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Additional Iranian Loan-words in Early Turkic Languages

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Since the end of the nineteenth century Turkologists and Iranists studying old and middle Turkic texts have found them to contain many words from the Iranian languages. Most of the words stem from the religious sphere, but there are also cultural words such as *kägdä* "paper", *üjek ~ üjik* "letter (of alphabet)" etc. Some Turkology reference books contain useful lists of such Iranian elements but there has not as yet been an extensive monograph dealing with this subject. Particularly Iranian loan-words from the Karakhanid have not been adequately studied. In Sir Gerard Clauson's important etymological dictionary we find many entries preceded by the abbreviation "?F"[1] and the comment "probably Iranian loan-word" without an exact identification. A comprehensive study on this subject is a desideratum.

I believe that I have been able to identify additional old and middle Turkic words as Iranian loan-words and in the following I will presente few examples.

artut "gift"

This word occurs twice in an Old Uighurian Christian text[2] which was

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1 G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford 1972 (= *EDPT*), p. XII, 18.(3): "Words which are believed to be loan-words are preceded by ?F if definite proff is lacking".

2 F.W.K. Müller, *Uigurica* [I], *APAW* 1908 (= *Opuscula*, vol. III 1, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der deutschen Turfanforschung*, Leipzig 1972) "Die Anbetung der Magier", p. 6: *öz yük-lärin açtı-lar ạrtuḍın açu-γın ötündi-lär kim kälürmiş*

probably translated from a Sogdian text. It is also listed by Maḥmūd al-Kāşġarī who writes "a gift (*hadiyya*) such as a horse, or the like, offered in the presence of emirs, or others; then every gift came to be called *artut*".[3] In the *Dīvān luġāt at-Turk* there are two further instances[4] and *artut qıl-* "to make a gift" also appears once in the *Qutaḏγu Bilig*[5] and in *ʿAtabatu'l-ḥaqāʾiq*.[6]

There have been two attempts to explain the Turkic derivation of this word, Clauson, who because of the incomplete spelling read the word as: *ertüt*, traced it from the verb *ert-* "to pass".[7] Röhrborn considered as a derivation from *art-* "to load".[8] Neither of these explanations is convincing.

I suggest that *artut* be explained as a loan-word from the Sogdian. In Sogdian *r't* means "gift" and it is clearly an Iranian word; the Old Indian equivalent is *rātíḥ*. In Avestan there is the verb *rā-* "to grant, allow"[9] of which the Indogermanic root is **rē-*.[10] *r'tt* is the Sogdian plural form of *r't*.

There are other Sogdian words which begin with *r* and have acquired a vowel prothesis in Turkic, for example Sogd. *rz'y*, Old Uigur. *arži* "saint, hermit", or the Sogd. *rttny* Old Uigur *ärdini* "jewel", or the *r-* initial sound of Sogdian is avoided by a metathesis, for example *rγzy*, "a sort of linen or wool" Old Uigur *qars* "idem". We have a similar case with *artut*. The only difficulty is with the rounded vowel of the second syllable. I would like to explain the rounding of the vowel with the labializing influence of the *r*. This sporadically appearing phenomenon can be found in various Turkic languages, for example Old Uigur, Karakhanid *erkeç*, Azerbayjani *öyäc*, Anatolian dialects *ögäç* "he-goat" or Old Uigurian *ür*, Oguz *er* "early" etc.

ärdilär; p. 7: *üç törlüg küzünçin ạrtuḍın yumqı alı y(a)rlıqadı*.

3 Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, edited and translated by R. Dankoff in collaboration with J. Kelly, Harvard 1982-85, part I, p. 138; Dankoff reads *ärtüt*.

4 *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part I, p. 141 and p. 186.

5 R.R. Arat, *Kutadgu Bilig* I, *Metin*, Istanbul 1947; distich 1769: *qamuγ işçi barça köründi kälip * tapuγ tozγu birlä näng artut qılıp*.

6 R.R. Arat, *Edib Ahmed b. Mahmud Yükneki: Atebetü'l-ḥakayık*, İstanbul 1951, p. 44, distich 42.

7 *EDPT* p. 204 *ertüt*.

8 K. Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*, Lieferung 3, Wiesbaden 1981, p. 216.

9 C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* 3, Berlin 1904/1906, p. 1519 (aw. *rāti*).

10 M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, vol. 3, Heidelberg 1976, p. 52 f. (*rāti*).

I would like to mention in this context that in old Turkic written languages there are other interesting words for the concept "gift". And some of them are probably also loan-words. For example in Karakhanid *siŋüt* "a gift which is not matched by a return gift and for which there is no offset".[11] An etymology for this word, which also occurs in the Choresmian-Turkic text *Nahcu'l- farādīs*,[12] has not yet been established. It is striking that as in *artut*, the word ending is *üt*.

Another word with the variants *yarmaγān* and *armaγān* "gift" more specifically "a gift which a traveller who has prospered brings back from his journey for his neighbours"[13] also seems to be a loan-word, but the origin is still unknown.

On the other hand, I consider, (in opposition to the opinion of G. Doerfer[14]) *tozγu*, "a gift of food given to a traveller", which is recorded by Maḥmūd al Kāşġarī, as a loan-word from Mongolian, because the verb from which this word is derived exists only in Mongolian. It is Mongolian *tos-* "to receive, to encounter, go to meet someone who is coming".

The widespread *savγat*, meaning "gift which one brings back from a trip or a military expedition" has penetrated as far as the Romance languages. The origin of *savγat* is disputed. The most likely explanation is a Mongolian origin.[15]

There is another word for gift, *beläk ~ bäläk* which has been preserved in almost all Turkic languages.[16] But even for this word there is no plausible etymology, although it is probably a genuine Turkic word.

täv "trick, device"

This word appears always in the synonym compound *täv kör*.[17] The second word has been mistakenly read as *kür*. It is found frequently in Old Uigurian

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11 *EDPT* p. 836 *siŋüt*.

12 *Nehcü'l-ferādīs* II, *Metin*. Transcription: J. Eckmann; edited by S. Tezcan - H. Zülfikar, Ankara [1984], p. 165 (239/6): *sün͡gütlük bolsun an͡gar uçmaḥ*.

13 *EDPT* p. 232 *armağa:n/yarmağa:n*; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (= *TMEN*, 4 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-1975) II, nr. 465.

14 *TMEN* II, nr. 900.

15 *TMEN* I, nr. 222.

16 *EDPT* 338 *béleg*; *TMEN* I, nr. 833.

17 *EDPT* p. 434 *tev*.

and Karakhanid. The derivation *tävlig* appears as early as Orkhon-Turkic.[18]

täv has been assumed to be a Turkic word.

