GHOSTS, COPULATING FRIENDS, AND PEDESTRIAN LOCUSTS IN SOME REVIEWS OF ECKMANN'S "MIDDLE TURKIC GLOSSES"

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Early interlinear Qur'ān translations provide useful material for Middle Turkic and early classical Persian lexicography. Frequently, however, the real function of the glosses and their true relationship to the Arabic original have been misunderstood. As a result, non-existent words, or words or phrases with erroneous forms or meanings, were put into circulation. This article suggests a new approach to the semantic interpretation of the glosses. Emphasizing that etymological excursions or references to traditional lexicons alone do not suffice to verify the forms or meanings of rare or unusual lexical items, the article discusses twenty-five Turkic glosses from the Rylands interlinear Qur'ān translation.

QUR'ĀNS IN ARABIC AND QUR'ĀN COMMENTARIES with Turkic and Persian interlinear glosses from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries are rich, intriguing, but extremely controversial sources for the Eastern Middle Turkic lexicon. Turkic word materials from such sources have been made available to us by two towering figures in Turkic studies: A. K. Borovkov in 1963[1] and J. Eckmann in 1976.[2] Borovkov's *Leksika sredneaziatskogo tefsira* [= LST] and Eckmann's *Middle Turkic Glosses* [= MTG], as numerous reviews and other related publications show, have become basic manuals for Turkic lexicography.

Eckmann's book was posthumously published from an uncompleted manuscript. The editors, not being Turcologists, could do very little about this. They even compounded the problem by omitting vital information that Eckmann had provided in his manuscript: corrections to the Turkic original, the Arabic orthography of comparative materials, equivalents in other sources, and so on.

Reviewers spotted many of the resulting inconsistencies and suggested appropriate corrections. None of them, however, realized the controversial nature of the primary source and the need for a special procedure for evaluating its lexicon. Quite often, therefore, they arrive at false conclusions.

In dealing with the primary source one must remember that "The Rylands interlinear Koran translation" is not what Turcologists have up to now taken it for: it is not the Qur'ān in three—Arabic, Persian, and Turkic—languages. It is the Qur'ān in Arabic, with Persian and Turkic interlinear glosses. The glosses translate words or phrases mostly in isolation, irrespective of their grammatical, and often even semantic context. For example, Arabic *fa qad żalla żalālan baʿīdan* "he indeed strays far away' (Qur. 4:136 M) is glossed in the following segments: *čïnuq / azdï / azmaq / ïraq*, which is as incoherent as the equivalent English: 'true' / 'he lost his way' / 'a losing one's way / 'far'.[3]

Furthermore, the glosses often translate an Arabic word in more than one sense. For example, the Turkic gloss *aġïrlïq ädgü* translates Arabic *karīm* in the sense of 1. 'respectable' and 2. 'kind'. The glosses often translate the Arabic word in a sense not appropriate to the Qur'ānic context. For example, Turkic *ilgärü käl-* translates Arabic *qaddama* as 'être le premier, précéder les autres' (B. Kazimirski,[4] II, 690) and not

[1] A. K. Borovkov, *Leksika sredneaziatskogo tefsira XII–XIII vv.* ('The word material of a Central Asian Qur'ān commentary from the twelfth through thirteenth centuries'). Moscow: The Publishing House of Oriental Literature, 1963, 366 pp.

[2] J. Eckmann, *Middle-Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation*. Budapest: The Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1976, 359 pp.

[3] A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "The Technique of the Glossist as a Key to Understanding the Lexical Material of Early Eastern Middle Turkic Interlinear Qur'ān Translations," *UAJb* 50 (1978), pp. 17–24.

[4] A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français*. Paris: Maisonneuve et C[ie], 1860.

as 'to send', required by the place in the Qur'ān; *käsmäk ḫiṭāb* translates Arabic *faṣlu'l-ḫiṭāb* 'sound judgment in legal matters' word by word and takes Arabic *faṣl* in the sense of 'cutting' in full disregard of the use of the phrase in the Qur'ān. Sometimes the Persian gloss translates the Arabic word in one sense, and the Turkic, in another. For example, *farmān* as a Turkic gloss translates Arabic *amr* in the sense of 'command', whereas Persian *kār* translates it in the sense of 'affair'. Occasionally the Turkic gloss translates the Persian and does so in the sense not covered by the Arabic word. For example, the Turkic gloss *adaqïn turmaq* translates only *istādan* in *cāy-i istādan*, the Persian gloss to Arabic *maqām*; or Turkic *ačuq yaruq* translates two different meanings of *rōšan*, the Persian gloss to Arabic *munīr*.

Apparently the glossists' intent was not to produce a Turkic or a Persian version of the Qur'ān, but only to provide an aid for the reader of the Arabic text, or, and this is even more probable, for a Persian or a Turk who wanted to learn Arabic.

It follows, then, that in defining a Turkic gloss one cannot in all cases directly take the Qur'ānic meaning of its Arabic equivalent. Nor can one use without reservation the total of Turkic glosses to an Arabic sentence as a coherent grammatical or semantic context to illustrate or prove the meaning of a Turkic word. Indeed both in Borovkov's and Eckmann's glossary, the wrong meaning is sometimes associated with the Turkic gloss.

Under such circumstances we need a new approach to the lexico-semantic definition of the Turkic vocabulary of the Rylands Qur'ān. We must above all examine the relationship of a Turkic gloss to both the Arabic original and the Persian gloss, and the relationship of the Persian gloss to the Arabic original. We must also compare the Turkic words of the glossary to the lexicon of other Eastern Turkic literary and linguistic documents. For such comparison especially important are lexical data from various religious works (manuals, popular legends, didactic works) which were composed for the common people and which reflect the same cultural milieu as that from which Qur'ān copies with Turkic and Persian interlinear glosses emerged.

This task is made difficult by the backward state of Eastern Middle Turkic lexicography, more specifically by the absence of a comprehensive Eastern Middle Turkic lexicon. About seventy percent of the existing literary documents have not yet been tapped for lexicographical purposes. Lexical materials from the rest are available in small glossaries or in a few more or less outdated dictionaries. Very often we must go directly back to individual literary works to get a clear idea of the form or function of a word, or we must search the word stock of Modern Turkic or even Iranian languages in Central Asia for relevant data. Information from these sources may often contradict the view of those who restrict their research to a few traditional manuals or resort to etymological speculations.

