzin yaşin aqurdi bardī maktab. (H78v:3) 'He was shedding his tears when arrived at the school.'

Degin anda kelürgā raḡbat ettük, ravān ṣuḥbat yaraḡin qil ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time'

Asilur dārgā nā üçün Maṣūr, biling? Cānini ma'ṣuq üçün isār etār. (ShD46r:6-7) 'Maṣūr is hanged on the gallows, do you know why? He sacrifices his life for the beloved.'

4.3.3.2.5. Adverbials

Adverbials can be single words (adverbs, adjectives and nouns in adverbial role, case forms of nouns, pronouns, numbers, postpositional

³⁸⁴ For *kōzidā* cf. P. *ba-čaşm*.

³⁸⁵ Cf. Modern Uzbek Мен сизнинг Марғилон келганингизни бугун отамдан эшитдим 'I heard today from my father about your arrival to Marghilan.'

and prepositional phrases). We distinguish adverbials of place, time, and manner.

4.3.3.2.5.1. Adverbials of Place

An adverbial of place expresses the location where an action takes place or where someone or something is.

Alarñing bişatı qırağıda olturdı. (Nava'i, NMP.159) 'He sat down at the edge of their carpet.'

Muvabbab taptı anda 'ışq rāzın, mufaşsal içidā bir bir bayānın. (DN252r:1) 'She found in it the secrets of love laid out in chapters with statements disclosed one by one in paragraphs.'

Yol üstündä bir esrük kişi yatur edi. (Sayf76r:10) 'On the road a drunk person was lying.'

Män safardä tünı küni ta'bān, tegmä şagird elindä sargardān. (Sayf77r:12) 'Night and day I tire out when the army is on the move. My head turns in every servant's hands.'³⁸⁶

Şab-i mi'rāc anı dozahda kördüm. Bular kimlār bolur dep anda sordum. (H74v:10) 'On the night of the Ascension I beheld them in Hell. "Who are these [creatures]?" I asked.'

4.3.3.2.5.2. Adverbials of Time

An adverbial of time expresses the time before, during, after or in the duration of an action takes place or a situation exists.

Har namāz-i şamdin songra kelür erdi. (Nava'i, NMP.158) 'He would come after every evening prayer.'

Üç kün Şirāzda erdi. (Nava'i, NMP.158) 'He was in Shiraz for three days.'

Bu kün topraq bol andan burunraq kim ertä gil taning topraq bolğay. (Sayf77r:6-7) 'Turn into dust today, before your clay body turns into dust tomorrow.'

4.3.3.2.5.3. Adverbials of Manner

An adverbial of manner expresses how, in what way, or by what means an action is performed.

Aytilip aynıng başında bu ğazal, ay va yıl 'anqā bigin közdin uçar. (ShD50v:1-2) This ghazal was recited at the beginning of the month. Months and years fly out of [our] vision like a phoenix.'³⁸⁷

On ikki yığaç yayağ kelip tur. (Nava'i, NMP. 159) 'He came walking twelve miles.'

³⁸⁶ Said about a banner.

³⁸⁷ A phoenix never dies. When her lifespan is over, she disappears.

Bolur āsān bara bara muşkil. (RB5v:6) 'Step by step what is difficult will become easy.'

Tävä arqun yürür āsān tün va kün. (Sayf137r:4) 'The camel walks slow, without stopping, night and day.'

4.3.3.3. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences consists of two or more independent clauses. By the nature of the relationship of these clauses to one another we distinguish copulative, adversative, disjunctive, conclusive, and explicative compound sentences.

4.3.3.3.1. Copulative Sentences

In copulative compound sentences independent clauses are joined or listed in a coordinated series. The clauses may be connected by the simple conjunctions **va**, **u**, **ham**, **dağī**, by the serial conjunctions **ham ... ham**, **gah ... gah** [**~ gah...gah, gahī...gahī**], or without the use of conjunctions.

4.3.3.3.1.1. Copulative Sentences with a Conjunction

Fiğānim tındı va firyād uçtı, şarab keldi va ğam fī'l-hāl köçti. (DN249r:3) 'My sobbing has ceased, and the cry for help has gone. Celebration has come and grief at once has moved away'.³⁸⁸

Barur bat husn va qalmas bu yigitlik, qalur ammā irig söz birlä itlik. (DN246r:2) 'Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But [what] will remain [with us] are rude words and meanness.'

Şakar sözlüg nigār-i sarvqāmat, ki sen olturdung va qoptı qiyāmat. (DN249v:11) A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises'.³⁸⁹

Men emdi hasta va ğam artmaqda; hiyāling allıda cān tartmaqda. (DN257r:3) 'Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing. Facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.'

Gah bolur 'uryān ağaçlar, gah bolurlar gul şifat. (Sayf66r:1). 'Trees sometimes are naked, sometimes are [dressed] like flowers.'

4.3.3.3.1.2. Copulative Sentences without Conjunction

'İşqıng yolında banda mən, sen kün sen va mən zarra mən, Yading bilā mən zinda mən iki cihānda nām-i cān. (ShD11r:6-7) 'On the path of [my] love for you I am your servant, you are the sun and I am a speck of dust. Recollecting you I am alive. In the two worlds you are the name of the soul.'

³⁸⁸ Like a nomad caravan Sorrow packed up its chattels and left [*köçti*].

³⁸⁹ For the idiom see Sayf, *Gulistan* (12r:10)

Közi Çolpan, munavvar ‘arizi badr, yangi ay qaşı, saçı laylatu’l-qadr. (DN256r:6) ‘Her eyes are the planet Venus, her shining face, the full moon. Her eyebrows are the new moon and her hair, the darkest of the night.’³⁹⁰

Karam körgüz ‘azimat markabın sür, özüngni har neçük et anda yetkür. (DN249v:5) ‘Be gracious, drive on [your] mount’³⁹¹ and in whatever way, get yourself there.’

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

Körüp bir sarvni barur özidin, yürür cöyän va su turmas közidin. (DN254r:5) ‘Noticing one cypress’³⁹² he is besides himself. He walks as if in search and the stream of tears running from his eyes never stops.’

Käyiklär teg kezip etip cigar hün, gami tağ va qizil yaşı tabar-hün. (DN259v:3) ‘He is strolling like a deer absorbed in [tormenting] thoughts. His sorrow is a mountain, his tears, the fruit of the jujube [tree].’

4.3.3.3.2. Adversative Compound Sentences

Adversative compound sentences contain contrasted clauses. The second clause, by means of adversative conjunctions contradicts the first clause. The adversative conjunctions are: **ki** ‘but’, **ammā** ‘but, however’, **valē**, **valēk**, **valēkin** ‘but, yet, however’, **lek**, **lekin** ‘but, yet, however’, **balki** ‘on the contrary, but’, **va** ‘but’. E.g.,

Özi bir yerdä ya yüz yerdä közi, tili iki ya yüz ağızda sözi. (DN 254r:9) ‘He himself is in one place but his eyes are in hundred places. He has two tongues’³⁹³ but his reputation is in a hundred mouths.’³⁹⁴

Oq tümürü cirāhatdın çıkar valē nişāni qalur. (Sayf101r:9) ‘The iron point of the arrow comes out of the wound but its mark stays.’

Barur bat husn va qalmas bu yigitlik, qalur ammā irig söz birlä itlik. (DN246r:2;) ‘Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But what will remain [with us] are rude words and meanness’

Cihānda köp muğannılar valēkin bu eşi yoq tur. (Sayf61r:7) ‘There are many singers in this world, but this one has no equal.’

³⁹⁰ There are four nominal sentences in this couplet.

³⁹¹ ‘Azimat markabi’ ‘mount of travel’, i.e., not a pack animal.

³⁹² I.e., a cypress-shaped beauty.

³⁹³ I.e., he is a dissembler. Cf. P. *duzabān* ‘having two tongues’

³⁹⁴ He is the talk of the community for his strange behavior.

Zamānē harf ‘ilminā isindī, içi küydi, **valē** qorqup qisindī. (DN 258r:6) ‘For a while she was busy with the science of characters.’³⁹⁵ She was filled with enthusiasm but, being afraid, she restrained herself.’

Tiriglik saridın urmay nafas hēç, çiqip bat bat dami ammā kelip hēç. (DN259r:11) ‘He does not breathe at all to give a sign of being alive. He is panting fast but no word comes out of [his mouth].’

Ġami Farhād yangliğ körgüzür zör, ġami širīn valēkin fali’i šör. (DN259v:5) ‘His sadness manifests the strength of a stone-cutter.’³⁹⁶ His sadness is sweet³⁹⁷ but his fortune is brackish.’

Zarīf va sarkaš va zībā va cammās, qarīn erdi anga balki qarindaš. (258r:10) ‘She was witty, obstinate, elegant, and jolly. She was a close friend, nay, she was more, she was like a close relative.’

Bu kün tilāgim erišti valē ne fā’ida? (Sayf19r:67) ‘Today [the object] of my desire has come, but what is the benefit?’

Notes: (1) The conjunctions **valē**, **valēkin** may indicate the beginning of a new scene in the narration or a transition to a new topic. E.g.,

Valēkin İbrāhīmdin sözni angla, aning caning qulaqi birlä tinglä. (H75v:9) ‘Now hear these words about İbrāhīm; listen to them with the ear of your soul.’

Valē payğambar oğliğa baqardī, közini yaşı marcān dek aqardī. (H74r:8) ‘(And now) whenever the Prophet looked at his son, tears of coral pears would flow from his eyes.’

(2) The phrase **ammā ba’d** ‘and now to our topic’ is a technical term to indicate the title or topic of a work after the conventional introductory elements [*Bismillāh*, praise of God by His creation and some of His Most Beautiful Names, praise of the Prophet by his Sublime Morals and his miracles, mention of the Prophet’s companions]. E.g.,

Ammā ba’d. Mundaq aytur faqir-i haqir, al-mutavakkilu ‘ala’l-maliki’l-musta’an, Muḥammad aš-Şaybānī ibn Abī’l-Ḥayr Ḥan, raḥimahu’llahu ar-Raḥmān. (RM1v:4) ‘Now to begin. The humble beggar, who puts trust in God, whose aid is implored, Muhammad ash-Shaybanī, son of Abu’-Khayr Khan, may the mercy of God the Merciful be upon him, says as follows.’

³⁹⁵ She was reading the letter.

³⁹⁶ Consider *farhād* ‘stone cutter’ and *Farhād* prop.n. the lover of Širīn.

³⁹⁷ Consider *širīn* adj. ‘sweet’ and *Širīn* prop.n. the Beloved of Farhād.

4.3.3.3.3. Disjunctive Compound Sentences

Disjunctive sentences offer a choice of two or more alternatives. The following conjunctions are used: *yā*, *vayā* 'or', *yā...yā* 'either, or', *yoqsa*, *yoq ersā* 'or else', *hwāh...hwāh*, *hwāhī...hwāhī* 'either...or' *ne...ne*, *nē...nē* 'neither...nor'. E.g.,

Cihān sāvgān kišining közlärini qanā 'at toldurur *yā* ölsä topraq. (Sayf93r:5) 'The eyes of the one who loves this world are either filled³⁹⁸ with contentment or with dust after he dies.'

Tiriglik nišanī adaq yiğmaq ol, yā köz yummāk ol, yā ağız qis-maq ol. (MM191r:9) 'One can tell that an animal is alive if he puts his feet together, or closes his eyes or presses his teeth together.'

Oğlan ayttı, ay ärānlār yat čārigā ot urung, yā barip 'avrat qu-mašin kāyip āvdā 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.'

Tegār mü kirpükümdin cānina oq? Balānī tüş körār mü közi yā yoq? (DN252r:7) 'Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or [do they] not?'

Yā naḥl bigin saḥī kerāk ār, yā sarv şifat hamīša āzād. (Sayf 177v:8) 'A person must be either generous like a palm tree³⁹⁹, or free⁴⁰⁰ like a cypress.'

Yā anga sözlāgil tek oltursun, yā esik aç ravān čiqip ketāyim. (Sayf60r:11) 'Either tell him, to be silent or open the door and let me go away.'

Erlık ol iş dāgöl köngül yiqqay, yā kişi 'aybini körüp čaqqay. (Sayf146v:11-12) 'It is incompatible with manly virtues to destroy a heart or to witness other people's faults and disclose them.'

Hwāh öltür hwāh tirgüz, iḥtiyār elgingdā dur. (GD102r:7) 'Either kill me, or let me live, the choice is in your hands.'

Ol qarındaş kim nafs asiri turur ol kişigā ne qarındaş bolur ne yaqin. (Sayf78r:7) 'The brother who is captive of his Carnal Soul is neither a brother to one nor a relative.'

4.3.3.3.4. Conclusive Compound Sentences

In conclusive compound sentences the cause and result relationship⁴⁰¹ is expressed by independent sentences. By content they are related to complex sentences with consecutive clauses. E.g.,

³⁹⁸ Meaning 'satisfied'

³⁹⁹ Bearing fruit

⁴⁰⁰ From the change of seasons [being always green], from people's expectations [bearing no fruit], from care [not providing for anyone]

⁴⁰¹ Cause leads to a result.

Ba-nāgāh kördi mihmān közlärini, unuttı İbrāhīm ham özlärini. (H77r:3) 'Suddenly [he] caught the guest's glance and [as a consequence] was besides himself [with fear].'

Ölüp tavbasız köp ökünclār yedi. (MM193r:8) 'They died impenitent, [therefore] they suffered [the pangs of] deep regret.'