In (East) Middle Persian exist *db* "deceit, trick"[19] and it is clearly an Iranian word. Pahlavi *dawāl* "deceit, trickery".[20]

The second element, of the synonym compound *täv kör* is also a loan-word. It goes back to the Mongolian *gör/görä*, meaning "false accusation, slander"[21] and must have been *kör* in Turkic. In modern Mongolian languages the word has survived, for example Khalkha *gördex* "to slander" *görç* "slander",[22] Kalmuck *görö* "slander, bad reputation, trick, defamation",[23] Buriat *gür* "trap, trick", *gürdelge* "slander".[24] Oirat *gör* "slander"[25] It has not been preserved in any Turkic language.

bayraq / batraq "flag"

This word exists today in the following Turkic languages: In Osmanli and Republican Turkish, Azerbayjani, Crimean Tatar, Kumuk, Balkar, Kazak dialects, Nogay, Karakalpak, Tatar, Bashkir, Uzbek dialects and Uygur as *bayraq*, in Uygur dialects as *bayaq*. In Karakhanid found as *baytaq* and *bayraq*, and in Çagatay found as *bayraq* and *baydaq*.

From Turkic *bayraq* has entered many languages (Persian, Arabic, Urdu, Causasian and Balkan languages).[26]

As *bayraq / baydaq / batraq* "flag" exists only in the Turkic languages which are spoken in the neigborlıood of Iranian languages, it seems plausible to assume an Iranian origin. In Sogdian we find *pr'* and the extended form *pr'(kh)* "banner" (The Sanskrit equivalent of the Iranian word is *paṭākā*. The Prakrit equivalent is *paḍāā*.[27]

18 *EDPT* p. 439 *tevlig*.

19 W. Sundermann, *Middle Persian and Partian cosmogenic and parable texts of the Manicheans, Berliner Turfantexte* IV, p. 121).

20 D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London 1971, p. 25.

21 F.D. Lessing (ed.), *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, Corrected Reprinting, Bloomington 1982, p. 387.

22 H.-P. Vietze, *Wörterbuch Mongolisch-Deutsch*, Leipzig 1988, p. 79.

23 G.J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, ²Helsinki 1976, p. 138.

24 K.M. Çeremisov, *Burjatsko-russkij slovar'*, Moskva 1973, p. 166.

25 J.R. Krueger, *Materials for an Oirat-Mongolian to English Citation Dictionary*, Bloomington 1984, p. 774.

26 *EDPT* p. 307 *batrak*, *TMEN* II, nr. 824.

27 R.L. Turner, *A comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1966:

In Old Uigurian in addition to the Sogdian loan-word *pra* another word with the same meaning is found: *batruq*. This is quite similar to the Karakhanid variant *batraq*. This may be a case of contamination, as with the Turkic verb *batur-* "to stick, to pierce" or with *qazγuq* "pole" because the flagpole is stuck into the earth like a pole. Of course the Old Uigur word *batruq* may be a completely different word.

Previous scholars who were not familiar with Sogd. *pr'* and *pr'kh* assumed that *bayraq* had a Turkish origin. Only Clauson raised the question of whether it might be a loan-word.

böd "throne"

This word is found only in Orkhon-Turkic. There are very few examples of this word. But at least one instance is so clear that there is no doubt as to the existence and meaning of this word.[28] However it can also be read as *vöd* because there is no special sign for *v* in the Turkic runic alphabet. No similar word has been found in any of the Turkic languages.

The similarity of the word with the Sogdian *w'δ* "seat, throne, pulpit, (bishop's) seat" is apparent, although the vowel of the Turkic word is palatal. If there is a connection, the palatalisation remains unexplained. On the other hand, the rounding of the unrounded vowel in the vicinity of the labial consonants is not unusual for Orkhon-Turkic.

käp "mould, model" and *gibi ~ bigi* (postposition) "like"

kep is recorded as early as Old Uigurian. A.v. Gabain translates it with "example, pattern".[29] In Karakhanid it means "mould". The word was often mistakenly read with *i* or *ī* as, *kip* or *kīb*, also by Clauson. He writes the following about this word: "*ki:b* (*g-*) originally 'mould, model' in a concrete sense, in Oğuz it early acquired the metaph. meaning 'likeness, resemblance', and with the Poss. Suff. *-i: kibi:* (*gibi:*) came to be used as a Postposition meaning 'like'. As a noun noted only as below, but the

"*patākā-* 'flag' [Prob. ← a non Aryan word containing *p(h)aṭ* aryanized with *t*]".

28 Kül Tegin Inscription, S. 11 *bödkä körügmä bäglär* ...; see *EDPT* p. 298 *böd* "a royal throne".

29 A.v. Gabain, "Briefe der Uigurischen Hüen-tsang-Biographie", *SPAW* 1938 (= *Opuscula* III 1) p. 386, 2111.

Postposition survives in SW Az. *kimi* Osm. *gibi* and in some other languages in altered forms like NW Kaz. *kebek-kük* (? for *kibi ök*)...".[30]

In reality the word is much more widespread. Räsänen has listed the following words in his etymological dictionary,[31] which I quote have to substantiate my claim: Turkmen *gāp*, Karakalpak *kep* "decoy" (stuffed skin of an animal); Oyrot, Teleut, Lebed, Shor *käp* "model, last, scheme"; Abū Ḥayyān *kāp* "last"; [? Kazak *kep* "sense, meaning"]; kumuk *kep* "form by casting"; sojon. *xep, xevi*, "form", Yakut *kiäp*, çuv. *kap* "appearance, figure, form"; Old Bolgarian > ung. *kép* "picture"[32]; Old Slavic *kapъ* "picture, portrait, idol"; Shor *käbär* "depiction, illustration, pattern"; Mong. *keb* "form, model, pattern, last, sample".

I would like to add: In Old Osmanli texts there are clear references to *käp* "last" (with open *ä*)[33] and in Anatolian dialects in addition to *kip* "fitting exactly" there is the variant *kirp*.[34]

The vowel of the word is then in some languages a long or short open *ä*, in some a closed *e* and in others an *i*. Moreover forms which contain an *r* appear in Shor, in Soyon and Anatolian dialects. I think the variability of the vowel is typical of loan-words.

It seems to me very probable that this word is also of Iranian origin (possibly East Middle Persian). In Turkic an *r*-drop occurred. The *r* has even been preserved in some languages. However, the variants with *r* may be of secondary origin.

To be the origin of Turkic *käp* I consider the Middle Persian *karp* "body", [Pahlavi *kirb*] "body, form".[35]

The explanation of the postposition *kibi ~ gibi* (and its metathetic variant *bigi*) as an extended form of the third person with possessive suffix has been generally recognized and is in my opinion correct. Both variants of the word have an *i* in the first syllable because of the regressive assimilation.

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30 *EDPT* p. 686 *kib*.

31 M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. Helsinki 1969, p. 253.

32 For the Hungarian word see: *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*, vol. 2, Budapest 1970, p. 447 f.

33 For example *Marzubān-nāme*, Berlin ms. 35v9.

34 *Türkiye'de Halk Ağzından Derleme Sözlüğü* VIII, TDK, Ankara 1975, p. 2873.