I will now address myself to two reviews of the MTG—one published in this journal by R. Dankoff, a Turcologist,[5] the other, published in *WZKM* by K. H. Menges, an Altaist[6]—and discuss about two dozen words which the reviewers, for the reasons cited above, misunderstood or failed to fully clarify.

1. *boḏun* 'deceased'[7]

Dankoff states that the word *buḏun* in *yoq buḏun bol-* which Eckmann defines as 'to become null', is an error for *yoḏun* (from *yoḏ-* 'to obliterate'). In recently discovered notes by Eckmann for his MTG,[8] however, we find *boḏun* (not *buḏun*) with a reference to *boḏġu ol* in Arat's *Eski Türk Şiiri*[9] [=ETŞ] (p. 112), in a line rhyming with *yoḏġu ol* (II, pp. 108–110). Arat isolates the stem *boḏ-* and suggests that it is close in meaning to *yod-*. From the context he defines it as follows: "Burada iyi insan olarak ölmek, son defa dünyaya gelişte bodhisattva olarak yaşamak ve böylece doğum-ölüm çarkından kurtularak, bir daha geri dönmemek üzere dünyadan göçmek gâyesi ifâde edilmiş olmalıdır" (p. 390). He identifies this verb with Kāshgharī's *bud-* 'to freeze to death' and *budut-* 'to freeze one to death'.

Eckmann's *boḏun* is from *boḏ-* in the same way as *yoḏun*, from *yoḏ-*. (See Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*,[10] p. 129.)

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[5] R. Dankoff, "Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation. By János Eckmann," *JAOS* 98 (1978), pp. 135–137.

[6] K. Menges, "Etymologische Notizen zu Eckmann's Mittel-Türkischem Tafsīr," *WZKM* 70 (1978), pp. 35–52.

[7] In the entries I give the form and definition of the Turkic terms that, in view of the discussion that follows them, I regard more appropriate.

[8] Cf. R. Jaeckel, "Recently Discovered Notes by Eckmann for his 'Middle Turkic Glosses of the Rylands Interlinear Koran Translation'," *UAJb* 53 (1981), p. 81.

[9] R. R. Arat, *Eski Türk Şiiri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1965.

[10] C. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der Islamischen Litteratursprachen Mittelasiens*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954, 429 pp.

2. *dargāhïnda* 'from Him'

In a list of cases in which "the Turkic is an interpretation of the Arabic and does not depend on the Persian," Dankoff includes *dargāhïnda* 'at His court', the Turkic gloss for Arabic *ladun*. But *nazd-i*, the Persian gloss to *ladun*, has the same function and meaning as the Arabic term. We may, therefore, only speculate whether or not the Turkic glossist relied on the Persian gloss.

Dargāhï (*dargāhïġa*, *dargāhïnda*, *dargāhïdïn*) in Middle Turkic is a secondary postposition[11] used especially in popular religious poetry where it generally refers to God. For example, in Ḫāliṣ's *The Story of Ibrāhīm* (=IbN):[12] *Bu sözni Cibraʾīl ešitti kitti, / Ḫudānï dargahïgä ʿarżïn etti.* (74r:6) 'Gabriel heard these words and departed / to convey the message to Him [lit., 'to the (Divine) Court']', or in the *Nahcu 'l-Farādis* (=NF):[13] *Ḥaqq dargāhïndïn yïraqraq tüštüng̑* (112v:17) 'You have fallen far from God [lit., 'from the Court of the (Divine) Truth'],' or in Shaybānī's *Bahru'lhuda* (=BH):[14] *Qïlmadïm men hēč iš šāyista dargāhïng̑da män.* (18v:1) 'I have not produced anything worthy [of presenting] to You [lit., 'in your presence']'.

Dargāhï as a secondary postposition can be used to translate both *ladun* or *nazd*. If *dargāhïnda* translates *min ladunhu* or *az nazd-i ō*, it is its ablative case form meaning 'from Him'.[15] If it translates *nazd-i ō*,[16] it is its locative case form meaning 'with Him'.

3. *kök* 'mouldy'

Dankoff makes a reference to the entry *kök* in MTG but does not correct the English definition given there, 'blue'. The Turkic and Persian glossists equally translate Arabic *masnūn* in *min ḥamāʾin masnūnin* 'of black mud fashioned into shape' (Qur. 15:28 M)[17] in a sense alien to the Qurʾān but quite common in other contexts, i.e., as *kök tinčimiš* and *bōy girifta*, respectively. Cf. B. Kazimirski, *masnūn* 5. 'puant, fetide' (I, 1148b). Turkic *kök* occurs here in the sense of 'putrid, mouldy' and is an amplification of the meaning of *tinčimiš* 'fetid'. Cf. Sayf's *Gulistān bi't-turkī* (=GbT):[18] *kökärmiš* 'mouldy (bread)' (89v:10).

4. *körünü sürü-* '(for fish) to appear on the surface (of the sea) and move forward'

Dankoff recommends that the second element in the phrase *körünü yürügün* [MS *yätrükün*] be read *yürügän* (or *yüzgän*).

Eckmann in his manuscript has *körünü yürügün* 'appearing and walking, i.e., swimming', but not *yätrükün*: that must be the editors' uncalled-for contribution. What Eckmann gives, in brackets and with a question mark, after *yürügün* is *yrtrwkwn* in Arabic script with no dots under the /y/. This grapheme can hardly be read *yürügän* or *yüzgän*, as Dankoff suggests.

Verbal nouns in *-ġun* are common in Turkic (cf. Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*, ##63, 69, and Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*,[19] #26, 10), thus Eckmann's *yürügün* is morphologically acceptable and needs no correction. The grapheme *ytrwkwn*, however, may be an error for *srwkwn*, i.e., *sürügün* from *sürü-* (Zenker,[20] 524), the Eastern Turkic form of *sür-* 'to go ahead, press on'. *Körünü sürügün* then, would be the same as *körünü sürgün*, which the Istanbul interlinear Qurʾān translation (TIEM[21] T 73) has in the corresponding place.

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[11] I.e., postpositions with possessive suffixes.

[12] MS Ankara University, Library of the Department of Languages, History, and Geography, no. 1/3650, 73–82v. Published by A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, *Ḫāliṣ' Story of Ibrāhīm. A Central Asian Work in Late Chagatay Turkic*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975, 80 pp.