Ki davlat kelgüsi dur, bolma ğafil! Sa'adat birlā tüzgüng dur maḥafil. (DN260v:5) 'Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: Brighten up the meeting place with the felicity of paradise.'

4.3.3.3.5. Explicative Compound Sentences

In explicative compound sentences the result and cause relationship⁴⁰² is shown by independent sentences. By content they are related to complex sentences with cause clauses.

E.g.,

Uruğ äksä bolmas, kirür yergä tong. (MM193r 10) 'One cannot sow the seeds, [for] frost penetrates the soil.'

Māning cānimda dur könglüngdāki āh, köngüldin bar köngül içinā čon rah. (DN260r:2) 'The sighs of your heart are in my soul, inasmuch as there is a pathway from one heart into another.'

Tuta berdi manga cān tuḥfasini tegürdi ya 'nī cānān tuḥfasini. (DN255r:6) 'He offered me the gift of life; he delivered to me the gift of the Beloved.'

Meni sen körmä 'aciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasında dast-ğāhim. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'

4.3.3.4. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences consist of a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause expresses a basic [subject, predicate] or a secondary member [direct object, indirect object, or adverbials] missing in the main clause. It is connected to the main clause by means of a conjunction or joined to it asyndetically. In the main sentence an adverb or an adverbial phrase may anticipate the presence and the nature of a subordinate clause.

4.3.3.4.1. Complex Sentences with a Subject Clause

In complex sentences of this group the subject is expanded into a clause. They use the conjunctions *ki*, *kim*, *har kim*, *har kim ki*, *har qaysi*, *har*

⁴⁰² Result is explained by a cause.

kişi, har kimsä 'who, whoever, he who', ne kim, har ne ki, har ne 'that, that which'. E.g.,

Ol biligli kim eşitip iş etär, lācaram maqşūdına āsan yetär. (Sayf 178r:8) 'The wise one who acts listening [to good advice] will definitely reach his objectives.'⁴⁰³

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

Kim etip tur 'asalğa sirka tarcih, oqup tur muhtaşar 'ilmini tal-vih. (DN257r:11) 'He who prefers vinegar to honey is like the one who reads an abridged work in marginal notes.'

Kim etip tur açığ aḡunı tiryāk, tilāp tur köknär içindä aflāk. (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into an elixir, was looking for heaven inside a poppy-head.'

Nigarın neçä gah ol kim ilindi, elig berdi murādı köngli tındı. (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 alıp tur aḡızğa gök terin, bilip tur ḡusn ara şakarnı şırın. (DN257v:2) 'He who takes the secretion⁴⁰⁴ of a toad into his mouth will appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by beauty.'

Çu mazmūnı sarāsar boldı ma'lūm, ne kim [er]di mubham boldı mafhūm. (DN255v:10) 'When its contents were entirely known, anything that was doubtful, now was completely understood.'

Zaqan çahıda kim ḡamdin qutulmas, neçük tur anda ol köngli tutulmas. (DN252v:3) 'He who cannot escape sorrow in the dimple⁴⁰⁵ of the chin, how come is not despondent there?'

Ol yüzi ay kim cihānning cānı dur, bu zamāna ḡublarining ḡānı dur. (Sayf179r:10) 'That moon-faced [beauty] who is the soul of this world, is the ruler of the beauties of our times.'

4.3.3.4.2. Complex Sentences with a Predicate Clause

A predicate clause is the expansion of the nominal predicate or the nominal part of the nominal-verbal predicate into a subordinate clause. The conjunctions used are **ki, kim**. E.g.,

⁴⁰³ Ch. *eşit-* is also used to mean 'to take, or listen to a good advice'. Cf., *Bir naşihat şarḡın uş qıl-duq bayān: Kim eşitmäs bolsa bizgä nā ziyān?* (Sayf178r:7) 'We have just reported what there was to say in giving a piece of good advice. If there is someone who does not listen, it is of no concern to us.'

⁴⁰⁴ Lit., sweat

⁴⁰⁵ Ch. *çah* 'well', reference to a Joseph story episode: Joseph was thrown into a well by his brothers. [See Qur. 12,15].

Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetgäy vaşl bāḡidın manga bar. (DN245r:2) 'My hope is, O Jasmin-Bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.'

Bu gulistān bāḡbānı ol adib kim Sarayı Sayf erür nazm-i ḡarib. (Sayf7v:2) 'The gardener of this rose garden is the poet Sayf of Saray whose poems are extraordinary.'

Abū Ḥanīfa ol kimärsä ärdi kim otuz yıl yatsığ namāzining yunuḡı birlä ärtä namāzini qıldı. (NF191,7) 'Abu Ḥanīfa was the person who for thirty years would perform the morning prayer with the ablution he had made before the night prayer.'

Män ol şubḡ-i sa'adat män ki Çingiz kökidin toḡdum. (ShD 120r:3) 'I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis.'

4.3.3.4.3. Complex Sentences with an Object Clause

In complex sentences of this type the direct object is expressed by a subordinate clause. The conjunctions used are: **ki, kim, har kim, har kim ki, har kişi** whom'; **ne, ne kim, nemä kim, har ne kim, har ne** 'what, that'. Rarely, though, the object clause can be attached to the main clause without a conjunction.

E.g.,

Ötär könglidä har dam bir dīlārāy, tilār közi ki körsä bir yangı ay. (DN254r:7) 'Every moment a sweetheart occurs to his mind. His eyes are eagerly waiting to behold a new moon.'⁴⁰⁶

Ne sağınding manga mundin ḡam erdi? Köngül zaḡmına bu bir marham erdi. (DN243r:5) 'Why did you imagine that her tone bothers me? [Remember that blame] is a salve for the wounds of the heart!'⁴⁰⁷

Gar tiläsäng kim ḡarā'iblar tamaşa etkä sän, tegmä bir kün bir yangı yergä keräk kim yetkä sän. (Sayf97r:7) 'If you wish to admire strange and wonderful things, you must arrive every day to a new place.'

Keçä qoy ḡalqına qoydı biçaḡın, tilädi kim soyuban alsa yaḡın. (Sayf69r:3) 'In the evening he put his knife to the throat of the sheep, wanted to slaughter it and take its fat [tail].'

Sän saqınma kim yeḡāy män qayḡu ol dam cān üçün. (Sayf 56v:6) 'Do not imagine that at that moment I would worry about my soul.'

⁴⁰⁶ A hint at the Muslim practice of waiting for the new moon that signals the beginning of the holy month of Ramazan.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf., MM *Malāmat muḡibb köngli tiryāqı ol.* (195v:16) 'Blame is a remedy for the lover's heart.'

Sağındım ādam-i ḥaṣṣī sāni mām. Bōrining ṣa‘brāki sām emiṣ sām.
(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.,

Ataṣi aytti: Ay oğlum, safarnıng bu ṭarīqa fa‘idalari köp.
(Sayf97r:11) ‘His father said, “O son, going on a journey has many benefits of this nature.”

Rasūlu‘l-lāh soradı İbrāhīmni, tanur mu sām māni cām dilimni?
(H76r:2) ‘The Prophet inquired after İbrāhīm, asking, “Do you know [my boy] the beloved of my soul and heart?”’

Dedi, bar kim közi dur yolda anıng, qulağı üngä dur ol bēnāvanıng. (DN252v:11) ‘She said, “Go now, because his eyes are fixed on the road.⁴⁰⁸ The ears of that destitute are listening for the sounds [of approaching footsteps].’

Mām ewdāki ḥadimlaridın sorar ārdim kim özi kečä yatmas mu?
(NF190,15) ‘I asked from his servants in the house: “Does’nt he ever lie down at night?”’

4.3.3.4.4. Complex Sentences with an Attributive Clause

An attributive clause modifies [expands, restricts or specifies] the meaning of a noun in the main sentence. This noun is mostly part of the subject, less frequently, of the predicate. As conjunctions *ki* and *kim* ‘who, that, which’ are used. The noun modified can be specified by *ol*, *uṣol*, *bu*, or *uṣbu*. E.g.,

Bu madhī ol qaṣıdağa qıldim cavāb *kim* tūn zulfini kesārdā tutup ṣubḥ ḥancari. (Sayf182v:1) ‘I have created this panegyric poem in answer to the ode [the author of which] took the sword to cut the tresses of the night.⁴⁰⁹

Men ol bulbul emās men, ay gul-andām, *ki* bir dam bargsız tapğay men āram. (DN244v:6) ‘I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, that could find rest without rose leaves even for a moment.’

Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i saman bar, *ki* yetgäy vaṣl bağidın manga bar. (DN245r:2) ‘My hope is, O Jasmin-Bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.’

Qizil altun *ki* vaṣfin qilsa bolmas, ani küydürmāginčä bilsä bolmas. (DN247r:10) ‘The red gold the quality of which cannot be

established by description, cannot be recognized until you burn it.⁴¹⁰

Nā bulbul teg *ki* bolmas ṣarmī ḥā‘il, bolur bir nečä kün bir gulğā mā‘il. (DN254r:11) ‘Unlike the nightingale that is not restrained by shame and in every few days it desires another rose.’

4.3.3.4.5. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Time

[Temporal Clauses]

A temporal clause gives the time frame of the action contained in the main sentence by producing another action which occurs before, after, or simultaneously with the main action.

4.3.3.4.5.1. Simultaneous Actions

In such sentences the action of the temporal clause occurs at the same time [during or parallel with] as the action of the main sentence. (Case of simultaneity). The conjunctions are not mandatory but *qačan*, *qačan kim*, *har qačan*, *čon* may be used. E.g.,

Altun qanatın ačti esā ṣubḥ sonqari, kök kölgä batti cumla kavākib kabūtari. (Sayf181v:6) ‘When the falcon of the dawn spread her wings, all the doves of the stars went down in the blue lake.’

Mām ol ṣubḥ-i sa‘adat mām ki Cingiz kökidin toğdum, qačan kim tābrāsām yel teg Timūr ṣam‘i uçar mändin. (ShD120r:3-4) ‘I am the dawn of felicity born from the roots of Chingiz: ‘When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Timūr goes out as I pass.’

Čon köngülär ölgäy, anıng köngli ölmägäy. (NNMp.111) ‘When hearts [of others] die, his heart will not die.’

Ču qoysang ol ḥarāb allida gāmē, bitigni fēz tegür, bizdin salāmē. (DN246v:5) ‘When you put your foot in front of that ruin,⁴¹¹ give him the letter right away and convey to him a greeting from us.’

Ravān qıldi falak čon cām-i Camṣed, ačıqlanip qizarip čıqtı ḥwarṣed. (DN242r:11) ‘When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshid, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.’

Ču körgüzdi maḥabbatni yüz alvān, tükätti namanī va qıldi ‘unvān. (DN246v:2) ‘Having shown [her] love in a hundred ways she completed the letter and wrote the address on it.’

⁴⁰⁸ In expectation

⁴⁰⁹ The author of the *qaṣıda* this line refers to was Khwārizmī, who also wrote the *Maḥabbatnāma*.

⁴¹⁰ Probing it with *aqua regia*.

⁴¹¹ I.e., when you come to the presence of that wretched person

Qalam tili cōn fāriḡ boldi andin, davāt aḡzini yaptı tarcumān-din. (DN259r:4) ‘When the tip of the pen was through [writing], the inkholder that the interpreter was using closed its mouth.’

Note: The main clause and the subordinate clause can also be connected asyndetically, especially if the verb of the subordinate clause is in the temporal-conditional form. The temporal clause can be dependent on more than one sentences. E.g.,

Gulāb idi ki kelsä yüz cēvürmä. Aning ol hīdmatin yüzigä urma. (DN244r:5) ‘When the scent of rose water wafts toward you, do not turn your face away, do not refuse⁴¹² its services.’

4.3.3.4.5.2. The Action of the Subordinate Clause Occurs Before the Action of the Main Clause. (Case of Anteriority).

The following conjunctions introduce the subordinate clause: **andin bärü kim, ki tā, tā** ‘since, ever since’.

Andin bärü kim aldī uşol dīlrubā köngül, küydi cafāda körmädi hargiz vafā kongül. (AM 192v:5) ‘Since that hearttravisher took [my] heart, the heart suffered cruelty and did not ever experience any mercy.’

Yüz alvān şevalig şöḡ-i şakarḡand, ki tā kördi labingni eridi qand. (DN243v:5) ‘You are a mischiefmaker with a sweet smile and with a hundred feats of coquetry. Since the rock candy saw your lips, it began to melt.’⁴¹³

Tüşüp tur tā eşiking gardi közgä, körünmāp tur közümgä surma özgä. (DN257r:6) ‘Since the dust at your threshold got into [my] eyes, nothing else is used as collyrium for my eyes.’

Körüp tur tā yangaqing sari dida, bolup tur almadin könglüm guzida. (DN257r:7) ‘Ever since the eye⁴¹⁴ looked toward your face, my heart has been a more preferred simile [to express joy and sadness] than the apple.’⁴¹⁵

4.3.3.4.5.3. The Action of the Subordinate Clause Occurs After the Action of the Main Clause. (Case of Posteriority).

The conjunctions used are **andin burun kim, ol qadar kim, tā, avval ki** ‘before, ere.’ E.g.,

⁴¹² Lit., Do not throw it back into its face.

⁴¹³ The candy was so overwhelmed by the sweetness of your lips.