35 D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, p. 51.

Choresmian loan-words in Turkic

For Choresmian-Turkic we have texts from the 14 century and a fairly complete copy of the famous Arabic dictionary by al-Zamaxşarī. In Choresmian-Turkic we find in addition to an abundance of Arabic and Newpersian loan-words, a few loan-words from the Iranian Choresmian language. Nuri Yüce identified the following words of *Muqaddimatu'l-adab* as Choresmian loans: *bāmān* "hopeless", *onxar* "rumination", *şamuşa* "fittings, decoration", *ustax* "impudent, audacious, unblushing".[36] The last example however is also listed with the same sound in Persian dictionaries and cannot therefore be designated specifically as a Choresmian word.

Johannes Benzing in his Choresmian word index showed that Turkmen *yap* and Uzbek *yâb* "irrigation canal" are loan-words from the extinct Choresmian, *y'b*.[37] I would like to add: The oldest record for this is found in *Nahcu'l-farādīs*, a work of the 14th century.[38]

The Choresmian *t'b* "point, iota, vowel sign"[39] entered Choresmian-Turkic and is found as *tap* in the meaning "spot, dot".[40]

Another word which has not previously been identified is *indist* "bread soup" which appears in the *Muqaddimatu'l-adab*.[41] In Iranian Choresmian it is recorded as *'ndst* "crumbled (and soaked) bread and *'njst* "bread crumbled in broth".[42]

Although a similar, comparable word is lacking in Choresmian language material, I suspect that Choresmian-Turkic *qaçu/qaçur* "dyke" is a loan-word from Choresmian. It occurs in *Qiṣāṣu'l-anbiyā* by Rabġūzī[43] and in *Nahcu'l-farādīs*.[44] Today this word is found only in two Turkic languages which are spoken in the former area of Choresmian and Choresmian-Turkic:

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36 N. Yüce, *Mukaddimetü'l-edeb, Ḫvārizm Türkçesi ile Tercümeli Şuşter Nüshası*, Ankara 1988, p. 25.

37 J. Benzing, *Chwarezmischer Wortindex. Mit einer Einleitung von Helmut Humbach, herausgegeben von Zahra Taraf*, Wiesbaden 1983, p. 696.

38 *Nehcü'l-ferādīs II, Metin*, p. 49 (66/11).

39 *Chwarezmischer Wortindex*, p. 606.

40 *Nehcü'l-ferādīs II, Metin*, p. 237 (341/1).

41 *Mukaddimetü'l-edeb* p. 26, 130.

42 *Chwarezmischer Wortindex*, p. 69.

43 Al-Rabghūzī, *The Stories of the Prophets*, vol. I. Critically ed. by. H.E. Boeschoten, M. Vandamme and S. Tezcan, Leiden 1995, p. 712.

44 *Nehcü'l-ferādīs* II, *Metin*, p. 60 (82/5).

Turkmen *yaçı* and Karakalpak *qaşı*.

In closing I would like to direct the attention to two words which occur only in Oguz and in several Kıpçak languages. To this day they have not been satisfactorily explained. I would like to pose the question, whether they might be connected to Choresmian.

us "reason" al-Kāşġarī designates this word as Oguz. Today it exists only in Karaim, Azerbayjani and Osmanli/Republican Turkish. I am considering a comparison with Choresmian *'ws* "understanding, consciousness". The Avestian equivalent is *uşi* and the Persian equivalent is *hūş ~ hoş*.

pāy "share". This word too is recorded only for the Oguz and Kıpçak languages. Beyond that, it has entered Russian and Kalmuck. I do not share the opinion that this word, which has been found neither in other eastern Turkic languages nor in Old Turkic, is Chinese. Perhaps we can compare it with Choresmian *pdy'b* which is translated as "part" [Teil] in *Chwaresmischer Wortindex* of Benzing, but which is often used as "share" (as a pendant Arabic, Persian *naṣīb*) and has been translated as such by Benzing (for example Zamaxşarī 88/7: "Er sonderte ihm seinen Anteil ab" ["He detached his portion"]. Perhaps *pd* (*pad*) is concealed in the first part of this word?

As another possiblity we should perhaps consider that it is related to *p'θ* "arrow" in some way? (Could it be a case of contamination?) Let us compare Arabic *sahm* with both meanings. 1. "arrow" and 2. "share, portion, lot". It is interesting in this context what al-Kāşġarī writes to *oq* "lot used in dividing up lands or shares of property"[45] and "share of an inheritance".[46]

45 *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part I, p. 89.
46 *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part I, p. 96.

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Notes on Some Chinese Loanwords in Old Turkic

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As is known, the Chinese loanwords are among the oldest borrowings in Turkic. Numerous Chinese loanwords occurring frequently in Old Turkic, especially in the Uigur texts, have so far been studied and identifed as such by many scholars.

In this paper, I would like to make some comments on some of the Chinese loanwords occurring in the Old Turkic inscriptions in general and in the Uigur manuscripts in particular.

Since the main theme of this colloquium is "The Languages and Cultures of the Silk Roads", I think it would be appropriate to begin with the words meaning "silk, silk fabric" occurring in the inscriptions.

1. Orkh. *išgiti / äšgiti* "a kind of embroidered Chinese silk brocade" and *kutay* "white silk girdle"

The first word occurs twice in the Orkhon inscriptions, once with initial /I/ sign and once without it: *išg(i)ti kut(a)y* "embroidered brocade and white silk girdle" (KT S 5), *kinl(i)g (ä)šg[(i)tis]in, kïrg(a)gl(ï)g kut(a)yin* "their musk-scented silk brocade and bordered white silk girdle" (BK N 11).

The first word which occurs as *äšgürti* in MK has not yet been identified. According to Clauson it looks Tokharian (EDPT 358a). But the second word *kutay* has recently been identified by Choi as a Chinese loanword. According to him it comes from a Chinese compound, i.e. ACh. *g'ieu* "a kind of silk" = Sino-Ko. *ku* "white silk" and ACh. 帶 *tai* > M. *tai*, C *tai* "girdle, sash, belt" = Sino-J. *tai* id. (Karl. 962) = Sino-Ko. *tai* id. (Choi: *CAJ* 32:165). This identification seems to be correct.

Apart from *išgiti / äšgiti* and *kutay* there are several words meaning

"silk" or "a kind of silk fabric" in the Old and Middle Turkic sources, e.g. *agï* "silk brocade; treasure" (Orch., Uig.), *barčïn* "silk brocade" (MK, etc.), *čïxansï* "embroidered Chinese silk" (MK), *čuz* "Chinese gold brocade, red and black" (MK, KB, etc.), *xolïg* or *xulïg* "silk of variegated colors" (MK), *loxtay* "red Chinese brocade" (MK), *torko* "silk, silk fabric" (Uig., MK, KB, etc.), etc. Of these, only *čïxansï*, *xolïg / xulïg* and *loxtay* look Chinese and actually have been identified as such by Clauson and Brockelmann (EDPT: 409, 622b, 763b).