[13] MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Genel Kitablığı Yeni Cami kısmı no. 879. Facsimile edition by J. Eckmann, *Nehcu 'l-feradis*. I. Tıpkıbasım. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1956, XIV + 444 pp.

[14] MS London, British Museum, Add. 7914. Published by A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "Muhammad Shaybānī's 'Bahru 'l-hudâ': An Early Sixteenth Century Didactic Qasīda in Chagatay," *UAJb* 54 (1982), pp. 1–56.

[15] This is what the text of the Qurʾān, *va yuʾti min ladunhu ucran ʿaẓīman* 'and gives from Himself a great reward' (4:40 M), would require.

[16] As most probably it does, since the Turkic gloss very often translates the Persian gloss directly, with no regard to the Arabic original.

[17] *The Holy Qur'ān*. Arabic Text, English Translation and Commentary by Maulana Muhammad Ali. Sixth Edition. Lahore: Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Isha'at Islam, 1973.

[18] A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, *A Fourteenth Century Turkic Translation of Saʿdī's Gulistān: Sayf-i Sarāyī's Gulistān bi 't-turki*. Budapest: The Publishing House of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1969, 450 pp.

[19] J. Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966, 340 pp.

[20] J. Th. Zenker, *Dictionnaire Turc-Arabe-Persian*. Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1866, 980 pp.

[21] Türk ve İslam Eserleri Müzesi, İstanbul. A Qurʾān with Eastern Turkic interlinear glosses. MS T 73, copied in Shiraz, 734/1333–34.

5. *küsüš* 'respected, noble'

Menges states that the word *küsüš/küšüš*, defined in MTG as 'almighty' (Arabic *ᶜazīz*, Persian *bēhamtā*), is nowhere attested. He also states that *kusüš*, 'desire' in Nadelaev's *Dictionary*,[22] or *köšüš* id. in Radloff's,[23] "have nothing to do" with this entry. He mentions Persian *kōšiš* 'striving' as a "remote possibility."

The word, however, is *küsüš*, as Eckmann suggests, but does not mean 'almighty' as both he and Menges believe. It means 'respected, noble, rare, valuable' as in the *Qutadġu Bilig* to which Eckmann refers in his notes to the entry.[24] It translates Arabic *ᶜazīz* in this sense [cf. B. Kazimirski, 'honoré, respeté, consideré; rare, précieux, cher' (II, 241a)] and not in the sense required by the Qurᵓānic context (i.e., 'Almighty').

The use of *ᶜazīz* in this sense was quite common in Classical Turkic. We find it, for example, in Ahmad's *Baraq-nāma* [=BN]:[25] *Erdi yā Rabb Kaᶜbadïn köŋlüm ᶜazīz*. 'O Lord, my heart was more precious [to me] than the Kaᶜba [of Abraham]'. (90v:2); in the *Muᶜīnu'l-Murīd* [=MM]:[26] *ᶜAzīz ḫōr qïlïġlï rōzī bergüči* '[It is He who] makes one honored or despised. [Only He] provides us with daily fare' (177v:4); and in the GbT: *biri daġï ol qadar māl yïġdï kim ᶜazīz-i Miṣr boldï*. (81v:11) 'The other [brother] accumulated so much wealth that he became the most respected man in Egypt' (81v:11).

In the *Kitāb Bayṭaratu'l-vāžiḥ* (=KBV)[27] the word *küsänč* is used in the same sense: *ḫalāᵓiq küsänči* (1v:25) 'the one whom people respect'.

6. *oŋ̂ġ* 'share'

Dankoff considers *oŋ̂ġ* 'share, portion' a ghost word and "an error for *ülüg*, probably a contamination with *öŋ̂ġ* which is found in both examples just before this word."

Öŋ̂ġ, however, in the sense of 'share, portion' is attested in Ahmad Yüknäki's *ᶜAtabatu'l-ḫaqāᵓiq* (=ᶜAḤ)[28] in the following distich: (115) *Qamuġ türlüg ištä biligsiz oŋ̂ġï* (116) *ökünč ol aŋ̂gar yoq oŋ̂ġ anda adïn*. '[But] no matter what deed we consider, the fate of an ignorant person[, because he acts without knowledge,] is self-reproach—there is no other lot for him'. In his glossary to the text edition Arat registers *oŋ̂ġ* as 'hayır, kısmet' (p. XLIb).

It has not been noticed that the two quotes Eckmann gives in his entry are overlapping segments of the same Qurᵓānic verse (9:69). It is because of the resulting repetition that *oŋ̂ġ*, with which *ülüg*, as Dankoff says, was contaminated, occurs twice. The original has it only once, before the second occurrence of *oŋ̂ġ*: *irinčländiŋ̂giz* [Eckmann corrects it to *irinčländilär*] *oŋ̂ġlarï birlä, inčründüŋ̂güzlär ülüglärïŋ̂giz birlä nätäg kim inčründilär ärsä anlar kim sizdä öŋ̂ġdin ärdilär oŋ̂ġlarï birlä*.[29]

7. *örtükli* 'hidden, secret'

Menges questions the propriety of Eckmann's interpretation of *örtükli* as an adjective in *örtükli oynaš* 'secret lover/mistress', the gloss for Arabic *ḫidn*, pl. *aḫdān* 'equals, friends, lovers' (Penrice,[30] 41a). He suggests *örtügli*, instead, a present participle in the function of an agent noun from *ört-*. He also suggests that *ört-* be taken in the sense of 'to cover, copulate with; to conceal'. Thus *örtügli oynaš*, the example in question, would mean 'a covering, copulating or concealing friend'. These meanings, however, are not warranted either by Arabic *ḫidn* or its Persian gloss, *dōst-i pinhān*.

Örtükli 'hidden, secret' in *örtükli oynaš*—a loan translation of the Persian gloss—is, as Eckmann thought, an adjective, not a present participle. It is quite common in Eastern Middle Turkic. We find it, for example, in the GbT: *ol sizgä daġï örtükli qalmaġay*. 'it will not be hidden from you either'. (109r:11, for Persian *pōšīda*) or *baḫšišli Taŋ̂grïniŋ̂ġ lutflarï bar örtükli* 'the Merciful God has [for you]

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[22] V. M. Nadelaev and others, *Drevnet'urkskiĭ slovar'*. Leningrad: Publishing House "Nauka," 1969, 676 pp.