⁴¹⁴ The first person singular and plural possessive suffixes are often omitted

⁴¹⁵ The apple has two colors, the sincere heart has only one. Cf. Sayf *dōst vidā ‘i n qilip turur magar alma? Bir taraḡi za farān biri ḡamra.* ‘Maybe the apple is saying good-bye to a friend: one of its sides is saffron, the other is wine[-colored].’

Ḥayr qıl, ay ni‘mati köp ḥwāca sän andin burun, kim yürüp deḡäy munādī qalmadī ḥwāca fulān. (Sayf19r:8-9) ‘Be generous,⁴¹⁶ O Wealthy Lord, before the street-crier goes around saying: “Lord So-and-so passed away.”’

Kämäci ol qadar şabr etti kim yigit kāmā yipin elinā cōrgädi. (Sayf101r:12) ‘The boatman waited until the youth reeled the rope of the boat around his hand.’

4.3.3.4.6. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Place

[Local Clause]

In sentences of this group the place of the action of the main sentence is expressed by a clause. The conjunctions used are **qanda kim, ne yergä kim, har qayda kim, ne yerdä kim** ‘wherever’, **qayda, ne yerdä, ne yergä** ‘where’.

E.g.,

Qanda kim tatlı su aqar bolsa, qurt va quş baliq andan eksilmäs. (Sayf22r:11) ‘Wherever sweet water flows, there is no shortage of wolves, birds and fish.’

Qayda barsa ol sa‘adat aḡtarī hamrahī män. (HBD204:1) ‘Wherever that star of felicity goes I am his companion.’

Ne yergä kim ärişsä ‘alim anda bilürlär qimatın ari guhar teg. (Sayf97v:9) ‘Wherever a wise man goes, people would know his value exactly as they know the value of a real pearl.’

Ne yerdä gul bar anda tikän bar. (Sayf158r:3) ‘Where there are roses, there are [also] thorns.’

Ay gul ḥaddingni bil daḡi laf urma, cōn seni har qayda kim yolqsa şaba ḥwaş tutar quçar. (GD48-4) ‘O, Rose, be aware of your limits and do not brag because no matter where it meets you, the morning wind keeps you happy and embraces you.’

Ne yerdä kim qadimi dīvar körsä biläk quvvati bilān yiqip ke-çär. (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, andaḡ kim.** The adverb **andaḡ** may join the main sentence to anticipate the modal clause. Its usual place is before the verb. E.g.,

⁴¹⁶ I.e., do good deeds

Payğambar sunnatini andağ tergüzgäy sän kim sändin oza ham bir kim ärsä 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.'

Törtinç kün qatığ uruštılar andağ kim payğambar ekindü namāzi taqī aḥṣam namāzi qılu bilmädi. (NF30,15). 'For four days they fought so hard that the Prophet was not able to carry out his afternoon prayer and his evening prayer.'

Män taqī ağzımni açtım ärsä ağzımda tüfkürdi, andağ kim mu-barak todaqı mänim ağzımğa tegdi. (NF202,12-13). 'When I opened my mouth, he spat into my mouth in such a way that his blessed lips touched my mouth.'

Män taqī oyğandım taqī engän säwündüm şad boldım andağ kim sävüngänimni heç şifat qılu bilmäz män. (NF271,15) 'I also woke up and rejoiced very much and was so happy that I am not able to characterize my happiness.'

Note: Adverbials of manner are preferably expressed by verbal adverbs [gerunds]. E.g.,

Aḥvālī qatığ boldı, zār zār yığlayu Haqq ta'ālāqa munācāt qılu cān berdi. (NF95,17) 'His situation was very grave, crying bitterly, reciting a soliloquy to God the Most High, he gave up his soul.'

4.3.3.4.8. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Degree

The clause of degree indicates the extent or measure of the action of the main verb. The conjunction used is **kim**. In the main sentence the phrases **ol qadar** and **az bas ki** may anticipate the clause. E.g.,

Ol qadar muḥmalatdan sözlädi kim dağı sözlämägä macālī qal-madı. (Sayf92v:12) 'He produced so much idle talk that he had no power left to talk.'

Saçım az bas ki özin urdı barham, säning ḥālīng bigin dur vaqtē darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'

Dostqa ol qadar yarı qılğıl kim duşman bolsa sanga zafar tapmağay. (Sayf39v:9) 'Help your friend [only] to the extent that if he becomes your enemy he will not overcome you.'

Ol qadar qattılıq etmägil kim sändän toyğaylar. (Sayf164r:11) 'Do not be so harsh that people get fed up with you.'

Ol qadar yumşaq bolmağıl kim seni ayaq altında qoyğaylar. (Sayf164r:12) 'Do not be so soft that people squash you under their feet.'

4.3.3.4.9. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Cause

[Causal Clause]

The causal complex sentence consists of a main clause and a causal clause. The causal clause expresses the cause, reason, or motive for the action of the main clause. Conjunctions used in the causal clause are: **çön** [short, in poetry **çu**], **kim**, **ki** [Persian], **andın kim**, **nedin kim**, **negä kim**, **ne üçün kim**, **neçün kim**, **mundaq kim** 'because' [real, actual, objective cause], for, since [the speaker's subjective view], owing to.'

E.g.,

Vafäsizliq ḥattini tartma köp bitimäs çön firišta ol gunāhim. (DN257v:10) 'Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful⁴¹⁷, because the angel does not record that transgression of mine.'

Sävünmāk yoq körüp duşman ölüsın, kälisär çön bizä ol davr ayaqı. (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].'

Ḥiyālīm yolidin közüngni alma çu boldım cān sanga könglüngni salma! (DN248r:5) 'Do not take off your eyes from the road of my phantom images. Since I have become your life, do not cast away your heart.'

Netük men ävüräyin öz ğamimdın, ki pülād erigäy otluğ damimdın. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'

Darya 'išqingni kezip hargiz ki pāyān tapmadım, män mubtalā gardābida qaldım ki darmān tapmadım. (ShD108r:8-9) 'I roamed the sea of your love because I did not find its boundaries. Afflicted I was left in its vortex because I found no remedy.'

Ay Şabanī çön berip tur fath va nuşrat kardğar, sar ba-sar alsang Ḥurāsān mayl-i Tabrēz äylābān. (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.'

Kabāb otqa tüşār nakamlıqitın, kim andın vahm etār el ḥāmlı-qitın. (DN247r:11) 'The [raw] meat falls into the fire in disappointment, because people are apprehensive of its rawness.'

Manga raḥm et ki köp boldı nafirim mu'anbar zulfni qıl dast-girim. (DN256v:11) 'Have mercy on me, because my complaint has become overwhelming. Make the scented tress be my helper.'

⁴¹⁷ This idiom is based on P. *ḥatt ba qabr kaşidan* 'to draw, after interment, seven lines on a tomb, believed to secure forgiveness to the dead' (Steingass, p. 466b).

Qalamlardin durust ermäs rivāyat, ki siğmas tillärigä ol hikāyat. (DN248v:4) 'It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.'⁴¹⁸

Kiring uçmaḥqa ol sabab birlä kim dünyadä edgü 'amallar qilur erdingiz. (NF99r:8) 'Enter Paradise on the account that you have done good works in this world.'

Notes: (1) After verbs expressing fear, anxiety, or concern [e.g., *qorq-* 'to fear', *asra-* 'to protect', *ḥafv et-* 'to be afraid'; *andēša qil-* 'to be concerned'] the reason for these feelings is indicated by a causal clause. E.g.,

Özini asradī ol šafmašrab ki bar erdi qamar allīda 'aqrab. (DN 258r:7) 'That pure-hearted one protected herself because one of the Moon's mansions was confronting Scorpio.'⁴¹⁹

İšq otining šu 'lasī tüssä Harigä nāgahan, qorqaram emdi Harining mulki veran olmasun. (ShD139r:11-12) 'When the flames of the fire of love suddenly engulfs Herat, I fear that the kingdom of Heart will turn into ruins.'

(2) After interjections the clause introduced by *ki* or *kim* is a causal clause. E.g.,

Yoq tur cānima faqat, bar könglümä yüz miḥnat, yā Rabb ki fida bolsun anga bu yoq va barim.⁴²⁰ (ShD107v:1) 'My soul has no patience, there are a hundred miseries in my heart. O Lord, may what I have and what I don't have be sacrificed to you.'

Aḥ u vavaylā ki dilbar āylāmiş 'azm-i 'Iraq; qoygusī dur bizni zar ū ḥasta dar band-i firāq. (GD111,1) 'O Dear me! [There is a rumor that] my Heart-ravisher decided to move to 'Iraq. She will for sure put me, mournful and sick, into he fetters of separation.'

The conjunctions *ki* or *kim* may be missing. E.g.,

Har tūnlā falak yüzin aḥim tütüni tuttī, yā Rabb, tīra bolmasun ol ā'ina-ruḥsārīm. (ShD107r:13) 'Every night the smoke of my sighs clouds the surface of the sky. O Lord, may my mirrorlike cheeks not become troubled [thereby].'

⁴¹⁸ I.e., the nib of the pen

⁴¹⁹ Cf. P. *qamar dar 'aqrab* lit. 'Moon in the Scorpion.' Astrologers use this term for the passage of the moon in which one of its mansions confronts the Scorpio (Haim II, p. 372). This situation is deemed by astrologers to have evil consequences.

⁴²⁰ Lit., 'My existence and nonexistence.' I.e., all that I was before I annihilated my Carnal Soul and all that remained after I did.'

4.3.3.4.10. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Result

[Consecutive Clause]

A clause of result indicates the consequences of the action expressed in the main clause. The conjunctions *kim* or *ki* 'so that' are used to attach it to the main sentence. Sometimes the conjunction is omitted and the two clauses are joined assyndetically. In the main clause a demonstrative adverb [*andaq*, *anča*, *āylā* 'so, so much'] or an adverbial phrase [such as *aning teg* 'so much'] may anticipate the clause of result. E.g.,

Qašim čandān sāning fikringni qildī, ki qayğudīn boyi ya teg egildi. (DN259v:11) 'My eyebrow had thought so much about you that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.'

Aning teg oqudī šī'r-i nihānī, ki toymay qaldī ol elning yamānī. (DN258r:8) 'She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil people would not comprehend it.'

Aning teg bizni ḥwaš kör kim begānsün 'aql rūḥ anī. (Sayf 179v:4) 'Look at us in such a pleasant way that intellect and spirit may approve of it.'

Anča asay men seni kim ingirä. (AC327v:3) 'I will hang you up [and leave you alone until] you[r gourds] crack.'⁴²¹

Tanbūra deg yüzni qılay pāymāl, āylādī oğlanlar anī dastmāl. (AC324r:8) 'I will trample a face like Tanbūra's under foot so that servants will [be needed to] scoop it up with their hands.'

Ol yigit maḥabbat tāngizina āylā mustağraq bolup turur edi kim sözlāmāgā macālī yoq edi. (Sayf114v:5) 'That youth was so much immersed in the sea of love that he was not able to talk.'

Aning teg bolmişam ḥayran sanga kim körünmäs közümä 'alam-da diyār. (GD82:5) 'I admire you so much that I do not see the cities of this world.'⁴²²

Közümdin anča sayl aqtī aqindin toldī bu 'alam. (Sayf183r:13) 'Such flood burst forth from my eyes that this world was filled with raging water.'

Mān yätiz 'alim boldum, Abū Ḥanīfagā iḥtiyācīm qalmadī. (NF193:17) 'I have become a fine scholar. I have no need of Abū Ḥanīfa [any longer].'

4.3.3.4.11. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Comparison

[Comparative Clause]

A clause of comparison indicates that the action of the main clause takes place in the same fashion, with the same intensity or degree as the action

⁴²¹ Says Tanbura to Kingira, a musical instrument in the heat of a debate. Cf. Aḥmadi, *A Contest of the String Instruments* (327v:3).

⁴²² Meaning: And therefore I wander alone in the desert like Macnūn.

of the comparative clause. The conjunctions **ki**, or **kim**, **netük kim**, **neçük kim**, **nätäg kim** 'as, just as, like' are used in the subordinate clause. If the comparison is not complete, the conjunctions **göya**, **göya ki** 'as if' are used. E.g.,

Tüzälip sarv boyung eşikimdin kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä canı. (DN251v:1) 'May your cypress-like body rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.'

Ĥan ham kelip Aĥsini qapap edi, neçük kim mazkür boldi. (Babür 31v:10) 'The Khan also arrived and besieged Akhsi, as was mentioned [above].'

Beşnamāz gunāhingizni yup ketärür andaq kim ariq suyi badan-niŋ kirini kitärür. (RM25v:2) 'The five prayers wash away your sins just as the water of the canal removes the dirt from your body.'

Rūḥ-i qudsi dur Gadāning sözi, göya kim tamām fayz-i anfası Kalāmu'llāh bayāni kör nä dur. (GD68,7) Gadā'i'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.,

Mānim halākligim yahşıraq 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 **kim**, **ki**, **ki tā**, **tā kim**, **tā an ki** 'that, so that, in order that.'

E.g.,

Camāling nūr salğay tofrağimğa söyüngäy qālibim rūḥ u ravāni. (DN251r:11) 'May the beauty of your face throw light upon my grave so that the soul and spirit of my body could rejoice.'

Kečär canıdın avval suda gavvaş, ki tā aḥar bolur bir durrgä ol ḥaşş. (DN253v:7) 'First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single⁴²³ pearl.'

Kesär köp şāḥni dihqan tiliki, ki tā bir mevagä yetär eligi. (DN 253v:9) 'The farmer cuts in many branches with his grafting knife so that his hands obtain [some] fruit.'

