

SOURCES OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

7

Edited
by Şinasi Tekin • Gönül Alpay Tekin

TURKISH SOURCES

VII

MAḤMŪD al-KĀŞĠARĪ

**COMPENDIUM
OF
THE TURKIC DIALECTS**

(Dīwān Luyāt at-Turk)

Edited and Translated with Introduction and Indices

by

ROBERT DANKOFF

in collaboration with

JAMES KELLY

Part I

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DOĐU DİLLERİ VE EDEBİYATLARININ KAYNAKLARI

7

Yayınlayan
Şinasi Tekin • Gönül Alpay Tekin

TÜRKÇE KAYNAKLAR

VII

MAHMÜD el-KÂŞGARİ

TÜRK ŞİVELERİ LÜGATI

(Dīvānū Luġāt-it-Türk)

İnceleme • Tenkidli Metin
İngilizce Tercüme • Dizinler

ROBERT DANKOFF
JAMES KELLY

I. Kısım

Basıldığı yer
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CONTENTS OF PART I

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

TENTATIVE CONTENTS OF FUTURE PARTS

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

PART III — Indices — Appendices — Facsimile in microfiche

REMARKS OF THE SERIES EDITORS

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

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

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

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

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

Harvard University
1982

YAYINLAYANLARIN ÖNSÖZÜ

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Harvard Üniversitesi
1982

FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

R. D.
Chicago/Cambridge, 1981-2

ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Atalay: see Dizin, Tercüme, Tıpkıbasım
- Brockelmann: see GAL, MTW, Volkspoésie
- Dilçin = D. Dilçin, *Arap alfabesine göre Divanü Lûgat-it-türk Dizini* (Ankara, 1957).
- Diwan = *Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk*
- Dizin = B. Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-türk Dizini* (Ankara, 1943).
- Doerfer: see TMEN
- Dozy = R. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, 2 vols. (Leyden, 1881).
- DTS = V. M. Nadelaev, et al., *Drevnet'urkskij Slovar'* (Leningrad, 1969).
- ED = G. Clouston, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972).
- EI² = *Encyclopedia of Islam: New Edition*
- EP = K. Rifat, ed., Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī, *Kitāb Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1333-35 mali/1917-19): [Editio Princeps]
- GAL = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, I, II (second ed., Leiden, 1943-49); S I, II, III (Supplementband, Leiden, 1937-42).
- Idrāk = A. Caferoğlu, ed., Abū Hayyān, *Kitāb al-Idrāk li-lisān al-Atrāk* (Istanbul, 1931).
- Kelly I, II, III = J. Kelly, "Remarks on Kāšyarī's Phonology," pt. I in *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 44 (1972); pt. II in *UAJ* 45 (1973); pt. III in *UAJ* 48 (1976).
- Lane = E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon . . .*, 8 vols. (London, 1863-93).
- Lisān = Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (several editions).
- Menges, Glossar = K. H. Menges, *Glossar zu den volkskundlichen Texten aus Ost-Türkistan II* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Abh. d. Geistes- und Sozialwiss. Kl., 1954, no. 14).
- MS. = The unique manuscript of Diwan: Millet Genel Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri, Arabi, no. 4189. [Published herewith in facsimile; cf. Tıpkıbasım]
- MTW = C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarīs Dīwān Luḡāt at-Turk* (Budapest-Leipzig, 1928).
- Muḥīṭ = Buḡrus al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1867-70).

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

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

Rifat: see EP

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sovetskaja T'urkologija, No. 1 (Baku, 1972)

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

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

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION SYSTEM

	Arabic <i>(italics)</i>	Transliteration of Turkic (CAPS)	Transcription of Turkic (bold)
Consonants:			
أ	' (see note 1)	' (see note 3)	---
ب	b	B	b, p
پ	---	P (see note 4)	p
ت	t	T	t
ث	ṭ	--- (see note 5)	---
ج	j	J	č, j
چ	---	Č (see note 4)	č
ح	ḥ	--- (see note 6)	---
خ	x	X	x
د	d	D	d
ذ	ḏ	Ḑ	ḏ
ر	r	R	r
ز	z	Z	z
ژ	---	Ž	ž
س	s	S	s
ش	š	Š	š
ص	ṣ	--- (see note 7)	---
ض	ḏ	---	---
ط	ṭ	--- (see note 8)	---
ظ	ẓ	---	---
ع	'	---	---

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

Ligatures:

ك	---	NK	ŋ
ق	---	-K-Q (see note 9)	-k, -q

Matres lectionis; Vowels; Diacritics

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

Arabic	Transliteration of Turkic	Transcription of Turkic
un, an, in	--- (see note 14)	
(<i>sukūn</i>) (not indicated)	—	(not indicated)
(<i>tašdid</i>) (doubling)	~ (see note 15)	(doubling)

(see notes 16-18)

Notes

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

- c) Letters (particularly vowel signs) crossed out in MS. are given with a line through them; thus: A, U, ʒ
- d) Letters (particularly vowel signs) judged to be by the later hand are given underlined; thus: A, U, I, · (*sukūn*). This pertains especially to the following MS. pages: 26-120, 124-200, 442-445, 481-516. See "Ink color and the later hand."

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

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. General remarks: Author, Title, Contents

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. See EI², articles "Ilek-Khānids" (Bosworth); "al-Kāshgharī" (Hazai).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. *Date of the Work*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Title Page

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

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

16. One should note the compound error in EI², art. "al-Kāshgharī" (G. Hazai), Vol. IV, p. 699, giving the date of the final redaction recorded in the colophone as 476/1094 [sic].

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

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

Kilisi Rifat (Bilge) identified this Dārayyā with Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān al-Anṣārī ad-Dimašqī ad-Dārānī, 745-810 (1344-1407).¹⁸ There is no doubt that this is correct.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

lā yanbaʿī an yu'arraja 'alā man yaqūlu inna hāqā l-kitāb bi-luya at-turkmān fa-inna hāqā l-qā'il yaʿr 'arif bi-luya at-turk wa-la bi-luya at-turkmān ayd^{an} wa-llaqī yadulluka 'alā jahlihi bi-t-turkmāniyya huwa an yuḥḍara man ya'rifu t-turkmāniyya wa-yuqra'a 'alayhi min alfāzihi fa-in ankarahā wa-qāla laysa hāqā bi-kalāminā 'arafa anna l-qā'il innahu bi-luya at-turkmāniyya jāhil bi-t-turkmāniyya 'alā anna l-lafza al-qifjāqiyya idā naṭaqat bihā t-turkmān lā yuxrijuhā ḍālika 'an kawnihi qifjāqiyya wa-qad waqa'a ḍālika fī alfāz kaṭīra ista'malahā t-turkmān wa-l-qifjāq [bi-š] iya wāhida wa-amma ma yadullu 'ala jahlihi bi-l-qifjāqiyya wa-aš'arihā wa-amṭālihā anna ḡālib man yaʿī'u min tilka l-bilād yaʿī'u ṣayīr^{an} wa-ma' lūm anna ṣ-ṣayīr lā yuḥītu bi-luya qawmihi lā wa-lā l-kabīr ayd^{an} li-anna ra'ayna kaṭīr^{an} mimman yūladu fī bilād al-'arab wa-yaštaʿyilu bi-l-'ilm tamurru 'alayhi l-alfāz al-kaṭīra min al-'arabiyya lā ya'rifu laha ma'n^{an} ḥattā yataṭallabahu fī l-kutub lā bal qad yasma'u l-lafza min al-kitāb al-'azīz [lā ya'rifu laha ma'] n^{an} ḥattā yataṭallabahu fī l-kutub ayd^{an} wa-la-'umri idā sa'alta kaṭīr^{an} min al-musta'ribīn bal min al-fuqahā 'an qawlihi ['azza wa-jal] la fa-ḡāhikat fa-baššarnāhā bi-išḡāq wa-'an qawlihi 'azza wa-jalla wa- [sic] tabnūna bi-kulli ri'ⁱⁿ āyat^{an} ta'baṭūn lā ya'lamu a[nna] ḡ-ḡāhī[k al-ḡayḡ] wa-rī' al-makān al-murtafi' wa-l-āya al-'alāma wa-amṭāl hāqā kaṭīr wa-idā kāna t-taqassur (? ta'assur) qad waqa'a fi [ma'ānī] alfāz kitāb allāh 'azza wa-jalla ma'a anna llāh ta'āla ḡaḡḡa 'alā tadabburihi wa-ma'rifatihi fa-mā bāluka bi-luya qawm āxarin [. . . (? ma'a annā)] ta'ammaltu muṣannafāt kaṭīra fī t-turkiyya ma'a 'ilmī bi-l-lisān fa-lam ara ajma' minhu wa-lā aḡtar [lqān] min [. . .] wa-lā ya'rifu qadrahu illā man kāna muta-mayyiz^{an} fī luya at-turk . . . fa-raḡima llāh [mu'allifahu] wa-jāwaza 'anhu . . .

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. Ink Color and the Later Hand

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4) Unrounded vowel of second syllable for vowel harmony. E.g. he read 251 *qaşuqluq* as *qaşiq-liq*; 321 *bäküš-* as *bäkiš-*, 431 *čiryut-* as *čiryt-*; 522 *qayyuq* as *qayyiq*; 592 *čaruqla-*, *qaşuqla-* as *čariqla-*, *qaşiq-la-*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. Glosses and Marginal Notes

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

būyi'a l-m[uqtadī]
 bi-amr allāh [ibn muḥammad ibn]
 al-qā'im bi-am[r allāh yawm ṭālāṭa]
 'ašar ša'b[ān sana]
 sab' wa-[sittin]
 wa-arba' mi['a . . .]
 xal[ī] f[a ? . . .]
 bi-amr allāh [. . .]
 sana (?) [. . .]
 ašhur wa-[. . .]
 yawm^{an}

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

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

wa-huwa l-xalīfa as-sābi' wa-l-išrīn būyi'a bihi li-xilāfa ba'd mawt jaddihi al-qā'im bi-amr allāh yawm al-xamīs at-ṭālīt 'ašar min ša'bān sana 467 wa-ṭalat ayyāmuhu [wa-] ḥasunat dawlatuhu (?) . . . āṭār ḥasana . . . ḡayr annahu ḥadaṭat zalāzil bi-'idda aqālīm [wa-] dāma fi l-xilāfa ilā an tuwuffiya bi-baydād . . . al-muḥarram sana 487 fa-kānat mudda xilāfatihi tis' 'ašra sana wa-ṭamāniya ašhur wa-taxallafa [ba] 'dahu ibnuhu al-mustaḫhir bi-llāh wa-kāna 'umruhu ṭalāṭa wa-ṭalātīn sana wa-kāna . . . xayyir^{an} qawiy an-nafs (?) 'ālī l-himma . . . min (?) [pattern: fu'alā'] banī l-'abbās naqš xatmihi laqabahu (?) wa-min maḥāsinihi annahu etc.

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

işbu arī ile 'arabiyyede olan arī müvâfakatına . . . qarîbe (?) zamân mürûrunda bu faķir (?) . . . e mürâca'at eylediğimde 'asal ma'nâsına olan arī lafzına gördüğüme mülâhazaya gele- . . . bu muḥammad raḫmet . . . fażlihi

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

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

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

- 9:8 (to bilgä) bilgin
 9:13 (to käsmä, käski) kesme, kesdi
 9:15 (to örmä saç) örmek saç ma'nâsına
 9:16 (to qaçut, qaçdi) kaçmak
 9:17 (to kâđüt, kâđti) giymek
 10:3 biliş bi-ma'nâ dâneş
 10:4 bildi 'alima ve dânest
 10:9 (to qurıdi) kurudı
 10:10 (to yaylāy, yāy) yaylak, yaz
 11:16 dađr bürünmek ve örtünmek demek
 12:1 öldi bi-ma'nâ be-mord
 12:10 (to sordi; turyu yēr) şormak maşş gibi ya'nî emmek; duracak yer
 14:9 (to bardı, barturdi, kâldi, kâltürdi) giderdi (!), geldi, götürdi
 14:11 (to sūw içsädi) su içe yazdı (!)
 28:9 (to tamyaq, tamaq) boğaz
 30:7 jazar lahm maqđū' matrük li-s-sibā'
 36:7 (to ēl qūs) kartal kuşu
 38:15 (to uđur) vakıt ve devlet ve imkân ve bereket ve hayır
 47:4 (to arük) şeftalu
 66:17 ärkän iken, şöyle iken böyle iken denür
 67:14 ärdim idim
 69:13 ayruq ğayr ma'nâsına dur
 69:15 ayla öyle demek
 69:16 öyla vaqt-ı zuhr
 69:17 açlık gürisnegi
 70:4 (to ađđi) hasan ve eyü
 73:17 (to osäl kişi) uysal kişi (!)
 80:14 abāçi umacı demek
 88:15 (to quyās) harâret-i şayf
 92:11 ärmäk olmak kevn gibi
 92:12 ürmäk üfürmek
 94:5 (to al-) älim deyn ve borç
 100:5 öçäşmäk yarışmak
 100:16 (to Ar. tarawwaba) at-tarwīb säid yođurt[... (cut off)]
 118:7 üstärđi inkâr etti

- 120:8 andyarmâq yemîn vermek
120:14 içgärmäk idxâl
148:1 utandı hayâ etdi demek
178:16 tæg harf-ı teşbîh gibi gibi
180:1 qanat qanad ve bâl dur
180:5 kâdiüt berdi libâs verdi
180:8 (to buqaç) su qabı ve bardak; allâhu a'lem buqraç bundan me'huđ ola
180:14 qaqaç qa qa demek
184:5 (to Ar. awtâb) waṭb süd qabı ve tolum
192:11 (to Ar. jillawz; liḥā) uzunca fındık ma'nâsına; ağaç qabuđı qaşr-ı şecer demek
193:10 (to P) ne [?] bıçaq keskin olsa kendi sabını yonmaz kesmez
194:13 (to äđü, eşiz — below line) eyü, köti
195:10 (to Ar. fayşala) đeker başı
200:1 ya'nî bir adam boyı
201:2 bütüin şahîḥ bütüin ve dürist ma'nâsına
201:10 (to biqin) böğür qasık
204:6 (grammatical note) qâ'ide-i naşb ve raf' ve her kelimât-i türkiye
205:13 tatıy leđdet ve çâşni
207:17 tilâk murâd ve dilek demek
208:2 (to tükâl — below line) dükeli ma'nâsına
209:13 (to Ar. tabî') buzađu dişi
210:5 kertindi Allâha ve resûluna inandı
211:3 qanda ḥanda ve kücâ demek
211:8 kändü kendi ve ḥud ma'nâsına
211:9 aydi dedi ve söyledi
211:11 munda bunda burada
213:5 (to Ar. talbîna) sidlü bulamaç aşı ve 'indelba'd arpa suyu
213:16 (to Ar. ma'rif) âşinâlar
tamya ma'ruf dur fâbi' al-malik ma'nâsına
213:17 (to Ar. furđa) deñiz kenarında olan [. . . (blocked by repair tape)]
214:13 (to Ar. şayyâş) ziyâde ḥafîf kimesne
215:8 qatqi uygunsuz adam
217:8 (to Ar. rakkakûhu, misunderstood as rakkalûhu!) tarkîl türkçeye döndürmek
219:1 qonşî jâr ve hemsâye
220:16 yawuz yavuz ve köti demek
223:12 qarâçi dilenci ve gedâ
224:7 (to P) ev danası öküz olmaz
229:15 taş kuyuya düşdi taqır taqır etti
229:16 bildir geçen yıl 'âm-ı mâđî ma'nâsına
238:4 (to Ar.) şafara yassı bıçaq
tarmîd yaqub küil etmek ve küil içinde kılmak
239:4 (note to Qulbâq!) ḥârikul'âde
242:1 (to Ar. mutalabbad, misunderstood) birbiri üzerine yığılmak
242:11 (to toyrul) Ertuđrul bundan me'huđ ola
243:5 (to bađram) bayram bundan me'huđ olmak gerek
284:11,13 (grammatical notes to Ar. text)
336:11 (to P) yorgandan ziyâde ayak uzansa üşür
352:7 (to yuyçi) yuyıcı veyâ yıkayıcı demek ola
366: upper margin (grammatical note) bayân ta'diya al-af'ul

- 466: top margin (note to yat!) *hâşşa-ı ğarîb*
 453:16 (note to qâš!) *hâşşa-ı ğarîb*
 462:10 yortuy ordu (!)
 612:1 (to P) yalfız *qaz* ötmeyiz

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

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

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

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

8. *Badraddīn al'Aynī*

The Topkapı Sarayı Library in Istanbul contains several volumes of the autograph of Badraddīn al-'Aynī's thirty-volume world history, *'Iqd al-Jumān fi Ta'riḫ Ahl az-Zamān*. Volume I, dated 825/1422, includes excerpts from the *Diwan*.²⁸ Volume II includes a blank section about a page long which al-'Aynī apparently intended to fill with another excerpt from the *Diwan*.²⁹






















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

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

'Aynī was an official in the Mamluk court in Cairo between his first appointment in 801/1398-9 and his death in 855/1451.³⁰ Judging from the excerpts in Volume I of his work, as will appear below, he depended on the very same MS. of the Diwan which is now the unique MS., and which must, therefore, still have been in Cairo in 1422.

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

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

- (wa-yuqālu at-turk huwa bn yāfiṭ li-ṣulbihi wa-hum)
- 20:8 fi l-aṣl 'iṣrūna qabīla . . .
- 20:11 wa-kull qabīla minhā buṭūn lā (yuḥṣūn) . . .
- 20:15 fa-awwal al-qabā'il qurb ar-rūm BJANAK ṭumma QFJ'Q (wa-yuqālu QFJ'X) ṭumma 'UFAZ [sic] ṭumma YAM'K ṭumma BAŠĠIRT ṭumma YAS'ML [sic] ṭumma QA'Y' ṭumma YABA'QV ṭumma TAT'R (wa-yuqālu TTR wa-yuqālu ṬAṬR) ṭumma QIRQIZ . . . ṭumma
- 21:1 JIKIL ṭumma TUX'SIY ṭumma YĠM' ṭumma 'IF'R'Q [sic] ṭumma JARUQ ṭumma JUML ṭumma 'UY'FUR ṭumma TANKUT ṭumma XIT'Y (wa-yuqālu XIT'Y wa-yuqālu XT') wa-hiya (allatī tusammā) šīn ṭumma TUVI'J [sic] (wa-tusammā) māšīn . . .
- 40:4 (wa-min qabīla 'UFUZ yatafarra'u t-turkmān [sic]) wa-hum iṭnān wa-'iṣrūn baṭn^{an} li-kull baṭn minhā 'alāma wa-sima 'alā dawābbihim (wa-awānīhim wa-aṭāṭīhim) ya'rifu bihā ba'ḍuhum ba'ḍ^{an} (fa-a'zamuhum) QNIQ (wa-minhum) as-sālāṭīn (wa-l-mulūk wa-minhum banū saljūq fa-awwal malikihim ṭuyrubak [etc. — there follows a precis of Seljuk and of early Ottoman history up to the time of Timur])
- wa-'alāma (QNIQ) hādīhi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭānī (min at-turkmān) QAYIIF (wa-yuqālu QAY'N [sic]) wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭāliṭ BA'YUN'DUR wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) ar-rābī 'IVA' (wa-yuqālu) YIV' wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) al-xāmis SAL'ĠR (wa-yuqālu SALUR') wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) as-sādis AF'S'R [sic] (wa-yuqālu 'AV'S'R) wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) as-sābī' BAK'TILY (wa-yuqālu BAK'DILY) wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭāmin BUK'DUZ wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) at-tāsi' BY'T wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) al-'āšir YAZ'ĠIR (wa-yuqālu YAZR') wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) al-ḥādī 'ašar 'AYMUR wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭānī 'ašar TAR' BULK [sic] wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭāliṭ 'ašar 'ALQ' BULUK wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) ar-rābī 'ašar 'IK'DR (wa-yuqālu YUK'DAR [sic]) wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) al-xāmis 'ašar 'URAKR . . . wa-yuqālu YURKIR wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) as-sādis 'ašar TUVTAR'Q' [sic] wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) as-sābī' 'ašar 'UVL' YUNDULUF [sic] wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭāmin 'ašar TVKAR . . . wa-yuqālu (DUKAR) wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) at-tāsi' 'ašar BAJANK wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) al-'iṣrūn JUVAL'DUZ [sic] wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) al-ḥādī wa-l-'iṣrūn JAB'NIY wa-'alāmatuhum hādīhi  (al-baṭn) aṭ-ṭānī wa-l-'iṣrūn JARUQLUF (wa-yuqālu JARUQLUV wa-hiya) qalīla . . . xafīyya 'alāmatuhā [blank space, end of line] . . .