OT (Uigur) and MT *torko* "silk fabric" survives today in the following languages: Tuv. *torgu*, Khak. *torgï*, Alt., Kirg. *torko*, Kzk. *torka*.

The Turkic native word for "silk", on the other hand, is *yïpäk*. It is derived from *yïp*, the palatalized form of OT *yïp* "cord, thread, string", with the deminutive suffix [+Ak] and means "thin thread" originally. It first appears in the Middle Turkic sources: Taf. (Bor. 154) *yïpäk* "silk", Tarj. (Hou. 104) *yïpäk* id., CC *ipäk*, *yïbek* (*ypac*, *jïbek*) id., etc. This word survives in the following languages: Trk., Gag. *ipek*, Az. *ipäk*, Trkm. *yüpek*, Nog. *yïbek*, Bšk. *yïbäk*, Tat. *yïfäk*, Kzk. *žïbek*, Uzb. *ipäk*, NUig. *žipäk*, Kirg. *jïbek*, Khak. *čïbek*.

2. Orkh. *yenčü /yinčü*, Uig. *yinčü* "pearl" < Ch. 眞珠 *chen-chu* "genuine pearl" (Rad. III 339), *zhenzhu* (*chên-chu* G. 589, G. 2549)

This word first occurs in the Orkhon inscriptions as the name of the Syr-Darya (Jaxartes) River: *yenčü /yinčü ügüz*. According to Radloff, it is a translation of the Chinese name *chen-chu ho* "the genuine pearl river" which occurs as such in the Chinese inscription on the Kara-Balgasun monument left by the Uigurs. As is known, the Chinese name of this river is itself a translation of *yaxša arta*, the Middle Persian name of that river.

Clauson thinks that the identity of the first syllable remains a mistery (EDPT 944b). As it is known, the first element of the compound *chen-chu* occurs as *čïn* "real, genuine" in Old Turkic whereas the first syllable of *yenčü /yinčü* "pearl" is *yen /yin*. The initial /y/ here, however, could be a substitution for an original /j/.

OT *yenčü /yinčü* "pearl" survives in the modern languages as follows: Trk., Az. *inji*, Trkm. *hünji* "beads", Uzb., NUig. *inju*, East.Trk. *yünjü*, *yünjä*, *ünjä*, Tat. *enje* (> Chuv. *enje*), Bšk. *ïnyï*, Kzk. *injüw*, Nog. *ïnjï*, Krč.-Blk., Kum. *inji*, Kklp. *hinji*, Alt. *yinyi* "beads", Tob. *yinji*, Tuv. *činji*, Kumd. *činči*, Shor *šinje*, Khak. *ninji* "pearl; beads", Kač *nenji*.

This word passed from Turkic into Hungarian and Russian at an early date: Hung. *gyöngy* [jön̈ɟ], Rus. *žemčug* (жемчуг), dial. *zémčuh* (земчуг). These forms are important; for they enable us to reconstruct the original Turkic form of the word.

The Hungarian word was borrowing from Old Chuvash or Old Bulgarian Turkic. The original form of Hung. *gyöngy* was probably **jenjü* while that of the Russian *zemčug* something like **jenčug* (cf. Ukr. *ženčug*, Old Rus. *ženčugъ* [женчугъ]). In other words, they both indicate that the vowel of the first syllable was /e/, and not /i/. The Khakas form *ninji* and the Kač dialect *nenji*, too, testify to this assumption. We may therefore conclude that the OT form of the word was *yenčü* with /e/, but it soon developed into /i/ in the palatal environment.

It is not easy to reconstruct the original Turkic form of the Russian *žemčug*. Because of its initial consonant, there seems to be no doubt that it was borrowed, like Hung. *gyöngy*, from Old Chuvash or a language very close to it. The /m/ at the end of the first syllable is in all likelihood secondary going back to an older **ženčug*, a form which is actually attested in the old Russian sources (cf. Vasmer II: 46).

It is difficult to explain the velar /g/ at the end of the Russian *žemčug*. Perhaps the Kazakh form *injüw* which probably goes back to an older **yinčüg* can be of some help in explaining the final velar of the Russian form. But in this case, we would have to assume that the Chinese word in question came into Turkic in at least three different forms; i.e. *yenčü*, **Jenčü* and **Jenčüg*.

3. Orkh. *t(e)nsi /tinsi* "son of heaven" < Ch. 天子 *t'ien-tsu* "son of Heaven, i.e. the Chinese emperor" (Thomsen 1912)

This word first occurs three times as *tinsi* in the Tunyukuk inscription: *y(e)nčü üg(ü)z(ü)g k(ä)čä tinsi oglï (a)yt(ï)gma b(ä)ŋl(i)g (ä)k t(a)g(ï)g (ä)rtü* "Crossing over the Pearl River and passing by the (white)-spotted Äk mountain which is (also) called Tensi's son ..." (T 44). *tinsi oglï (a)yt(ï)gma t(a)g* (T 47). The phrase *tinsı oglı* also occurs superflously on line 46. The word *tinsi* of the Tunyukuk inscription occurs however as *t(ä)nsi* in the first line of Irk Bitig: *t(ä)nsi m(ä)n* "I am Ten-si (i.e. the Chinese Emperor)" (Thomsen 1912: 196).

Ramstedt wanted to see a reminiscence of the Prometheus mith in the phrase *tinsi ogli yatigma* "where the emperor's son lies on" occurring in the Tunyukuk inscription. According to him the participants in the expedition of Alexander the Great could have found the place of the captivity of Prometheus in a mighty cave in the Hindukush mountains. And the reference in Tunyukuk is thus to Prometheus. Grønbech, on the other hand, read the word *ÿTGmA* as *aytigma* "named, called" and translated the phrase accordingly (Aalto 1960: 58). I myself accepted Grønbech's reading and interpretation in my Orkhon Turkic grammar written in 1965 and published in 1968. I still hold the view that the mountains which are referred to here with the phrase *tinsi ogli aytigma* are the Tien-Shan or Tengri Khan mountains (Turkish *Tanrı dağları*) in Kirghizia, especially the snow-covered peak of this mountain range which is called Ala-Too "the Speckled Mountain" (= *bäglig Äk Tag*) in Kirghiz.

4. *s(ä)ŋün, s(a)ŋun* < Ch. 將軍 *tsiang-kün* (Gab.) *säŋün* "General", Pinyin *jiang-jun* (< G. 1212, 3276)

In Old Turkic this word occurs in two different forms which came into being as results of regressive and progressive assimilations: *säŋün* occurring in Orkhon I, II, T, Tariat and *saŋun* occurring in Irk Bitig, in the Miran manuscript and in some Yenisei inscriptions.