⁴²³ In the sense of 'unique'.

Şabā allingda barip tartmay āḥ, ki qatıg kelmäsün könglüngä nagah. (DN256v:7) 'The Zephyr comes to your presence but does not heave a sigh so that your heart be not aggravated.'

Āḥ közüm, sen 'ışq sirrin kızlā, tufan bolmasun. Bu za'if cis-mingdä 'ışqning bahri tuğyan olmasun. (ShD130r:7-8) 'O My Eye, hide the secret of love, so that tempest will not arise, so that the sea of love in my fragile body will not overflow and cause a deluge.'

Bäyiktin sāya körgüzür humāyē, ki tā davlat tapar andin gadāyē (DN258v:10) 'From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.'⁴²⁴

Kök üstindin salur ay yergä nürin, ki tā kasb etär andin yer ḥu-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 qul kentgä bardı kim tuz ketürgäy. (Sayf31r:1) 'A servant went to town to bring some salt.'

Yüzüng közgül dur, ay ḥusn icrā māḥim, ḥazar qıl kim anı tut-masun āḥim. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'

Yuqaridin inip yağur tüşär pāk, ki tā andin tirilir ḥar ḥaşāk. (DN 258v:11) 'Descending from above the rain falls evenly⁴²⁵ so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.'

Barip men tā tişing fikridä özdin, salip men sihr ara gavharni közdin. (DN257r:8) 'In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that as if being under a spell I have had no eyes for⁴²⁶ [genuine] pearls.'

Saçim az bas ki özin urdı barham, sāning ḥāling bigin dur vaqtē darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'

4.3.3.4.13. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Condition

The conditional clause in complex sentences expresses the condition under which the action of the main verb materializes. The classical division of conditional sentences in Indo-European languages, with somewhat less stricture, applies also in Chagatay. So we distinguish

⁴²⁴ Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous bird *humā* casts a its shadow will become a king.

⁴²⁵ The Creator bestows His grace upon everyone without distinction. Cf., Sa'di *Aniŋ sansiz sağışsiz rahmatiniŋ yağmuri barçağa yātip turur* 'The rain of His countless and boundless grace reaches everyone.'

⁴²⁶ I.e., I don't take interest in...

conditional sentences with real conditions, potential conditions and unreal conditions.

4.3.3.4.13.1. Complex Conditional Sentences with Real Conditions

The conditional clause states a fact as the condition for the action in the main sentence. Since the condition, expressed by the present conditional, is real there is no doubt that the action of the main sentence, indicated by the present tense of the aorist, will occur. Sentences of this type come very close to temporal sentences. E.g.,

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

Mu‘allim bolmasa haybatli, ay yār, saqalindan tutup oğlanlar oynar. (Sayf141v:8) ‘If the teacher has no authority, O Friend, the pupils will grab his beard and dance [around him].’

Nāghān bayvāb va it körsā ġarīb, bu yaqasın ol etāgin bek tutar. (Sayf29r:6) ‘When suddenly a doorman and a dog discover a stranger [at the gate], the former grabs him by the collar, while the latter, by the skirt.’

Ay Hūrasān ahlī Šaybān bir avuĉ tofrağ edi. Kimġā Haqq ġilsa ‘ināyat hān va ham sulṭān bolur. (ShD42r:9-10) ‘O, People of Khurasan realize that [once] I was a handful of dust. The one whom God blesses with his Divine Aid, will become a Khan or a Sultan.’

4.3.3.4.13.2. Complex Conditional Sentences with Potential Conditions

The condition expressed in the conditional clause is potential: it may or may not happen. If it does, the action of the main sentence will for sure occur. The conjunctions **agar, gar** to introduce the conditional sentence is frequent in this group. These conjunctions do not necessarily require the verb to be in the conditional form.

E.g.,

Sening kōyungdīn, ay kōrk iĉrā bāġim, bašim gar barsa bar-mağay ayaġim. (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 gōy agar arz etti hālīn, dedi sargaštalikdīn öz malālīn? (DN244v:2) ‘What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?’

Agar sendin očär elning ĉiraġi, manga sendin yarur ummēd bāġi

(DN249v:4) ‘If people’s candle goes out because of you⁴²⁷, for me, because of you, the garden of hope will light up.’

Zamāna hublarin ġilsaq hikāyat, cihanda qalmağay hargiz šikāyat. (ShD25r:2) ‘If I talk about the beauties of our days, no complaint whatsoever will remain in this world.’

Bularġa bir nafas ġilsaq tafakkur, ušandīn açilur nūr-i hidāyat. (ShD25r:12) ‘If I meditate on this matters even for a moment, the light of guidance emerges from my thoughts.’

Ġamimdīn gar desā iĉimdāki daġ, bulut teg yığlağay ün tartībān daġ. (DN256v:10) ‘If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.’

Šabānī sevāridin sorsa kim netkāy sensizin, özüngdā har nā ki bar mendin özgāni sal! - dār. (ShD56v:5-6) ‘If Shabānī asks his beloved: “What can I do without you?” She replies, “Cast away all that is in you other than I.”

Tüzālmāsün yüzüm din qiblasīna, gar özgā sarī bolsa rōy u rāhīm. (DN257v:9) ‘My face should not turn to the qibla of [our] religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward others.’⁴²⁸

Qutulmay qayġudīn gar furqatingda ġamingdīn özgā bolsa ‘uzr-hwāhim. (DN257v:8) ‘I do not wish to rid myself from sadness if in your absence other than grief because of you is my apologist.’

Agar bu keĉā munda qalsaq, halāk bolur miz. (NF16v:2) ‘If we stay here tonight, we will perish.’

Agar sūsmār sāning payġambarliqīnga tanuqluq bersā, mān sanga inanur mān. (NF18r:10-11) ‘If the lizard bears witness to your being the Prophet, I will believe in you.’

Agar cān tartsam cāndin ne ḥāšil, kōrūnmās közgā ol andīn ne ḥāšil? (DN250v:4) ‘If my soul suffers, what is the yield of the soul? If it does not show in front of my eyes, what is the use of it?’

Ne der sen munda gar keltürsām anī, nihufta ündāsām ol bēnāvānī? (DN258v:7) ‘What would you say if I brought him here? If I secretly invited that miserable person?’

Agar sen anda körsāng nāgh āzar, men ešitip bolur men munda afgār. (DN260r:3) ‘If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.’

Agar tandin desām bir ḥaksarē, ne kōrüngāy ešikingdā ġubārē. (DN250v:5) ‘If I tell about a person that he is humble, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?’

⁴²⁷ Cf. Sayf, *Gulistan bi’t-turki* [172v:11]

⁴²⁸ The Sufi notion of *mā sivā’llah* ‘other than God’ is used in this distich. The heart should be emptied from all other than God and only then can it be filled with God.

4.3.3.4.13.2. Complex Conditional Sentences with Unreal Conditions

The conditional clause contains a hypothetical, contrary to fact statement expressed by the past tense form of the conditional. The main clause speculates what would have happened had the unreal condition come true. For this he past tense of the optative mood or the gerund in *-gunča* are used. E.g.,

Agar bu āšāk bolmasa edi, baytār qatīna barmağay edi. (Sayf 147r:13). 'Had he not been an ass, he would not have gone to see a veterinarian [for eye treatment].'

Yılan tapsa edi yahşi ol oğlanni toğurğunča. (Sayf146r:3) 'It would have been better for her to come upon a snake than to give birth to that child.'

Agar mən tangrīdan āylā qorqsam edi kim sən sulṭāndan qorqar sən, siddīqlār cumlasından bolğay edim. (Sayf41r:4-6) 'If I had been afraid of God as you are afraid of the Sultan, I would have been one of His closest friends.'

Ayağing tofrağın gar tapsam erdi, anī elning közidin yapsam erdi, yüzüm altunğa tutğay erdi anī, közidā asrağay erdi nihanī. (DN150v:9-10) 'Had I but got hold of the dust your feet were walking on, had I but covered it from people's eyes, my face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.'⁴²⁹

4.3.3.4.14. Complex Sentences with a Concessive Clause

A concessive clause expresses a condition which even if granted, does not take away the validity of the predication made by the main sentence. In other words, the action or state expressed in the main sentence will take place or will continue to exist even in the presence of the condition stipulated by the concessive clause. The conjunctions used are **agarči**, **garči** 'although' and, less frequently, the phrasal conjunctions **bā vucūd kim**, **bā vucūd-i ol kim** 'in spite of, despite, notwithstanding'. The main sentence can be introduced by **vale**, **valekin**, or **ammā** 'but'.

Predication in both the concessive and the main clauses can be achieved by nominal sentences in the present tense. The most frequently used tense form in the concessive clause, however, is the present conditional, although the definite past may also occur. In the main clause the aorist, the gerund **-ban/-bān**⁴³⁰ or the future tense of the optative mood⁴³¹ are used. E.g.,

⁴²⁹ For *közidā* cf. P. *ba-čašm*.

⁴³⁰ In predicative function. See 3.6.7.2.3.

⁴³¹ See 3.6.5.5.1.

Dedi, "Dam urmay atlanmaq kerāk sen, agarči yel sen yanmaq kerāk 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]."'

Agarči dard evining mahrami men, ğamīngda nālaların ğam-damī men. (DN251r:5) 'Although I am intimate with the house of pain⁴³², in sorrow for you I am a confidant of complaints.'⁴³³

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsāng, yüz evürmān agarči yüz evürsāng. (DN251r:3) 'I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head⁴³⁴ although you turn away⁴³⁵ yours.'

Bu Şabanī garči hān oldī gadāyīng dur sening. Kim fidā āylār sanga yüz ming munung dek taht u tāt. 'Although this Shabanī 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.'

Garči közümdin viraq boldung köngüldā bar sen, şīša-i könglüm ara şirin zulālīng saqladim. (ShD100v:12-13) 'Although you were far from my eyes, you were inside my heart. I kept safe your sweet and limpid water in the bottle of my heart.'

Boyung zulfung ağızdin tapıban kām, ulaşmas garči tanvīn va alif lām. (DN256r:8) 'Your figure and your tresses obtain gratification from the mouth⁴³⁶, although the [strokes of the] *tanvīn* and the letters *alif-lām* [in this sequence] never touch.'⁴³⁷

Note: (1) The conditional conjunctions **agar**, **gar** 'if' can also be used to introduce concessive clauses. E.g.,

Agar salsam nazarni köz yaşına, ne bolğay qatırae daryā qaşına? (DN 250v:7) 'Suppose I cast a glance at the tears,⁴³⁸ what is the value of a single drop against [the waters of] a river?'⁴³⁹

Sening köyüngdīn, ay körk iṣrā bāğim, başim gar barsa barmağay ayağim. (DN244v:5) 'From your quarter O, My Garden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.'

⁴³² A hint at Jacob's 'House of sorrow'.

⁴³³ I complain a great deal.

⁴³⁴ A sign of disobedience.

⁴³⁵ In disregard, or contempt

⁴³⁶ People praise them.

⁴³⁷ To appreciate the image please consider that *alif* stands for the figure of the Beloved, straight like the character *alif*, and *lām* represents her hair, curled up at the end like the letter *lām*. These characters in this sequence are not connected in writing and the strokes of the *tanvīn* never touch.

⁴³⁸ If I take notice of or consider the value or significance of...

⁴³⁹ Rivers and seas are considered infinite sources of wealth [fishing, pearls, transportation; symbol of the vast and the infinite].

Gabr agar yüz yıl ot yaqar bolsa içinä tüşicäk küyär fi'l-hāl. (Sayf24r:7) 'Even if the fireworshipper tends the fire for a hundred years, the fire will burn him in no time when he falls into it.'

(2) Concessive clauses occur also without a conjunction. Such clauses, however, must have their verbal predicates in the conditional form. E.g., **Harış yesä cihänni hanuz aç va faqir.** (Sayf166v:6) 'Even if the greedy person eats up the entire world, he still is hungry and poor.'

4.3.3.4.15. Complex Sentences with a Universal Concessive Clause

The concessive clause in a universal concessive sentence indicates a free choice of any number of conditions which even if granted would not change the validity of the main clause.

The conjunctions used are **neçä**, **neçä kim**, **har neçä**, **har neçä kim**, **har çand** 'however much; no matter how much', **har ne**, **har ne ki** 'no matter what, whatsoever', **har neçük** 'however', **har ki**, **har kim** 'whoever, no matter who'. E.g.,

Berür tağ adamı karlığ nişanı, ki har ne desäng aytur ol ham anı. (DN248r:4) 'The man of the mountain⁴⁴⁰ displays the sign of deafness. Whatever you say, he says the same thing.'

Qamış ham hālī ermäs kim berü[r] qand, neçä ayırsang anıñ bandidin band. (DN247v:10) 'Also, the sugar cane is never empty but dispenses sugar no matter how you tear it up joint by joint.⁴⁴¹

Bu Harining daniş ahli har neçä 'ayb etsängiz, qayda kim bolsa Şabānī ol Samarqand arzular. (ShD42v:7-8). 'No matter how much you blame me, people of Hari: Wherever Shaybani is, he will always long for Samarqand.'

Hacr ara küygän köngül hālīnī bilmäs dur kişi: har ki yansa 'ūd teg ol hwaş nafas dur dūd emäs. (ShD64v:8-9) 'One does not know the state of the heart burning in the fire of separation. Whoever burns like the aloe wood emits a fragrant breath, not smoke.'