30. See EI², article "al-'Aynī" (W. Marçais); GAL, II, 52, S.II, 51.

- 41:8 (wa-hā'ulā'i iṭnān wa-'iṣrūn rajul^{an} fi l-aṣl fa-šāra kull wāḥid minhum ' t [sic?] baṭn wāḥid ...
 622:17 aṣl ḍālika) anna ḍā l-qarnayn lammā . . . qaṣada bilād at-turk (wa-kāna malik at-turk yaw-
 ma'idⁱⁿ šaxṣ^{an}) yusammā šū (wa-kāna lahu ḥaṣr) 'aẓīm (la yūṣafu . . .
 623:12 fa-kabasahum ḍū l-qarnayn buytat^{an} fa-taḥayyarū wa-kāna ḍālika bi-l-layl fa- axaḍa kull
 wāḥid ilā jiha . . .
 623:16 tata'axxaru minhum fi 'askarihi hā'ulā' l-iṭnān wa-l-'iṣrūn . . . lam yudrikū ḥamūlata hum . . .
 624:8 fa-ra'ā(hum ḍu l-qarnayn wa-hum) ḍāt šu'ūr . . . fa-qāla . . . (hā'ulā'i) turk mānan [sic] (bi-l-
 fārisiyya wa-)ma'nāhu hā'ulā'i (yuṣābihūna) t-turk fa-baqiya (lahum hāḍā l-ism min ḍālika l-yawm)
 ilā yawminā hāḍā (wa-lākin xaffafū iḥḍā n-nunayn fa-nḥaḍafa li-kaṭra al-isti'māl) . . . [goes on to
 cite other reports on the origin of the Turks, from al-Hamadānī, al-Mas'ūdī, etc.]

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

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

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

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

Volume II of the *İqd al-Jumân* begins with the story of Abraham and continues with the other pre-Muhammadan prophets, including Du-l-Qarnayn (137b ff.). Then there are several chapters devoted to the various pre-Islamic or non-Islamic kings, as follows: 164b Mulûk-al-Furs; 178a Mulûk al-Kaldâniyya; 178a Farâ'ina Mişr; 193a Mulûk al-Yünân; 194a Mulûk ar-Rûm; 199a Mulûk al-Ifranj. At this point comes the blank section, about a page long (200b - 201a). There follows: 201a Mulûk as-Suryân; Mulûk al-Hind; 209a Mulûk al-'Arab. The final chapter (216a ff.) is a history of the Arabs up to the Quraysh.

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

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

Among Turks, other than Kâtip Çelebi, Ayıntaplı Bedreddin Al-'Aynî also saw Maḥmûd Kâşgarî's book. This individual, in Volume II of his history "Al-'İqd al-Cumân" [sic], between the chapter devoted to the Europeans (*mulûk ar-rûm wa-qişsa al-faranj*) and the chapter devoted to the Syrians and the Indians (*qişsa mulûk suryân wa-mulûk al-hind*), also had a separate chapter for the Turks, entitled "Story of the Turkic tribes" (Türk kavimlerinin kıssası, *qişsa umam at-turk*). In some copies of Al-'İqd al-Cumân, however, this chapter of the Turks is not found. For example, although it is found in the Topkapı Sarayı MS. Üçüncü Ahmed Kütüphanesi no. ¹²²/₂₉₁₁, it is not found in the duplicate MS. of this same no. (aynî numaranın iki mükerrer nushasında bu kısım bulunmamaktadır). In this chapter of his book Bedreddin 'Aynî, beginning with the statement "I saw in the Divan of Al-Kâşgarî" (*wa-ra'aytu fî dîwân maḥmûd al-kâşgarî*), summarizes in six pages the information from various passages of the Divanuluġattürk [sic] concerning the Oġuz tribe (now covered in Vol. I, pp. 56-57 and Vol. III, pp. 314-317 [sic] of the printed edition); concerning the Turkic dialects (Vol. I, pp. 29-36); and concerning the Uygur script (Vol. I, p. 9). The word written TFF'J in the MS. of the Divanuluġattürk which is in our hands, Bedreddin 'Aynî writes in the form TVI'J, and he mentions a tribe by the name JY'N which is not seen in our MS. Similarly, the name of the fortress written "ŞVB'B" (i.e. "Şuyâb"[sic]) in the printed edition (Vol. III, p. 305), Bedreddin 'Aynî writes in the form "ŞV" (*wa-kâna yuġrabu kull yawm li-l-umarâ' fi jundihi bi-hişn şv talâtami'a wa-sittîn nawba*). In view of this, Bedreddin 'Aynî must have used a MS. of the Divanuluġattürk different from the one we possess.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9. History of the Text

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

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

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

At this point the autograph disappears from view.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a. Vowel only.

- ? 46 'ALUQ oluq (on basis of 37 olut; cf. olgun, etc.).
 51 'AĞAIN ayin (= Ar. *ayann*, hence the error; ED, 87).
 60 'INKAS äñäs (< äñ-!).
 60 'URKIJ ärkäc (cf. WB, I, 780 ³ärkas).
 79, 637 'ILINJ ulinč (influence of the following entry?; ED, 148).
 98 'ADIR- üdür- (influence of the preceding entry; ED, 67). But at 186 kümüş V: 'UDRDUM adirdim (on basis of Arabic translation).
 112 'ATAT- ötät- (< ötä-).
 126 'UTLAŞ- (see n.) ätläş- (< ät).
 150 'UŽUMLAN- üzmälän- (confusion with üzüm; ED, 27-8).
 153 'ARIFLA'- uruyla- (influence of preceding entry; ED, 220).
 230 TARMAZ (also at 173 qarč: TURMUZ) tarmuz (< Pers. *tarmus*).
 232 BAŞLA'Γ boşläγ (MTW).
 240 TUKLUK täglük (ED, 480).
 250 QABIRJA'Q (see n.) quburčäq (see ED, 586; cf. CC quburčuq).
 ? At 263 qaşyalaq V: 'AT'R ötär (< öt- "sing (bird)").
 At 276 čal- V: 'ALIP ilip (AR. *'adā*, cf. definition of iliš-).
 At 349:14: KÜNİKTIY kenikti (ED, 731).
 325 QINIŞ- qaniş- (cf. qanıy, qanit-).
 375 TABRAŞ- tapriş- (ED, 445).
 429 TABRAT- taprit- (influence of preceding entry; ED, 444).
 460 YALIYM'N yulimän (< yuli-!).
 517 QAYΓ qiyiy (ED, 676).
 565 QARJA' qurča- (ED, 647).
 At 605 sinäk V: TIKIB tügüp (Ar. *ya'qidu* — the summer pests "tie their tails and attack," i.e. like horses in battle!, cf. 237-8 qudruc V; hitherto read tikip).
 At 611 qañdaş P: 'IKDIŞ ögdäş (DTS, 379; ED, 103).
 614 SİWŊNK-, 617 SİWŊGDUR- siñ-, siñdür- (though this root is not elsewhere attested, Kāşyarī surely wished to distinguish it from siñ-, and it must be the basis of siñü and siñük).

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

- At 10:7: 'ARINDIY aridi (Ar. *naẓufa*).
 At 20:16 and elsewhere: YASMIL basmil (MTW).
 At 54 äy V: 'ITIN anu (< anu-).
 At 56 ori P: TABRAŞUVR tērişür; and at 66 imrām: TIYRIŞTY täpräşti (ED, 163).
 116 'ABIT- opi-.
 172 YART bart (EP). Same word at 59 anut P: YURT (hence yurt in the meaning "vessel for measuring wine" is a ghost word; finally corrected in ED, 176).
 190 YURIQ (see n.) bariq (< bar-!; confusion with yoriq).
 At 191 čaruq N: BTZAN bīzan or bīzan (a well-known figure in Iranian legend).
 ? At 199 qizil V: YUR_KAŞIP (see n.) tergäşip (see tergäş- in Index; yörgäşip as the rhyme word in the next line precludes it here; *yüzkäş- or *yüzläş-, suggested in ED, 986, are not attested).
 At 211 munda V: TAMUV yamu (ED, 503).
 227 YARKUJ bürgüč (ED, 362-3).
 At 229 böktir V: BARIQ YA'QIB yiraq bāqip (Schinkewitsch).
 231 YURBA'Ş borbäş (ED, 356).

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

c. Confusion among other consonants.

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

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

d. Letters missing or letters added.

- 32 'UĐUV; 'UVA'; 'VQ' (see n.) ū; ū; ō (ED, 1).
 At 66 ändik V: YATIL- ētil- (see n.).
 77 'AŽ'MA'N_ (see n.) azma (ED, 288).
 145 'ATLAN- atla-.

At 272 *čoq*- V: 'USN LAYUV *üşläyü* (Brockelmann, Volkspoésie II, 37).

At 380:3: BURUŞDY *borbaşdi*.

At 417 *törüt*- V: 'D *ädiz* (Schinkewitsch I, 153-4; Brockelmann read it *äd* – Volkspoésie II, 39; Tercüme and ED: *uđu*).

441 MINKDADĪTĪY, MINKDA'R MIKD'MA'K *māñdät*- (EP).

? At 466:8: 'UYUFLUT *üγluγ* (ED, 271).

548 JILA'R *čila* (dittograph from first letter of definition: *rawf*; ED, 418).

Also, at 192 *qıruq*: *adaq* should probably be read *adaqlıγ* (see n.); and at 552 *čoqlūy*: *älig* should be read *äliglig*.

e. Miscellaneous

? At 85 *açıyılıγ* P: the text is waterstained; a word hitherto read Š'BVK *šābük* "quickly" (Persian) should probably be read as *tärk* (or *šap*?).

At 156 *orıla*- V: YARIQ *yorip* (Ar. *jā'a*). Brockelmann took this as the same *yariq* "gespalten" as at 229 *böktir* V (! – Volkspoésie I, 7); Tercüme: *yırak* "uzak."

At 173 *känd* V: KALNKIZLAYUV *kälgınläyü* (ED, 718).

At 206 *qāyıl* P: QL *qari* (Ar. *šayx*). Clauson (ED, 614) suggests *qul* in the sense "servant (of God)"; but this would never be translated by Ar. *šayx* "old man."

? 209 JATIYBA' *käsbä* (? – ED, 402).

? At 520 *quyār*: BUV QUYA'RIY *bu quyār qizi* (only this reading makes the Turkic accord with the Arabic; Tercüme III, 171: *bu quyār är*; ED, 679 emends Ar. *bintuhu* to *bi-fīhi* and translates "This man who dribbles and froths at the mouth").

? 523 QUDUVJAQ *quyurčağ* (ED, 606).

? At 547 *sökä* V: 'UDUV QAM' TBN ?AIDIY *uđu barma tebän yiydi* (the copyist was nodding at this point; the reading proposed restores congruity with the Arabic; *uđulama* would also fit; *yiy-* = Ar. *'adānī* "he held me back" is still questionable, particularly since *yiydi* is the rhyme word in another stanza of this verse cycle – at 201 *bulun*).

f. Arabic misread as Turkic because overlined.

At 82 *aramayān*: 'AMUJ Ar. *aşahh* (Clauson, JRAS, 1955, 137).

At 210 *čügde*: 'ULUX'SA' Ar. *al-xuṣṣā'* (ED, 414 – Clauson has *al-xuṣā'*, incorrectly).

At 240 *čäkräk*: QAB' Ar. *qabā'* (ED, 416).

g. Error in the Arabic gloss.

73 *aluč*, Ar. *barqūq*, MS. *barūd* (MTW).

226 *salındı*, Ar. *'awf ar-rajul*, MS. *'arf ar-rajul* (see n.; and see R. Dankoff, "Middle Turkic Vulgarisms," in *Aspects of Altaic Civilization II*, ed. L. V. Clark and P. A. Draghi, Bloomington, 1978, 62-63).

At 263 *qaşyalaq* V: *tañ*, Ar. *γudā*, MS. *γudar* (see n.; Brockelmann, Volkspoésie II, 36).

At 352:2 *suγulmiş*, Ar. *γā'ir*, MS. *γābir*.

421 SAKIT-, Ar. *ahtā*: *sökıt-*, Ar. *ajtā* (ED, 820).

h. Text not incorrect but misinterpreted.

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

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

i. Reconstructions.

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

j. Words misread by Kāşyari (?)

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

11. Structure of the Diwan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We shall now discuss each book in greater detail.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I. Biliterals (160): CvC

II. Triliterals (171 end)

A. CvCC (172)

B. CvCvC (178)

C. C̄vCvC (204). (In this case, the *matres lectionis* are referred to by the term *madd* augment or "lengthener")

D. C̄vC̄vC (206)

E. CvC̄vC (207). (*Madd* or *līn* augment)

F. CvCCv (209)

G. CvCCvN (219). (The Arabic philologists often considered N separately from the other consonants, even assimilating it to the "weak" letters, since one of its functions was as an augment, e.g. in the pattern *fa'lān*.)⁴¹

H. CvC̄vCv (223)

I. CvCvNCv (225). (Again N is considered an augment.)

III. Quadrilaterals (226 end)

A. CvCCvC (226-7)

1. C₁vCC₁vC or CvC₁CvC₁ (224)

B. CvC̄vCvC (244)

C. CvCvCCv (245). (*tawīlyūč* is out of place here, belongs at IV.A; is probably put here because of 245 *tawīlqu*; the same for 245 *awīlqu*, which should have been in the *Kitāb al-hamz*.)

D. CvCCvCv (246)

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

IV. Quinquiliterals (247)

A. CvCvCCvC (247)

B. CvCCvCvC (262). (264 mundaru is out of place here, belongs at III.D)

V. Sextiliterals (264)

A. CvCvCCvCvC (264)

VI. Septiliterals (264): CvCCvCCCvC. (The example, zaryunčmūd, could also have been considered in the Kitāb al-γunna or the Kitāb al-jam')

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

42. The same consideration explains 521 *āyāḡū* alongside *yoriṭya* and *yüliḡä* in an "initial weak" subsection in the following book.

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

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

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

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

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

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

45. Cf. Kāšyārī's remark at 529 G!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In summary, this final book of the *Diwan* is based on the feature of a consonant cluster in the middle of a word (-CCCv).⁵⁰ *Kāšyarī* departed from the pattern arrangement of the other books, probably because this feature was so foreign to Arabic syllabification that it could not be indicated in the normal way using the schematic Arabic root *f'-l*. *Kāšyarī* realized, however, that the first consonant in the cluster was always one of the liquids /r,l,n/;⁵¹ and he attempted to "justify" such clusters by the idea that these letters (sounds) "lighten the word from its heaviness and make it as though the two [joined] letters were one letter" (626 *alq-* G).

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

50. The only exceptions to this are 633 *ēnč*, *kānč*; see previous note.

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

12. *Turkic and Arabic*

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

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

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

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

52. The racecourse image recurs at 595 G.

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

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

55. The following exceptions may be noted:

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

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

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

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

Occasionally he brings in examples from Persian as well.⁵⁷

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

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

a) *Ḥarf*: "Particle"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c) *Luḡa*: "Variant; Dialect"

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

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

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

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

Another level of usage refers to free variation in certain phonetic environments (e.g. $\gamma \sim x$ preconsonantly: see 234 *boxsuq*, 432-3 *qoyšat*-, 565 *siyta*-; $\gamma \sim w$ intervocally: see 245 *qayurmāč*, etc.; $\gamma \sim w$ preconsonantly: see 223 *siḡlīn*, etc.; see, in general, Dialect Index). If, however, Kāšyarī says that one variant is "more correct" than the other (e.g. 71-2 *owrūḡ*) this might imply a dialectal difference, though it might only be a personal judgment (see below on *siḡḡa* and *fašāḡa*).

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

d) *Mubdala*: "Alternant"

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

59. E.g. 43 *ülüş*, 46 *ušuq*, 56 *äčä*, 68 *äšgäk*, 80 *öni*, 201 *boḡun* (cf. 50 *ükim*, 453 *yiyim*) 207 *solāq*, 457 *yoyru*, 506 *yik*, 510 *qāz* ~ *qās*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

71 *owrūy*: *oyrūy* is "more correct."

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

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

82 armaṅān: yarmaṅān is "more correct." (Possibly the form with y-, which is not attested elsewhere, is the Türk-Ögiz dialectal counterpart of armaṅān, an Oğuz word; but note the opposite case at 579 yıklā-: iklā- is "more elegant.")

121-2 G: the doubly transitive form in ar yurt-, üškürt- is "more elegant and more correct" than in ar yurtur-, üškürtür- (perhaps because it is shorter).

133 örlān- "arise": ör- is "better" (*aḥsan* – perhaps because it is shorter).

135 uwšat- "crumble": "this is the correct form; there is also ušat-" (the root-form is more correct).

187 tariḡ "wheat" according to most of the Turks, but "millet" according to the Oğuz; this latter is wrong (*xaṭa'*).

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

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

367-8 G: suwḡarimsin- "pretend to water," as opposed to suwḡarın-, is "more correct, better, and more used" (*aḡṣaḡḡ, aḡwad, aḡtar isti'māl^{an}*). (Cf. 533 bilḡālān-: bilimsin- is "better" (*aḥsan*).)

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

443 G D: Tk. -ḡuluḡ ~ Oğ. -iḡsaḡ ~ some Oğ. -iḡsi – "the first form (i.e. -iḡsaḡ) is more correct; others of them follow the genuine Turks (*ṣamīm at-turk*) in this type also."

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

503 tīm "wine-merchant": tīmčī is "more correct" since -čī is the marker for occupations.

505 böy: "A variant of böḡ; the latter is more correct."

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

547 kükü: küküy is "more correct."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Returning to Kāšyarī's statement about those who have a "slurring" (*rikka*)⁶² in their utterances (24:4), the three dialects singled out are Soyḡdāq, Kānčāk and Aryu; later (25:11) we read: "there is a slurring in the speech of the people of the entire country of Aryu, which is considered to extend from Ishījāb to Balāsāyūn." The following examples occur in the text:

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

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

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

338-9 bošan- (?) "be divorced" (Aryu dialect) — with slurring (*rakīka*). (The basic stem is 561 bošu-, where "divorce" is also the Aryu meaning; the vocalization here and at 418-9 bošat- (bošut-?) varies between bošu- and boša-; but here there are two separate entries, first 338 bošun- (?) "be let free, be released," then bošan- (?) meaning "come loose (knot)" and also "be divorced" (Aryu); therefore Kāšyarī seems to be distinguishing the form with -a- as a deviation from the root-form, and labels it "slurring.")

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

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

To these examples should be added the following:

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

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

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

f) *kināya*: "Allusion," etc.

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

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

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

30 ir: "a particle alluding to shame"

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

50 ičim: "a particle expressing 'among' "

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now we list the examples of semantic transfer:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

409 suqaq "white antelope": "it is used by allusion for 'a Persian' among the Oγuz."