[23] W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*. 4 vols. St. Petersburg, 1893. Reprint: Mouton & Co., 's-Gravenhage, 1960.

[24] As a lexical source Eckmann used Arat's text edition of the *Qutadġu Bilig*. Cf. fn. 38.

[25] A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "Aḥmad's Baraq-nāma: A Central Asian Islamic Work in Eastern Middle Turkic," *CAJ* XVIII (1974), pp. 83–128.

[26] *Muᶜīnu 'l-murīd*, by Islām, MS Bursa, Orhan Library, no. 1605. Critical edition by A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, *Islām's 'A Guide for the Novice'*. (Forthcoming.)

[27] *Kitāb Bayṭaratu 'l-vāžiḥ*, author unknown, MS Istanbul, Topkapı Saray Müzesi, no. 1823.

[28] Published by R. R. Arat, *Atebetü'l-ḥaḳayiḳ*. Istanbul: Ateş Basımevi, 1951.

[29] It translates, in grammatical or phrasal segments, the following Arabic text: *fa 'stamtaᶜū bi ḫalāqihim fa 'stamtaᶜtum bi ḫalāqikum ka mā 'stamtaᶜa 'llaẕīna min qablikum bi ḫalāqihim* . . . 'So they enjoyed their portion; thus have you enjoyed your portion as those before you enjoyed their portion . . .' (Qur. 9:69 M).

[30] J. Penrice, *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Koran*. London: Henry S. King & Co., 1873.

graces that you cannot see' (27v:2). It appears as *örtüglüg* in the KBV: *biraz vaqtda örtüklüg bolur bilinmäs* 'sometimes it is concealed, one does not know about it' (26r:8). Quṭb's *Ḫusrav u Šīrīn* [=ḪŠ][31] also has *örtüklüg* 'hidden' (Zajączkowski, 124). The constituents of *örtükli yašru*, the other example Menges mentions, are grammatically unrelated synonyms, i.e., two independent words defining the same Arabic word *sirran* or its Persian gloss *dar nihān*.

8. *qural* 'argument, proof'

Dankoff regards Eckmann's *qural* as a ghost word and suggests that "it must be an error, perhaps for *quwwat* or *qatïġlïq* (or **qaḍïrlïq*)."

Eckmann gives this word in the pair *ärk qural* 'power and authority' for Arabic *sulṭān* and Persian *bar gumāštagī va huccat*. Both the Turkic and Persian glosses translate Arabic *sulṭān* in two of its basic meanings: 1. 'authority' (Turkic *ärk*, Persian *bar gumāštagī*) and 2. 'argument, proof' (Turkic *qural*, Persian *huccat*).

Not only is *qural* not a ghost word, it is very much alive in several modern Turkic languages. We find it, for example, in Bashkir as *qoral* 'weapon, tool, instrument' (Ahmerov,[32] 338b); in Kirghiz as *qural* 'weapon, tool, equipment, device' (Yudakhin,[33] 447b); or in New Uyghur as *qural* 'weapon, tool, instrument, means' (Najib,[34] 613a), and so on.

9. *quy-* 'to pour' (transitive)

Menges cites this verb in the form *quya-* suggesting perhaps that it is an extended variant of *quy-*. Although augmented stems (such as *sora-* from *sor-*, *sosa-* from *sos-*) are not infrequent in Turkic,[35] *quya-* from *quy-* has not yet been attested. In the phrase *quya ber-* 'to pour out' that Menges discusses *quya* is the gerund in *-a*, not a pure stem.

The form *quy-* is very common in Middle Turkic. We find it, for example, in the MM: *Yüzin dāġlaġaylar qaburġalarïn / ham arqan yaturup quyup ot qorïn.* 'His face and ribs will be marked with a branding iron; / furthermore, he will be laid upon his back and the embers of hellfire will be poured [lit., 'they will pour the embers . . .'] upon him' (188r:17), or in the HŠ: *susun quydï sāqī* 'the cupbearer poured out some wine' (line 258).

Derivatives of *quy-* occur in the MM: *quyun-* 'to wash' (intransitive): *Mununĝ teg quyunġu käräk üč yolï* (182r:9) 'You must repeat this washing three times'; *quyunġan orun* (182r:10) 'place for washing'.

10. *šamuša* 'ornament'

Menges claims that *šamuša* 'ornament' (for Arabic *ḥilya*, glossed by Persian *pērāya*) is attested in Turkic only in Kāshgharī's *Dīvān Lughat at-Turk* [=DLT][36] where it is defined as 'an edible plant'.

Šamuša in the sense of 'ornament', however, is known in Middle Turkic. The MM mentions it among other jewelry items on which a tax must be paid: *Biläzük yüzük yā qïrañgdïn niṣāb / ïsïrġa ya šamušalardïn ḥisāb / qïlïp bergü bu cumlasïndïn zakāt. / Agar bermäs ersä tükänmäs ᶜaẕāb* (188r:7–8) 'If one has a taxable amount of bracelets, rings, pearl necklaces, / earrings and [other] ornaments, one must assess their value / and pay a tax on them all. / If one does not pay [what is due], perpetual torment will be his lot'.

11. *tan-* 'to deny'

Menges says that *tan-* in the sense of 'to deny God, disbelieve' appears first in DLT and that it occurs also in Borovkov's LST. But *tan-*, in that meaning, is not attested in either work. Both have it in the more general sense of 'to refuse, deny; renounce, disavow' (see Nadelaev, 351b; Borovkov, p. 284).

Also, *tan-* is known in sources before Kāshgharī. In Uyghur, for example, we find it in the *Maytrisimit* [=M]:[37] *kim yimä urunčaq urmïš tavarag̈ tanïp birmäslär* (83, 56–57) 'and again he who denies [having accepted the goods] and does not return to him the goods he had held for him in trust'.

In Middle Turkic *tan-* occurs in two basic meanings:

1. In absolute use or with a direct object in the accusative case: 'to deny, refuse to admit, disavow', for example, in the NF: *Agar boyag̈čï bözni boyasïšdïn soñĝ tandï ärsä, ucra vācib bolur; va agar bözni*

[31] A. Zajączkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Ḫusrev u Šīrīn Quṭba*. Part III: Glossary. Warsaw: Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1961.

[32] K. Z. Ahmerov and others, *Bashkirsko-russkiĭ slovar'*. Moscow: State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries, 1958, 804 pp.