Ne kim çiqsa tilidin cān talaşur, açiq söz tatlığ ağızğa yaraşur. (DN243r:6) 'Whatever comes from her tongue, thrusts one into agony. Bitter words becomes the sweet mouth.'

Neçä kim cannat havāsī bolsa al-haqq dilguşay, bolmağusī dur valē Bağ-i Hiyāvandin latif. (GD101,6) 'No matter how refreshing

⁴⁴⁰ I.e., echo.

⁴⁴¹ I.e., Even if you destroy the form, the essence remains. You must destroy the form to get to the essence.

is indeed the air in Paradise, it is not as charming as the Promenade by the Hiyavan canal.'

Tang nasimi lutf ilā har neçä kim cānbağş erür, bolmağay har-giz valē payğām-i canandīn latif. (GD101,2) 'No matter how life bestowing is the morning breeze with [its] grace, it will never be more gracious than a message from the Beloved.'

4.4. THE WORD ORDER

By the position of subject and predicate, the two main components of the sentence, we distinguish direct [S + P] and inverted [P + S] word orders.

4.4.1. Direct Word Order

In a direct word order the subject precedes the predicate. E.g.,

Fiğānīm tındī. 'My sobbings ceased.'

Firyād uctī. 'My call for help took off.'

Ṭarab keldi. 'Merriment has arrived.'

Ğam fi'l-hāl köcti. 'Sadness at once departed'

in the chain of the coordinated compound sentence:

Fiğānīm tındī va firyād uctī, ṭarab keldi va ğam fi'l-hāl köcti. (DN249r:3)

Note: If the subject is not expressed by a noun or pronoun and is indicated only by the finite form of the verb, the direct object that begins the sentence and precedes the verb must be in the marked accusative case. E.g.,

Şaba elini öptüm qoyuban baş, anga ihlaş nūrīn etibān faş. (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.,

Ayrılğay ğam atī cān daftarindin, köngül cam'ina tartılğay ra-qamlar. (DN248v:1) 'The name of sorrow will be deleted⁴⁴² from the journal of life. The numbers will be drawn to the total of the heart.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴² Lit., will depart

⁴⁴³ The partial results will total to the serenity of the heart.

Qalamlardin durust ermäs rivāyat, ki siğmas tillärigä ol hikāyat. (DN248v:4) 'It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.'⁴⁴⁴

Farāğat rūdidin tegdi sadāye, başarat kökidin yetti navāye. (DN249r:4) 'From the instrument of leisure there came a voice. From the heaven of the good tidings there came a tune.'

Tikip mü dur közin hālīmğa ol yār, agarçi 'aynğa yoq nuqta darkār. (DN252r:9) 'Has that friend kept staring at my beauty spot even though the dot has no use for the eye.'⁴⁴⁵

Alarning çon bu sözgä tüşti rayı, arağa kirdi rağbat kadḥudāyī. (DN259r:1) 'When those two achieved consensus on this, the desire to act entered the scene as an arbitrator.'

Tüzätip keçälär egri teg ünün, açip tırnaqı birlän ğam tügünin. (DN259v:6) 'At nights he tunes his voice, as you tune a guitar. [Picking the guitar] with his fingernails he unties the knots of grief.'⁴⁴⁶

4.4.3. Word Order of Phrasal Verbs

Phrasal verbs consist of a nominal element and an auxiliary verb. In prose works this is their normal sequence. In poetry, however, elements of phrasal verbs can be separated by other sentence elements. Also, their sequence can be reversed. E.g., **paydā qıl-** 'to disclose' and **huvaydā et-** 'to make visible in:

Qılıp ay teg yüzüng nūrini paydā, etip kün zarrağa mihrin huvaydā. (DN250v:2) 'Your moonlike face revealed its light. The sun manifested its love to a speck of dust.'⁴⁴⁷

or **muqābil bol-** 'to face s.th.' and **qābil tüş-** 'to become capable' in

Bolur bir ayğa har kün muqābil, tüşüp tur ol nazar 'ilmidā qābil. (DN254r:6) 'He is facing a moon every day and has become an expert in the skill of observation.'

or **munavvar qıl-** 'to light up, illuminate'

Közin saldī anga ol māḥpaykar, šabistān šam'din qıldı munavvar. (DN258r:5) 'That moon-faced beauty took a look at that and illuminated it with the candle of the night-chamber.'

⁴⁴⁴ I.e., the nib of the pen

⁴⁴⁵ To write "eye" in Arabic you don't need a dot above the letter 'ayn.

⁴⁴⁶ In Shaybani's *Risāla-i Ma'arīf* at night Satan ties knots [*tügün bağlar*] on the head of the believer while he is sleeping (20r:6). They are removed ["untied"] by the believer's mentioning God's name, carrying out the ablution and performing the morning prayer.

⁴⁴⁷ The sunrays make the invisible particles in the air shine.

5. LEXICON

The vocabulary of Chagatay is extraordinarily rich and diverse. It has many Arabic and Persian loan elements--words, phrases, idioms--both from the literary and the popular levels. Although borrowings have changed to some degree the status of Turkish elements, [distribution in semantic fields, participation in developing idioms, shift in word formation] they did not replace them. Parallel use of native and borrowed words increased the lexical expression of the language. The cultural impact of Arabic, the language of Islam, and Persian, the language of an impressive classical literature enriched the paremiologic content of Chagatay making it a suitable tool for literary expression.

5.1. Sample Vocabulary

This list of select Turkish words gives an idea of the nature of Turkish elements present in the Chagatay language:

açığ (MM199r:14) 'bitterness'

açıqla- (BN90r:10) 'to implore'

adar- (MM193r:3) 'to renounce'

ağ (MM183v:13) 'net, snare'

ağ- (MM193v:4) 'to rise'

aḡı (RM6r:2) 'brother'

anuq (MM187r:1) 'correct [answer]'

ang- (MM186r:11) 'to remember'

aqar- (RM37r:5) 'to turn white'

aqı (MM183r:14) 'generous'

aqta (MM190r:11) 'gelded horse'

arman (H79v:11) 'disappointment'

ariğ (MM176v:3) 'pure, clean'

armaq (DN265r:10) 'a race horse'

arqan (MM188r:17) 'upon his back'

artuqsı (RM40r:5) 'beyond a certain limit'

asiğ (MM180r:2) 'benefit, use'

aş- (MM193v:10) 'to go beyond'

aşuqup (RN45r:8) 'in a hurry'

ata- (MM185v:3) 'to count [by names]'

atiq- (RM18r:10) 'to be named'

aw (MM179v:5) 'game animal'

ayla- (BN89r:2) 'to return'

aylan- (BN92r:9) 'to spin around'

az bucuq (RM35v:7) 'some, a little'

azğaş- (MM183v:12) 'to get lost'

azraq (MM188r:14) 'injury'
ažun (MM197r:8) 'world'

äčä (MM190v:11) 'elder brother'
ägäči (MM192r:14) 'elder sister'
ägrilig (RB8r:6) 'frail'
äkin (MM188v:4) 'sown area'
ärtä (MM185v:14) 'morning'
äsän (MM198r:12) 'beneficial'
äsänä- (MM185v:10) 'to correct'

ban- (MM198v:2) 'to bind oneself'
barliq (MM198v:15) 'existence'
basa (RM1r:6) 'furthermore'
bašaq (MM197v:1) 'arrowhead'
bat (RB7v:8) 'suddenly, at once'
bäyik (DN261v:5) 'altitude'
begat (RM441v:1) 'governors, begs'
birik- (RM18r:6) 'to come together'
bol- (DN270v:4) 'to be, to become'
bola (H79v:11) 'great'
borč (RM39r:6) 'debt'
bölnäk (MM193r:15) 'share'
bulğaš- (RM25v:4) 'to become dirtied [with sin]'
burnaği (RB8r:7) 'former, primeval'
busağa (AC327r:9) 'threshold'
bušiq (RB8r:2) 'grief'
buzagu (MM189v:7) 'calf'

čağir (RM2v:10) 'wine'
čap- (H78v:1) 'to gallop, trot, rup'
čaқиştur- (RM3r:3) 'to set one person against another'
čarča- (H79v:10) 'to get tired'
čaruq (AC325r:4) 'leather sandal'
čerig (RM2r:7) 'military forces'
čida- (AC325v:8) 'to feel like doing something'
čigay (MM176v:7) 'dependent [upon God]'
čiq- (H76r:1) 'to go out'
čiray (H75v:11) 'face'
čirayliq (AC325v:11) 'beauty'
čura- (AC325v:11) 'to wear through, get a hole in'

edgülük (DN271v:7) 'goodness'
eg- (MM 185r:2) 'to bend'
ekinči (MM193r:15) 'sower'
emdi (H7v:8) 'now'
engän (MM187v:15) 'very much'
erän (RM9r:9) 'a pious man'
ev- (RB5r:4) 'to turn [intransitive]'

ğuşşaliq (RM36r:2) '[food] that chokes'

hän [for hwan] (DN267r:4) 'table, carpet [with spread]'
hwahla- (H79r:6) 'to wish, desire'

ingir- (AC327v:3) 'to crack'
iraq (RM43r:4) 'far [from]'
irğa- (MM194r:8) 'to shake'
isig (RM18r:7) 'warm'
isirğa (MM188r:7) 'earring'
iy- (H74v:6) 'to send'

ibär- (MS2r:1) 'to send'
iči (MM192r:14) 'father's brother'
igä (H77v:8) 'lord'
indä- (H76r:7) 'to call'
intiq- (AC322v:1) 'to desire strongly'
iring (MM181r:11) 'pus'
iš (H77r:10) 'work'
itür- (RB8r:3) 'to lose'

kärtülä- (MM192v:7) 'to pronounce the divorce formula in earnest.'
keč (H80r:2) 'night' [cf., Uzbek *кеч*]
keng (RM43r:9) 'liberal'
kengit- (MM184v:9) 'to extend [a row]'
ker- (AC325r:7) 'to stretch out'
kesäk (RM12r:10) 'a piece of stone or clay'
kök (MM179v:10) 'heaven'
kökän (RM26r:8) 'pillar'
kölük (MM179v:5) 'riding animal'
köp₁ (H75v:1) 'community'
köp₂ (H80v:9) 'many'
körsät- (BN97r:2) 'to show, manifest'

köyük (MM197r:11) 'firewood'
kün (RB7v:5-6) 'relatives'
küy- v. (DN244v:7). 'to be consumed by fire'

mang- (RM15r:5) 'to walk'
maqta- (RM13r:) 'to praise or command for'
ma u man (AC328r:1) 'conceit, bragging'
māngzā- (RM5r:9) 'to resemble'
mīšqir- (MS6r:1) 'to blow one's nose'
mung (H79v:7) 'sorrow'
mün- (MM188v:16) 'to ride'

oğul-qiz (MM187r:3) 'children' [cf. Uzbek *ўғил-қиз*]
oğurluq (RM34v:9) 'theft'
oḡša- (RM25r:7) 'to resemble, be like'
oqul- (RM29r:10) 'to be recited'
oruč (MM186v:1) 'fast'
orun (MS13r:1) 'place'
ot (H75v:8) 'fire'
otlağ (MM188v:15) 'pasture'
oyna- (MM181v:6) 'to play'
oz- (AC322v:3) 'to overcome'
ozdur- (RM6v:7) 'to go beyond a certain point'

ög- (MM176v:8) 'to praise'
ögdü (MM176v:8) 'hymn'
ögür- (BN87v:3) 'to turn'
ögüz (MM188v:4) 'river'
öksük (25v:7) 'less'
ökün- (H76r:5) 'to grieve'
ökünč (MM193r:9) 'regret'
örgän- (MS8r:3) 'to learn'
örgät- (H76v:8) 'to teach'
örüng (BN92v:8) 'white'
ötkär- (BN85v:10) 1. 'to forgive' 2. (RM19r:1) 'to spend time'
ötmäk (MS15v:1) 'bread'
öwlä (RM2v:4) 'noon'
öy (MS8v:) 'house'
özä (MM299r:11) 'to desire s.th. ardently'

qamči (RM23r:1) 'whip'
qapsa- (MM182r:14) 'to grasp'

qaq- (MS5v:5) '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.'
qatiglan- (MM193v:3) 'to strengthen oneself'
qayaš (MM192r:12) 'a relative'
qayruvan (DN272r:2-3) 'caravan'
qisraq (MM190r:12) 'mare'
qolğu (MM199v:1) 'request'
qoş (AC328v:1) 'a pair of cup filled with wine'
qoyun (RM18r:8) 'embrace'
qu- (RM14r:3) 'to pour'
quduğ (MM191r:14) 'well'
qulan (MM191r:15) 'wild donkey'
qulun (H77v:6) 'foal'
qurağ (MM193r:10) 'tent'
qurğan (RM6r:6) 'stronghold'
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'
sathāš- (MM182r:4) 'to meet'
savur- (BN87r:1) 'to scatter'
sazan (AC327r:4) 'veil'
säčig (MM198v:14) 'choice'
sevüglük (RB6v:7) 'love'
sezik (MM184r:6) 'choice'
sinağ (MM177v:9) 'attempt'
siqtamaq (RM21r:5) 'sobbing'
silä- (RM3r:1) 'to love, prefer, caress'
silik (MM197r:14) 'smooth [words]'
sol- v.i. (H77r:6) 'to wither'
sora- v.t. (H76r:2) 'to ask'
soraq (MS3v:3) 'question, inquiry'
söy- (H74v:1) 'to love'
süčüg (H81v:2) 'sweet'
sül- (AC327r:5) 'to cut'
süsüm (MM193v:2) 'sorting [of the good from the bad]'