We know that in Old Turkic there were some native terms for officers at lower ranks, e.g. *yüz başï* "the head of a military unit consisiting of one hundred soldiers" (Tariat W 7), *beš yüz başï* "commander of a military unit consisting of five hundred soldiers" (Tariat W 6; occurs twice), *bïŋ başï* "major, the head of a military unit consisiting of one thousand soldiers" (Tariat S 7; occurs twice), but there was not any native term for "general" commanding an army. In the Tariat inscription, however, the periphrastic term *beš bïŋ är başï*, i.e. "head of five thousand soldiers" seems to occur as the Turkic equivalent of the Chinese title *säŋün*: *b(e)š bïŋ (ä)r b(a)šï ïšb(a)ra s(ä)ŋün y(a)gl(a)k(a)r* (W 7).

Even the Chinese title *t(a)y s(ä)ŋ(ün* "great general" < Ch. *ta-tsiang-kün*) occurs several times in the Old Turkic runic texts: *lisün t(a)y s(ä)ŋün b(aštа)d[u] biš yüz (ä)rtä)n k(ä)lti* "under the leadership of the great general Li-Tsüan five hundred men came" (S 11), *(a)ltun t(a)y s(a)ŋun* "the great general Altun" (Tun. IV 5-6) *(a)z sïpa t(a)y s(ä)ŋün* "great general Sïpa of the Az (tribe)" (Tariat N 3).

The Chinese loanword *säŋün* also has a plural form in *-t* in the Tariat inscription occurring there twice. As it happens plural forms of other titles ending in *-n* (*tegin: tegit, tarkan: tarkat*) the final *-n* drops: *s(ä)ŋüt bïŋa* "the generals and *Bïngas*" (N 2), *[b]ï[ŋa] s(ä)ŋüt* "the *Bïngas* and generals" (S 4).

5. Orkh. *sin* "tomb, grave", Uig. *sin* < Ch. 寢 *ts'in* "the rear hall in an ancestral temple; tomb" (Gab.), Pinyin *qin* (*ch'in* G. 2091)

This word first occurs in the Tariat inscription left by the Uigurs: *sin s(i)zdä* "the tombs (of our ancestors) are in your possession" (South 5). In the same line we also have *sinl(ä)g* "graveyard, cemetery", derived from *sin* with the suffix {+lAg}: *sinl(ä)gdä* "at the graveyard (of our ancestors)". This word is the older form of Turkish *sinlä* "graveyard" occurring frequently in the 14th-century OAT texts.

The word *sin* occurs as *sïn* in some Middle Turkic sources; İM (Kilisli) *sïn* "tomb", سنلاغ *sïnlag* "cemetery" (EDPT: 832b), Muk. *sïn* "mezar", *sïnga* "into the grave" (Yüce: 175), etc. But this back-vocalic form is probably due to a contamination with *sïn* "human body, stature, height, memorial statue" (cf. Uig. *sïn süŋök* "body and bones, skeleton"). On the other hand, this word is always written with the letter س *sin* in the OAT texts and it lives on as such in many Anatolian dialects (SDD 1229). In the village Uçhisar of Nevşehir *sin* is used in curses, e.g. *sinine sïč-* "to shit on one's grave" (from M. Ölmez). Cf. also *sinlik* "mezarlïk" listed there as a local word used in Gavurdağı, Cebelibereket - Seyhan (SDD 1232).

6. Orkh. *ti* "firmly, constantly, steadily, persistently", Uig. (Gab.) *tï, tii* "immer, beständig, fest" < Ch. 定 *ting* < *d'ieng* ~ *tei* (Gab.), Pinyin *ding* (*ting* G. 11248) < Ch. *ting* "fest".

This adj.-adv. occurs rather rarely in the Uigur texts: *ti turkaru mäŋilikin birgärü küntämäk ti sizni körgü üčün* "they all together were wishing to see you every day continuously" (TT III 96), etc.

Apart from the binaries *ti turkaru* and *küntämäk ti* in the Uigur texts, I believe we also have *ärtiŋü ti* "exceedingly, constantly" occurring in the

Bilge Kagan inscription: (S 14) ... *bunča m(a)n b(ä)gl(ä)r k(a)ŋ(ı)m k(a)g(a)nka (ä)rt(i)ŋü* (S 15) *(ä)rt(i)ŋü n̄ m(a)g kuln̄* "(When my father, the Turkish Bilge Kagan, sat on the throne)... this many loyal lords lauded (and praised) my father, the kagan, exceedingly and constantly" (the second *ärtiŋü* is superfluous), *[kaŋım kagan t]ürük b(ä)gl(ä)rin bod(u)nin (ä)rt(i)ŋü n̄ m(a)g inḍi ögḍ[i]* "my father, the kagan, lauded and praised the Turkish lords and tribes exceedingly and constantly" (S 15).

7. Uig. *sïn* "body, stature", MK *sï:n* "human body, stature, height, external appearance" < ACh. 身 *sien* > M. *sən*, C. *sən* "body"; Sino-J. *šin* (< *sin*) id. (Karl. 869); Sino-Ko. *sin* id. (Choi: *CAJ* 32: 166).

This word is generally regarded as a native term in Turkic. Recently, however, it has been claimed that it is a Chinese loanword (see above).

The word *sïn* first appears in the Manichean and Buddhistic Uigur texts. It also occurs in Middle Turkic in the binaries *bod sïn* "body, stature" and *sïn süŋök* "body and the bones". It survives in quite a many modern languages: Tuv. *sïn* "stature; mountain range", Khak. *sïn* "statue; mountain range; height", Tat. *sïn* "figure, stature, body, statue", Bšk. *hïn* id., Nog. *sïn* "stature, figure", *sïnlï* "tall, well-proportioned", *sïntas* "statue, stone statue" < *sïn taš*, Kzk. *sïndï* "like" < *sïnlïg*, Chuv. *si* in *pü-si* "body, figure, stature" < Tat. *buy-sïn*, NUig. *sin* "stature, figure, external appearance", Uzb. *sinli* "tall, well-proportioned" etc.

Clauson seems to have mixed this word with the following above-mentioned *sin* "tomb" which he wrongly reads *sï:n* (EDPT 832). The example *sïn* "a memorial statue" taken from CC 226 belongs here and not to the item *sin* "tomb". The author of *Tarjuman turki wa "arabi*, united the two homographic words in one item: *sin* "al-qabr wa'l-sanam" (both read *sïn* by Hou. 6, 11). Clauson is mistaken by citing these two examples, i.e. *sin* and *sïn*, only in the item "tomb". The example *sïn* "statue" taken from Tuhfe 21a 5, too, belongs to the item *sï:n* meaning "body, stature".