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

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

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

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

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

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

g) *Aṣl*: "Root"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

One such method is to relate a word to another from the same etymological root which in Kāşyārī's mind is somehow prior to the first, even though it too may be derived. The root-word in this case is generally a noun which expresses the basic idea. Thus in the sentences *tösäk tösäldi* "The bedding was spread" and *tügün tügüldi* "The knot was tied," the verbs are thought to be "derived" (*uttuxiḍa*) from the nouns (348:8). Just as *qariş* "span" is the root of *qarşat-* "to measure in spans," so *qorqunč* "fear" is the root of *qorqit-* "to frighten," and *aylāq* "empty" is the root of *aylat-* "to empty" (445, top). (We may say that *qariş* is derivationally prior, while *qorqunč* and *aylāq* are only conceptually prior; for Kāşyārī all three of the verbs are "derived" [*ma'xūḍ* — 444:17] from the nouns.) In other cases the root-word is a verb. Thus *uluyluq* "deeming oneself great" is derived (*ma'xūḍ*) from *ulyāḍ-* "to become great," and *quruyluq* "dryness" is derived (*muštaqq*) from *qurin-* "to dry" (252:6).⁶⁸ The case of *tapuysāq* "desiring to serve"

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

67. Kāşyārī relates a word to its derivational root in the following entries: 78 *ütunč*, 80 *önik*, 192 *qasuq*, 205 *tüdüş*, 233 *tumliḡ*, 241 *käkmäk*, 323 *čilaş*, 325 *tanuş*, 332 *tusul-*, 353 *tuḡtur-*, 355 *tindur-*, 399 *butaqlan-*, 626 *kürs-*, 634 *sāwci*, 637 *üčünč* G. Also in the following, where instead of the concept of "root" we find the concept "derived" (*ma'xūḍ*): 45 *aḍuq*, 61 *ögsüz*, 291:11 G, 566 *tuwra-*, 604 *siḡuq*, 635-6 *bärklä-*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

70. *Aşl* means "root-form" in the following entries: 61 *ögsüz*, *ādgiş*, 64 *ötlük*, *idrig*, 75-6 *oyri*, 108 *ötün-*, 114 *igit-*, 115 *uyat-*, 120 *anyar-*, 123 *ötrüş-*, 126 *orlaš-*, 129 *aytil-*, 134 *öglän-*, 135 *olxut-*, 158 *iştonlan-*, 161 *qoç*, 175-6 *bärk*, 190 *biruq*, 211 *qanda*, 263 *qaryaliy*, 282 G, 284 G, 306 *tütür-*, 307 *tođur-*, 326 *basiq-*, 342 *čilan-*, 350 G, 356 *tuşyur-*, 358 *čantur-*, *činyar-*, *suttur*, *sittür-*, 360 *söktür-*, 362 *qantur-*, 373 *sanriş-*, 374 *sözläş-*, 377 *qarmaş-*, 383 *qurtul-*, 385 *boşyun-*, 391 *qorlan-*, 400 *qađirlan-*, 401 G, 408 *qačāč*, 412 *tit-*, 413 *sut-*, *sit-*, *qot-*, 414 *kāt-*, 418 *quzit-*, 420 *bulat-*, *čilat-*, 421 *qalat-*, 422 *yat-*, 423 *yenät-*,

Finally, in many cases *aşl* is translated "root-meaning." This refers to what Kāşyārī regards as the basic meaning of the word, indicating that the meaning in question is due to a semantic shift.⁷¹

13. Phonology

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

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

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

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

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

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

71. *Aşl* means "root-meaning" in the following entries: 45 iɖuq, 46 ötiγ, oluq, 65 ügmäk, 73-4 inäl, 118 eštür-, 128 örtül-, 131 isrin-, 145 arqa-, 147 ayna-, 154 aruqla-, 164 qiz, 188 quruγ, 203 qačan, 208 tegin, 225 čulimän, 237 sayliq, 272 käw-, 289-90 GD, 306 qutur-, 320 qawuš-, 323 sališ-, 324 qomiš-, 345 kičin-, 362 qistur-, 382 sančil-, 390 qurtan-, qatrun-, 393 kämlän-, 410 tolyāγ, 420 bāküt-, tölät-, 422 yopat-, 437 somlit-, 453 yerim, 462 yarmaš, 463 yawlaq, 495 čör, 497 siz, 543 qara, 569 suwsa-, 606 toña, 620 mänilä-, 626 kürs-. In the following we find the concept "derived" (ma'xūḍ) referring to the same phenomenon: 384 kārtil-, 543 qari, 587 tikülä-.

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

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

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

- 1) "Nasalization" (*γunna*) refers to the letter N but only when followed by K or J (i.e. the consonant /ŋ/ and the consonant cluster /nč/. See 599 G, the Book of Nasal Words (*kitāb al-γunna*).⁷⁴
- 2) "The nasal consonant" (*al-ḥarf al-xayšūmī*) apparently refers to N alone (possibly also M) as distinguished from "nasalization"; since this term does not appear again in the Diwan it is hard to see if it refers to a special peculiarity of Turkic as distinguished from Arabic.
- 3) "The joining of two unvowelled consonants" (*al-jam' bayn as-sākinayn*). See 626 G, the Book of Consonant Clusters.⁷⁵
- 4) "The joining of *qāf* and *jīm*" denotes the consonant cluster /qč/ which is common in Turkic (e.g. oqči), whereas Arabic roots have the restriction that *qāf* and *jīm* cannot occur together.
- 5) "The alternation of *bā'* with *mīm* and of *nūn* with *lām*" refers to alternations on three levels: dialectal (e.g. *bān* ~ *mān*); morphophonemic (e.g. *biz* ~ *-miz*); morphological (e.g. *bitin-* ~ *bitil-*). See Dialect Index.

a) *Šalāba*, *Rikka*

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

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

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

74. Kelly I, 188.

75. Kelly I, 188-9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

80. E.g.: *boḍun* (ten times) ~ *bodun* (seventeen); *ōḍ* (eight) ~ *ōd* (four); *qodī* (twelve) ~ *qodi* (one); *quḍuḡ* (eight) ~ *quduḡ* (six); *quḍruq* (six) ~ *quduḡ* (five, four of these at the entry). On the other hand, some words appear only with /ḍ/: *adāq* (nearly fifty times), *iḍ*-, *kidiz* (nine times), *sādrā*- (six times), etc. Some cases seem to imply voicing intervocally; thus: 45 *aḍuq* < *aḡduq*; 400 *qaḍirlan*- < *qadran*- (sic).

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

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

b) *İšbā'*, *İsmām*, *Imāla*

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

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

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

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

Now the three occurrences of *imāla*:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

imāla = /ē/ not /ī/: 26,27

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

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

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

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

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

c) /ē/

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There appears to be no opposition ā:ē, but only ā:ē (kāč-:kēč-). With suffixes, however, we do find ā:e (e.g. 141 äwsā-:ewsā-; 416 kāčit-:kečit-; 541 kāčā-:kečā-); and also with assimilation or secondary shortening (414 kāt- < kāḡ-: ket- < *kēt- — cf. kētār-). The opposition on the phonemic level appears to be /ā:ā/, while phonetically /ā/ is realized as [ē]; but with suffixes, with the usual shortening, the vowel tends to be [ä] — hence the variation in the orthography. Some nominal roots with original /ā/ appear as entries with the mater *alif* ('), interpreted here as secondary lengthening (see below, part h), on vowel length): āḡ, āw-, kāḡ-, kānč-, tār-. Words like kārzü and kāwli, like bēḡ (/bāḡ/), are probably borrowings; the same for yāk and Kāncāk, which perhaps ought to be read yāk and Ganjāḡ (cf. nāḡ). The status of ēz is uncertain.

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

d) /i/

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

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

86. Cf. the Oḡuz pronunciation of Ar. *qaḡāda*: *qaḡida* (QALIYDAH); this should perhaps be read *qaḡēda*, or the like — i.e., with *imāla*! The status of erēž is uncertain.

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

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

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

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

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

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

īš: *išīγ*, *īšqa* (*īškā* — see Index!), *īšliγ*; *išlā-*, *išlāš-*, *išlāt*; *išlan-* (*išlān-*)⁸⁷
bič-: all suffixed forms are velar except *bičāk*
tīl: *tīllig*; *tilāq*, *tiliq-*
tīš: *tīšīγ*; *tišā-*; *tišlā-* (*tišla-*); *tišlān-*; *tišlat-*
tiz: *tizlā-* (*tizla-*); *tizlāt-*
yin: *yinkā* *yinqa*
yīd: *yīdla-*, *yīdiγ*; *yīdimāq* (*yīdimāk*)
yili: *yilimāq*, *yilitmāq*, *yiliγ*; *yilmirmāk*; *yilišmāq/-māk*
čiž-: *čižmāq*; *čižtürmāk*

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

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

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

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

(<i>īk</i> ~ <i>yīk</i>)	— — — —	<i>iq</i>)
<i>irk</i>	— — — —	<i>irq</i>
<i>čik</i>	— — — —	<i>čiq</i> ~ <i>čīq</i> (both onomatopoeic)
(<i>kidiz</i>)	— — — —	<i>qidiγ</i>)
(<i>kim</i>)	— — — —	<i>qimiz</i>)
<i>kin</i>	— — — —	<i>qin</i> ~ <i>qīn</i>
(<i>kīr</i>)	— — — —	<i>qir</i>)
<i>kir-</i> , <i>kiriš-</i>	— — — —	<i>qir-</i> , <i>qiriš-</i> (etc.)
(<i>kirpi</i> ; <i>kirpik</i>)	— — — —	<i>qirpās</i>)
(<i>kīš</i>)	— — — —	<i>qīš</i>)
<i>kiz</i>	— — — —	<i>qiz</i>
(<i>sik</i>)	— — — —	<i>sīq</i>)
<i>sik-</i> , <i>sikil-</i>	— — — —	<i>siq-</i> , <i>siqil-</i> (etc.)
<i>tik-</i> , <i>tikil-</i>	— — — —	<i>tiq-</i> , <i>tiqil-</i> (etc.)
(<i>yignā</i>)	— — — —	<i>yīyla-</i> ~ <i>iyila-</i>)
<i>yigtūr-</i>	— — — —	<i>yīytur-</i>
(<i>yilik</i>)	— — — —	<i>yīlqi</i>)

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

e) Velar-Palatal Alternation in the Root

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

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

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

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

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

Related to this is:

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

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

- *os/ös "likeness; trick" (?). osuγ "correspondence" ? [taḥāyul]. ösiglā- (-māq/māk) "open without a key, by a trick [ḥīla]" (Kāncāk). ösnā- "resemble." osnat- "liken."
 öp- "gulp." öp- "sip; kiss"
 bus- "lay in ambush." bösiγ böš- "beat; lay an ambush" (the two meanings are unrelated, and it is easier to assume that in the second meaning there is simply a confusion with bus-).
 *bur-/bür- "draw together, contract; twist, turn." bür- "draw together (mouth of bag)." bürčäk "forelock." bürgüč "bread turner." bürük "wound string." bürül- "be folded (book)." bürmä "waistband." bürün- "wrap or veil oneself." bürünčük "veil." bürün "whirlpool."
 *burq- "wrinkle (skin), frown": burqi, burqiγ, burqur-, burqit-
 čom- "dive." čöm- "dive (deeper than čom-)." čomur-, čömür-; čomuš-, čömüş-; čomtur-, čömtür- (same difference, consistent). čömcä "ladle" (Oγuz). čomušluq "privy"
 särim (sarim ?) "filter (wine)." särmä- "strain (soup, fish, noodles, etc.)." sarmačuq "a type of noodles." sarmal; sarmaš- (särmäš-), sarmat- (särmät-). (N.b. There is also a stem *sarma-; not related, derived from *sar, saru-, sarum.)
 *taw-/täw- "turn, twist, move"; used as a jingle with other verbs. taw- (täw- ?) "dispose of (merchandise)" [tašarafa, < š-r-f "turn over"] (hapax legomenon: the context implies that it is merely a jingle with sat- "sell," and so it is probably not the root of tawar "merchandise"). täwin-: uwun- t. "wring (hands)." täwür-: äwür- t. "turn upside down . . . (merchandise)." täwrän (tawrän ?) "twisted threads . . ." tawrat- "spin (yarn)." tawuš "sound and movement." täwsä-, tüwsä- "tangle (yarn); form beads (sweat)" (these two stems are hopelessly confused in MS). *tawiš-/täwiš-: satišyan tawišyan "who buys and sells"; tawišyan "rabbit" (unrelated ?); täwšin- "be very active"
 tut- "take, catch, capture." Many derived forms with velar suffixes. tütür- ~ tütgür- < tüttür- (sic) "incite to catch." tütsüγ "quarrelsome" (perhaps here a confusion with tü- "smoke, smoulder"). tütüš- = tutuš- "grab one another; quarrel"
 tuzγu "gift." tüzgür- "give a gift"
 yäl "mane (horse)." yäl "mane" (? - hap. leg.)
 yanč- "crush; bite." yančil-/yänčil-
 yar- "split forcefully." yer- "split gently." (yar-/yer- and yaril-/yeril- are due to a confusion, or a failure to distinguish the two consistently.) yaruq, yerik; yarim, yerim "half." yerin- yarındaq "strap." yarış- "race; share," yeriš- "split." yartur-, yertür-
 *yow-/yöw- "share, help." qur- yow- "cement kinship ties, share wealth, overwhelm with kindness." yöwgi "give!" yowsa- (yöwsä-) "desire to share wealth." yöwüş "help to kin in outfitting bride." yowuš- (yöwüş-) "help, share." yöwtür-

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

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

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

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

f) -K-Q

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

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

-MA'K error for -māq

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

-MA'Q error for -māk

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

479 yerin-
sar- at 285:11 G

342-3 sārīn-
477 yörül-
486 yügriš-
555-6 üzi-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

90. See the following entries in ED: 4-5 uv-, 156 amaçla-, 213 értile-, 440 taplaṣ-, tübleṣ-, 349 borta:la-, 258 eṣüt-, 517 teñit-, 523 tını:la-, 526-7 tünüş-, 840 sinile- ("me:k corrected from -ma:k not vice versa as in Atalay"), 843 sa:r-, 845 sürçit-, 854 sürnü:le- (ad 621 sarnūla-), 853 sermeṣ-, sermet-, 886 yıdı-, 923 yulit-, 933 yılıṣ-, 945 yančil- (cf. 944 yanç- "MS. in error -me:k"), yunçit-, 947 yona:t-, 967 yarıl-, yeril-, 976 yuṣ-, 978 yışımlan-, 987 yüzlen-.

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

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

g) /ŋ > g/

There is a tendency for /ŋ/ to lose its nasal quality following /n/ (dissimilation). Thus the usual genitive forms of *ol*, *män*, *sän* are *anıg*, *mänig*, *sänig* (see Index). Genitives with *-niŋ* do occur (*ärniŋ* 92:7; *böriniŋ* 221:6 P; *bir ekindiniŋ* 368:8; *bir birniŋ* 371: margin, 378:1; *oyliniŋ* 421:7 P). More commonly, however, the form is *-nig* (*kimnig* 182:14 V, 221:12 V, 453:16, 550:8 V, 555:8 V; *künig* (*künnig*?) 213:11; *xännig* 215:3 P; *quzyünnig* 221:6 P *anānig* 253:13 V; *kölnig* 308:16 V; *yätnig*, *özniŋ* 462:17 P; *yayıniŋ* 463:12 P; *käyikniŋ* 509:15 P; *ađinnig* 543:2 V; *küniŋ* 549:12 P; *ärniŋ* 574:10; *yalnuqniŋ* 612:7 P).⁹²

Datives with the third person possessive, normally *-iŋa* (e.g. *anāsiŋa* 316:17, 354:14; *tawāriŋa* 344:11; *äwiŋa* 565:10), occur as *-iga* on nouns ending in *-n* (*qāniŋa* 563:11 [*fī damihi*], 626:13 [*dam^{an}*]).⁹³

The second singular possessive, normally *-iŋ* (e.g. 196:7 *kāziŋiŋ*), occurs as *-ig* on nouns ending in *-n* (*qāniŋ* 249:9 V; *yēniŋ* 512:3).

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

h) Vowel Length; Madd and Līn Letters; Lightening

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

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

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

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

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

94. Kelly II, 155.

95. Examples in Kelly II, 157. Other examples: 339 *tutun-*: *öt tutundi*, V: *üdig oti tutünup*; 380 *sawruq-*: *közdän yāš sawruqti*, V: *közüm yaši sawruqup*; 616 *tañildi baş, är başın tañindi*. (Cf. 426 G.)

96. Kelly II, 152-3, 159.

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

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

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

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

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

98. Kelly II, 159-60.

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

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

101. Kelly II, 159.

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

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

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

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

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

— in Him there is Assistance —

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

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

When I saw that God Most High had caused the Sun of Fortune to rise in the Zodiac of the Turks, and set their Kingdom among the spheres of Heaven; that He called them "Turk," and gave them Rule; making them kings of the Age, and placing in their hands the reins of temporal authority; appointing them over all mankind, and directing them to the Right; that He strengthened those who are affiliated to them, and those who endeavor on their behalf; so that they attain from them the utmost of their desire, and are delivered from the ignominy of the slavish rabble; — [then I saw that] every man of reason must attach himself to them, or else expose himself to their falling arrows. And there is no better way to approach them than by speaking their own tongue, thereby bending their ear, and inclining¹ their heart. And when one of their foes comes over to their side, they keep him secure from fear of them; then others may take refuge with him, and all fear of harm be gone!

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

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

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

1. MS. *ištīmāla*, read *istīmāla*.

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

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

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

[I. 4/5]

4

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

I have comprised this entire language in eight books:

- 1st – Book of Words Vowel-Initial (*kitāb al-hamz*): we brought this to the fore, taking an augur from the Book of God Most High;
- 2nd – Book of Sound Words (*kitāb as-sālim*);
- 3rd – Book of Doubled Words (*kitāb al-muḍā'af*);
- 4th – Book of Words Initial-Weak (*kitāb al-miṭāl*);
- 5th – Book of Words Medial-Weak (*kitāb dawāt at-talāṭa*);
- 6th – Book of Words Final-Weak (*kitāb dawāt al-arba'a*);
- 7th – Book of Nasal Words (*kitāb al-ḡunna*);
- 8th – Book of Words Joining Two Unvowelled Consonants (*kitāb al-jam' bayn as-sākinayn*).

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

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

[I. 5/6]

5

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

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

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

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

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

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

[I. 7/8]

6

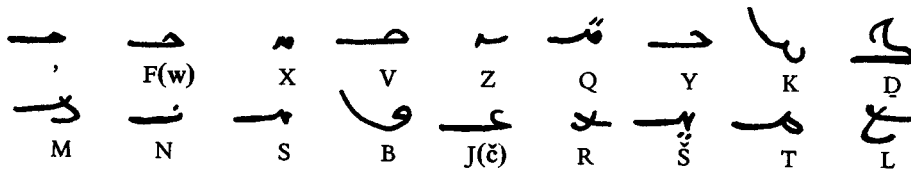
which they coin according to the ways of wisdom, both in adversity and in felicity, and which are handed down from speaker to transmitter. And I have gathered therein much-repeated matters, and famous expressions. Thus has the book attained the utmost of excellence, and the extreme of refinement.

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

Concerning the Letters on which the Dialects are Based

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

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



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

There are also seven other, secondary, letters, which are not differentiated in the script, though the dialects cannot do without them. They are: the hard *bā'*² (p); the Arabic *ġīm*, which is rare³ in this language; the *zāy* produced between the points of articulation for *zāy* and *šīn* (ž); the Arabic *fā'*; the dotted *ḡayn*;⁴

[I. 8/9]

7

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

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

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

All of the letters may be written.

[I. 9/10]

8

in the following vox memoriae when joined together.

-
2. MS. *yā'*.
 3. MS. *ḡarīza*, read 'azīza.
 4. MS. 'ayn. The "dot" distinguishes *ḡayn* from 'ayn in Arabic script; in Uighur script Γ is written with the sign for X and Q.
 1. Final *sukūn* (·) in each case altered from U.

(*'awaxa vasaqa yakada manaza bacara šatala*)

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

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

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

On Deverbal Nouns

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

[I. 10/11]

9

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

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

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

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

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

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

Example of *tā'* :: QAJUT· *qačut* "Pursuit," from: QAJ·DIY *qačdi* "He fled." And "a garment" is called: KADUT· *kādūt*, from: KAD·TIY *kādti* "He put on the garment."

[I. 12/12]

10

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

Example of *šin* :: BILIŠ· *biliš* "One with whom [you have] acquaintance," from: BIL·DIY *bildi* "He was acquainted." And "war and strife" is called: 'UVRUŠ· TUQUŠ· *ūruš toquš*, from: 'UVR·DIY *ūr̄di* "He struck," and from: TUQIYDIY *toq̄di* also "He struck."

There are three usages of the *γayn*.