šamuša (MM188r:7) 'ornament'
 šeš- (MM194r:6) 'to untie [one's belt]'
 šiš- (RM31r:7) 'to swell'

tamuğ (MM179v:3) 'hell'
 tan- (BN88v:8) 'to give up'
 tanuq (MM189r:1) 'evidence'
 tanglasi (RM32r:9) 'the next morning'
 tapšur- (AC326v:2) 'to entrust [s.th. to s.o.]'
 tapuğ (MM194v:2) 'service'
 tart- (RM29r:4) 'to pull'
 tālbā (MM196v:8) 'ignorant'
 tālbārā- (BN9v:11) 'to talk nonsense'
 tebrā- (RM36r:9) 'to move from'
 tegiš (RM44r:4) 'treatment'
 tirgüz- (RM9v:7) 'to resurrect'
 toğ- (MM180r:7) 'to arise'
 toğ (MS15r:4) 'dust'
 ton (RM30v:1) 'mantle'
 törā (H78r:8) 'official'
 töšāk (RM18r:7) 'mattress'
 tuš (RM29v:10) 'the equal [of]'
 tutuš (MM198r:15) 'always'
 tügün- (H75rL10) 'to renounce'
 tükāl (RM2r:2) 'all'
 tülāk (MM199v:12) 'haven'
 tüšā- (MM182r:3) 'to pass the night'
 tüzāl- (AC324v:3) 'to shape up'

ulašu (MM176v:12) 'constantly'
 uluğ (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'
 uruğ (MM193r:11) 'seeds'
 ušaq (RM41v:5) 'apprentice'
 uštmaḥ (RM25r:1) 'Paradise'
 uya (MM182v:6) 'brother'
 uyat (H78r:1) 'shame'

uyğağ (RM37r:9) 'awake'
 uyğan- (RM10r:10) 'to wake up'
 uyqu (RM10r:7) 'sleep'

üküş (MM179r:10) 'much, many'
 ülüš (RM37v:6) 'part, share'
 ülüng (MM197v:1) 'shaft of an arrow'
 üyür- (MS16v:3) 'to braid [one's hair]'
 üyük (MM197r:11) 'a mound of earth'
 üzük (MS2r:6) 'seal ring'

yafraq (RM23r:2) 'leaf'
 yağaç (MS9v:4) '*yaghach*, a measure of distance'
 yalavač (RM6v:5) 'prophet'
 yalğuz (H77v:7) 'alone'
 yaman (RM34v:8) 'evil'
 yana- (MM184r:12) 'to add'

yangliğ (MM198r:16) 'alone'
 yapuš- (RM29r:4) 'to take hold [of]'
 yaq- (MS15v:3) 1. 'to come in contact with'; (H74v:6) 2. 'to like'
 yarağ (MS6r:5) 'ability'
 yaraš- (AC328v:5) 'to reconcile with'
 yaraša (RM40r:4) 'in accordance with'
 yaratğan (MM175v:6) 'creator'
 yarliqa- (RM4v:2) 'to forgive'
 yartu (RM37v:5) 'half'
 yastuq (RM10v:8) 'pillow'
 yatsiğ (RM2v:3) 'the prayer two hours after sunset'
 yavurğan (RM18r:7) 'blanket'
 yayğa- (MM18v:16) 'to rinse'
 yätiš- (RB2v:1) 'to reach a place gradually'
 yibār- (RM31r:9) 'to send'
 yit- (RM32v:6) 'to slip out [of one's hands]'
 yığaç (RM27v:1) 'tree'
 yigil- (RB4v:4) 'to avoid'
 yira- (RB3v:13) 'to move away from'
 yor- (MM200r:14) 'to interpret'
 yulduz (RM28v:9) 'star'
 yunuğ (MM181v:5) 'ritual ablution'
 yupqa (6r:10) 'thin'
 yügür- (H76r:8) 'to run'

yükün- (AC328r:7) 'to make a bow'
yüzlän- (RM26v:3) 'to face toward'

5.2. Phraseology [Idioms, Set Expressions]

The Chagatay language is rich in idioms, phrases, and set expressions. These elements of the lexicon constitute the paremiological content of the vocabulary. They reflect the erudition of the speakers of the language in historical depth and make up a significant part of the cultural heritage of the language community. A student of Chagatay must be aware of this aspect of the language. Without a thorough knowledge of the cultural content of the language full understanding of Chagatay on a higher level is hardly possible.

Efforts to attain the level and nature of erudition of Central Asian authors will definitely take us closer to a fuller appreciation of Chagatay literary works and perceive the authors' message often garbed in proverbs, quotes, sayings, hints, references and made next to inaccessible through an intricate set of prosodic devices. To reach that level takes a life-time of study. For practical purposes, however, the reader must be familiar with Islam, its basic tenets and practices, with the major works of classical Persian literature, with Central Asian folklore, especially legends and the epic poetry of the Central Asian Turks.

Below is a selective list of idioms and set expressions.

Aradın boynın uzat- 'to rise, make oneself visible' (< 'to stretch one's neck out from among the crowd'). E.g.,

Çang aradın boynın uzatıp ravān, tüšti uşal laḥza tümān ming fiḡān. (AC324r:2) 'Suddenly Chang stretched his neck out from among the contestants, and, at the very same moment, struck up a tune of ten thousand thousand complaints.'

Aranı üz- 'to interrupt'. E.g.,

Bir künigä ikki ay tutar rōza aranı üzmäyin ki har rōza. (MS 16r:5) '[As penitence] he must fast one day after another without missing a day for a total of two months for every [single] day [that he omitted or violated his fast.]'

Balā dastida qal- 'to be captive in the hands of misery, to be in constant trouble.' E.g.,

Ol kişi kim seni çalar bilgüçä, qaldı balā dastida ol ölgüçä. (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 Tanbūrağa, "Gōş tut! Bir birigä başqa birär qoş tut." (AC328v:1) 'Then he addressed Tanbūra, "Take my warning and realize your error! Raise a pair of goblets to your head (and make up with your friends) one by one.'"

Bēzār bol- 'to become free [from]'. E.g.,

Bolsa ḥayz u nifasdin bēzār ḡusl vācib bolur, biling, nāçar. (MS 8v:3) 'Know that [a woman who] has become free from the annoyance of her menstrual discharge, that is whose period has ended, or [who has completed] the forty-day period after giving birth must of necessity perform the Ghusl.'⁴⁴⁸

Boyunğa al- 'to take [an obligation] upon one's shoulder.' E.g.,

Ne kim ol aydī anī qilḡu kārāk. Tā'atini boyunğa alḡu kārāk. (MS2r:2) 'One must do whatever He has commanded. One must [willingly] put one's neck [in the yoke of] obedience to him.'

Cāndin ba tang kel- 'to be deeply distressed.' E.g.,

Keldim uşal ḥalda cāndin ba tang. (AC322v:5). 'There in that situation I was deeply distressed.'

Cāndin toy- 'to have enough, to be fed up with.' E.g.,

Barçası ḡayrat otī birlä küyüp. Baḡş va maqāmatta cāndin to-yup. (AC327v:9) 'They were all tormented by the fire of jealousy. They had had enough of arguing and playing *maqāms*.'

Day čillasindin čiq- 'to be safely past the crises, to be over the hump' [< to leave the forty day cold behind]. E.g.,

Bu kündin songra açıldı cihaning, savuq day cillasindin čıqtı cāning. (DN266r:5) 'From this day on your world is in bloom; your life is out of the forty day cold.'

Dilgır bol- 'to be filled with horror'. E.g.,

Qılmaḡıl sen namāzda taqşır. Tā Qiyāmatda bolḡa sen dilgır. (MS3v:4) 'Do not be remiss in your prayers. Have a care or you will be filled with horror on the day of Resurrection.'

⁴⁴⁸ Name of the total ablution.

Eldin rahā ber- ‘to abandon, give up.’ E.g.,
Bandalıq tavrın Şabānī bermägil eldin rahā. (BH16r:9) ‘Shabānī do not abandon⁴⁴⁹ the conduct of a [humble] servant.’

Elgä özini sat- ‘to sell oneself to people, to seek people’s attention and respect (without deserving them).’ E.g.,
Da‘vā-i dāniş mu qılur sen yatıp. Lāf urup sen elgä özüngni satıp. (AC325v:7) ‘Are you making a claim to knowledge by lying on the ground like that and selling yourself to people by talking nonsense?’

Eşik bāz qıl- ‘to open wide the gate (in order to let s.th. lose).’ E.g.,
Pardada ol murğ-i suhansaz men. Fitna eşigin qılayın bāz men. (AC323v:8) ‘In (singing) melodies I am that (fabulous) bird with a beguiling voice. I can open wide the gate of calamity!’

Fi‘li aş- ‘for one’s temper to boil over, to lose one’s temper.’ E.g.,
Ṭanbūraning fi‘li aşıp ol zamān.Dedi, “Nā der sen yatıp, ay ya-tuğan!” (AC325v:6) ‘At these words, Ṭanbūra’s temper boiled over. He said, “Lying on the ground like that, what are you talking about, O Yatuğan!’

Goştāb ber- ‘to twist (a student’s) ears (punishment), to correct.’ E.g.,
Munča dilāram sanga goştāb berdi, tüzālmāding aya heç bab. (AC324v:3) ‘Although ever so many heart-soothing beauties have twisted your ears, you see, you have still not shaped up at all.

Gunāh sor- ‘to call s.o. to account for his sins.’ E.g.,
‘Adl ilān sorma gunāhimnī. Uyatlıq qılmağil. (BH22v:4) ‘Do not exercise Your [harsh] justice when questioning me about my sins. Do not make me ashamed.’

Guzar yoq ‘cannot outdo’ [lit. ‘cannot pass by’]. E.g.,
Barča muşāhib manga şām sahar. Yoq zurafa ahlina mending gu-zar. (AC324v:10) ‘(Princes) are all my companions from evening to dawn. People of sharp wit cannot outdo me.’

İkki yar- ‘to split in two.’ E.g.,
Ayni ikki yar, dedilär kufr ahlī. (BH7v:6) ‘Split the moon in two, said the *kafirs*.

Hırqasidin baş çiqar- ‘to raise one’s head from under one’s cloak, to be ready to speak (after long contemplation).’ E.g.,
Hırqasidin baş çiqarip Rabāb dedi, “Man am faqr ilā ‘ālicanāb. (AC326r:2). ‘Thrusting his head out from under his cloak, Rabāb said, “In poverty, I am of the highest rank.”’

Hiyāl bağla- ‘to take s.th. into one’s head.’ E.g.,
Uşbu keçā Ṭanbūra bağlap hiyāl, barcamıza berdi basē infi‘al. (AC328r:5) ‘This very night Ṭanbūra took into his head to do his best to humiliate us all.’

İşni köndür- ‘to put one’s affairs in order.’ E.g.,
Bu dam bu dam dur: Köndürüng işni. (BH21r:5). ‘The suitable time is now: Put your affairs in order [right now].’

Mangla aç- ‘to put aside one’s anger, to be reconciled’ [lit., ‘to smooth the wrinkles on one’s forehead.’ E.g.,
Ol yüräklik laşkar-i İslāmning manglayi tur, kim ğazab üstidā qılğay ‘afv açğay mangla. (BH14v:5-6) ‘The advance guard [lit., ‘the forehead’] of the Army of Islam are those brave men who, when they become angry, are [soon] forgiving and smooth the wrinkles on their foreheads [i.e., set aside their anger].’

Nidā sal- ‘to declare’. E.g.,
Rozanī Tängri özigä aldī. Ana uczi bihi nidā saldī. (MS14v:1) ‘God [has promised to] accept the believers’ fast. He has declared, I shall reward him for keeping it.’

Niyāz qıl- ‘to serve [God] with humility.’ E.g.,
Abdast u namaz qılğil sen. Haqqa tün kün niyāz qılğil 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 Qobuz-i beqarār, dedi mening teg qanı bir pır kār. (AC324v:6) ‘The restless Qobuz stepped forward and said, “Where (in the world) is there another experienced person like me?”’

Özini bil- ‘to come to one’s senses.’ E.g.,
Degin nargiskā kim bilsün özini, humār uyqusidin açsun közini. (DN266v:10) ‘Tell the narcissus that it should come to its senses and open its eyes from the languishing sleep.’

⁴⁴⁹ Lit., Do not let slip away from your hands...

Pardasın yırt- ‘to expose s.o. by ripping off his veil, to unmask.’ E.g.,
Tanbūraning bātila parvardasın yırtayın ol baştın ayaq pardasın. (AC325v:3) ‘I will expose Tanbūra, who has been brought up to do useless things, by ripping off his veil from head to toe.’

Pirahan yaqasini čak äylä- ‘to tear open the collar of the shirt of s.th., to be unable to take or endure.’ E.g.,
‘Aql huvaydā bolup äylädi pāk, pīrahan-i šabr yaqasini čak. (AC 322r:11) ‘Reason emerged and, no longer able to endure it, [tore open the collar of the shirt of patience].’

Qādir bol- (-ğa) ‘to obtain.’ E.g.,
Bolsa qādir agar kiši suğa... (MS9r:4) ‘When a person is able to obtain water...’