[33] A. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkiĭ slovar'*. Moscow: The Publishing House "Sovïetskaïa entsiklopedia," 1965.

[34] E. N. Nadjib, *Uïgursko-russkiĭ slovar'*. Moscow: The Publishing House "Sovïetskaïa entsiklopedia," 1968, 828 pp.

[35] Cf. A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, *Ḫaliṣ' Story of Ibrāhīm*, pp. 11–12.

[36] Menges must have used Nadelaev's dictionary (see fn. 22) as his source for the DLT.

[37] Ş. Tekin, *Uygurca Metinler* II. *Maytrisimit. Burkancıların Mehdisi Maitreye ile buluşma uygurca iptidaî bir dram*. Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1976.

boyamadïn burun tandï, andïn soŋ bözni boyadï ärsä, ucra vācib bolmas (97v:14–16) 'If this dyer made his denial after having dyed the cloth, the payment is obligatory, but if he made it before dying it, it is not'; *Sän körä mänim bözümni tandïŋ* (97v:4) 'You purposely denied having my cloth'; or in the *Qutadġu Bilig* [=QB]:[38] *Taniġlï kišigä tanuq ol bitig* (line 3893) 'A written document is a witness against a person who denies . . .'; or in Gadāī's *Dīvān* [=GD]:[39] *Tana almas belgülüg čōn yüzidä tamġasï bar* (117v:3) 'No one can deny [that he is His servant], it is obvious since His brandmark is on his face'.

2. With a noun complement in the ablative case: 'to fail to keep [one's word]', for example, in GD: *sözüŋdin tana sen* (107v: 5) 'you do not keep your word'; in the BN: *Bu sözümdin tanmayïm tā rōz-i našr* 'To the [very] Day of Resurrection this is my promise and I will be true to it' (88v:8).

Complements to *tan-* in the dative case appeared on the model of Arabic structures with *bi* or *li*, for example, in Borovkov's LST *azu sizlär aŋar tanar sizlär* for Arabic *a fa antum lahu munkirūna* 'Will you then deny it?' (Qur. 21:50 M, Borovkov gives the wrong sura number), or Eckmann's *kim kim tansa Taŋrïqa* for Arabic *wa man yakfur bi'llāhi* 'And whoever disbelieves in Allah' (Qur. 4:136 M).

In modern dialects *tan-* takes complements also in the dative case, for example, in Uzbek: *özininŋ šunday planlarï bor ekänigä tandï* 'he denied having had such plans' (Borovkov,[40] 443a).

12. *tapa* postp. 1. 'toward, in the direction of'; 2. 'to, as far as'

Menges' definition of this postposition as 'to, toward' is not precise. The two basic meanings, indicated above, can be seen in the following examples: In Khorazmi's Qaṣīda:[41] *Qačtï Ḫabaš čärigi ᶜadam qalᶜasï tapa* (181r:11) 'The Ethiopian army retreated to the fortress of annihilation' (i.e., the darkness has disappeared and the sun has risen), or in the MM: *Ẕikir Ḥaqq tapa bil qulavuz saŋga* (198v:1) 'Know that the Recollection is your guide to God, the Truth'.

Also, contrary to Menges, *tapa* is not used exclusively with "indefinite [i.e., unmarked] accusatives." It occurs, but rarely, with nouns in the accusative case, for example, in QB: *qadašïn tapa* 'to his companion' (Vienna MS 170, 20); nouns in the genitive case, for example, in DLT *ol anïŋ tapasï qïldï* 'he did it against his liking' (III, 162, 13). It can take *-ru*, a directive suffix, for example, in QB *Ḥācib taparu* 'to the treasurer' (28, 26, see Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*, p. 184). Its function can be emphasized by Persian *tā*, or *tā ba* as in the Manchester MS of the *Niṣāb-i turkī* [=NTM]:[42] *tā ba darbān tapa* '[all the way] to the guard at the gate of the Palace' (5r:6).

13. *tolan-* 'to be filled'

Dankoff calls Eckmann's *tolan-* 'to be filled up'[43] a ghost word, "simply an error for *tol-*." *Tolan-*, however, does exist in the Turkic lexicon, for example, in Ilminskij's edition of Rabghuzī's *Qiṣaṣu'l-anbiyā* [=QA]:[44] *taqï Lōtnï körsäm köŋlüm tolanur erdi* . . . 'and if I had seen Lot, my heart would have been pleased . . .' (Malov, *Pamiatniki*,[45] p. 329), or in the MM: *İrādatsïz ergä karāmat ravā, / valē ol tolanmas yana tärk barur* (193v:15) 'The Believer who does not submit may [still] possess [the Divine Gift of performing] miracles; / but he is not filled [permanently with that Gift which, once granted by God,] is soon lost again'.

Radloff registers this verb as Chagatay: *tolan-* 'erfüllt sein, hervorragen, sich erheben auf, zufrieden sein' (III, col. 1192).

14. *ton* 'garment, robe'

Menges incorrectly regards 'household goods' as the "extended meaning" of Turkic *ton*. *Ton* simply means 'clothes, clothing, garment, robe' and translates Persian *kālā* ('silk cloths') of Arabic *matāᶜ* ('clothes') in this—not in the Qurʾānic—sense. In the following expressions *ton* is used metaphorically: *ew tonï*, for Arabic *aṣāṣ*, or Persian *kālā*, 'possession, wealth' [lit., 'the

[38] R. R. Arat, *Kutadġu Bilig*. Vol. I. *Metin*. Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947.

[39] J. Eckmann, *The Dīvān of Gadāʾī*. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1971, 538 pp.

[40] A. K. Borovkov and others, *Uzbeksko-russkiĭ slovar'*. Moscow: The State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries, 1959.

[41] In Sayf's collection appended to his *Gulistān bi 't-turkī*, see fn. 18.

[42] Cf. A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "A Glossary to the Rylands Eastern Turkic-Persian Versified Vocabulary," *UAJb* 53 (1981), pp. 1–65.

[43] In Eckmann's Glossary *tolan-* occurs in the translation of Arabic *hal imtalaʾti* 'Art thou filled up?' (Qur. 50:30 M).

[44] MS London, British Museum, Add. 7851. Facsimile edition by K. Grønbech, *Rabġūzī, Narrationes de Prophetis*. Copenhagen, 1948.