1) It is added to verbal roots to form nouns. Example: something "clean" is called: 'ARIF· *ariγ*, from: 'ARIN·DIY [sic] NA'N·K *ar̄di nāṅ* "The thing was clean." And something "dry" is called: QURUT· *quruγ*, from: QURIYDIY *qur̄di* "It dried."

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

3) It is added to verbal roots, fixed with *vāv*, in all of the Turkic dialects [sic], to form nouns of instrument. Example :: BIYJ·ΓV *bič̄γu* "Name of the instrument with which something is cut," from: BIYJ·DIY *bič̄di* "He cut." :: 'UR·ΓV NA'NK· *uryu nāṅ* "Something with which a thing is beaten," from: 'UR·DIY *ur̄di* "He beat." In this last usage it alternates with thin *kāf*. Example :: KAS·KUV NA'NK *kāsgū nāṅ* "Something

[I. 13/13]

11

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

The Oγuz, for this usage, have *alif* in place of *γayn* or *kāf*, and *šin* and *yā'* in place of *vāv*. Example :: YA'IPA'J·¹ BIJA'SIY NA'NK *yīyāč bič̄āsi nāṅ* "Something with which to cut wood." :: 'UTVNG· KASA'SIY BAL·DUV *otūṅ kāšāsi baldu* "An ax used to cut firewood." Nouns of time and place, and the infinitive [sic], are formed on the same pattern. Between the Khāqānī Turks, etc., on the one hand, and

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

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

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

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

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

[I. 15/15]

12

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

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

Example of *mīm* :: YADIM yađim “Carpet,” from: YAD·TIY yađti “He spread it out.” And “a slice of melon” is called: BIYR· BIYJIM· QA'ΓUVN· bir bičim qāyün, from: BIYJ·DIY bičdi “He cut.”

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

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

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

On the Scope of Word Patterns

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

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

Quadrilateral. ::

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

YAFMUR· *yaγmur* “Rain.” JAF·MUR *čaγmur* “Turnip.”

Quinquiliteral. :: QURUF·SA'Q *quruyṣāq* “Stomach.” QUḌUR·FA'Q· *quḌuryāq* “One of the two tails of a gown.”

Sextiliteral. The “girth” of a saddle is: KUMUL·DURUK· *kö müldürük*. The “crupper” is: QUḌUZ·FUVN· *quḌuzγün*.

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

There is no pattern beyond the septiliteral.

On Nominal Augments

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

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

Example of *līn*: “a protected place or reserve” is called: QURIYF· *qorīγ*. Something “clean” is: 'ARIYF· *arīγ*. Something “ready” is: 'ANUVQ· *anūq*. “A witness” is: TANUVQ· *tanūq*.

Example of *hamza*: “a stallion” is called: 'AD·FIR· *aḏγir*. “Rhubarb” is: 'ŠFVN *išγün*.

Example of *nūn*: “A smith’s hammer” is called: BAZ·FA'N *bazyan*. “Eroded land” is: QAZF'N· *qazγān*.

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

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

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

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

On Verbal Augments and their Formation

Verbs [i.e., verbal stems] may be biliteral, triliteral, quadriliteral, quinquiliteral, or sextiliteral.

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

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

The *tā'* is used to transitive a verb. Example :: TARIḤ·'ARIḤIY *tariy aritti* "He cleaned the wheat (or other)"; :: TUVN· QURUḤY *tōn qurutti* "He dried the garment (or other)." The respective roots are: 'ARIYDIY *arīdi* "It was clean," and: QURIYDIY *qurīdi* "It dried."

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

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

It may also be added with the meaning of [the Arabic pattern] *tafā'ul*, when one pretends¹ to perform a certain action, but does not actually do so. Example :: 'UL MAN·DIYN· YARMA'Q·'ALIM·SIN·DY *ol māndin yarmāq alimsindi* "He pretended to take from me the dirham (or other)." :: 'UL MAN·K· KULUM·SIN·DY *ol maṇa kūlūmsindi* "He [pretended] to laugh at me."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[I. 21/22]

16

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

The *yā'* is compounded with *lām* for verbs meaning that the action was about to be performed but had not yet taken place. Example :: 'UL TUR'ḠA'LIY QAL'DIY ol turḡāli qaldi "He was about to stand up."¹ :: 'UL BARḠA'LIY QAL'DIY ol barḡāli qaldi "He was about to go but had not yet gone."

Learn these principles!

On the Order of the Patterns

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

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

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

On the Order of Letters

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

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

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

On Adjectivals that are not Mentioned

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

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

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

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

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

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

5) The participle expressing that one is about to perform the action. Example :: MAN 'AWKA' BARIYΓ·LIY MAN *män äwkä bariyli män* "I am about to come to you."¹

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

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

18 1. See note to previous page.

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

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

On Infinitives that are not Mentioned

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

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

Examples of the infinitive

[I. 25/26]

19

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

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

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

3. MS. 'ābir, read *yābir*.

On What is Mentioned in the Book and What is Not

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

[I. 26/27]

20

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

Foreign words in this language are not mentioned.

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

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

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

[In the following list] I outline the geographical position of each of their tribes in the eastern world.¹ They are listed in order [from West] to East, both pagan and Muslim, beginning with those closest to Rūm. First is: BAJANAK' bācanāk, then: QIFJA'Q' qifcāq, then: 'UĞUZ' oğuz, then: YAM'K' yemāk, then: BAŞĞIR'T' başyirt, then: YAS'MIL² basmil, then: QA'Y' qāy, then: YABA'QUV yabāqu, then: TATA'R' tatār, then: QIR'QIZ qirqiz. The last one is closest to Şin.

[I. 28/28]

21

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

Then: JIKIL čigil, then: TUXSY tuxsi, then: YAĞM' yağma, then: 'ĞRA'Q oğrāq, then: JARUQ čaruq, then: JUMUL čömül, then: 'UY'ĞUR uyyur, then: TANKUT tañut, then: XITA'Y xitāy which is Şin, then: TWĜA'J tawğāč which is Māşin. These tribes are middling between South and North.

Each of them is shown in the following circle (map).¹

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

2. Y altered from B as throughout the text.

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

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

On the Turkic Dialects

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

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

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

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

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

The Uighur have a pure Turkic language, and also another language which they speak among themselves. [And they have two] writing systems, one in the Turkic script composed of twenty-five¹ letters which I have enumerated above [6] and in which their correspondence is written, and another which they have in common with Sin and in which they write their scriptures and registers — no one can read it except their priests.

Those that

I have named to this point are sedentary peoples.

Among the nomadic peoples are the Čömül — they have a gibberish (*raṭāna*) of their own, but also know Turkic; also Qāy, Yabāqu, Tatār and Basmīl¹ — each of these groups has its own language, but they also know Turkic well.

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

Approaching these is the language of Yemāk and Bašyirt.

24 1. MS. "twenty-four."

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

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

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

The lightest of the dialects is that of Oγuz. The most correct is that of Yaγma and Tuxsi, and those who dwell on the rivers Īla, Ärtis, Yamār and Ätil, as far as the country of Uighur. The most elegant is that of the Khāqānī kings and those who associate with them.

The people of Balāsāyūn speak both Soghdian and Turkic. The same is true of the people of Țirāz (Talas) and the people of Madīnat al-Bayḏā' (Isbijāb).

There is a slurring (*rikka*) in the speech of the people of the entire country of Aryu, which is considered to extend from Isbijāb to Balāsāyūn.

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

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

On Dialectal Differences

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

[I. 31/31]

26

by virtue of alternation or elision.

Thus, the Oγuz and Qifčāq change every *yā'* at the beginning of a word, whether nominal or verbal, into *alif* or *jīm*. For example, the Turks say: YAL·KIN *yelgin* for "traveller"; they say: 'ALKIN *elgin*. 0 The Turks call "warm water": YILIF SUVV¹ *yiliy sūw*; they say: 'ILIF *iliy* with *alif*. Likewise, the Turks call "a pearl": YIN·JUV *yinčü*; according to them it is: JINJUV *jinčü*. And the Turks call "the long hair of a camel": YUḐ·DUV *yoydu*; with them it is: JUḐ·DUV *joydu*. 0

The Aryu change every medial or final *yā'* to *nūn*. For example, the Turks call a "sheep": QUVY· qōy; they say: QUVN· qōn. The Turks call "a poor man": JJYḐA·Y· čiyāy; they say: JJḐA·N· čiyān. And the Turks say: Q'YUV NA·NK qāyu nāḥ meaning "which thing?"; they say: QA·NUV qānu with *nūn*.

3. *maḥḏūfa al-aṭraf 'alā namaṭ wāḥid*. This has been translated as follows: "aber in ein- und derselben Weise verstümmelt" (C. Brockelmann, "Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī über die Sprachen und die Stämme der Türken im 11. Jahrh.," *Körösi-Csoma Archivum* I.1, 1921, p. 38); "mit gleichmässiger Elidierung der Suffixe" (O. Pritsak, "Kāshgharīs Angaben über die Sprache der Bolgaren," *ZDMG* 109, 1959, p. 106); "bir düzüye kelimelerin sonu kısaltılmış" (Tercüme I, 30).

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

The Oγuz, Qifčāq and Suvārīn change every initial *mīm* to *bā*'. For example, the Turks say: MAN BARDIM *mān bardīm* meaning "I went"; these groups say: B_{AN} BARDUM *bān bardum*. 0 The Turks call "broth": MUVN_̄ *mūn*; this class call it: BUVN_̄ *būn*. 0

The Oγuz and those who follow them change every *tā*' to *dāl*. Thus, the word for "camel" is: TAWAY *tewe* but they call it: DAVAY *dāvā*. Also, the Turks call a "hole": 'UVT_̄ *ūt*; they say: 'UVD_̄ *ūd*. [However,] most *dāl*'s among the genuine Turks correspond to *tā*' in Oγuz dialect.² For example, the Turks say: BUGDA' *bōgdā* for "dagger"; with them it is: BUKTA' *bōgtā*. 0 The "service tree" is: YIKDA' *yigdā* in Turkic; in Turkmān-Oγuz it is: YIGTA' *yigtā*. What I leave unmentioned is according to this rule.

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

[I. 33/31]

27

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

The Yaγma, Tuxsi, Qifčāq, Yabāqu, Tatār, Qāy, Čömül and Oγuz all agree in changing every dotted *dāl* to *yā*'. They never pronounce it *dāl*. For example, all those other than this class call the "birch": QADING¹ *qadīn*; these groups call it: QAYING¹ *qayīn*. 0 And "an inlaw" is called: QADIN' *qadīn*; but by them: QAYIN' *qayīn*.

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

In summary, the *dāl* of the Čigil dialect corresponds to *yā*' in the dialects of Yaγma, Tuxsi, Oγuz, and part of Arγu going up to Šīn; and to *zāy* in the dialect of Qifčāq, etc., going down² to Rūm. We shall explain everything in its proper place.

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

The *rā*' may alternate with

2. In MS. this is turned around.

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

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

[I. 34/33]

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

The Oğuz change every *γayn*¹ in nouns of time and place to *alif*. Thus, the Turks say: BAR'ΓUV YIYR' *baryu yēr* meaning “A place of going”; the Oğuz change this to: BARA'SIY YIYR *barāsi yēr*. The Turks say: TUR'ΓUV 'UΓVR' *turyu uyūr* meaning “The time for standing”; the Oğuz say: TURA'SIY 'UΓVR' *turāsi uyūr*. 0

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

This completes the topic of alternation of letters.

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

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

For the sake of lightness and conciseness I have put together in a single line all the chapters of the *fath*, the *ḍamm*, and the *kasr*.²

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

[I. 37/34]

29

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

Book of Vowel-Initial (*hamz*) Nouns

Chapter of Biliterals

B

28 1. MS. 'ayn.

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

'B' **äp** A particle of emphasis and exaggeration. To exaggerate in describing something as good :: 'AB' 'ADKV N'NK **äp ädgü nāñ** "A very (*jidd^{an}*) good thing." 0 **äp**

:: 'AB' 'AQ' **ap aq** "Very pure (*nāṣi' jidd^{an}*) white." Oryuz dialect. **ap D**

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

'UB' **üp** A particle of emphasis for colors. Thus, in Čigil dialect :: 'UB' 'URUNG¹ **üp üriñ** "Pure (*yaqaq*) white." **üp D**

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

'UP' **op** – with hard *bā'* – "Threshing ox (*ar-rākis min aṭ-ṭirān*)." Arḡu dialect. **op**

T

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

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

'UT' **ot** "Plant (*nabt*)." :: 'UT' 'UNDY **ot öndi** "The plant grew." **ot**

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

'UT' **ot** "Medicine (*dawā*)." Thus :: 'UT' 'IJ·TIM **ot ičtim** "I drank the medicine." From this comes the word for "doctor (*ṭabīb*)": 'UT'JY **otāci**. 0

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

'IT' **it** "Dog (*kalb*)." **it**

J

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

'UJ' **üč** The number "three (*ṭalāṭa*)." **üč**

Thus :: 'UJ' YARMA'Q üč yarmāq "Three dirhams." 0

'UJ' uč — with *išbā'* of the *alif* — A well-known city.

uč N

'UJ' uč A mountain tree from which are made pens for writing Turkic; also spindles and staffs are made from it.

'IJ' ič "The inner part (*bātin*)" of anything. Hence "a girdle (*wišāḥ*)" is called: 'IJ' QUR_ ič qur meaning "inner belt"; and "a secret (*sirr*)" is called: 'IJ' SUVZ_ ič sōz meaning "inner words." 'IJ' 'AT' ič āt "The tender meat attached to the liver."

ič

R

'AR' är "Man (*raḡul*)."¹ The plural is: 'ARAN ärän which is irregular, since the plural marker is: LA'R_ -lār.

är

'IR' ir A particle alluding to shame. Thus :: 'AR' 'IR' BULDY ar ir boldi "The man was ashamed (*xajila*)."

ir

Z

'UZ' üz "Grease (*dasam*)."² Hence :: 'UZLUK MUVN_ üzliḡ mün "Greasy (*dasima*) soup."

üz

S

'US' us "Discrimination (*tamyız*) between good and evil." Oḡuz dialect. Thus :: 'UL 'US' BULDY ol us boldi "He discerned (*aqila*) good from evil."

us

D

'AS' äs "The prey (*jazar*) of beasts of prey." 0

äs

'US' üs "Vulture (*nasr*)."³ 0

Verse:

üs

KLDY MANK' T'T
'A'Y'DYM 'M'DY YA'T
QUŠ'QA' BULUB' 'AT
SNY TILA'R 'US' BURY

käldi maḡa tāt
aydīm amdi yāt
qušqa bolup āt
sani tilār üs böri

V

"An Uighur infidel came to me;
I killed him and made him prey
for vultures."¹

[A Tat came to me
I said, "Now lie down!"²
Be meat for the birds
May vultures and wolves seek you."]

30 1. Gloss: "and beasts of prey."
2. Or possibly: "Now, foreigner!"

Š

'UŠ oš A particle meaning "thus (*hākādā*).": 'UŠ MUNDAΓ QYL oš munday qīl "Do thus." oš

'UŠ oš A particle meaning "now (*al-ān*).": 'UŠ KALDUKUM BUV oš kāldüküm bu "I have just come (*haḏūrī al-ān*)."

'UŠ 'UŠ oš oš A particle used to incite oxen to drink water.

'UŠ öš "The core (*qalb*)" of a tree or branch or horn. Thus :: MUNKUZ 'UŠY münüz öš "Core of a horn." Also the "tail bone (*asib aq-danab*)" of a bird or a horse is called: 'UŠ öš.

'IŠ iš "Soot (*sināj*)" of a lamp; "smoke (*duxān*)" found on a wall, or other. Thus :: TUVN' IŠ BULDY tōn iš boldi "The garment was sooted with smoke (*tadaxxana*)."

[I. 40/37]

31

Q

'UQ oq "Arrow (*sahm*)."

oq

'UQ¹ oq "Beam (*jā'iza*) of a house." Thus :: 'AW² 'UQ_{IY} āw oqi "Beam (*sahm*) of a house." 0

'UQ' YILA'N oq yilān "A viper (*af'ā*) which hurls itself at a man."

'UQ oq "Lot (*qur'a*)" used in dividing up lands or shares of property.

'UQ' oq A verbal emphatic particle. Thus :: BARΓIL 'UQ' baryil oq "Do go! (*iḏhabanna*)."

'UQ oq A particle which accompanies circumstantial expressions. Thus :: BAYA' 'UQ' KALDIYM baya oq kāldim "I came just now (*qabla hāḏihi s-sā'a ḥaqīqatan*).": 'AM'DY 'UQ' 'AY'DYM amdi oq aydīm "I said just now (*sā'at'idīn*)."

'IQ' iq "Hiccup (*rabw*) arising from the chest when one drinks cold water and eats bread on top of it." Thus :: 'ANY 'Q TUTY ani iq tutti "He had hiccups." iq

L

'UL' ol A particle expressing the meaning "he (*huwa*).": 'UL 'ANDAΓ 'AY'DY ol anday aydi "Thus said he."

-
- 31 1. Q altered to W by later hand (addition of one dot in brown ink).
2. W altered from Q by later hand (one dot in brown ink).

'UL ol A particle alluding to the meaning "that (*dāka*)" also. :: 'UL 'AR' ol är "That (*dālika*) man."

'UL ol An emphatic particle added to nouns or verbs. Thus :: 'UL MANK 'UFLUM 'UL ol mänig oylum ol "He is definitely (*ḥaqīqatan*) my son." 0 :: 'UL 'AWK' BARMİŶŞ 'UL' ol äwkä barmiş ol "He definitely went home."

M

'AM' äm "Medicine (*'ilāj*)." Hence "a medicine man (*mu'ālij*)" is called: 'AM'JY ämçi. äm

'AM am "Vulva (*jahāz al-mar'a*)." Oğuz and Qifčāq dialect. 0 am D

'UM üm "Trousers (*sarāwīl*)." üm

'IM' im "Password (*amāra*)" which the king designates among his troops; it is the name of a bird or a weapon, or some other word, used as a challenge (?)³ when two groups meet, so that each party may know their own men in order not to attack one another by mistake. When two men meet at night one asks the other the signal (*'alāma*), and, if he answers with the right password, he lets him pass since he is of the same party; but if the one challenged mentions a signal which is different from the password of the challenger, he attacks him. Proverb: 'IM' BIL'SA' 'AR' 'ULM'S im bilsä är ölmäs 0 im P

[I. 42/38] 32

"If a man knows the signal he won't be killed" — by mistake at the hand of one who will recognize it.

N

'UN' ün "Voice (*şawt*)." It is permitted to say: 'UVN ün. ün

Doubled

'AĀRA arra "Urine (*bawīl*)." This is a particle used to incite an ass to leap the female; one repeats it two or three times until he leaps. This agrees with Arabic, since *arr* means "copulation" in Arabic. 0 arra

'UĀRA urra "Hernia (*udra*)," in men. Oğuz dialect. urra D

'IĀRA irra "Shame (*xajla*)." This may occur either light [i.e. 30 ir] or heavy [i.e. irra]. irra

Final Weak

3. MS. *y.t.f.'.k*, probably in error for *yutasā'alu* (or possibly *yutafa'alu*).

” ā A particle expressing bewilderment. Thus :: ’UL MĀNY ” QILDY ol māni ā qildi
 “He made me bewildered (*mutaḥayyir*):” 0 ā

’UV¹ ū “Sleep (*nawm*).” Hence :: ’UDĪYDIYM uđidīm “I slept (*nimtu*).” The *vāv*
 drops because it falls between *ḍamma* (U) and *kasra* (I). 0 ū

’UVA² ū (?) A particle of response to a caller. If a person is addressed, “O Muḥam-
 mad!,” then he responds: ’UVA² ū meaning “What do you command?” ū ?

ū³ “Surety (*kafāla*).” :: MAN ’ANY ’UVQA’ ’AL’DIM mǎn ani ūqa aldim “I stood
 surety (*kafaltu*) for him.” 0 ū

’AṼV⁴ ō – with *išbā’* of the *alif* – A particle of refusal of an order. 0 ō

’AIY₂ ē (?) “An orange-colored brocade.” 0 ’AY₂ BİTİK₂Y ē bitigi Name of a roll
 (*tūmār*) in which are written the provisions (pay? [*arzāq*]) of the troops and their names. 0 ē ?