Qahqaha birlä kül- ‘to laugh.’ E.g.,
Qahqaha birlä külsä qilsa namāz, sindi fārat. Tahārat algıl bāz. (MS6r:6) ‘If one laughs while at prayer, [one’s state of] ritual purity will be violated. [Should this occur,] perform the tahārat again.’

Qararip teprā- ‘to become obscure and move away.’ E.g.,
Köngüldin uçti ğam tün quzğunı teg, qararip teprādī hacrān kü-ni teg. (DN267v:2) ‘The night raven of sorrow took off from the heart; it became obscure and moved away like the day of separation.’

Rōy keltür- ‘to turn to s.o.’ E.g.,
Tānbūra-i ğamzagar-i fitnacōy macma^c-i ol sāzğa keltürdi rōy. (AC323r:4) ‘The coquettish and quarrelsome Tanbūra turned to the assembled string instruments.’

Rōzanī ye- ‘to eat on a fast day.’ E.g.,
Har kim ol yedi rōzanī ‘amda. (MS16r:1) ‘Anyone who purposely eats on a fast day...’

Ša‘af qıl- ‘to make one’s heart sick with love.’ E.g.,
Tānbūra dedi, “Hala qılma ša‘af, murtaddak-i dar ba-dar-i bad-‘alaf. (AC326r:10) ‘Tanbūra replied, “Listen do not make your heart sick with love, you unclean, itinerant renegade.’

Takallumda käl- ‘to join in the conversation.’ E.g.,
Kāldi takallumda yatup yatugan, Dedi, “Mening dek qanī bir turfa cān?” (AC325r:9) ‘Yatughan, lying on the ground, joined in the debate. He said, “Where can one find a peerless soul like me?’

Takbīr bağla- ‘to commit oneself by pronouncing a *takbīr*’
Bağlamaqıng namāz üçün takbīr (MS10v:2) ‘...your reciting the orison “God is Most Great” by which you commit yourself to performing the prayer.’

Tavfiq ara tut- ‘[for God] to assist s.o.’ E.g.,
‘Aciz u miskin qara qulungni tut tavfiq ara. (BH18v:4) ‘Keep [me], Your weak and needy servant, within [the sphere of] Your assistance.’

Til birlä ay- ‘to tell or pronounce eloquently’ [cf. *tiši birlä ay-* ‘to speak with authority’]. E.g.,
Tengrigä til birlä ayğıl, ay Köngül, hamd u sanā. (BH1v:1) ‘O Heart, pronounce eloquently praises and salutations to God.’

Ummēd tut- ‘to hope or expect s.th. from s.o.’ E.g.,
Azdahaning fi‘li kuž dur. Nā ummed tutsun kiši? (BH17v:7) ‘The acts of the dragon [, i.e., the Carnal Soul] are treacherous. What good can one hope from it?’

Yahši yaman ‘everybody’ [< ‘the good and the bad’], E.g.,
Çiqip hāki teg ahī har dam andin, yiraq taşlap anī yahši yaman-din. (DN265v:11) ‘Since then her humble sighs emerged every moment and alienated her from everybody else.’⁴⁵⁰

Zahrasi bardī ‘he is scared, has lost his courage.’ E.g.,
Aning üçün mu qila dur siz fiğan; bardī mening zahram va köç-ti cihan. (AC328r:2) ‘Is that why you are making this clamor that drives my heart into my boots and forces the neighbors to pack up and leave?’

5.3. Loan Translations

Chagatay has many loan translations. They mostly come from Persian. Often only the verbal element of a phrase is translated into Turkish while the rest is left as it was in the source language. E.g.,

⁴⁵⁰ Lit., from the good and the bad

amalinī kūtah āt- (RB7v:3) 'to cease to expect' [*< amal-i hūdā kūtah kardan*]

ba kamāl yātiš- (RB4v:11) 'to reach perfection' [*< ba kamāl rasīdan*]

bayān qīl- (Sayf98v:11) 'to explain' [*< bayān kardan*]

cān ber- (Sayf90r:7) 'to die' [*< cān dādan*]

dast ber- (DN270r:8) 'to come upon' [*< dast dādan*]

dōst tut- (RB4v:11) 'to love s.o.' [*< dōst dāstan*]

dunyādin ōt- (H79v:2) 'to die' [*< az dunyā raftan*]

dīl baḡla- (H73v:6) 'to be attached to' [*< dīl bastan*]

elig ber- (DN269r:1) 'to happen, occur' [*< dast dādan*]

elig uzat- (DN267r:4) 'to reach out; to be aggressive' [*< dast darāz kardan*]

guzar qīl- (Sayf76v:7) 'to pass' [*< guzar kardan*]

himmat qurīn beligā baḡla- (H80r:8) 'to prepare resolutely for an undertaking' [*< kamar bastan*]

hukm yūrūt- (H79r:9) 'to enforce one's authority' [*< hukm rāndan*]

iči kūy- (75r:5) 'to suffer' [*< dīl sōhtan*]

iš (DN267v:6) 'service' [*< kār*]

kōngli su dur (RB6v:8) 'confused' [*< dilaš āb šud*]

kōngül sora- (H79v:7) 'to share one's sorrows' [*< dīl custan*]

kōzdin yit- (H79v:1) 'to disappear' [*< az nāzar mahv šudan*]

mātam tut- (H82r:11) 'to mourn s.o.' [*< mātam giriftan*]

mar'ī tut- (RB10v:6) 'to observe' [*< mar'ī dāstan*]

namaz qīl- (Sayf19v:2) 'to pray' [*< namāz kardan*]

ōzidin ket- (H82r:3) 'to be deeply moved' [*< az hūd raftan*]

qadam ranca qīl- (H76r:10) 'to take the trouble to come' [*< qadam ranca kardan*]

qizlar (DN269v:5) 'wine' [*< duhtar-i raz*]

qoliḡa al- (H78r:2) 'to seize, obtain' [*< ba dast āwardan*]

qol yu- (H75v:3) 'to renounce' [*< dast šustan az*]

quruq qal- (DN266v:1) 'to come away empty-handed' [*< hālī māndan*]

roza tut- (RM26r:4) 'to keep the fast' [*< rōza dāstan*]

tavba qīl- (RM22v:3) 'to repent' [*< tavba kardan*]

tegūr- (DN266v:8) 'to prompt, to remind' [*< rasāndan*]

vuqū' tap- (RB4r:2) 'to occur' [*< vuqū' yaftan*]

vušul tap- (RB6r:9) 'to obtain union' [*< vušul yaftan*]

yād al- (RB5r:12) 'to impress upon one's mind' [*< yād giriftan*]

yīraq tašla- (DN265v:11) 'to throw away' [*< dūr andāhtan*]

yol körsāt- (RB2r:2) 'to show a way' [*< rah namūdan*]

yüz ber- (Sayf268v:1) 'to come forth, appear' [*< ruḡ dādan*]

yüz qaytar- (Sayf22v:11) 'to turn away' [*< rü gardānīdan*]

5.4. Proverbs

Proverbs and sayings constitute a rich and important segment of the paremiotic content of Chagatay. Among them we find the oldest concrete and fully identifiable entities of cultural values of the peoples of Central Asia, the Tajiks and the Turks. Most of them are still in use in some of the modern idioms of this region. Some spread even beyond that. The following is a selective list of proverbs presented here for the sake of illustration. E.g.,

1. **It hūrār karvān köčār.** (ShD11r:5) 'The dog barks the caravan passes.'
2. **İcālīng bādānī gullar solisar, tanimiz 'aqibat topraq bolisar.** (HM 309v8) 'Let us drink wine because roses will wither and our bodies will turn to dust at the end.'
3. **Mas'ala bilmāk icrā bol rāḡib.** (MS11r:2) 'Be eager to find answers [to your questions].'
4. **'Umr qılmaq talaf ḡatā ermiş.** (MS7v:3) 'To waste one's life is a [grievous] error.'
5. **Ṭaqat-i vas' bariča aymaq tāk turup qalmaqidin avlāraq.** (MS3v:6). 'To speak in the measure of one's ability is better than to remain silent.'
6. **Örgänip 'ilmni 'amal qılḡil.** (MS12v:6) 'Having learned [something] put your knowledge into practice.'
7. **Keldi bu ḡil'at aning boyıḡa ḡub.** (RB5r:8) 'He obtained what he deserved.'
8. **Bolur āsan bara bara muškil.** (RB5v:6) 'Step by step what is difficult will become easy.'
9. **Qılmaḡay sen 'amalingni ḡa'i.** (RB3v:6) 'Do not let your services be for naught.'
10. **Baqmaḡil sözlāḡüčining özigā. Özini qoy, nāzar etḡil sözigā.** (RB 2v:4) 'Pay no heed to the person who is speaking, disregard him. Consider (only) what he says.'

6. STYLE

The style of Chagatay works varies. We must distinguish, above all, between the style of prose works and that of poetry. In prose the *normal narrative style* is simple and transparent, grammatically as well as lexically. Original Turkish words are likely to occur in greater frequency. In *learned didactic prose* professional jargon [technical terms, idioms and set expressions] prevails which influences the choice of words and the use of grammar. Arabic and Persian loans could be more numerous. Some degree of paremiologic knowledge may be required to the complete understanding of works of this type [see above]. The *translation prose*

often follows the original, Persian or Arabic in sentence patterns or choice of words. It contains foreign borrowings and loan translations in lexicon and to some extent in grammar.

In poems we must distinguish between versified prose (*naẓm*) and poetry (*šiʿr*). 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. Šiʿr [poetry]

Muḥabbat Shaibani Khān [1451-1510]

Agar davlat čirağınī yarutsam hēč
if empire-O-GEN lantern-POSS-3SG-ACC rekindle-COND-1ST-SG at all
tang etmäs,
amazement do-AOR-NEG-3D-SG
Ki öčkän Čingizī šamʿi, biling,
since die-PASTP the house of Chingis-O-GEN candle-POSS-3SG know-IMP-PL
beglär, yanar mendin.
lord-PL-NOM flare up-AOR-3SG I-ABL
Män ol şubḥ-i saʿadat män ki Čingīs kökidin
I that dawn-IZ felicity am CONJ Chingis-O-GEN root-POSS-3SG-ABL
toğdum.
be born-DEF.PAST-1SG
Qaçan kim täbräsäm yel teg, Tīmūr šamʿi
When-conj breeze by-TEMP-1SG wind like-POSTP Timur-O-GEN candle-POSS-3SG
öčär mendin.
go out-AOR-3SG I-ABL

[‘When I rekindle the lantern of the empire no one ever should be amazed since as you lords full well know, through me the dying candle of the House of Chingis flares up again. I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis. / When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Tīmūr goes out as I pass.’] (Divān 120r:1-4)

8.1.2. Nazm [versified didactic works]

Zāhīruʿd-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur [1483-1530]

Emdi aytay sanga tahaccud ešit
now say-VOL-1SG you-DAT night prayer-O-ACC listen-IMP-2SG
Tengriğa qılsang taʿabbud, ešit
God-DAT make-CON-2SG devotion-O-ACC listen-IMP-2SG
tün yarımında uyqudın uyğan
night-O-GEN half-POS-3SG-LOC sleep-ABL wake up-IMP-2SG
qıl tahaccud namāzınī ol
make-IMP-2SG night prayer-O-GEN prayer-POS-3SG-ACC that-PRON-NOM
ān. Bil tahaccudnī farz
moment-NOM-SG know-IMP-2SG night prayer-ACC mandatory duty-O-ACC
Hāzratqa sunnat oldī valēk
Majesty-DAT traditional duty-NOM-SG become-DEF.PAST-3SG but-CONJ
ummatqa.
community-DAT

(Mubayyan 62r:4-7)

‘Now I wish to tell you about the night prayer, listen [well]. If you make [acts of] devotions to God, listen well. At midnight wake up from sleep and do the night prayer at that time. Know that the night prayer is a mandatory duty for [His] Majesty [the Prophet]. But for members of the Community it has become a traditional obligation.’