[45] S. E. Malov, *Pamïatniki drevnet'urkskoĭ pis'mennosti Mongoliĭ i Kirgiziĭ*. Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1959.

garment of the house', i.e., what displays the wealth of the house], and *ägin tonï* for Arabic *riʾy* or Persian *dīdār*, 'elegant appearance' [lit., 'the garment of the shoulder', i.e., that one wears over one's shoulder].

15. *toqsuġlï* 'attacking, charging the enemy'

Toqsu- which Eckmann defines as 'to come to pass' is not attested in Turkic. Menges suggests that it is a derivative of *toq* 'place' by means of *-sï*, and compares it, semantically, to German 'stattfinden' ('to take place'). For such a derivation, however, there is no other example in Turkic. For no clear reason Menges refers to Japanese *toki* 'Zeit, Termin' ('time, deadline').

Eckmann's *toqšuġlï*, the present participle of *toqïš-*, *toquš-* 'to fight', translates Arabic *vāqiʿun* in the sense of 'charging, attacking the enemy'. Cf. *vaqaʿa* 12. 'tomber avec impétuosité sur quelqu'un, charger l'ennemie' (B. Kazimirski, II, 1586b).

16. *u-* 'to be able'

In reference to Eckmann's defintion of *u-* as 'to be able, have power' Menges notes that this verb "auch als Auxiliare aspectus verwendet wird" ('is also used as auxiliary aspect[?]'). He refers to *yätümädilär* 'they could not join'.

The semantic and morphological description of *u-*, however, cannot go beyond the data the document provides. The suffix *-uma* in *yätümädilär* occurs as a formant of the impossibilitive stem. The derivative is a mode, not an aspect of the verb *yät-*.

It is also important to note here that the *u-* as a main verb, as Eckmann's examples show, occurs only in negative status: *umas*, *umaslar*, *umaġaylar*. Its positive stem is present in the derivative *Uġan* 'the Almighty' and *un-* 'to be able'. the latter occurs in Eckmann's examples only in affirmative status.

17. *uman-* 'to hope' ~ *ayman-* 'to be afraid'

Dankoff states that on p. 306 of Eckmann's MTG the entry *umun-* 'to hope' is missing and refers to a gloss under *tušmaq* where this verb occurs.

Under *tušmaq*, however, Eckmann has *uman-*, not *umun-* in *kim kim umanur ärsä yā qorqar ärsä* . . . for Arabic *fa man kāna yarcuʾ* . . . 'So whoever hopes (to meet his Lord) . . .' (Qur. 18:110M).

The verb *uman-* is known in Turkic. Cf. Zenker's *uman-* LT[46] *umīdwār šudan* 'to hope' (132b). If that is the verb the glossist had in mind, the gloss *umanur ärsä yā qorqar ärsä* 'he who hopes or fears' translates Arabic *racā* in the sense of both 'to hope' and 'to fear'. It is more likely, however, that *uman-* should read *ayman-* 'to fear', in which case *qorq-* in the given example is an internal gloss to it. Cf. QB *ayman-* 'sich fürchten, sich schämen' (Radl. I, col. 64). *Ayman-* very often occurs in combination with *qorq-* 'to be afraid', for example, in the *Uyghur-Chinese Dictionary* [=UChD]:[47] *qorqup aymanïp* 'afraid, fearful' (Radl. I, col. 65), in the Turfan Texts [=TT]:[48] *qorq- ayman-* [recorded as hendiadys] 'to be afraid, be fearful' (Nadelaev, 458fb), or in the KBV: *yürigändä . . . qorqa aymanu basmaġay* (4r:13) '. . . when it [i.e., the horse] walks, he does not step [cautiously], fearful [that his foot might hurt]'.

18. *üyük* 'wet clay'

Dankoff observes that in the entry *kök* "the word *līvā* 'mud' (not noted as an entry p. 179) here replaces the word *üyük* in the same gloss as cited s.v. *üyük*." He wonders whether "one is a gloss of the other."

The confusion is due in part to the fact that the editors omitted some vital data from Eckmann's entry. They printed "*üyük* mud (Ar. *ḥamā*, P. *garēfaj*) . . ." whereas Eckmann's entry, in the manuscript submitted to the editors, begins as follows: "*üyük* (MS *lyw*ʾ for ʾ*ywk*) mud . . ." That is, Eckmann considered *lyw*ʾ a copyist's error and corrected it to read *üyük*. He made this correction on the basis of data from two other interlinear Qurʾān translations and two MSS of the *Muqaddimatu'l-Adab* [=MA][49] which he quotes at the end of his entry. Unfortunately the editors omitted the orthography of *üyük* in the latter source and also its Arabic equivalent *ḥamāʾ*.

Two occurrences of *lyw*ʾ, however, seem to be more than an orthographical error. Eckmann himself thought of the form *līvā*, before he corrected the word

[46] Zenker's reference to *Risāla-i Faẓlullāh Khān*. Calcutta, 1925.

[47] A Late Uyghur-Chinese Dictionary the word material of which Radloff, on the basis of a manuscript in the Asiatic Museum, incorporated in his dictionary. Cf. Pritsak's introduction to the reprint of Radloff's *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*. ['s-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960], p. xiv.

[48] The word material of the *Türkische Turfan-Texte* by W. and A. von Gabain (I–V); W. Bang, A. von Gabain, and G. R. Rachmati (VI); G. R. Rachmati (VII); A. von Gabain (VIII and X); and von Gabain and W. Winter (IX), has been incorporated in Nadelaev's dictionary.

[49] Eckmann used a Berlin MS of the *Muqaddimatu 'l-adab* but in his notes he provides no further information. Cf. R. Jaeckel, "Recently Discovered Notes," p. 87.

to *üyük* and that form was left in the illustration he gave for *kök*.

Līvā 'mud' has yet to be attested in Turkic. Kāshgharī's *liyü* 'mud that turns to hard clay when it dries' (Dankoff), 'lime, limestone' (Brockelmann),[50] 'dry and hard clay with sand' (Nadelaev), 'fine sandy mud that turns hard clay when it dries' (Atalay),[51] or Classical Persian *lē* 'clay' (Steingass)[52] cannot be fully identified with it. Hindustani *lēwā* 'plaster' or its derivative *lēwār* 'mud' (Platts)[53] come the closest. It is strange that no other document studied up to now attests to the existence of this word in Turkic.