’IY₂ ī An utterance of refusal (*inkār*), like: ’UAV₂ ō. ī

Nasal

’ANG⁵ āṅ “Cheek (*xadd*).” :: QIZIYL ’ANG⁵ qizīl āṅ “Red cheek.” āṅ

’ANAG⁵ aṅ Name of a bird whose fat is used as a medicine. When the palm of the hand
 is coated with it, it penetrates to the other side. 0 aṅ

’ANG⁵ aṅ An Oğuz particle meaning “no (*lā*).” When a person is ordered to do some-
 thing he says: ’ANK ’ANK aṅ aṅ meaning “No no.” 0 D

’UNG⁵ öṅ “Front (*qudām*).” :: ’UL MINDĀ⁶ ’UNKDUN BAR’DIY ol mindā öṅdün
 bardī “He went in front of (*quddām*) me.” 0 öṅ

’UNG⁵ öṅ “The color (*lawn*)” of a thing. :: YA’ŞİL ’UNK LUK₂ TUVN₂ yāşil öṅlüg tōn
 “A green-colored garment.” 0

’UVNG⁵ ’IYŞ on iş “An easy (*sahl*) matter.” It is the shortened form of: ’UNGA₂’Y₂⁵
 onāy. 0 on

’UNG⁵ ’ALIK₂ on ālig “The right (*yummā*) hand.” Čigil dialect. 0 D

32

1. Marginal gloss: ’UDUV.
2. Final *alif* (’) apparently added later.
3. Entry word missing; marginal gloss: ’VQ’. On these words, see ED. 1.
4. U crossed out and A added by later hand (brown ink).
5. G altered from K by later hand (three dots in brown ink).
6. Second A added by later hand in brown ink (to indicate nunnation, thus: *mindān*).

End of Biliteral Chapters

Chapters of Triliterals

Chapter: *fa'l, fu'l, fi'l*, quiescent second radical, in its various vocalizations

B

'AL'B' alp "Brave (*šujā'*)." Proverb: 'AL'B' YAŦIYDA' 'AL'JAQ JUIYDA' alp yaŦida
alčaq čoŦida "The warrior (*baŦal*) (is tested only) when he confronts the enemy (just as the for-
bearance of) the gentle (is tried) in a dispute." Verse: P

'AL'B' 'AR TUNK' 'ULDIYMU	alp är toŦa öldi mü	V
'YSYZ 'ŽVN QALDIYMU	ēsiz aŦün qaldi mu	
'UD'LAK 'UVJIN 'ALDIYMU	ödläg öčün aldi mu	
'AM'DY YURAK YIR'TILUVR	amdi yüräk yirilür	

"Has King Afrāsiyāb died? Does the wicked world remain (empty of him)? Has Time exacted its revenge upon him? Now the heart bursts (out of grief for his kingdom and out of rage against Time)."

T

'AR'T' SAJ' art sač "Hair of the nape (*qafā*)," since: 'AR'T' art is "neck (*raqaba*)."
art

'AR'T' art "Pass (*aqaba*) in the mountains." Proverb: 'AR'MAKUVKA' 'ŠIK 'AR'T
BULUVR' ärmägükä ešik art bolür "For the lazy man a threshold becomes a mountain pass." P

'UR'T' urt "Eye of a needle (*samm al-xiyāt*)."
urt

'UR'T' ört "Blazing fire (*ħariq*)."
ört

'AŠ'T ast "Alleys (*aziqqa*)."
ast D

D

'AN'D' and "Swearing an oath (*ħalif*)."
and

Q

'R'Q' arq "Feces (*ađira*)."
tämür arqi.

'URQ urq The lightened form of: 'URUQ uruq [45, "rope"] – in OŦuz dialect. This is
like [Arabic] 'unq and 'unuq ("neck").
0 urq D

'IR_Q_ irq "Divining, taking omens, drawing out what is hidden (*kahāna, fa'l, ixrāj ad-damīr*)."

K

'AR_K_ ärk "Authority; power to act (*salṭana; nafāḍ al-amr*)."

'UR_K_ örk "Halter (*zināq*)" for lambs; "tether (*ṭawīla*)" for horses.

'IR_K_ irk "A four-year-old sheep (*ḍa'n* [defined])."

'IL_K_ ilk "The first (*awwal*)" of anything. :: 'ILK SAN BAR_Γ_IYL ilk sän baryil "You go first."

Defective

B

One says to a man who brags about something and then is unable to prove it: 'UVB_ öb öb.

T

'UVT_ öt "Fire (*nār*)."

[I. 46/43] 34

Proverb: 'UVT_ TIYSA' 'AΓ_IYZ KUY_MA'S öt tēsā ayiz köymās 0 "If one says 'Fire' his mouth does not catch fire." This is coined about someone who apologizes for something he said. 0 P

'UVT_ üt "Hole (*taqb*)" in a wall or a piece of wood. With *šamma* of the *vāv*. 0 üt

'UVT_ öt "Gall (*marāra*)."

J

'UVJ_ öč "Seeking vengeance (*hiqd*)."

Verse: öč

'VJ KAK_QMUΓ KIŠY NINK YALINKUVQ 'UVZA' 'ALYM BYL V
'DKVLVKVK 'UVΓANJ' 'ALIKYNK BYL' TLYM QYL

öč kāk qamuγ kišiniγ yalñuq üzā alim bīl
ädgüüküg üγanča älgin bīlā tālim qil

"Vengeance (*ṭa'r*) is claimed like a debt, therefore guard against it by doing good to strangers and travellers as much as you can." 0

[Know that vengeance (hend.), of all people, is a debt claimed upon a man
Do good, as much as is in the power of your hand.]

'UVJ ūč The "extremity (*ṭaraf*)" of a thing. :: BUTAQ' 'UVJIY butaq ūči "End (*ṭaraf*)
of a branch." 0 ūč

'UVJ 'YL ūč ēl "Frontier (*ṭarṭ*)." 0

'UVJ ūč The "depletion (*nafād*)" of a thing. Oḡuz dialect. :: BUVY'DA' NA' 'UVJ D
BA'R bōyda nā ūč bār "There is no depletion in number (*nafād* . . . *katra^{tan}*) among the people."

D

'UVD' ōd "Time (*zamāna*)." With *šamma* of the *vāv*. Proverb: 'UVD' KAJ'R KIŠY ōd P
TUVY'MA'S' YALINKUVQ 'UVΓ'LIY MANK'KUV QALMA'S' ōd kăčār kiši tūymās, yalḡuq
ōyli māḡgü qalmās 0 "Time (*zamān*) passes and man does not perceive it, the sons of Adam do
not live forever."

'UVD' ūd "Ox (*baqar*)." Čigil dialect. :: 'UVD' YYLY ūd yīli One of the twelve years ūd D
in Turkic.

R

'UVR' 'AT' ōr at "A horse between sorrel and bay (*bayn al-ašqar wa-l-kumayt*)." ōr

'UVR' ōr – with *šamma* – The "waist (*maḡall al-xāsiratayn*)" of a cloak. 0 ōr

'YR' īr (ēr ?) "Awl (*miṭqab*)." īr (ēr?)

'YR' ēr "Ground (*arḡ*)." Variant of: YIYR¹ yēr. ēr D

Z

'UVZ ūz "Grease (*dasam*)." With *šamma*. Hence :: 'UVZ'LUK 'AŠ' ūzlug aš "Greasy ūz
(*dasim*) food." 0

'UVZ ūz "Deaf (*ašamm*)." :: 'UVZ KIŠY ūz kiši. 0

'UVZ' ōz "Self (*nafs*)." 0 Verse: ōz

KVRKLVK TUNVΓ 'VZVNK K'	körklüg tonüy özüñkä	V
TATLYΓ 'ŠYΓ 'ADIYN'Q'	tatliy ašiy ađınqa	
TUVTΓIYL' QUNUVQ 'AΓIYRLYΓ'	tütüyl qonüq ayırlıy	
YADSVVN JAWIYNK BUDUVN'QA'	yadsün çawıñ bođunqa	

“Put on fine garments for yourself; make tasty food as a portion for others; honor the guest, so that he spread your fame among the people.” 0

'UVZ: ōz “Valley (*wādī*) in the mountains.” ::

[I. 47/46]

35

TA'Γ: 'UVZIY tāy ōzi “Mountain valley.”

'UVZ: KIŠY ōz kiši “A person who is a kinsman (*qarīb*).” :: BUV BIZ'NIK' 'VZ: KIŠY 'UL bu biznig ōz kiši ol “This is one of our kinsmen.”

'UVZ: ōz “The heart and what is inside the belly (*al-qalb wa-mā taḥwī 'alayhi l-baṭn*).”
:: 'UVZUM 'AΓ'RIYDIY ōziüm aγrīdi “I have a belly-ache (*waja'a ma fi baṭni*).”

'UVZ: ōz “The core (*qalb*) of a tree” :: YIAΓ'J 'UVZIY yiγāč ōzi – like the pith (*jum-mār*) of a date palm, or the like. 0

'UVZ KIŠIY ūz kiši “A person who is skilled and expert in his craft (*san' al-yad, mahir fi hirfa*).” 0

ūz

'UVZ QUNUQY ōz qonuqi [“The soul's guest”] Name for “a part of the body that palpitates (*mā yaxtaliju min al-jasad*).” It is said to be the spirit (*rūh*). The following verse speaks of it in this sense. Verse:

ōz

BAR'DY KVZVM YARVQY
'AL'DIY 'UVZVM QUNUQY
QANDA' 'RNJ QANIYQY
'AM'DIY 'UVDIYN 'UVD'ΓURVR

bardi kōzūm yarūqi
aldi ōzūm qonuqi
qanda ārinē qanīqi
amdi ūdīn oqγurūr

V

“The delight of my eye has gone; he took away my spirit (when he departed). Where can he be now? He wakens me from sleep.”

š

'IYŠ iš “Work, affair (*'amal, amr*).” :: NA' 'IYŠING¹ BA'R na išin bār “What is your affair or your work?”

iš

'YŠ eš “Companion (*ṣāḥib*).” “One who has a familiar spirit (*ma'ahu tābi'a min al-jinn*)” is called: 'YŠLK ešlig. Verse:

eš

'NINK 'YŠYN KAJUVRDUM
'YŠYN YM' QJUVRDUM

aniḡ išin kāčūrdūm
ešin yemā qačūrdum

V

'VLVM 'VTIN 'IYJVRDUM
'YJ'TY BULUB YVZY TURN [sic]

ōlūm ōtin ičürdüm
īčti bolup yūzi turi

"I put an end to his affair (*amdaytu amrahu*) (by killing him); and I made his companion flee; I gave him the potion of death to drink; he drank it with a sour face." He means, "I made him taste death."

Γ

'UVI' ūγ "Any of the ribs (*dil'*) in the upper part of a tent."

ūγ

Q

'UVQ ōq "Share (*našib*) of an inheritance." Thus :: 'NK'R' BYR' 'UVQ' TKDY aṅār bīr
ōq tāgdi "He received a share of the inheritance."

ōq

K

'UVK ōg "Understanding (*'aql, fiṭna*)." From this comes the title: 'UVKA' ōgā for a
man of understanding and ripe old age.

ōg

One calls "any animal that has reached maturity (*intaşafa sinn, kabura*): 'UVK ōg. "A
four-year-old (*allađī jāwaza arba' sinīn*) horse" is called: 'UVK 'AT' ōg at. 0

'IYK īk "Spindle (*miγzal*)." A variant of: YYK yīk. 0

īk D

'IYK' īg "Sickness (*marad*)." 0

īg

[I. 49/48]

36

L

'UVL' ūl "The foundation (*uss*)" of any kind of wall. Thus :: T'M' 'UVLIY tām ūli
"Foundation of a wall." 0

ūl

'UVL' NA'NK' ōl nāṅ "Anything damp (*raṭb*)." Thus :: 'UVL' TUVN' ōl tōn "A damp
garment." The Oγuz do not know this word. 0

ōl

D

'IYL ēl "Realm or province (*walāya*)." :: BAK 'IYLIY beg ēli "The emir's realm or
province." 0

ēl

'YL ēl "Courtyard (*finā*)." Thus :: QABUΓ 'YLY qapuy ēli. 0

'YL ēl A word used for "horses (*xayl*)," since horses are the Turk's wing. Hence a
"groom (*sā'is*)" is called: 'IYL BAŠIY ēl baši which translates as "head of the realm or province"
but refers to a groom of horses.

'IYL: ēl “Peace (*ṣulḥ*) between two kings.” :: 'IYKY BAK BIYR·LA' 'IYL: BUL:DIY
ēki beg bīrlā ēl boldi “The two emirs made peace between themselves (*ṣālahā . . . ma'an*).”

'IYL: KIŠIY ēl kiši “A vile (*la'im*) man.”

'YL: QUVŠ: ēl qūš “Vulture (*raxma*).”

M

:: 'AR: 'UVM: BULDY ar ōm boldi “The man had upset stomach and sluggishness
(*ittaxama, ḡamīta*) from eating meat.” ōm

N

'UVN: ōn The number “ten (*ašara*).” 0 ōn

'UVN: ūn “Voice (*ṣawt*).” With long or short vowel. ūn

'UVN: ūn “Flour (*daqīq*).” 0 ūn

'IYN YIYR: ēn yēr “A downward slope (*habūṭ*) of the ground.”::'IYN YUQ ēn yoq “A
decline (*habṭa*) and an incline.” 0 ēn

'IYN: ēn The “breadth (*arḍ*)” of anything. :: BUṼ BUṼZ: 'IYNIY NJA' bu bōz ēni
nāčā “What is the breadth of this cloth?”

'IYN: īn The “den or lair (*arīn, wijār, ma'wā*) ” of a lion, fox, or any beast of prey.
You may say: YIYN: yīn with yā'. īn

'IYN īn “Sheep dung (*farṭ al-ḡanam*).” A variant of the form with yā' [i.e. yīn]. 0 D

Final Weak

Y

'UVY: ōy “Ravine (*al-huwwa fī l-ard*).” ōy

'UVY: 'AT: oy at “Ash-colored (*dayzaj*) horse.” 0

End of the chapters of the quiescent second radical.

Chapters of the Vowelled Second Radical

Chapter: *fa'al, fa'ul, fa'il*, vowelled second radical, in its various vocalizations

T

BYR: 'ADUT NA'NK: bīr aḍut nāḡ “A handful (*ḡafīna* [defined]) of something.” 0 aḍut

'RT 'T orut ot "Year-old dried grass (*dawīl* [defined])." 0

orut

'UJUT öcüt "Vengeance, desire for revenge (*ta'r, hiqd*)." Its root is: 'VJ öč. 0

öcüt

'UFUT uyut Name for a leaven (*xamīr*) used to make beer, as follows. Various herbs are mixed with flour made from sprouted barley; [the mixture] is then kneaded, cut into portions the size of hazelnuts, and left to dry. The resulting leaven is crumbled and sprinkled over wheat that has been cooked together with barley, in the ratio of one portion (lit. hazelnut) of leaven to one *mann* of cooked wheat. The wheat is then wrapped in something clean and left to ferment for three days, after which it is taken out and put into a vat and left to ferment for ten more days. Finally water is poured on top and it is strained. This is "wheat wine (*šarāb al-ḥinṭa*)." 0

uyut

'AWAT_ äwät A particle meaning "yes (*na'am*)." There are three variants. 'AWAT_ äwät belongs to Yağma, Tuxsi, Qifcāq and Oğuz.¹ 0 'MAT 'VAT_ YAMAT_ ämät, ävät, yämät belong to the rest of the Turks.

äwät

D

'UWUT_ uwut "Modesty (*ḥayā'*)." 0

uwut

'UWUT[sic] oqut "Invitation or summons (*da'wa*)," to a meal or a sultan. 0

oqut

'KIT ägit A medicine which is rubbed on the faces of babies to ward off demonic possession and evil eye. It is made from herbs mixed with saffron, or the like.

ägit

'UKUT_ ögüt "Advice (*'iḫa*)." 0

Verse:

ögüt

'LFLYL 'UKUT MINDYN 'UFLVL 'AR'DAM TIYLA'
BVY'DA' 'UVLΓ BILKA' BULUB BILKYNK 'UVLA'

V

alyıl ögüt mindin oyl ärdäm tilä
böyda uluy bilgä bolup bilgın ülä

"Take counsel from me, my son, and seek virtue, so that you become a chief of the people and dispense wisdom and virtue among them." 0

'UKIT_ ögit "Grinding (*ṭaḥn*)" of grain, or other. 'UKIT'JIY ögitçi "Grinder (*ṭāḥin*)." ²

ögit

'AIKAT_ egät "The maidservant (*xādima*) sent with the bride on the night of the nuptial procession to serve her."

egät

'YKIT İgit "Lie (*kaḍib*)." Oğuz dialect. Hence :: 'IKT SUVZ_ igit söz "Lying words."

İgit

37 1. Originally *wa-l-ğuzziyya*, changed to *wa-li-l-ğuzziyya* by later hand (brown ink). The text is confused.

2. In MS. this entry comes before the verse s.v. ögüt.

3. MS. *qatl*.

'ULUT' ölüť "Killing (*qitāl*)." Hence "a killer (*qātil*)"³ is called: 'ULUTJY ölüťči. ölüť

'ULUT 'AR' olut är "A man who is mature, in his prime (*kahl, tārr*)." 0 olut

[I. 52/52]

38

J

'ATAJ' 'UΓUVL atač oγül A boy who acts like an old man (*mutašayyix*), as though he were "father of the people." atač

'TJ ätič "The hole used as a target in the children's game of 'walnuts' (*mizdāt* [define])." ätič
0

'IŠIJ ešič "Kettle (*qidr*)." Proverb: 'ŠIJ 'AYUVR' TUVBUM' 'ALTUVN' QMIJ ešič
'AYUVR' MAN QANDA'¹ MAN ešič ayūr tūpüm altün, qamič ayūr män qanda män "The kettle P
claims its bottom is gold, the ladle says, 'Where am I?' " 0 This is coined about someone who
brags in the presence of one who knows him. 0

'KAJ' äkäč A little girl who acts sagely, as though she were "sister of the people (*uxt al-qawm*)." She is given this name as a sign of affection. 0 äkäč

'AMAJ' amač "Target (*hadaf*)." amač

'AMAJ amač "Plow (*faddān* [defined])." 0

'ULJ olič A particle of affectionate address for sons. :: 'ULJM oličim "My dear son (*bunayya*)." Qarluq dialect. 0 olič
D

'ANAJ anač A little girl who acts sagely, as though she were "mother of the people (*umm al-qawm*)." She is given this name as a sign of affection. 0 anač

'ANUJ anüč "Cataract on the eye (*zafra al-'ayn*)." anüč

R

'AFIR' ayir Anything "heavy (*ṭaqīl*)." A person who is "honored (*mukarram*)" by a ayir
people or an emir is called: 'AFIYR' LIYΓ' KIŠY ayīrlīy kiši. :: TANKRY MANIY 'AFIYR' LA'DIY tāñri māni ayīrlādi "God honored (*akrama*) me." When a portion of the night
(*hudū*² *min al-layl*) has passed, one says: 'AFIYR' ADA'Q 'AM'RUL'DY ayīr adāq amrułdi (P)
meaning, "The heavy foot is still"; the intention is, "He has reached the way-station, though his
journey was slow." 0

38 1. QANDA' altered to QAY'DA' by later hand (brown ink).