8. *bi* "knife, sharp edge, blade" < ACh. 匕 *'pyi*, M *pi* "dagger" = Sino-J. *pi / hi*, Sino-Ko. *pi* "dagger, spoon, arrowhead" (Choi: *CAJ* 32: 163)

The late Sir Gerard Clauson suggested that Uig. *bi* (Br. *pi*) might come from some word like *p'i* "to split" (EDPT 291b). Recently Choi has offered a more convincing etymology for Old Turkic *bi*. According to him, it comes from Ancient Chinese *p'ji* "dagger" > M *pi*, Sino-Korean *pi* "dagger" (*CAJ* 32: 163; Karlg. 713).

In Old Turkic, *bi* is normally used in the binary *bi bïčgu* "cutting instruments". When used alone it usually means "blade, sharp edge of a knife or razor", e.g. *y[üli]günüŋ bisi* "the sharp edge of a razor" (TT VIII A. 1).

OT *bi* [bi:] seems to have survived today only in Yakut *bi:* "blade, edge of a knife", e.g. *bïhax bi:tä* "edge of a knife". It atso survives in the root of Middle Turkic *bilä-* "to sharpen", Trkm. *bi:le-* id., Yak. *bi:lä-* id., Trk. *bile-* id., etc.

In Uigur we also have *bičäk* "knife" derived from *bi* , not from the verb *bič-* "to cut" as Clauson thinks (EDPT 293b). The back-vocalic form *bïčak* occurring in some Middle Turkic texts and modern languages must have come into existence as a result of contamination. OT *bičäk* seems to have survived today only in Tuvinian *bïžek* "knife" < **bišäk* < *bi:čäk*.

9. *čan* "a cup" < Chinese 盞 *chan* "a cup for wine or fat/oil" (*EDPT*: 424a).
čanak "a wooden bowl or dish" (BT IX: 71,1; Ham. 1986: 34, 1-2), Pinyin *zhan* (*chan* G. 300)

This word is well attested in the Uigur texts, e.g. *birär čan kuma yagïn* "one cup a day of linseed oil" (Heil. I 64), *bir čan bor iki čan suv birlä čokratïp* "boil a cup of wine with two cups of water" (Heil. I 122), etc.

In Uigur, apart from *čan* we also have *čanak* "a wooden bowl or an earthenware bowl, dish", a deminutive form, e.g. *čanaklarïn kïzartmïš kïzïl bakïr suv susup ičärlär* "Mit ihren Holzschalen trinken sie glüchend gemachtes Kupfer" (BT IX: 71), *ekki kümüš čanak* "two silver bowls" (Ham. 1986: 34. 1-2). This word is attested in many Middle Turkic sources. MK: *čanak* "a wooden cone, bowl", Tafs. *čanak* "bowl", Chag. *čanak/čanag* "bowl", CC *čanak* "an earthenware bowl", Khwar. *čanak* "bowl, dish", Qaw. *šanak* id., etc. (EDPT 425b), Yel.Uig. *čïnak, činak* "a tea cup", etc. It survives in same modern languages: Trkm. *ča:nak* "a wooden bowl or cup", Trk. *čanak* "an earthenware pot or pan", NUig. *čanaq* "a cup, a cone" etc. The Turkmen form indicates that the /a/ of the first syllable is originally long.

Another deminutive noun derived from *čan* is Kirg. *čanač* "a leather cup

for serving kumiss or ayran". It is formed with the suffix {+Ač}.

10. MK (Oghuz) *sïndo/sïndu* "scissors" < ACh. *tsiän* > M *tsien*, C *tsïn* + ACh. *tau* > M *tau*, C *tou* "knife", Sino-J. *to:* "knife, sword, blade", Sino-Ko. *to* id. (Choi 1992:194)

Middle Turkic (Oghuz) *sïndu /sïndo* occurs today only in the Oghuz group of languages, Azerbaijani not included: OAT *sïndu*, *sïndï*, Anat. dial. *sïndï*, Trkm. *sïndï*. This word does not have a convincing etymology in Turkic. Brockelmann regarded *sïndu* as a deverbal noun derived from *sïn-* "to be broken" with the suffix {-DU} (1954:99). But this etymology cannot be correct for phonetic and semantic reasons: 1. The /ï/ of the verb *sïn-* is long originally (cf. Trkm. *sï:n-*) whereas that of *sïndu* is short (Trkm. *sïndï*); 2. Trkm. *sï:n-* is a reflexive/passive stem meaning "to be broken" whereas *sïndu* is an agent noun.

11. Uig. *yaŋ* "a pattern, model; kind, sort, manner" < Ch. 樣 *yang* (Gab., EDPT: 940b, Giles 12854)

This word occurs frequently in the Uigur texts, in MK, KB and other Middle Turkic sources, i.e. Kipchak, Chagatay and OAT texts. It survives in modern languages: Alt., Bar. *yaŋ* "soul, state of mind", Kirg. *ǰaŋ* "gesture, movement", Yak. *saŋ* "quality, character", Tuv. *čaŋ* "(human) character, disposition", Alt.Kum. *d'aŋ* "habit, custom", *d'aŋda-* "to believe, to contract a habit", Kir. *ǰaŋ* "gesture, movement", *ǰaŋda-* "to make or use a gestures or gestures", etc.

The same word is found also in Mongolian: *ǰaŋ* "character, nature; disposition, temprament; custom, habit, conduct", Khal. *žan* id. According to Doerfer, the word *yaŋ* passed from Turkic into Mongolian where it has an initial /ǰ/, and from Mongolian into Manchu-Tungus (TMEN IV: 202 ff., Tungusica: 115).

Apart from Kirg. *ǰaŋda-* (< *yaŋ+la-*) mentioned above, the Chinese loanword *yaŋ* have the following derivatives in Turkic: Chag., Tuhf. *yaŋla* "like" (< *yaŋ+la*), and Uig., MK, Chag. *yaŋlıg* id. The latter seems to have survived today in te following languages: Tuv. *çaŋŋıg* "having the character of", Uzb. *yangliğ* "like", Yel.Uig. *yaŋnıg, yannıg* "having the form of, like", id., and Trkm. *ya:lı* "like" < *yaŋlıg*.

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"Eyyûb ve Çağatayca Şiirleri"ne Ek

Zuhal Kargı Ölmez
(Ankara)

"Eyyûb ve Çağatayca Şiirleri" başlıklı yazımızda (*TDA*, 5, 1995: 105-170) Göttingen Üniversitesi Kütüphanesinde 8° Cod, Ms. Turc. 46 kaydıyla saklı bulunan yazmanın arkasında *Eyyûb* adlı bir şairin şiirlerini bulduğumuzu belirtmiş ve bu şiirleri yayımlamıştık.