Üyük, on the other hand, is common in Turkic sources. In addition to the documents Eckmann mentions, it occurs in the MM as 'a mound of earth' in a context similar to that of *üyük* in the Qurʾān: *Namāz rōza mäng̑ ham rukūᶜ va sucūd.* / *Ḫużūrung̑ yipäk aġ üyük teg vucūd* (197r:11) 'Prayer (and) fasting are such provisions, so are bowing and prostrations. / (But) your presence is like a silken snare and your body is a (mere) mound of earth'. Radloff registers it as 'an artificial mound of earth, hill' (I, col. 1816), New Redhouse,[54] as *höyük*, *hüyük*,[55] *üyük* 'artificial mound or hill, tumulus' (491a).

19. *üzäng̑ü* 'stirrup'

Menges accepts Eckmann's defintion of *üzäng̑ü* as 'stairs' and remarks, "Diese ganz seltene Bedeutung 'Treppe' gibt Sevortian, 624, mit der Abkürzung LT, die ich nirgends erklärt finde" ('Sevortian, [in his *Etymological Dictionary*[56] . . . p.] 624 gives this quite rare meaning 'stairs' with the abbreviation LT[57] that I find nowhere explained').

Üzäng̑ü in the Rylands Qurʾān translation does not mean 'stairs'. As a concrete term meaning 'stirrup' it translates Arabic *miᶜrāc* in the more general sense of 'a place of ascent'. Cf. B. Kazimirsi, 1. 'lieu que l'on gravit, ou monte' (II, 211a).

Üzäng̑ü in the sense of 'stairs' is nowhere attested. Sevortian's only example, to which Menges refers, is from Borovkov's LST [abbreviated in Sevortian's book as LT, see p. 6, in his list of abbreviations]: *üzäng̑ü* 'stairs' for Arabic *sullamun* (Borovkov, 337). But the situation in the Karshi Qurʾān Commentary is essentially the same as in the Rylands': the gloss does not always translate the Arabic term in the sense required by the Qurʾānic context. In this case *üzäng̑ü* translates Arabic *sullamun* in the sense of 'stirrup'. Cf. B. Kazimirski, *sullamun* 1. 'échelle'; 2. 'étrier' (I, 1131a).

20. *yadaġ čäkürgä* 'white ant' or 'moth'

Menges remarks that *yadaġ čäkürgä*, which Eckmann translates as 'louse', is a euphemism for Turkish *bit* 'louse' "das man anscheinend als zu vulgär für den Qurʾān empfand" ('that one apparently found too vulgar for the Qurʾān'). He translates *yadaġ čäkürgä* as 'Heuschrecke(n) zu Fuss' ('pedestrian locust[s]').

Yadaġ čäkürgä, however, does not mean 'louse', nor is it a euphemism for Turkic *bit*. It translates Arabic *qummal* 1. sorte de petite teigne qui s'engendre dans la peau de chameaux maigres; 2. 'petites fourmis; 3. petites sauterelles qui n'ont pas encore d'ailes' (B. Kazimirski, II, 816b)] or Persian *dēwak* 'a weavil; a moth; the white ant' (Steingass, 556a).

The term itself, apparently, is the description of *qummal* in the third sense, i.e., 'young grasshoppers the wings of which have not yet developed'. Persian *dēwak*, however, does not cover this meaning of *qummal*. The meanings that the Arabic and Persian terms have in common are 'moth' and 'little or white ants'. It is one of these that may be meant by *yadaġ čäkürgä*. If the Turkic term translates *dēwak* only in disregard of Arabic *qummal*, the definition 'weevil' is also possible.

Yaḍaġ čäkür(t)gä, as found in other Eastern Middle Turkic documents, takes us closer to the actual meaning of the Turkic term. In the Khotan version of the QA[58] we find *yadaġ čäkirtgü paydā boldï, qalġan ašlïqlarnï yädi* (118v:6–7) '[after the plague of locusts] the *yadaġ čäkirtgü* appeared and consumed all the wheat that remained [in the granaries, because the wheat in the fields had been ruined by the locusts]'. Lice, euphemized or not, do not eat wheat. Ants, weevils, or moths do. Elsewhere in the same work the

[50] C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarīs Dīvān Luγat at-Turk*. Budapest and Leipzig, 1928.

[51] B. Atalay, *Divan-i Lugat-it-Türk Dizini-Indeks*. Ankara, 1943.

[52] F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1892, 1539 pp.

[53] J. T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English I–II*. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1884.

[54] Alkım and others, *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary*. Istanbul: Redhouse Press, 1968.

[55] For further examples of the prothetic /h-/ in Middle Turkic see A. J. E. Bodrogligeti, "A Glossary to the Rylands Eastern Turkic-Persian Versified Vocabulary," *UAJb* 53 (1981), p. 5.

[56] E. Sevortian, *Etimologičeskiĭ slovar' t'urkskikh ĭazykov*. Moscow: Publishing House "Nauka," 1974.

[57] This abbreviation should not be confused with Zenker's use of the same letters. See fn. 46.

[58] MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Suppl. Turc. 1012.

plagues that befell Egypt are listed: The one corresponding to the plague of the *qummal* in the Qurʾān is here refered to as the plague of the *küyä* 'moth'.

21. *yan-* 'to turn away'

In *yan-* III which Eckmann defines as 'to bar from', Menges sees a hitherto unknown verb and derives it from *yan* 'side'.

Yan- means 'to turn away from' and translates Arabic *sadda* in that sense. Cf. 'se détourner de quelqu'un' (B. Kazimirski, I, 1317b). It has nothing to do with Turkic *yan* 'side' and is not at all unknown in the Turkic lexicon, as Menges claims. We find it, for example, in the MM: *Avāmir anïŋ amrï teyü tutup / navāhī anïŋ nahyï tep yanmaq ol* (198v:3) 'To obey [Him] by avowing that the ordinances [one must obey] are His / and to turn away [from what is forbidden] by avowing that the prohibitions are His'. See also Radl. III, col. 80.

22. *yaq-* 'to smear, anoint'

To justify his suggestion for correcting *yuq-* to *yaq-* 'to touch', Dankoff refers to *yaqmaq*, the Turkic gloss to Arabic *misās* or Persian *bisūdan*, that Eckmann defines as 'a touching'.