2. MS. *huduww*.

'AḠIYR: NA'NK: ayır nāñ "A high-priced (*ḡālī fī t-taman*) object." 0

'UḠUR 'AT: oyar at "Horse with a blaze on the forehead (*aḡarr*)." This word agrees with the Arabic in sound and sense, except that the *alif* has *fathā* in Arabic and *ḡamma* in Turkic. 0 oyar

'UḠUR: uḡur "Time (*waqt*)." :: NA' 'UḠUR'DA' KAL'DIYNK: nā uḡurda kâldiñ "At what time did you come?" 0 uḡur

'UḠUR: uḡur "Reign (*dawla*)." :: BAK 'UḠURIYN'DA' MANIK: 'IYŠIYM 'IYṬIL'DIY beg uḡurında mârîḡ isîm êtildi "My affairs prospered during the reign of the emir." 0

[I. 54/53]

39

'UḠUR: uḡur "Opportunity (*imkān, furṣa*)" for a thing. Hence :: BV 'YŠ 'UḠUR'LUḠ BUL'DIY bu iş uḡurluy boldi "This matter became opportune." 0

'UḠUR: uḡur "Compensatory gift (*iwaḡ*)." Oḡuz dialect. :: 'AT'QA' 'UḠUR 'AL'DIYM atqa uḡur aldîm "I received a compensatory gift for the horse." 0 D

'UḠUR: uḡur "Good fortune (*xayr, baraka*)." Oḡuz dialect. One says to a traveller: YUVL: 'UḠUR BUL'SUVN yöl uḡur bolsün "May the journey be fortunate." This expression is used only in the case of travel. 0 D

'AKIR äḡir "Galingale (*wajj*)," which is used as a medicine for stomach ache. Proverb: 'AKIR BULSA' 'AR: 'UL'MA'S: äḡir bolsa är ölmäs 0 "If a man has galingale he won't die" from stomach ache, since he can take it and find relief. [This is coined] as advice to prepare for something before the need for it arises. 0 äḡir P

'UGUR: üḡür "Millet (*duxn*)." Among the Turks; the Oḡuz do not know this. 0 üḡür D

YA'Ṭ: 'UKRY yāy üḡüri "Sesame (*simsim*)." Oḡuz dialect. D

'UGUR: öḡür Any "flock (*sirb, qaṭî*)," of sheep, antelope, slave-girls, grouse, or camels. 0 öḡür

'AMIR: imir "Gloom, mist (*dajn, ḡabāb*)." Oḡuz dialect. imir D

Z

'UBUZ: obuz "Any roughness of terrain (*kull ḡilaz min al-arḡ*)." Hence :: 'UVY 'UBUZ öy obuz "Rugged land (*ḡā'it wa-fadfad*)." 0 obuz

- 39
1. First *alif* (') added by later hand (brown ink).
 2. Z altered from R (dot added in brown ink).

'ATIZ atiz "A strip of land between two embankments (*kull šaṭba min al-arḍ bayn al-'arimayn*)."

'UJUZ NA'NK uĉuz nāṅ "Something cheap (*raxīṣ*)."

And a "despicable (*ḍalīl, muhān*)" person is called: 'UJUZ: uĉuz. Hence :: BAK 'ANY 'UJUZ:LA'DIY beg ani uĉuzlādi "The emir belittled (*ahāna*) him."

'UDUZ: uḍuz "Mange (*jarab*)."

Proverb [= 446 yin]: TLKV 'VZ 'YNIKA'¹ 'UR:SA' 'UDUZ:² BULVR tilkü ōz yinka ūrsa uḍuz bolūr 0 "When a fox yelps at its own den he becomes mangy (*yajrabu*)."

This is coined about someone who blames his own tribe or clan or city, to rebuke him and his fault-finding.


Any ground, or other, that is "raised (*murtafi'*)" is called: 'ADIYZ YZR āḍiz yēr. 'DIYZ T'Γ'āḍiz tāy "An inaccessible (*māni'*) mountain."

'AΓUŽ aγuž "Beestings (*libā'*)."

With *žāy* between the two points of articulation. Pronunciation with regular *zāy* [i.e. aγuz] is permitted.


[I. 55/55]

'AΓIZ:¹ aγiz "Mouth (*fūha*) of a river; mouth (*fam*) of a waterskin or a wire jug or a well." 0 'AΓIZ: aγiz "Mouth (*fam*) of a man or animal." Proverb: 'AΓIZ YIYSA' KVZ: 'UYA'DUVR: aγiz yeṣā kōz uyaḍūr 0 "When the mouth eats the eye is ashamed." This is coined about someone who has "eaten" another person's gift and then is ashamed for failing to do what he should in return.


'UΓUZ: oγuz A tribe of the Turks; the Turkmān. They consist of twenty-two branches, each of which has a distinctive brand (*'alāma, sima*) on its animals by which it is known from the others. The chief of them is: QINIQ: qiniq to which our present sultans belong; 0 the brand on their animals is .

The second is: QAYIΓ qayiy. Their brand is .

The third is: BA'YUN'DUR: bāyundur. Their brand is .

The fourth is: 'IWA' ewā – with *hamza*, or else with *yā'*: YW' yewā. Their brand is .


The fifth is: SAL'ΓUR: saγur. Their brand is .


The sixth is: 'AF'ŠA'R: afšār. Their brand is .


The seventh is: BAKTILY bāktili. Their brand is .

The eighth is: BUK'DUZ: bügdüz. Their brand is .


- 40
1. Z altered from R by later hand (dot added in brown ink).
 2. Brands are in red ink; numbers over brands are in pencil.


The ninth is: BAYĀ'T_ bayāt. Their brand is .


The tenth is: YAZĠIR yazġir. Their brand is .

The eleventh is: 'AY·MUR äymür. Their brand is .


The twelfth is: QR'BULK qara bölük. Their brand is .

The thirteenth is: 'L·QA' BULUK alqa bölük. Their brand is .

The fourteenth is: 'IK·DIĀR_ igdir. Their brand is .

The fifteenth is: 'URAKIR_ ürägir — the hamza alternates with yā': YURAKIR_ yürägir. Their brand is .

The sixteenth is: TUVTIR·Q' tütirqa. Their brand is .


The seventeenth is: 'UVLA' YUNDLUĠ üla yondluy. Their brand is .


The eighteenth is: TUVKĀR_ tögär — the vāv may drop: TUKĀR_ tögär. Their brand is

[I. 57/57]

41

18.

The nineteenth is: BAJANĀK_ bācānāk. Their brand is .

The twentieth is: JUVṢL·DAR_¹ čuvuldar. Their brand is .

The twenty-first is: JAB·NY čāpni. Their brand is .

The twenty-second is: JARUQLUĠ čaruqluy. They are few in number and their brand is unknown. 0

Maḥmūd says: I have mentioned all of these subtribes because they must be known. These brands are all signs of their animals and horses. Each branch knows its cattle by means of these signs when they mingle.

These are the principle subtribes. Then each subtribe is composed of sub-branches, which I have omitted for the sake of brevity. The names of these subtribes are the names of their ancestors who gave birth to them in olden times. They trace back their ancestry to them, just as among the Arabs one says "Banū Salīm" or "Banū Khafāja." 0

3. Brand in margin, now invisible because of repair on the MS.

41 1. A altered from U by later hand (brown ink); second U crossed out (? — unclear).

'UKUZ ögüz Any "flowing river (*wādī jāri*)," such as the Jayhūn (Oxus) or the Euphrates. When this word is used in a specific sense among the Oğuz it applies to a river called Wādī Banākat [Syr Darya?]; their cities are along it, and those among them who are nomadic camp along its banks. This word is used in the names of many rivers in the lands of the Turks; also of a frontier town called: 'YKY 'UVKVZ ēki ögüz — it is a town between two rivers: 'ILA' ila and: YAFINJ yawinč. 0

öğüz
DN

N

'UKUZ öküz "Ox (*tawr*)." Proverb: 'UKUZ 'AD'QY² BUL'ΓIN'JA' BUZ'ΓUV BAŠIY BULSA' YIYK öküz ađāqi bolγinča buzāyu baši bolsa yēg "Better to be the head of a calf³ than the foot of an ox." This means that ruling oneself is better than submitting to another.

öküz P

S

'AWUS⁴ awus

awus

[I. 58/59]

42

"Wax (*mūm*)." Bulγār dialect. 0

D

'UVLA'S' KUVZ: ōlās kōz "A gently-glancing (*laṭīfa ar-runuwu*) eye," like the eye of a drunken man. Verse:

ōlās

BULN'R MYNY 'UVLA'S' KVZ
QAR' MNKYZ QIYZYL' YUVZ
'ANDYN TM'R TVK'L TVZ
BULNA'B YAN' 'UVL QAJ'R

bulnār mini ōlās kōz
qara mānīn qizil yūz
andīn tamār tūkāl tūz
bulnāp yana ōl qačār

V

"This drunken (*sakrā*) eye captivates me; with a bright face and a charming mole upon it; as if charm dripped from his cheeks; then you flee from me after taking me captive."

š¹'UBUŠ öpüş "A kiss (*taqbīl*), between two people."

öpüş

'ATIŠ: atiš "Shooting at one another (*murāmāt*)."

atiš

'ATAIŠ: atiš A man's name. 0

N

'UTUŠ utuš Also [a man's name]. 0

utuš N

2. Q altered from F by later hand (one of dots in brown ink).

3. MS. 'ijjawl (?), read 'ijl.

4. W altered from Q by later hand (one of dots in brown ink).

- 'UTUŠ_ ötüš – with *išmām* of the *alif* – [A word used] in a game, as follows. Boys sit themselves in a circle and one of them pushes the boy next to him and says: 'UTUŠ 'UTUŠ ötüš ötüš meaning "Pass the push ('*addi 'anka l-qamş*) to the one next to you." This goes on until they reach the end of the circle. ötüš
- 'TIŠ itiš "Two people pushing each other with the hand (*al-mudāfa'a bayn itnayn bi-l-yad*).” 0 itiš
- 'UJAŠ_ öcāš "Wager (*muxāṭara*)." Hence :: 'UL MAN'NIG² BIRLA' 'UVJAŠ'DIY ol māniṅ birlā öcāšdi "He made a wager (*xāṭara*) with me over something.” 0 öcāš
- 'ADAŠ adaš "Intimate friend (*xidn*).” 0 adaš
- 'IDIŠ idiš "Drinking-bowl (*qadaḥ*)." Among the Yaḡma, Tuxsi, Yemāk, Oḡuz and Arḡu it means "any kind of pot or vessel (*qidr, tawr, inā*).” idiš D
- 'ARİŠ_ ariš "Warp (*sadā*).” 'ARİRİŠ_³ 'AR'QA'Γ_ ariš arqāḡ "Warp and woof.” 0 ariš
- 'URUŠ_ uruš "A quarrel (*mušājara*).” Also, "a battle (*ḥarb*).” 0 uruš
- 'AḠİŠ_ aḡiš "Ascent (*ša'ūd*).” 0 aḡiš
- 'UḠUŠ_ oḡuš "Clan (*'ašīra*).” 0 oḡuš
- 'UWUŠ_ uwuš "Crumbs (*futāt*)” of a thing. "Bread crumbs (*duqāq*)” are called: 'UWUŠ_⁴ 'AT'MA'K_ uwuš ātmāk. 0 uwuš
- 'UQUŠ_ uquš "Intelligence (*fiṭna*).” An "intelligent (*faṭin*) person” is called: 'UQVŠ_- LUF KIŠIY uqušluḡ kiši. 0 uquš
- 'VKUṢ_ NA'NG_⁵ ūkūš nāṅ "Much or many (*kaṭīr*) ūkūš
- [I. 60/62] 43
- of anything.” Proverb: TIYRIYK 'ASAN BULSA' TA'NG¹ 'VKVŠ KURUVR tīriḡ āsān bolsa tāṅ ūkūš körür 0 "When one is alive and healthy one often (*kaṭīran*) sees wonders.” 0 P

2. Three dots of G in brown ink; *sukūn* (') in pencil (?).

3. A crossed out and I (with *hamza*) added in brown ink; other *hamzas* on this line and on next line (*aḡiš*) also in brown ink.

4. Three dots of W in brown ink.

5. Three dots of G in brown ink.

43 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.

“An unruly (*ḥarūn*) animal” is called: 'VKVŠ YLQY ūgūš yilqi. 0

ūgūš

'ALİŠ ališ “The draw-off points of a reservoir (*fūhāt aš-širb wa-l-anṣibā*).” 0

ališ

'ALUŠ aluš Name of a village belonging to Kāčyar.

aluš N

'ALİŠ ališ “Suing the debtor for the debt (*al-mu'āxaḍa bi-d-dayn li-l-γarīm*).” Hence ::

ališ

'ALİŠ BIYRIYŠ ališ bēriš “Taking and giving what is due (*axḍ ḥaqq wa-i'ṭā' ḥaqq*).”

'ULUŠ ülüš “Share (*nāṣīb*).” The root-form is with *kāf* instead of *šim*: 'UVLUK ülüg.

ülüš

This is like the alternation of *kāf* with *šim* in the Arabic feminine suffix, as in the verse of Majnūn: *fa-'aynāši 'aynāhā wa-ḡiduši ḡiduhā*² (“Your eyes are her eyes and your neck is her neck”) – he means *'aynāki* and *ḡiduki*. 0

'ULUŠ uluš “Village (*qarya*)” in Čigil dialect. Among the people of Balāsāγūn and the neighboring Arγu country, “City (*balda*).” Hence the city of Balāsāγūn is called: QUVZ: 'VLUVŠ: qūz ülüš. 0

uluš D
N

'ULŠ ülüš “Distribution of shares (*tafriqa al-anṣibā*)” among the people.” The *šim* is an alternant of *kāf* [i.e. *ülüg*], as in the variant reading [Qur'an 19:24]: *qad ja'ala rabbuši taḥtaši sariyy*^{an3} (“thy Lord has set below thee a rivulet”) – instead of *rabbuki* and *taḥtaki*.

ülüš
D

Γ

'AJIΓ ačiy Name for “a gift (*ḡā'iza*) of the sultan.” Thus :: XA'N: MANKA: 'AJIΓ BIYR: DY xān maṇa ačiy bērdi “The king gave me a gift (*aḡāza*).” 0

ačiy

'AJIΓ ačiy “Savoring life (*tana'um*).” Hence :: 'VZVNKNY 'JIΓ LIΓ TUT ōzūṇni ačiyliγ tut “Enjoy some fine food (*na'im nafsaka bi-l-aγḍiya aš-ṣāliḡa*).” 0

'AJIΓ: ačiy “Bitter (*murr*),” of anything.

'ADIΓ ačiy “Bear (*dubb*).” Proverb [= 167 *tāw*]: 'AWJY⁴ NAJ' 'AL BIL: SA' 'ADIΓ 'ANJ' YUVL BILYR: awčei nāčā al bilsā ačiy anča yōl bilir 0 “As many tricks as the hunter knows the bear knows ways (of escape).” This is coined about two clever people who have a dispute. 0

ačiy P

'ADIΓ ačiy “One who has recovered (*ṣāḡī*)”

[I. 60/63]

44

from drunkenness.” Thus :: 'AS: RUK 'ADIΓ asrük ačiy “Drunk and sober (*ṣāḡī*).” 0

2. MS. *ḡidahā* (a in brown ink).

3. *Tašdīd* over r crossed out in brown ink.

4. W altered from Q by later hand (one dot in brown ink).

- 'ADIF adiy Name of one of our villages. 0 N
- 'UDUF 'AR' oduy är "A man (or other) who is awake (*yaqzān*)." 0 oduy
- One calls "a man of wakeful heart (*mutayaqqiz al-qalb*)": 'UDUF KVNKUVL: LUVK: 'AR' oduy kōñüllüg är – this means an "intelligent (*faṭin*)" man. 0
- 'ARIF ariy "Tent band (*izār al-xibā*)." Barsyān dialect. 0 ariy D
- ARIF NA'NK ariy nān "Something clean (*naṣīf*)." 0
- 'URUF uruy The "seed (*ḥabb*)" of anything. "Seed for sowing (*baḍr*)" is called: 'URUF uruy. Thus :: 'URUF 'AK_TIY uruy äkti "He sowed the seed." "Relatives (*aqārib*)" are likened to it, and are called: 'URUF TARIF uruy tariy. 0 uruy
- 'AZIF aziy The "canine tooth (*nāb*)" of any animal. 0 aziy
- 'ASIF asiy "Profit (*ribḥ*)." 0 asiy
- 'USUF osuy The "correspondence (*taḥāyul*)" of one thing to another. Hence :: BV osuy 'YŠ¹ 'US'TIY MUNDAΓ bu iš osyi munday "The following corresponds (*muḥāyala*) to this matter." 0
- 'ALIF aliy Anything "bad (*radī*)." Oγuz and Qifčāq dialect. aliy D
- 'ULUF uluy Anything "large (*kabīr*)." uluy
- 'ILIF SUVF iliy sūw "Lukewarm (*fātir*) water." Its root-form is with *yā*: YILIF: iliy Verse: yiliy [450].

'ULUF LVQUΓ BULSA' SAN 'DKV QILYN uluy V
 BULΓYL KIŠIYK BAK'LA'R QATIN YXŠY 'VLA'N
 uluylüquy bulsa sän ädgü qilīn
 bolγil kišig beglār qatin yaxši ūlān

"When you gain great prestige and influence (*jāh wa-baṣṭa*) then behave correctly. Be before the emirs a good joiner, one who presents well people's affairs (*waṣṣāl xayr ḥasan al-maḥḍar li-amr an-nās*)." 0

Q

'AČUQ ačuq "Open (*maftūḥ*)," of anything. Thus :: 'AJUQ QABUΓ: ačuq qapuy "An ačuq open door." "Sky that has become clear (*muṣḥiya*)" is called: 'AJUQ KUVK: ačuq kōk. 0
 And "a matter that is clear (*bayyin*)" is called: 'AJUQ: 'IYŠ: ačuq iš. 0

'UJAQ_ očağ "Stove or fireplace (*kānūn*).” 0

očağ

The Khāqāniyya address an elder brother (*ax akbar*) by saying: 'AJIQIM ečiqim insert- ing a *qāf* [to ečim, see 56 eči], but only when joined to the first person suffix; it is not permitted to say: 'AJIQING ečiqin in the second person. 0

ečiq
D

[I. 63/65]

45

'ADAQ_ adağ "Foot (*rijl*).”

adağ

'DUQ_ N'NK_ ađuğ nāñ "Something unknown (*majhūl*).” Its root-form is: 'AΓDUQ_ aγduğ meaning "Changed, disguised (*mutaγayyir, mutannakir*).” This is derived from the phrase: 'N?K_ MANKZY_ 'AΓDY_ anīg (anīñ?) māñzi aydi "His color changed (*taγayyara*).” The *γayn* is dropped for lightening (*taxfif*).

ađuğ

One calls a "sleepy (*wasnān*)” man: 'UDIQ_ 'AR_ uđiq_ ār. 0

uđiq

'IDUQ_ iđuğ Anything "blessed (*mubāarak*).” Its root-meaning is that any animal that is set free (*yusayyabu*) is called: 'IDUQ_ iđuğ. One does not burden its back nor milk its udder nor shear its wool, because of a vow which falls on its owner. 0

iđuğ

'IDUQ_ TAΓ_ iđuğ_ tāγ "A mountain that is inaccessible and long (*māni' taṭwīl*).” 0

'ARIQ_ ariğ "Canal (*nahr*).” Proverb: 'AΓYL_ DA_ 'UFLA'_ Q_ TUΓSA_ 'ARIQ_ DA_ 'VTIY_ 'UVNA'_ R_ ayīlda_ oylāğ_ tuγsa_ ariğda_ ōti_ ōnār_ 0 "When a kid is born in the pen, grass for it grows in the canal.” 0 This is coined to advise someone not to be too concerned with making a living. 0

ariğ P

'ARUQ_ 'AR_ aruğ_ ār "A man (or other) who is tired out (*mu'yī*).” 0

aruğ

'ARUQ_ TURUQ_ aruğ_ turuğ Name of a mountain pass between Farγāna and Kāčγar. 0

N

'ARUQ_ aruğ "Emaciated (*mahzūl*).” Oγuz and Qifčāğ dialect. 0

D

'RUQ_ uruğ "Rope (*šaṭan*).”

uruğ

'AZUQ_ 'UVQ_ azuğ_ ōğ "Stray arrow (*sahm al-γarb*)” — i.e. of which one does not know who shot it. 0

azuğ

'AZUQ_¹ MUNQ_ azuğ_ munuğ "A runaway, a stray (*ābiq, ḍāll*).”