Daha sonra *Türkoloji* dergisinin IX. cildinde meslektaşımız Önal Kaya'nın hazırlamış olduğu "Eyyūb ve Muḫliṣ'in Şiirleri" başlıklı yazıda Eyyûb'a ait başka şiirlerin de olduğunu gördük (*Türkoloji* IX, 1991: 99-119). Kaya bu şiirler hakkında şu bilgileri vermektedir: "Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Kütüphanesi, yazmalar bölümünde MÖl. 1096 numarada kayıtlı sonu eksik Ahmed-i Yesevî, Kul Süleymân, Şems, Ubeydî, Meşreb, Muhlis, Eyyūb vb. şairlerin şiirlerini içine alan 167 varaktan oluşan bir hikmet mecmuası bulunmaktadır. Müstensihi ve istinsah tarihi belli değildir." Kaya, çalışmasında Eyyūb'a ait 8, Muḫliṣ'e ait 5 şiire yer vermiştir.

Eyyûb'un buradaki şiirleriyle bizim bulduğumuz şiirleri karşılaştırdık. Kaya'nın tesbit ettiği 8 şiirle, bizim tesbit ettiğimiz 18 şiirden 5 tanesi aynı, diğerleri farklı şiirlerdir. Aynı olan şiirleri karşılaştırırınca kimi nüsha farkları belirledik. Ortaya çıkan bu nüsha farklarını belirtmek amacıyla bu beş şiiri tekrar yayımlıyoruz:

7

Vezin: - . - - / - . - - / - . - - / - . - (- -)

[295] 1. Ġam yime ey bende sen ġam yegüçi ġam-ḫ^{v}ār bar
Bī-nevā bī-kes ġarīb bī-çārelerġa[1] yār bar

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1 ġarīb bī-çārelerġa: ġarīb [ü] bī-çārelerġa

168

2. *Her kişi bir*[2] *bendening könglige āzārī berür*
Munda bir āzār barsa[3] *anda yüz āzār bar*

100

3. *Cebr u ẓulm itme ġarīb bī-çārelerġa zīnhār*
Cebr u ẓulm itseng sanga cebr itküçi cebbār bar

4. *Cebr u ẓulm itseng eṣer*[4] *ḳılmay ġarībler nālīşi*
Nālişingġa baḳmay anda köydürürge[5] *nār bar*

105 5. *Çaḳmaġıl āzürde-dillerni çıyan dik zinhār*
Munda sen çaḳsang seni anda çaḳarġa mār bar[6]

6. *Bu ne men menlik turur ötmey ṣırāṭdın ādemī*
[296] *Tangla aldingda laḥd*[7] *atlıġ kirerge ġār bar*

7. *Ey birāderler uṣol*[8] *dünyāda bolmang bī-ḫaber*
Dostnı düşmen ḳılġuçı ortada bir ʿayyār[9] *bar*

110

8. *Sen kirip düşmen sözine*[10] *bolma düşmen tengriġa*
Düşmene türlük ʿaẕāblar[11] *dostlara dīdār bar*

---

2 bir: her

3 barsa: birseng. Bu nüshadaki *birseng* yazımından yola çıkarak sözcüğü *berse* okumak daha doğru olur kanısındayız.

4 اثر *eṣer* sözcüğü س *sin* ile اسر *eser* biçiminde yazılmıştır. Sözcüğü, geçtiği diğer satırlardaki (46. ve 75. satırlar) kullanımlardan da yola çıkarak *eṣer* biçiminde düzeltik.

5 köydürürge: köydür[ür]ge

6 Bu beyitten sonra gelen iki beyit farklıdır ve DTCF'deki nüshada bir beyit fazladır. Bu iki beyit şöyledir: Yiryüzünde bolġu-min dip sivünme dāyimā / Tangla aldingda lahid atlıġ kirerge ġār bar; Bu ne min minlik irür ötmey ṣırāṭdın ādemī / Fikr ḳıl aldingda ming ḫavf [u] ḫaṭar bisyār bar

7 Metinde iki kez geçen *laḥd* sözcüğü burada yanlışlıkla *laḥad* ya da *laḥed* okunacak biçimde harekelenmiştir.

8 uṣol: öter

9 ʿayyār: aġyār

10 düşmen sözine: aġyār sözige

11 türlük ʿaẕāblar: tözlük ʿaẕāb

169

9. *Terk-i tevbe ḳılmaġıl ḫᵛār bolsang Eyyūb ḫalḳ ara*
Ḫᵛārdur her ḳayda körseng sen kesī[12] *bīmār bar*

8

Vezin: . - - - / . - - - / . - - - / . - - -

115 1. *Kişi öz maḳṣadınça ḫᵛāhlaġan dik iş itip bolmas*
Ḫudā ḫᵛāhlamasa könġli digen iş kelip bolmas[13]

2. *Eger her çend*[14] *kişide kim ʿAlīdin bolsa köp ġayret*
[297] *Ḫudādın bolmasa bil ḳul ayaġın tepretip*[15] *bolmas*

3. *Eger könglüng*[16] *esip alsa birevdin bir aġız nānnı*
Salıp aġzingġa çaynar sen buyurmasa yutup bolmas

120

4. *Ṭaʿāmı bī-nihāyet köp ki yer men dip ümīd itseng*
Naṣībing bolmasa belki aning tuzın datıp[17] *bolmas*

5. *Ḫudā ḫᵛāhlaġan*[18] *iş bolur ki imdi çenlemek ni sūd*[19]
Kişi öz iḫtiyārı birle bir iş oḫşatıp bolmas

125 6. *Ḫudā her ne ḳılıp dur ḫayr şer barça özidindür*
Ḫudāning ḳılġanıġa bende bolġan ḳul ḳaytıp bolmas

7. *Ḫudāning emri birle ḳaçsa sendin baḫt hem devlet*
Cedel atın minip ḳavmaḳ bile anı tutıp bolmas[20]

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12 kesī: kibi. Anlam açısından *kibi* daha uygun.

13 Ḫudā ḫᵛāhlamasa könġli digen iş kelip bolmas: Ḫudā ḫalmasa herg:z könġli digen işge tip bolmas

14 Eger her çend: Eger çendī

15 tepretip: birkitip

16 könglüng: köngling

17 datıp: tatıp

18 ḫᵛāhlaġan: ḫalaġan

19 ki imdi çenlemek ni sūd: sin aldıng cān u māl ni sūd

20 6. ve 7. beyitler yok

170

[298] 8. Ḫudāyım[21] yār olup[22] devlet ḳuşı ger ḳonsa başıñġa
Ḫalāyıḳ bolsa düşmen ḳılsa ġavġa ürkütip[23] bolmas
130

9. Cihānnıñ ḫalḳı yār olsa birevge bil munı Eyyūb
Ḫudā[24] yār bolmasa bir ẕerre[25] paydā[26] yetkürüp bolmas

15

Vezin: - . - - / - . - - / - . - - / - . -

1. Ḥaḳ rıżāsın istesең ey dil-i sihr[27] bīdār bol
Ṣıdḳ ile ḥaḳnı tilep meşġūl-ı istiġfār bol
[310]

2. Ḳop seḥerler tevbe ḳıl ḳılġan günāhıñ yād itip
Yıġla ḳorḳup ḳahrıdın raḥmıdın ümmīd-vār bol
255