Yuq-, as we will see below, is a commonly known Turkic word and does not need correction. Eckmann's *yaqmaq*, on the other hand, does not mean 'a touching'—a meaning not yet attested in Turkic. *Yaq-* here means 'to smear, anoint' [cf. KBV *yaq-* (*üzä*) 'to smear (s.th. with s.th.)' (27v:1), or Bashkir *yaġ-* 'to smear' (Ahmerov, s.v.)] and translates *bisūdan* in that sense [cf. Persian *sūdan* 'to anoint, besmear, incrust, bedaub' (Steingass, 707b)], disregarding the Qurʾānic context.

23. *yïġ-* 'to prevent someone from doing s.th.; to prohibit'

This verb was much more widely used in Eastern Middle Turkic than Menges believes. In addition to Borovkov's LST, the QB, and the DLT, it occurs also in the ʿAḤ: ('mani olmak, menʾetmek' Arat, LXXIIIb), ḤŠ ('to decline, prevent from, keep back', Zajączkowski, 89), the Old Anatolian Turkic translation of ʿAṭṭār's *Taẕkiratu'l-auliyā* [=TA]:[59] *Bäni üč närsä īmān kätürmäkdän yïġar* (36r:7) 'There are three things that prevent me from professing the Faith', and in the MM ('to divert' 180r:7, 'to forbid' 179r:6).

Together with its derivatives, this verb was part of the technical vocabulary of Central Asian Turkic Islam. In the MM, for example, *yïġmïš* was used in the sense of '(God's) prohibitions' (equivalent to Arabic *nahy*): *Bilig Ḥaqqnï bilmäk taqï amrïnï / tutup yïġïlmaq kamāl* (186r:2) 'Knowledge is to know God, to carry out his commandments, / and to abstain completely from what He has forbidden'; *yïġġan*, 'the Preventer, the Prohibitor' (corresponding to Arabic *māniʿ*): *Biliŋ Ḥaqq yïġġan buyruqïn tut yüri* (196r:7) 'Know that God is the Forbidder, heed His commands'; *yïġïl-* (*-dïn*) 'to avoid, refrain (from), abstain (from) (what God has forbidden)': *Ḥaqīqat takkabur bayānïn äšit / yïġaqdïn yïġïlmas takabburlüg är* (180r:8) 'Hear a description of what pride really is: it is what keeps a proud person from avoiding what (God) has prohibited'; *yïġaq* '(God's) prohibitions' (, derived from an augmented stem, for Arabic *nahy*): *Yïġaqdïn yïġïl tut İḏi amrïnï* (179r:7) 'Refrain from what has been prohibited and obey God's commands'. The derivative *yïġaq* suggests that the augmented stem included as an entry by Eckmann, but not supported in the entry by comparative data, must also have existed.

Also worth noting in connection with *yïġ-* is that in early Middle Turkic the expression *älig yïġ-* 'to prevent s.o. from doing s.th.', a loan translation of Arabic *kaffa*, was added to its lexico-semantic stock, as Eckmann's examples show. Menges' reference to Katanov's New Uyghur materials should have been made, in the first place, with the purpose of illustrating the survival of this phrase as *qolini yïġ-*. See one example in *Volkskundliche Texte*,[60] II, 84:124).

24. *yod-* 'to wipe off, obliterate'

The meaning Menges has ('to annihilate, destroy') is erroneous. He also misunderstood the Yakut example *sot-* he refers to: It does not mean 'vernichten' ('to annihilate') but rather 'to wipe off' (cf. Afanasieva,[61] p. 618a, s.v. 'СТЕРЕТЬ').

Furthermore, in the DLT and in Old Uyghur *yod-* is used in the sense of 'to wipe off (a writing, dust from one's face, a name from people's memory)' (cf. Nadelaev, s.v.). The later form *yoy-* occurs in Khorazmi's *Maḥabbat-nāma* [=MN]:[62] *Falakniŋ daftarïdïn tünni yoyġan* (290v:3) 'He who erases the darkness of night from the book of the sky'. Its passive form, *yuyïl-* 'to be removed, obliterated' occurs in Kúnos's Kazan

[59] MS Budapest, The Oriental Collection of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, no. T fol. 33.

[60] K. H. Menges, *Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Türkistan*. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1976.

[61] P. S. Afanasieva and others, *Russko-Iakutskiĭ slovar'*. Moscow: Publishing House "Sovietskaïa entsiklopedia," 1968.

[62] MS London, British Museum, no. 7914. Published by E. N. Nadjib, *Khorezmi: Muhabbat-nāme*. Moscow: Publishing House of Oriental Literature, 1961.

Tatar songs, for example, in *qïrïp alu bilän yuyïlmay* '[the grease] cannot be removed [from the white paper even] by scraping' (Tatar text from Kakuk, *Kasantatarische Volkslieder*,[63] no. 78b; cf. my review in *UAJb* 53 (1981), p. 160.

25. *yuq-* 'to penetrate, pierce'

Dankoff suggests that *yuq-* which Eckmann defines as 'to touch' is an error for *yaq-* and includes it in his list of ghost words. In order to justify *yaq-* in this sense, he refers to Eckmann's *yaqmaq* 'a touching' (see the discussion of *yaq-* above).

Yuq-, far from being a ghost word, is well-known in Turkic and is listed by several lexicographers. See, for example, Vámbéry *yuq-* 'enge werden, ankleben, anreihen, anstechen (von einem Übel)': *balāsï manĝa yuqtï* 'er hat mich mit seinem Übel angesteckt' (*Ćagataische Sprachstudien*,[64] 354a); or Pavet de Courteille 'pénétrer, se communiquer' (Dictionnaire,[65] 547).

In *yuqsa sizlär uraġutlarġa*, the gloss to Arabic *au lāmastumu 'n-nisā'a* 'or you have touched the women' (Qur. 4:43 M), it does not mean 'to touch' but 'to pierce, to have sexual intercourse with' and translates Arabic *lāmasa* ['to have intercourse with' (Penrice, 133b)] or Persian *sūdan, sāvīdan* ['to pierce' (Steingass, 644b)] in that sense.

[63] Zs. Kakuk, *Kasantatarische Volkslieder. Auf Grunde der Sammlung von Ignác Kúnos herausgegeben.* Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1980.

[64] H. Vámbéry, *Ćagataische Sprachstudien.* Leipzig: F. H. Brockhaus, 1867, 358 pp.

[65] Courteille, P. de, *Dictionnaire Turk-Oriental.* Paris: À L'imprimerie impériale, 1870.