'AZAQ_ azağ Name of a chief among the Oγuz emirs. 0

azağ N

'AZUQ_ azuq "Provisions (*zād*)."² Proverb [= 172 sart]; SAR'T NI?K 'AZUQY 'ARIQ² azuq P
 BULSA' YUVL 'UVZA' YZR' sartnīg (-niḡ?) azuqi ariy bolsa yōl ūzā yēr 0 "When a mer-
 chant's provisions are clean he can eat them (sitting) on the (open) road." This is coined about
 someone who brags about his loyalty but runs away when it comes to proving it. 0

"A matter that has lasted long (*ḡāla*)" is called: 'UZAQ_ 'IYŠ_ uzaq iḡ. Hence :: YAL'
 VAJ_ 'UZAQ BAR'DIY yalāvāc uzaq bardi "The messenger has been gone long (*abḡa'a*)."³ 0 uzaq

'UZUQ 'AT_ ozuq at "A horse that runs in front (*sābiq*)," in a race, or other. 0 ozuq

'AŠAQ ašaq "Foot of a mountain (*safḡ*)."⁴ Oḡuz dialect. ašaq D

'AŠUQ ašuq "Anklebone (*ka'b*)" of a man ašuq

[I. 64/67]

46

or other.

"Things that are small (*ḡiḡār*)" are called: 'UŠAQ_ NA'NK_ ušaq nāḡ. Hence "babies
 (*ḡibyān*)" are called: UŠAQ_ 'U'L'N ušaq oḡlān, and "chips (*duqāq*) of fire-wood" are called:
 'UŠAQ_ 'UVTUNK_ ušaq oḡtuḡ. This word is not used for the singular but only for the plural. 0 ušaq

'ŠUQ ušuq "Iron helmet (*bayḡa al-ḡadīd*)."⁵ The *alif* is an alternant of *yā'* [i.e. *yušuq*],
 as one says [in Arabic] *alma'ī* or *yalma'ī*¹ ("brilliant"). ušuq
 D

'UFUQ uḡuq "Overshoe (*ḡurmūq*)."⁶ 0 uḡuq

'IWIQ² iwiq The "she-antelope (*ḡabya*)" which frequents stony tracts and deserts. 0 iwiq

'ALUQ 'AR_ oluq ār "A sturdy (*aḡla'*) man."⁷ Oḡuz dialect. 0 oluq D

'ULUQ³ oluq (olaḡ) Something hollowed out (*yunḡaru*) of a tree trunk, such as a (olaḡ?)
 "trough (*mi'laf*)," for cooling juice or watering animals. 0

'ULUQ_ TUVN_ oluq tōn "A garment that is shabby, worn out (*xalaḡ, bālī*)."⁸ The same
 for anything worn out. 0

'ULUQ oluq "Small boat (*zawraq ḡaḡīr*)."⁹ Its root-meaning is the first [i.e. "something
 hollowed out . . ."]. 0

2. The word is crossed out and there is a marginal gloss: 'RΓ in a different hand.

1. MS. *almaḡī wa-yalmaḡī*.

2. W altered from F by later hand (two dots added in brown ink).

3. There is a V inserted in brown ink between the *alif* (') and L; second U (brown) altered from original A (black).

'ULUQ uluq "Withers (*minsaj*) of a horse." Proverb: 'ULUQ YAĞIRIY 'UĞUVL: QA' uluq P
 QALIYR: uluq yayri oğulqa qalır "The sore of the withers remains (an inheritance) for the son."
 This means that it will not heal quickly since it is the place where the joints and sinews are gathered. 0

'ALIQ aliq "Beak (*minqār*) of a bird." Oğuz dialect. aliq D

'ANUQ NA'NK: anuq nāñ "Something ready (*hādīr*)." Proverb [= 278 san-]: 'ANUQ anuq P
 'UTRUUV TUTSA' YUVQA' SA'N'M'S: anuq utru tutsa yōqqa sānmās 0 "If one offers what
 food is available (*al-hādīr min aṭ-ṭa'ām*) (to the guest then hospitality) is not reckoned as nought."
 This is coined to advise a person to offer what he can as host.

K

A baby word for "bread (*xubz*)" is: 'ABAK äpāk. 0 äpāk

'ATAK: ätāk "Skirt (*ḡayl*)." 0 ätāk

'ATUK ätüik "Boot (*xuff*)." 0 ätüik

'UTUK⁴ ötüig "A petition (*qişsa, hāja*) which is addressed to the sultan." Its root-meaning is "imitating or recounting (*hikāya*)" a thing. 0 ötüig

'UTUK ötüig "Dysentery (*hayḡa*)." :: 'NK'R 'UTVK TUŦY aṅār ötüig tutti "He had a case of dysentery." 0

U'UTK: ütüig "An iron (*ḡadīda*), like a trowel, which is heated and used to warm the nap of a garment to make it smooth." 0 ütüig

'IJUK ičük "A fur (*farw*)," made from sable ičük

[I. 66/69]

47

or squirrel, or the like.

'UĐIYK: üđig "Passion, desire (*ḡayjān aš-sawq wa-l-işq*)." Verse: üđig

'UVDIYK MYNY QUMIŦY
 SAQINJ MANK' YUMIŦY
 KVNKLVM 'NK'R 'AMIŦY
 YVZUM MANIK SAR'GARUVR

üđig mīni qomitti
 saqinč maṅa yomitti
 kōṅlüm aṅār ämitti
 yüzüm mänig saryarūr

V

4. There is a V inserted in brown ink between the *alif* (') and T.

“Longing for the beloved (*aš-šawq wa-t-taḥannun ilā l-maḥbūb*) roused me, and care joined me, when my heart inclined toward him, and so my face is yellow.” 0

'ARUK **ärük** A general term for peaches, apricots and plums. They are distinguished from one another by adjectives. Thus “peach (*xawx*)” is called: TUVLUK' 'ARUK **tüülüg ärük** [“hairy”]; “apricot (*mišmiš*)” is: SA'RİF' 'ARUK **sāriy ärük** [“yellow”]; and “plum (*ajāš*)” is: QAR' 'ARUK **qara ärük** [“black”]. **ärük**

One calls anything “plaited (*maḍfūr*)”: 'URUK¹ **örük**. Thus a “braid (*ḍafir*)” is called: 'URUK SAJ' **örük sač**. 0 **örük**

'URUK' **örüg** “Staying in a place for a period of time (*al-iqāma . . . muddatan*).” Hence :: SUV 'UVN' KUVN' 'URUK BULDY **sü ön kün örüg boldi** “The army stayed in one place for ten days without leaving or raiding.” The same for an emir or a tribe when they halt (*aqāma*). 0 **örüg**

“Anything that has rotted (*baliya*)” is called: 'IRIK NA'NK **irig nāṅ**. Thus “moldering (*hašim*) fire-wood” is called: 'IRIK 'UTVNK' **irig otūṅ**. 0 **irig**

'ARİK' NA'NK **äriḡ nāṅ** “Anything that melts (*ḍā'ib*),” like butter, or the like; also anything that has melted after being frozen. 0 **äriḡ**

'IRUK **erük** “A breach or crack (*tulma*)” in a wall, or other. Proverb: KUNDA' 'IRUK YUQ BAKDA' QIYIQ' YUVQ **kündä erük yoq, begda qiyiq yōq** 0 “There is no crack in the (disc of the) sun (just as) there is no breach of promise in the emir.” This is coined to advise emirs not to break their promises. 0 **erük P**

'ARUİK² **ärük** “Anything used in tanning skin (*mā yudbaḡu³ bihi l-jild*).” Hence :: TARIY 'ARUİK' LA'DIY² **tāri ärüklādi**, “He tanned (*dabaḡa*) the skin.” 0 **ärük**

'ARIYK⁴ YIYL'QIY **erig yilqi** “A lively (*fāriha*) animal.” Thus :: 'RIYK⁴ 'AT' **erig at** “A splendid (*rāyi'*) horse.” The Oḡuz do not know this word. **erig D**

'RIK 'R **irig är** “A man who is steadfast and resourceful (*jalad, nāfiḍ fi l-umūr*).” Proverb: 'ARIK 'IYRINIY YÄ'T'LIYΓ' 'AR'MAKUV BA'ŠIY Q'N'LIYΓ' **irig erini yāyliy, ärmäḡü bāši qānliy** 0 “The steadfast one has greasy lips (since he works hard and so gets good food and fat meat which makes his lips greasy); the lazy one (who is too lazy to work gets hit and so) has a bloody head.” [This is coined] to advise steadfastness and leaving off laziness. 0 **irig P**

'IRIG NA'NK **irig nāṅ** “Anything rough (*xāšin*).” 0

47 1. Original A (black) over the *alif* (') altered by later hand to *hamza* (brown); and U added (brown).

2. U in pencil (?).

3. Altered from *yudbaḡu* (dot of *ḍāl* changed to *sukūn* in brown ink).

4. Y added by later hand (brown ink).

One calls a “scabby head (*ra’s al-jarbān*)”: 'IRIK_ irig. 0

'AZIK ezig “A lengthwise scratch (*xadša . . . tūl an*) in the skin.” 0

ezig

'UZUK_ özüük A title for women, as in: 'AL'TUVN_ 'UZUK_ altūn özüük meaning “Pure of Soul as Pure Gold (*naḡiyya an-nafs ka-d-dahab al-xāliš*)” and : 'AR'TINY 'UZUK_ ärtini özüük “Pure of Body as a Pearl (*ṣāfiyya al-badan ka-d-durra*)” – since a peerless pearl is called: 'AR'DINY ärdini and there is assimilation [cf. 82 ärdini]. This title is for the women of Čigil. Its root is: 'UVZ_ öz “soul” with *kāf* joined to it in the meaning “that very thing,” as one says: 'UL 'AR'NY 'UK_¹ KALDUR ol äрни öк kældür “Bring that very man.” 0 'UQ_ oq is used instead with words that have *išbā'* or *qāf* or *ḡayn*. 0

'UZUK_ özüük Any “land that is swampy or flooded (*mā stanjala min al-arḡ fa-ṣāra ḡiyāḡ*).” Similarly, “an arm of a river (*xālij min al-awdiya*)” is called: 'UZUK SUVW² özüük sūw. 0

'UZAK_³ özäk “Spinal cord (*abhar*).”⁴ It is a vein inside the spine, the one the Prophet referred to when he said: “The food I ate at Khaybar causes me renewed pain each year; this was the time my spinal cord was cut.”⁵ 0

özäk

'UŽUK_ üzüük “Spelling (*ḡijā'*).” Hence :: BITIK 'UŽUK_ LA'DIY bitig üzüüklādi “He spelled out the writing (*ḡajā l-ḡurūf wa-l-kitāb*).” One calls every “letter (*ḡarf*) of the alphabet”: 'UŽUK_ üzüük. Thus :: BUV NA' 'UŽUK_ 'UL_ bu nā üzüük ol “What is this letter?” With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. 0

üzüük

'SIK YIYR_ äsik yēr “Steppe (*sahab*) land” – it is the “stretched out one (*madiḡa*).” äsik

äsik

48

1. There is a V in brown ink inserted under the K.
2. W altered from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).
3. There is a V and an *alif* (') inserted in brown ink between the three consonants (thus: özäk).
4. MS. *abhur*, *u* altered from *a* by later hand (brown ink); *u* in *abhurī* in the following Hadith is also in brown ink.

5. Originally: *mā zālat ukla xaybar tu'āddunī fa-hāḡā awān qaḡa'at abharī* (MS. *abhurī* – see previous note). A later gloss has altered this to read: *mā zālat ukla xaybar tu'āwidunī fī kull 'ām ḡattā kāna hāḡā awān qaḡ' abhurī* (“The food I ate at Khaybar keeps coming back to me each year; this was the time my spinal cord was cut”). In Arabic idiom, “to cut the spinal cord” means “to cause intense pain.” Cf. Bukhārī, Bk. 64, no. 83 (ed. Krehl, Vol. III, p. 184, three lines from bottom): *qālat 'ā'iša kāna n-nabī . . . yaḡūlu fī maraḡihi llaḡī māta fīhi yā 'ā'iša mā azālu aḡidu alam aḡ-ḡā'ām allaḡī akaltu bi-xaybar fa-hāḡā awān wajadtu nḡiḡā' abharī min ḡālika s-samm* (“'Ā'iša said: The Prophet . . . used to say during the illness from which he died: O 'Ā'iša! I still feel the pain of the food I ate at Khaybar; this was the time I felt my spinal cord cut from that poison”).

'ISIK NA'NK isig nāñ “Something hot (*ḥārr*).” Thus :: 'ISIK KUVN: isig kūn “A hot day.” 0 isig

'AŠUK äšük “Coverlet (*daṭār*).” 0 'AŠUK äšük The name for any brocade which is sent to cover the grave of a dead emir or king as a sign of honor to him; it is afterward divided among the poor. 0 äšük

'UŠIK: üšik [“Frost”] The cold which scorches (*al-bard alladī yahriqu*)⁶ fruit and prevents it from growing. 0 üšik

'ALIK: älig “Hand (*yad*).” älig

[I. 69/72]

49

One calls the “right hand”: 'VNG¹ 'ALIK oñ älig – the Oğuz call it: SA'Γ: 'ALIK sāy älig. One calls the “left hand”: SUVL 'ALIK söl älig – this is common to both. 0 D

'UVLUK ölüg “Dead (*mayyit*).” 0 ölüg

'UVLUK ülüg – with *išmām* of the *alif* – “Share (*naşīb*).” 0 ülüg

'ILIK ilik “Marrow (*muxx*)” – in Oğuz dialect; among the Turks it is: YILIK: yilik. The *alif* is an alternant of the *yā*'. 0 ilik D

'AMIK ämig “Female breast (*ṭady*).” Also the “male breast (*ṭunduwa*)” is called: 'AMIK ämig. ämig

One calls a “warm (*fātir al-ḥarr*) day”: 'AIMIK: KUVN emik kūn. Similarly, anything “which becomes warm (*saxuna*) after being cold but whose heat is not intense (*lam yaštadd ḥarāra*)” is called: 'AMIK: emik. 0 emik

'ANUK: änik “Lion whelp (*şibl al-asad*).” The “young (*walad*)” of a hyena, wolf or dog is: 'ANUK änik. 0 änik

One calls the “teeth (*asnān*) of a lock”: KIRTULK [sic] 'ANVKY kiritlik änüki.

L

'BUL² abul (?) Name of one of our villages. 0 abul? N

'ATIL ätil Name of a river [the Volga] in the country of Qifčāq which flows into the Bulγār Sea; it has an arm (*xalij*) which flows over Rūs. 0 ätil N
Verse:

6. Altered from *yaḥtariqu* by later hand (brown ink).

49 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.

2. U in pencil (? – unclear).

'ATIL SUWY 'AQ' TRVR
QYA' TUBY QAQ' TRVR
BLYQ TLYM BAQA' TRVR
KVLUVNK TQY KUŠ'RUVR

ätıl suwi aqa turür
qaya tüpi qaqa turür
balıq tälım baqa turür
kölıñ taqi kösarür

V

"The water of the Ätil River flows, striking against the foot of the cliff; there are many fish and frogs in the pool which fills up from its overflow." 0

'AFIL ayıl "Sheepfold (*marbađ al-yanam*)." Among the Oğuz it is "sheep dung (*rawt al-yanam*)." This is because of the close connection between the two, just as [in Arabic] both rain and clouds may be called "sky," 0 ayıl D

'UFUL oğul "Son (*ibn*)." "A boy other than a son" may also be called: 'UFUL₂ oğul. BUUV 'UFUL NA' TIYR₂ bu oğul nä tēr "What does this boy (*şabi*) say?" The plural is: 'UFLA'N₂ oylān – this is irregular; according to rule the plural should be: 'UFL₂ LA'R₂ oyllār – this is like: 'ARAN₂ ārān for "men"; both of them [i.e. oylān and oyllār] are found. oğul G

'UKIL ükil "Much or many (*kafir*)." Qifčaq dialect.: 'UKIL KŠY ükil kiši "Many people." 0 ükil D

'AMUL₂³ amul "Quiet (*sākin*)" of anything. Thus one who is "forebearing (*halim*)" is called: 'AMUL₂ amul. amul Verse:

[I. 71/74]

50

QANJA' BAR'DINK 'AY 'UFUL
'AR'DIYNK MUNDA' 'INJ 'AMUL
'ATIN 'AM'DY SAN TVNKVL
QYLDYNK 'RSA' QYLM'IV

qanča bardıñ ay oğul
ardıñ mändä enē amul
attin amdi san tünül
qıldıñ ärsä qılmäyu

V

Scolding a boy who had been with him but went away leaving his horse behind, who then came back looking for it – he refuses to give it back to him, because of his turning against him, saying: "You were tranquil and contented (*sālim sākin ḥasan al-ḥāl maḥbūr al-bāl*) with me, so why did you turn away from me?"

[Where did you go my boy?
You were content and quiet with me.
Now give up the horse,
For you have done what should not be done.]

M

BIYR' 'UBUM₂ MUVN₂ bīr öpüm mün "A sip (*ḥaswa*) of soup." 0

öpüm

3. V inserted between M and L by later hand (brown ink).

'ATIM 'AR: **atim** är "A man skilled at shooting, a marksman (*ḥādīq fī r-ramy, muqar-
tis*)."
0 **atim**

BĪYR: 'URUM 'UT: **bīr orum** ot "One cutting (*qadr mā yuxtalā marra^{tan}*) of herbage."
0 **orum**

'UZUM: **üzüm** "Grapes (*'inab*)."
0 **üzüm**

BIYR: 'AḠIM YĪYR¹ **bīr ayim yēr** "An elevation in the ground that can be climbed in
one step (*ša'ūd . . . qadr mā yaṣ'adu daf'atan 'alayhā*)."
0 **ayim**

BYR 'AQIM SUVW² **bīr aqim sūw** "One flowing (*qadr mā yasīlu marra^{tan}*) of water."
0 **aqim**

BĪYR: 'AKIM: YIYR: **bīr äkim yēr** "Land of an amount that can be sown at one time
(*qadr mā yubḍaru marra^{tan} wāḥidatan*)."
0 **äkim**

BIYR: 'UKUİM: YAR:MA'Q **bīr üküüm yarmāq** "A pile (*kawma*) of dirhams." The *mīm*
is an alternant of *nūn* [i.e. *ükün*].
0 **üküüm**

'ALIM **alim** "The claim on a debt (*ad-dayn allaḍī 'alā insān*)."
'ALIYM'JY 'AR:S'LA'N: BYRYM:JY SIJ'ΓA'N: **alīmci arslān bērimci sičyān** 0 "The creditor
(*dā'in*) is (like) a lion (in his charge), the debtor is (like) a mouse (because of the fear that falls
upon him)."
0 **alim** P

'ULUM: **ölüm** "Death (*mawt*)."
ölüm

N

'ATAN: **atan** "Gelded camel (*al-xaṣī min al-ibīl*)."
BULSA' 'AJ'Q' 'AZ KUR:NUVR: **atan yūki aš bolsa ačqa az körnür** 0 "Even a gelded camel's
load of food seems a small amount to a hungry man" – because of his overwhelming hunger. 0 **atan** P

'UJUN: **üçün** A particle which expresses "cause or sake (*ajl*)."
KALDIM **sänig üçün kälđim** "I came because of (*li-ajl*) you."
0 **üçün**

'IJIN: **için** A particle which expresses "among (*bayn*)."
LA'R: **olār ičin etišdilār** "They became reconciled among themselves (*tašālahū fīmā baynahum*)."
0 **için**

'UDUN **udun** Name of the city of Khotan. The inhabitants of Khotan. **udun** N

1. Two dots of Y in brown ink.
2. W altered from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).

[I. 72/76]

51

are also called: 'UDUN udun. 0

'ADIN_ adin A particle meaning "other (*ḡayr*)." Čigil dialect. 0

adin D

'ARAN_ TUVZ_ ärän tüz Name of the constellation "Libra (*al-mizān*)." It is one of the lunar mansions. 0

ärän

'ARAN_ ärän "Men (*rijāl*)" – an irregular plural.