8.2. Prose [nasr]

8.2.1. Learned Didactic Prose

Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān [1451--1510]

Taqī ongđin murād šarīʿat ʿibādatī turur. Soldin
CONJ right-ABL intent-NOM law-OGEN service-POSS 3SG is-AOR 3SG left-ABL
išarat siyāsāt qamčisī turur. Šarīʿat birlä
meaning-NOM punishment-OGEN whip-POSS 3SG is-AOR 3SG Law-NOM with-POSTP
ʿamal qılıp ʿibadat qılsa öz badanığa va
act-PHRVB-GER serve-PHRVB COND 3SG own body-POSS 3rd-DAT and-CONJ
ahl-ʿiyālingä va raʿiyatğa siyāsāt qamčisın
family-subject-POSS 2SG DAT and-CONJ subject-DAT punishment-OGEN whip-POSS 3SG
elikkä alıp ʿadl qılsang, har āyina Hudāy išingni
hand-DAT take-GER exercise justice-PHRVB COND 3SG verily-ADV God-NOM work-POSS
kündin küngä arturur. Va yana içkidin išarat
2SG ACC day-ABL day-DAT increase-AOR 3SG and-CONJ again-ADV drink-ABL meaning-NOM
rūḥung turur. Ol Qādir-i Lam Yazaldin ʿināyat-i
soul-POSS 2SG is-AOR 3SG that-PRON allmighty-IZ everlasting-ABL grace-IZ

azalī bolup nuşrat-i abadīsi rūḥunga şamadiyasī birlā
 ever-existing-ADJ is-GER victory-IZ ever-lasting soul-POSS 2SG DAT fruit-POSS 3SG POSTP
 madad qīlsa ḥavātir tafriqasini va ḥirş
 help-PHRVB COND 3SG thoughts-0GER distraction-POSS 3SG ACC and-CONJ greed+
 va havāngni kitārūr Va yana yataqdīn murād
 and desire-POSS 2SG ACC disperse-AOR 3SG and-CONJ again-ADV mattress-ABL intent-NOM
 köngül turur. Ol Pādşah-i ‘alamning atin köngüldā
 heart-NOM ia-AOR 3SG that-CONJ king-NOM+IZ world-GEN name-Poss 3SG LOC
 saqlasang va bu čandavul teg uyuqlamay
 keep-COND 2SG and-CONJ this-PRON rearguard-NOM like-POSTP sleep-NEG GER
 āgah tursang, Aning zikrining nūri sāning
 alert-ADJ be-COND 2SG he+ GEN recollection-POSS 3SG GEN light-POSS 3SG you+GEN
 nafs-i ammaraning zulmatin bu tūn dek
 soul+IZ commanding-ADJ GEN darkness-POSS 3SG ACC this-PRON night-NOM like-POSTP
 qavlap şubh dek köngülning tangi atsa,
 drive-GER dawn-NOM like-POSTP heart-GEN dawn-POSS 3SG break-COND 3SG
 Hudāyning bārān-i rahmatida ‘acīb va ġarīb
 God-GEN rain+IZ mercy-POSS 3SG LOC surprising+ and-CONJ strange-ADJ
 ermās.

is-NEG AOR 3SG

(Divān 50v:7-51r:4)

[Know] also [that] “right” stands for serving according to the *sharī‘a*. “Left” means the whip of punishment. If you serve according to the *sharī‘a* and with the whip of punishment in your hand, exercise justice to your own person, to your family, and to your subjects, God will promote your work day by day. Furthermore, “wine” stands for your soul. If the Almighty Whose Power Never Declines, moved by His Ever-existing grace, comes, in His Majesty to the aid of your soul, granting you ever lasting victory, He will disperse your distracting thoughts, your greed, and your [carnal] desires. And the “mattress” is here for your heart. If you keep in your heart the name of the King of the World, and like a rearguard [of the King’s army], you do not fall asleep but stay alert, the light of the Recollection of Him will drive away the darkness of your Commanding Soul as the [day drives on] the night. If, then, the dawn of your heart opens and spreads like dawn before sunrise, there should be no surprise or amazement in [beholding] God’s mercy as copious as early summer rain.’

8.2.2. Narrative Prose

Zahīru’-d-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur [1483-1530]

Muḥarram ayi Farġana vilāyatidin
 PROP.N-0GEN month-POSS 3SG PROP.N-0GEN Province-POSS 3SG ABL
 Ḥurāsān ‘azīmatī bilā Aylāk
 PROP.N-0GEN destination-POSS 3SG with-POSTP PROP.N-0GEN
 yaylağida kim Hisār vilāyatining
 summer quarter-POSS 3SG LOC that-CONJ PROP.N-0GEN province-POSS 3SG GEN
 yaylağlaridin dur kelip tüştüm.
 summer quarter-PLUR POSS 3SG ABL is-AUX 3SG come-GER fall-DEF.PAST 1SG
 Uşbu yurtta yigirmā üç yaşning
 this very-EMPH.PRON. camp-LOC twenty-NUM three-NUM age-GEN
 ibtidāsida yüzümgā ustūra qoydım. Uluğ
 beginning-POSS 3SG LOC face-POSS 1SG DAT razor-0ACC put-DEF.PAST 1SG big-ADJ
 kiçik māni umēdvārliq bilā erişip yurd
 small-ADJ I+PRON 1SG ACC hopefulness-NOM with- POSTP join-GER camp-0ACC
 yidürgänlär iki yüzdin köpräk üç
 lose-PART.PLUR two-NUM hundred-NUM ABL much-ADJ.COMP three-NUM
 yüzdin azraq bolğay edi. Akşar
 hundred-NUM ABL little-ADJ COMP be-OPT 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG most-ADJ
 yayaq va eliklāridā tayaq va
 barefooted-ADJ and-CONJ hand-PLUR POSS 3PL LOC stick-NOM and-CONJ
 ayaqlarida čaruq va eginlāridā
 foot-PLUR.POSS 3PL LOC sandal-NOM and-CONJ shoulder-PLUR POSS 3SG LOC
 čapan erdi ‘Asrat bu martaba
 coat-NOM be-DEF.PAST 3SG hardship-NOM this-PRON degree-NOM
 edi kim bizing arada iki čadīr
 be-DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ we+GEN space-LOC two-NUM tent-NOM
 edi. Māning čadīrim validamğa
 be-DEF.PAST 3SG I+PRON GEN tent-POSS 1SG mother-POSS 1SG DAT
 tikilür edi. Manga bir yurtta
 pitch-PASS AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG I+PRON DAT one-NUM camp-LOC
 alačuq yasat edilär. Alačuqda olturur
 hut-0ACC make-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3PL hut-LOC sit-AOR 3SG
 edim. Agarči Ḥurāsān ‘azīmatī
 be-DEF.PAST 1SG although-CONJ PROP.N.-0GEN destination-POSS 3SG
 qīlilip edi valī uşbu ḥal bilā
 make-PAS GER be-DEF.PAST 3 SG but-CONJ this very-PRON state-NOM with-POSTP
 bu vilāyattin va Ḥusraw Şahning nūkarlaridin
 this-PRON province-ABL and-CONJ PROP.N. king-GEN servant-PL.POSS ABL
 umēdvārliq bar erdi. Bir nečā kündā bir
 hopefulness-NOM exists-PARTIC be-DEF.PAST one-NUM few-ADV day-LOC one-NUM

kişi kelip vilāyat-i yätiz va el va
 person-NOM come-GER province+IZ perfect-ADJ and-CONJ people+ and-CONJ
 ulusdın sözlär taqrır qılur erdi kim
 tribe-ABL word-PL description+ make-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ
 mücib-i umēdvārliq bolur edi. Bu
 cause+IZ hopefulness-NOM be-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST-3SG this-PRON
 fursatta Mulla Bābā Pašāğarini kim Husraw
 time-LOC Mullah-NOM-APP PROP.N.ACC who-PRON PROP.N-NOM
 Şahqa elçilikka yibarilip edi keldi. Husraw
 king-DAT embassy-DAT send-PASS GER be-DEF.PAST 3SG come-DEF.P 3SG PROP.N.
 Şahdın köngülgä yaquu dek söz keltürmädi.
 king-ABL heart-DAT please-VN like- POSTP word-0ACC bring-NEG.DEF.P 3SG
 Vali el ulusdın sözlär keltürdi.
 But-CONJ people+ tribe-ABL word-PL.0ACC bring-DEF.P. 3SG

(Bāburnāma 120r:4-120v:1)

'In the month of Muharram from the Fergana province bound for Khurasan we came to and alighted in the summer pastures of Aylak which was one of the summer pastures of Hīsār Province. In this very camp at the beginning of my twenty third year of age I put the razor to my face [> I shaved for the first time]. Great and small, those who had hope in me and followed me into exile were more than two hundred and less than three hundred. Most of them were on foot with a walking stick in their hands and a chapān on their shoulders. The misery was so great that we only had two tents with us. They put up my mother in my tent. For me at every station they set up a hut. I was staying in the hut. Although we intended to move into Khurasan, in the situation at hand there was some hope from [Hīsār] Province and from the servants of Khusraw Shah. In every few days someone would come in from this perfect province and described the people and the tribe and rekindled our hope. At this time Mullah Bābā Pashagharī, whom we had sent to Khusraw Shah as our envoy, came. He did not bring any news likely to please the heart. But he brought encouraging news from the people and the tribes.'

8.2.3. Translation Prose

Mīr 'Alī Šir Nava'i [1441-1501]

'İraqnıñ Qūhistanıdın dur. Dīnavarda bolur
 Iraq-GEN Kuhistan-POSS 3SG ABL is-AUX 3SG Dinavar-LOC be-AOR 3SG
 ermiş. Cunayd quddisa
 was-AUX INDEF.PAST 3SG PROP.N-3SG may be hallowed-PASS 3SG
 sirruhunıñ kibār aşhabıdın. Va
 grave-NOM POSS 3SG-GEN noble-ADJ companions-AR.PL.POSS 3SG LOC and-CONJ
 anga maşhūr riyāzat va ma'ruf
 he+PRON 3SG famous-ADV ascetic discipline-PLUR and-CONJ known-ADJ
 safarlar dur. Cunayd dep dur kī
 pilgrimages-PLUR NOM is-AUX 3SG PROP.N. say-GER is-AUX 3SG that-CONJ
 agar Abu Bakr-i Kisa'i 'İraqda bolmasa
 if-CONJ.COND Abu Bakr-PROP.N.+IZ Kisa'-PROP.N. ADJ Irak-LOC be-NEG COND 3SG
 erdi, men 'İraqda bolmas erdim.
 be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG I-PRON 1SG Irak-LOC be-NEG-COND 3SG be-AUX DEF.PAST
 Cunayddin burunraq dunyādın ötüp tur.
 1SG PROP.N.-ABL before-ADV.DIM world-ABL pass-GER is-AUX 3SG
 Cunayddin ming mes'ele bu řā'ifa řariqida
 PROP.N.-ABL thousand-NUM problem-NOM this-PRON group-GEN road-POSS 3SG
 su'al qılıp erdi va Cunayd
 LOC ask-PHRVB GER be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG and-CONJ PROP.N.NOM
 barçasığa cavāb bitip erdi.
 all-PRON POSS 3SG DAT response-OACC write-GER be-AUX DEF.PAST3SG
 Anıñ vafatı habarī Cunaydqa
 he+PRON GEN passing-POSS 3rd SG OGEN news-POSS 3SG PROP.N.-DAT
 yetkändä dedi kim kaş ol masa'il
 arrive-GER say- DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ I wish that-PRON problems-GEN
 cavabı kim men anga bitip erdim
 answer-POSS 3SG that-CONJ I-PRON he+PRON DAT write-GER be-AUX DEF.PAST 1SG
 yusa erdi. Va řāl
 wash-COND 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG and-CONJ state-NOM
 ol kim ol dunyādın ötar çağda ol
 that-PRON that-CONJ that-PRON world-ABL pass-VN age-LOC that-PRON
 kağızlarnı yup erdi. Dedilər ki
 Paper-PLUR ACC wash-GER be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG say-DEF.PAST 3PL that-CONJ
 çon ol bu işni qılıp ötti, Cunayd
 when-CONJ he-PRON this work-ACC make-GER pass-DEF.PAST 3SG PROP.N.NOM
 şādman boldı Şayhu'l-İslām dep tur ki
 happy-ADJ be-DEF.PAST 3SG PROP.N. NOM say-GER is-AUX 3SG that-CONJ
 Cunayd andın qorqmas erdi kim
 PROP.N.NOM that+PRON ABL fear-AOR.NEG be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ

ol masā'il 'avām eligä, yā
 that-PRON. problem-PLUR common people-PLUR OGEN hand-POS3SG-DAT or-CONJ
 pādšāh-i zamān eligä tüškäy. Andin
 king+IZ time-OGEN hand-POSS 3SG DAT fall-OPT 3SG that-PRON ABL
 qorqar erdi kim şüfilar eligä
 fear-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ sufi-PL OGEN hand-POS3SG DAT
 tüškäy va andin dukkāne yasağaylar söz
 fall-OPT-3SG and-CONJ that-PRON-ABL shop-INDEF OACC make-OPT-PL word-OACC
 ayتماقدا va qabul tilämäkdä. Şayh Abu'l-Ḥayr-i
 say-VN-LOC and-CONJ acceptance-OACC wish-VN LOC šaykh-APP Abu'l-Khayr+IZ
 'Aşqalanī dep dur ki Abū Bakr-i
 'ashqalanī PROP.N. say-GER is-AUX 3SG thar-CONJ Abu Bakr-PROP.N.+IZ
 Kisā'ī uyusa erdi, kögsidin
 Kisā'ī PROP.N. sleep-COND be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG breast-PRON 1SG ABL
 Qur'an oquğan üni kelür erdi.
 PROP.N-OACC read-PART voice-POSS 3SG come AOR 3SG be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG
 (Nasā'imu'l-Maḥabbat R74r:15-22)

'He is from Qōhistan of 'Iraq. He would stay in Dīnavar. He was one of the magnificent companions of Junayd, may his grave be hallowed. He had famous ascetic disciplines and known pilgrimages [on his credit]. Junayd had said that if Abu Bakr of Kisā' was not in 'Iraq I was not in 'Iraq. He passed from this world somewhat before Junayd did. In the practices of this group he would ask a thousand questions from Junayd and Junayd would write answers to all of them. When the news of his passing came to Junayd, he said "I hope he had erased all those answers that I wrote him to his questions." But the situation was that at the time he was leaving this world he washed those papers clear. It is reported that because he did that before his passing, Junayd was happy. The Chief Mufti said Junayd was not afraid because [the answers he had given to] those questions might fall into the hands of common people or into the hands of the ruling king. He was afraid that they may fall into the hands of Sufīs who would open a shop [to sell people the skill of] how to say things and how to request acceptance. Sheykh Abu'l-Khayr-i 'Asqalanī had said that when Abu Bakr-i Kisā'ī was sleeping from his chest the sound of reciting the Qur'an was heard.'

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