3. Bolma bu biş künlik ʿömriñ içre[28] dünyā ṭālibi
Kiç ʿazīz cān u cihāndın[29] ṭālib-i dīdār bol

4. Ol Ḫudāġa ḳul bolup bolsañ Muḥammed ümmeti
ʿĀḳıl irseñ bolma dil-āzār bī-āzār bol

260 5. Bendesin rāżī ḳażāġa bol belāġa ṣabr itip
Ḫayr u şer aldıñġa kilse ḥaḳdın[30] minnet-dār bol

6. İkki ʿālem āfetidin istesең bolmaḳ amān
Ḫalḳ ara kem tut özing tersinde-i cebbār bol

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21 Ḫudāyım: Ḫudā
22 olup: olsa
23 ürkütip: [ger] ürkütüp
24 Ḫudā: Ḫudā'dın
25 Sözcük ż "zel" ile yazılması gerekirken ẕ "ze" ile yazılmıştır.
26 paydā: peydā
27 dil-i sihr: dil seḥer
28 içre: üçün
29 cān u cihāndın: cāndın cihān[dın]
30 kilse ḥaḳdın: Ḥaḳdın kilse

171

[311] 7. Dünyadın[31] kiçmes burun kiç imdi Eyyūb dünyadın[32]
265 ʿÖmr ötüp kildi kiter vaḳtıñ yaḳın ṭayyār bol

16

Vezin: . - - - / . - - - / . - - - / . - - -

1. Birevler[33] dünya[34] içre biş kün barçaġa mihmāndur
Kiter barça bu dünyādın biliñ āḫiri vīrāndur

2. Öter dünyāda ādem oġlı irmes[35] barçası bir dik
Birev kim[36] şād u ḫurrem bir niçeler dil-perīşāndur[37]

270 3. Bolup bu dünyaġa[38] maġrūr köriñ men men digenlerni
Anadın tuġmaġan dik bir kün ol yer birle yeksāndur

4. Tefekkür ḳılmañ hīç işni[39] budur rūz-ı ezel taḳdīr
Birev kim[40] der-beder sāyil birev taḫt üzre sulṭāndur

[312] 5. Bu dünyāġa[41] kelip rāḥat naṣīb boldı birevlerge
275 Birevler miḥnet astıda hemīşe zār u giryāndur

6. Birevler nāz-ı niʿmet[42] yip yüfekdür kiygeni gülgün
Birev ḫūreḳ-i ḫāşāk[43] ḥasretide[44] lāl ü ḥayrāndur

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31 Vezin gereği *dünya* okunmuştur.
32 Vezin gereği *dünya* okunmuştur.
33 Birevler: Birāderler
34 Vezin gereği *dünya* okunmuştur.
35 ādem oġlı irmes: irmes ādem oġlı
36 Birev kim: Birevler
37 Bu beyitten sonra elimizdeki nüshada olmayan farklı bir beyit var:
Kiçiñ dünyanıñ behridin ilmeñ közge dünyānı
Birevlerge maʿīşet-gāh birevge çāh-ı zindāndur
38 Vezin gereği *dünya* okunmuştur.
39 hīç işni: işni hīç
40 Birev kim: Birevler
41 dünyāġa: dünya[ġa]
42 nāz-ı niʿmet: nāz [u] niʿmet
43 ḫūreḳ-i ḫāşāk: ḫʷār [u] ḫūşāk
44 ḥasretide: ḥasretinde

172

7. Köring Ādem bile ādem arasında tefāvütni
Birevler yer bile dengdür[45] birev gūyā Süleymāndur

8. Bu dünyādın kiter bir kün heme ermānlı ermānsız
Eger ermān bilen ölseng[46] sanga Eyyūb ne ermāndur

17

1. Ġarīb bolsa kişi barçaġa yaman bolġay
Kişi ki bolsa ġanī barça mihribān bolġay

2. Ġarīb birle ġanī arasında farḳ bu kim
Ġarībni közge ilmesler[47] ġanī doġan bolġay[48]

3. Ġarībler miḥnet-i endūhdın[49] ḳutulmas hīç
Ġarīb ġam oḳına[50] dāyim ol nişān bolġay

4. Ġarībni bir[51] kişi kim[52] til bilen ḳılur āzār
Ġanīni körse alar ṭurfe ḫoş-zebān bolġay

5. Ġarīb her niçe köp dise bu sözimdür çın
Ġanī yanında anıng sözleri yalġan[53] bolġay

45 dengdür: tingdür
46 ermān bilen ölseng: imān bile barsang
47 ilmesler: ilmes
48 ġanī doġan bolġay: gerçi ol uġan bolġay. Ayrıca bu beyitten sonra burada farklı bir beyit daha var:
Ġarīb yıġlasa ʿayb iylemeng anı dostlar
Ki ḳaysı ẓarf sınuḳ bolsa su revān bolġay
49 miḥnet-i endühdın: miḥnet-i ġam ġuṣṣadın
Metinde daha önce dizgi yanlışı olarak *miḥnet endūhdın* yazılmış olan ifadeyi de düzeltiyoruz. Çünkü daha önceki yayınımızda hazırladığımız dizinde de ibare *miḥnet-i endūhdın* biçiminde yer almaktadır.
50 *kim* eklenmiş.
51 bir: her
52 *kim* yok
53 yalġan: yalan

173

6. Ġarīb ādemī-zād[54] bolsa hem özi dānā[55]
Ġanī yanında[56] anıng diklere nı şān[57] bolġay

7. Ġarīb ḳadr ṭamaʿ ḳılsa iksülür ḳadri
[314] Ġanī talfunuban[58] barça pās-bān bolġay

8. Ġarīb her kişige gerçi cān-nisār itse[59]
Ġanī yanıda anıng ḳadri bir saman bolġay

9. Ġarīb her niçe kim izlese ḳaçar devlet
Her işde[60] istese sūd kördüki[61] ziyān bolġay

10. Ġarībler ölse kelip bir kişi dimes ay[62] vāy
Ġanīler ölse ʿacab-nāk fiġān bolġay

11. Ġarīblıḳ āfeti her kimge yetse ger[63] nāgāh
Biling elif dik anıng ḳaddi çün kemān bolġay

12. Ġarīblıḳınggnı bilip yol[64] Ḫudā bilen Eyyūb
Ġarībler[65] ḥāliġa raḥm itküçi Ḫudā[66] bolġay

54 ādemī-zād: ādemī-zāde
55 özi dānā: dānā özi
56 yanında: yanıda
57 şān: san. Anlam olarak da *san* daha uygun.
58 Ġanī talfunuban: Ġanīġā yalpunuban
59 *kim* eklenmiş
60 işde: işdin
61 Bu sözcük yok
62 ay: ey
63 her kimge yetse ger: ger tigse her kime
64 yol: bol. Anlam olarak *bol* daha uygun.
65 Ġarībler: Ġarīb
66 Ḫudā: Uġan