'ARAN_ aran – with *išbā'* of the *alif* – "Stable (*ārī*)." 0

aran

'URAN örän "Bad (*radī*)," of anything. Oḡuz dialect. I consider it to derive from Persian *virān* "ruined (*xarāb*)." When the Oḡuz mixed with the Persians they forgot many Turkic words and used Persian instead. This is an example. 0

örän D

'IRIN erin "Lip (*šafa*)." 0

erin

'UZUN uzun "Long (*tawīl*)," of anything.

uzun

'AŽUN_ ažun "World (*dunyā*)." :: BUV 'AŽUN_ bu ažun "This world (*ad-dunyā*)." 'UL 'AŽUN ol ažun "The other world (*al-āxira*)." Čigil dialect. With *žay* between the two points of articulation. 0

ažun

D

'ASAN_ äsän "Sound or well (*sālim*)," of anything. Thus :: 'ASAN_ MUV SAN_ äsän *mü sän* "Are you well?" It may also be used to mean "well-being (*salāma*)," as in the proverb: 'ASANDA' 'IYWAK' YUVQ_ äsändä ewäk yōq 0 "There is no haste in well-being." This is coined to advise someone to act slowly. 0

äsän

P

'ASIN_ äsin "Breeze (*nasīm*)." 0

äsin

'UŠUN_ öšin "Shoulderblade (*ra's al-katif*)." 0

öšün

'AĞAIN 'AR_ aḡin är "A man with a nasal voice (*aḡann*)." This agrees with the Arabic in sound and sense. 0

aḡin

'UĞAN_ uḡan "Having power over things (*al-qādir 'alā l-ašyā*)." Thus God is called: 'UĞAN TANK_ RIY_ uḡan täñri meaning "God almighty (*al-qādir*)." 0

uḡan

'AWIN_ äwin "Grain of seed (*ḡabb*)." 0

äwin

'AQIN aqin "Flood (*sayl*)." "A flash flood (*atī*)" is called: MUNDUZ 'AQIN munduz aqin. This word can be used metaphorically for a "night raiding party (*al-katība al-muḡīra laylan*)." Thus one says: 'AQINJY KAL_ DIY_ aqinči kälđi which means "The raiding party came pouring in like a flash flood."

aqin

'AKIN_ ägin "Shoulder (*katif*)." 0

ägin

'AKIN	äkin	"Sown land (<i>mazra'a</i>)."	Oyuz dialect.	0	äkin D
'KIN	ägin	A piece of cloth (<i>kirbäs</i>) that is a span and a half wide and four cubits long;		0	ägin D
		the Suvār use it for their merchandise.			
'UKUN	ükün	A "heap (<i>kawma</i>)"	of dirhams or roses or other		ükün
[I. 74/78]					52
things.		"Heaped up (<i>mujtami'</i>) earth" is called:	'UKUN TUB·RA'Q' ükün topraq.	0	
'ALIN	alin	"Forehead (<i>jabha</i>)."	0	'ALIN alin	alin
		"The brow (<i>ḥayḍ, rukuḥ</i>) of a mountain."	0		
'ULUN	ulun	"Shaft (<i>qidḥ</i>) of an arrow."			ulun
			Doubled		
B					
'UBUB	üpüp	"Hoopoe (<i>hudhud</i>)."	A variant of:	'UB·KUK üpgük.	üpüp D
K					
'AKAK	'ŠL'R	äkäk ešlār	"Prostitute (<i>mūmisa</i>), of women"	0	äkäk
'UKAK	ükäk	"Box (<i>tābūt, şundūq</i>)."	¹	0	ükäk
'UKAK	ükäk	"Tower (<i>burj</i>) on the city wall fortified for battle."			
L					
'ILAL	ilal	A particle meaning "yes (<i>na'am</i>)."	Khāqān dialect. It is used in replying to emirs and kings.		ilal D
			Initial Weak		
T					
'A'T	āt	"Name (<i>ism</i>)."	'A'T āt	"Title (<i>laqab</i>)."	āt
beg anār	āt	bērdi	"The emir gave him a title (<i>laqqaba</i>)."	Thus "a chief of the people (<i>kabīr al-qawm</i>)" is called:	'ATLΓ atliγ [lit. "Having a name"]

J

'A'J āc "Hungry (*γurṭān*)." Proverb: 'A'J N' YYM'S TOQ NA' TIYMA'S' āc nā yēmās, āc P
toq nā tēmās ["What won't the hungry one eat? What won't the full one say?"] This means that
the hungry one will not turn away from any food put before him, though he is held blameworthy
by the full one who despises it.

D²

'A'D³ ād Anything "manufactured (*maṣnū'*)," such as brocade, and the like. It may be ād
shortened to: 'AD³ ād – this is the better pronunciation. :: 'ADKUV 'AD³ ādgū ād "A good
manufactured item."

D

'D' ād "Good omen (*fa'l jayyid*)." Thus :: 'IKLIK TUTZFY 'A'D BULVR iglig tutzuyi ād (P)
ād bolūr "The testament of a sick man is a good omen (*fa'l ḥasan*) (for him)." This phrase is used
to request a sick man's testament.

R

'A'R' BURIY ār böri "Hyena (*dabu'*)." 0 ār

'R' NA'NK ār nāḥ ["Something] chestnut- (*aṣḥab*) colored." It may also be called:
'AR'SAIL arsal with an augment. Verse:

KRUB' NJUK QJMDINK
YAMAR SUWIN KAJMADINK
TAWA'RINK'NY SAJMDINK
YYSUUV SNY 'A'R' BURY

körüp nācük qačmađıñ
yamar suwin káčmađıñ
tawarıñni sačmađıñ
yēsü sāni ār böri

V

Describing one of the routed soldiers whom he has taken: "When you saw me why did you not
flee from me and cross the Yamār tributary (*xalīj*)? Why did you not cast off your belongings
(and escape with your life)? So now may (you be killed and) the hyena eat you."

[I. 76/80]

53

Z

'A'Z' N'NK āz nāḥ "Something little in amount (*qalīl*)." āz

'A'Z āz "Ermine (*qāqūm*)." A variant of the form with *sīn* [i.e. ās], which is more ele- D
gant. 0

-
2. Original D altered to D (heading letter in red ink, dot in black).
 3. D altered from original D (dot in brown ink).

'A'IZ¹ ēz Any "lengthwise scratch (*xadša . . . fūlan*)" in the ground or the skin. 0 ēz
 QZL 'UZ qizil ez A winter pasture in the Kāšyar mountains. N

S

'A'S ās "Ermine (*qāqum*)." A variant of the form with zāy [i.e. āz]. This is used as a name for slave-girls. ās D
 N

Š

'A'Š āš "Food (*ṭa'ām*)." āš

One calls the "repaired part (*ru'ba*)" of a vessel: 'Š āš. Hence :: 'AYQ 'AŠL' ayaq ašla "Repair (*ir'ab*) the bowl."

Γ

'A'Γ ay "Space between the thighs (*al-masāfa allatī bayn al-faxidayn*)." :: YUVZ 'AT' MINK 'AΓ'DIN' KJTY yūz at mänig aydin kätči "A hundred horses have passed between my thighs." It is similar to the span between two fingers. āγ

W

'A'W āw "Hunt (*šayd*)." :: BAK 'AWQA' JIQ'TY beg awqa čiqti "The emir went out to hunt." 0 āw

'UW² āw "House (*bayt*)." With *išmām* of the *alif*. The shortened form is more elegant: 'UW² äw. āw

Q

'A'Q āq "White (*abyaḍ*)" of anything. Oγuz dialect. Among the Turks it is used for horse colors: 'A'Q' 'AT' āq at "Gray (*ašhab*) horse." 0 āq D

'A'Q SAQA'L 'AR' āq saqāl är "A white-bearded (*ašyab*) man." Oγuz dialect. 0 D

'Q SA'Y āq sāy Name of a place. 'A'Q TAR'K āq terāk Name of a ford of the İla River in Yaγma. N

L

'A'L' āl An orange-colored brocade used to make kings' banners and to cover the saddles of their favorite horses. Also the color "orange (*nāranjī*)" is: 'A'L āl. 0 āl

53 1. First *alif* (') crossed out (black ink).

2. U (brown) altered from original A (black); the second occurrence of the word is crossed out (black ink).

'A'L_ āl "Cunning, deceit (*makr, xadī'a*)." Proverb [=410 kösgük, 622 arslān]: 'A'LIYN P
 'AR_ S_ L_ N_ TUT_ R_ KVJUN 'YUQ TUTM_ S_ ālīn arslān tutār, kūcūn oyuq tutmās "You can capture a lion by trickery (*hīla*) but you cannot capture a scarecrow by force." This is coined to advise a person to use trickery for something when he cannot get it by force. 0

L'

'ALA' ala "Leprous (*abraş*)," of a man. :: 'ALA' 'AT' ala at "Spotted black and white (ala at) (*arqaṭ*)," of a horse. 0 ala

BAK' 'ALA' BUL_ DIY³ beg (*xānqa*) ala boldi "The emir rebelled against (*xālafa* . . . *wa-xaraja 'alā*) the king and came to terms with his enemy." 0

[I. 77/82]

54

'ALA ala Name of a summer pasture near Faryāna. 0 N

'ALA' YIḠ'J ala yiyāč Name of a place on the frontier. N

Another Type

'A''Y' [sic] āy "Moon (*qamar*)." "The full moon (*bard*)" is called: TUVLUN 'A''Y' āy
 tōlun āy. 0 āy

'A''Y' āy "Month (*şahr*)," also.

Verse:

QIŞQA' 'ITIN [sic] KAL_ SA' QALY QUTLUḠ YA'Y V
 TUN KUN KAJ' 'LQNVR 'UḌ_ LK BILA' ''Y

qişqa anun kālsā qali qutluḡ yāy
 tün kün kăčä alqinūr ödläg bilä āy

"Prepare for winter when blessed summer comes, for Time runs out and months come to an end with the passing of night and day." The reason "month" is called by the word for "moon" is simply that the passing of the month is known by it. Proverb [= 146 imlā-]: ''Y' TUVLN BUL_ SA' 'ILKIN 'IM_ LA_ M_ S¹ āy tolūn bolsa ālgin imlāmās 0 "When the moon is full one does not point to it with the hand" – since anyone who has eyes can see it. This is coined about any matter of which the defect is apparent. P

Medial Weak

T

'AVUT avut A variant of: 'AḌUT_ aḍut [36] meaning "handful (*ḥafna*)." 0

avut D

3. In lower margin: X'NQ'.

54 1. U above first *alif* (') crossed out in brown ink.

'UVUT₂ uvut A variant of: 'UWUT₂ uwut meaning "modesty (*ḥayā*')." 0 uvut D

'AVAT₂ ävät Equivalent of: 'AWAT₂ äwät meaning "yes (*na'am*)."
ävät D

The principle is that every *wā*' between the two points of articulation may alternate with *vāv*. For example, one calls "messenger": YALA'VAJ *yalāvač* or: YALA'WJ *yalāwač*. One calls "[the plant] *turtūt*": YAWA' *yawa* or else with *vāv*: YAVA' *yava*. Thus.

'VN āvan "Trees (*šajar*)." Dialect of Sayram, which is Isbjāb. 0 āvan D

'AVIN₃ ävin "Grain of seed (*ḥabba*)." Variant of: 'AWIN äwin. ävin D

With *yā*'

'UYAZ uyaz "Small gnats (*al-hamaj min al-ba'ūd*)." Oʻyuz dialect. uyaz D

Γ

'AYIΓ ayiy "Bear (*dubb*)." Dialect of Oʻyuz, Qifčāq and Yaʻma for: 'DIΓ adiy. 0 ayiy D

'YIΓ ayiy A particle corresponding to [the Arabic verb of praise] *ni'ma*⁴ and also to [the verb of blame] *bi'sa*. Thus :: 'AYIΓ 'AIDKUV ayiy ädgü "What a good (thing)!" :: 'AYIΓ YAWUZ NA'NK₂ ayiy yawuz nāḥ "What a bad thing."⁵ This particle is used as an emphatic prefix (*yadxulu ta'kidan*) for "good," or other.

Q

'AYAQ ayaq "Bowl (*qaš'a*)." The Oʻyuz do not know this; they call a "bowl": JANAQ₂ ayaq D
čanaq.

'AYAQ ayaq "Foot (*qadam*)." Variant of the form with *qāl* [i.e. 45 adaq]. 0 D

'AYIQ₂ ayiq "Promise (*ida*)."

[I. 79/84]

55

Thus :: 'NIK MANK' 'AYIQIY BA'R anig maḥa ayiqi bār "I have his promise." 0

'UYUQ oyuq "Scarecrow, waymark stone (*xayāl, iram*)."
Oʻyuz dialect. oyuq D

Verse [= 193 qonunq]

-
2. First U (brown) altered from original A (black).
 3. Three dots added above V in brown ink.
 4. MS. *na'am*.
 5. "thing" added in margin in brown ink.

BAR·DIY 'ARAN QUNUQ KRUB' QUT·Q' SAQ'R
 QALDIY YAWUZ 'UYQ KRUB' 'WNÝ YQ'R

V

bardi ärän qonuq körüp qutqa saqār
 qaldi yawuz oyuq körüp äwni yiqār

"Gone are [the men] who, when they found a guest, used to reckon him as good luck; left are [the bad ones] who, when they see a waymark stone or a scarecrow (in a desert), tear down their tents (for fear lest it alight as their guest)."

K

'UYUK¹ öyük "Any ground that is elevated (*murtafi'*), like a mound (*tall*)."
 lect. 0 Oğuz dia- öyük D

'UYUK YIYR öyük yēr "Quicksand (*al-'ānik min ar-raml*)," which is sand in which the feet sink and from which it is difficult to pull them out because of water, or other. 0

'IYK iyik A variant of: YIYK yīk meaning "spindle (*mīzāl*)."
 0

iyik D

N

'UYUN oyun "Game (*la'ib*)."

oyun

Medial and Final Weak (*mu'tall al-'ajz*)

Y

'AYA' aya "Palm of the hand (*kaff*)."
 0

aya

'UYA'¹ uya "Nest (*wakr*, *ušš*) of a bird."

uya

'UYA' uya "Brother, relative (*ax*, *qarīb*)."

Verse:

TAWAR 'UJUN TNKRY [sic] 'DLMAḌB
 'UYA' QADAŠ 'UFILNY JIN·LA' BUḌ'R

tawar üçün tãnrini ädlämäḍip
 uya qadaš oylini çinla boγār

V

Describing lack of affection among brothers: "A man sees his wealth and does not pay attention to God, but he strangles his own brother's son for the sake of wealth." 0

[For the sake of wealth he pays no heed to God / But truly strangles his own brother's son]

Final Weak

B²

-
- 55 1. First U (brown) altered from original A (black).
 2. B originally (?) P (two dots scratched out?).

'ABA'² äbä "Mother (*umm*)." Oğuz dialect. Among the Qarluq Turkmän it is pronounced with hard *bä*' [i.e. äpä]. 0 D

'BA'² apa —with *išbä*' of the *alif*— "Bear (*dubb*)." Qifčāq dialect. 0 apa D

'BA'² aba "Father (*ab*)." Tübüt dialect — as though it were a remnant in their language from Arabic; they are the descendants of Tābit, a man from Yemen who fled to the country of the Turks and sired them. 0 aba D

'ABA'² BAŠY apa baši "The *tannüm* plant" — it grows like cucumber (*qitā*') and has a thorny stem; it is eaten in the mountains. 0 apa baši

'BY abi A man's name. 0 abi N

'UBA' oba "Tribe (*qabīla*)." Oğuz dialect. 0 oba D

'UBUV¹ opu "White lead (*isfidāj*)." 0 opu

T

'ATA ata "Father (*ab*)." 0 ata

[I. 81/86]

56

'TA' SA'ΓUVN ata sāyūn "Doctor (*ṭabīb*)." 0

J

'AJA' äčä Equivalent of: 'AKA' äkä meaning "Elder sister (*uxt akbar*)." The *jīm* is an alternant of *kāf* [i.e. 57 äkä], as [Persian] *jarm* and *garm* ("warm"), *junbad* and *gunbad* ("arch"). 0 äčä D

'AJY ači "Sly old woman (*šahla*)." Barsyān dialect. 0 ači D

'UJA' uča "Back (*zahr*)." 0 uča

'IJIY eči "Elder brother (*ax akbar sinnan*)." 0 eči

D

'UDV udu "Mound (*akama*)." From this one calls a "sanddune (*kaṭīb*)": QUM 'UDV qum udu. Also from this, a city in Arγu is called: 'UDV KAN'D udu känd. 0 udu N

'UDV u [A particle] meaning "behind (*xalifa*).": MAN 'ANI²K 'UDV KALDIM mān anīg (aniḡ ?) u kaldim "I came behind him." :: MAN SANIK 'UDV BAR'DIM mān sāniḡ u bardim "I followed (*iqtafaytu*) you." 0

'IDIY i "Master (*sayyid, mawlā*).": 'IDIM NA' TIYR idim nā tēr "What does my master (*mawlāya*) say?" And "God (*allāh ta'ālā*)" is called: 'IDIY i. They say: 'IDIMIZ YAR-LIY idimiz yarliyi "The command of our Lord (*rabb*)."
idi

R

'ARA' a "The middle (*wasat*) of something." Thus :: KŠY 'ARA' KIR'DIM kiši ara kirdim "I came in among (*bayna*) the people." 0
ara

'ARIY a "Hornet (*zanbūr*).": This agrees with Arabic, since *al-arī* in Arabic is "honey," and in Turkic it is that from which honey is produced. The Čigil Turks call "honey (*asal*)": 'ARIY YAḞIY ari yaḡi meaning "bee butter (*samn an-naḥl*).": 0
ari
D

'UVRUV oru "A pit (*ḥufra*)" that is dug out for keeping wheat, turnips, or the like. 0
ōru

'URIY ori "Outcry (*šiyāḥ, jalaba*).": Proverb: 'URIY QUB'SA' 'UḞUŠ 'AQLIŠUVR YAḞY KALSA' 'IMRAM TAB'RAŠUVR' [sic] ori qopsa oḡuš aqlišūr, yaḡi kalsā imrām tērišūr 0
ori P
"When the call for help (*šurāx*) is raised¹ the clan gathers (to it to help the caller); when the enemy comes the parties gather (to fight them)." This is coined to advise someone to band together with his kinsmen (*at-ta'allub fi l-umūr*).": 0

'URIY uri "Male child (*ad-dakar min al-awlād*).": 'URIY 'UVFL'N' uri oḡlān "Male children."
uri

Z

'AZUV azu An utterance giving an alternative (*taxyīr*) between two things. Thus :: 'UZUM YIYKIL 'AZUV QA'ḞUVN YYKL üzüm yēgil azu qāyün yēgil
azu

[I. 82/88]

"Eat grapes or else (*aw*) melon." It is usually used in interrogative sentences. :: KALIR' MUV SAN 'AZUV BARİYR' MUV SAN kāliḡ mü sän azu barir mu sän "Are you coming or (*am*) going?" 0
57

'UZA' oza "Former times (*ad-dahr as-salif*).": Hence :: 'UZA'QIY BIL'KA' 'N'JA' 'AYMIYŠ ozāqi bilgā anča aymiş "Thus spoke the sage of former times." Verse:
oza

'AR'DY 'UZA' 'ARAN LA'R'	ārdi oza ārānlār	V
'AR'DAM BAKIY BLIK' TA'Ḟ'	ārdām begi bilig tāy	
'AY'DY 'KUŠ 'KUT LA'R'	aydi üküš ögütlār	
KUNKLUM BULUR 'NKAR SA'Ḟ'	könliüm bolur aḡar sāy	

"There were in olden times (*ad-dahr as-sābiq*) men, masters of virtues, mountains of wise sayings and knowledge, who spoke many words of counsel; the heart is purified by (mentioning) them." 0

- 'UZIY özi "Ravine (*fajj*) in a mountain." Čigil dialect. 0 özi D
- 'IZIY izi "Year after next (*qubāqib* [defined])."¹ Thus :: 'AR'QIN 'IZIY arqin izi izi
"Next year and the year after."
- S
- 'AŠUV ašu "Red ocher (*muγra* [defined])." ašu
- Γ
- 'AΓUV aγu "Poison (*samm*)."² 0 aγu
- 'AΓIY aγi "Brocade (*dībāj*)."² From this one calls a "treasurer (*xāzin*)": 'AΓIY·JIY² aγi
aγīēi because he guards it.
- W
- 'AW' awa A particle expressing "pain (*ta'allum*)," corresponding to Arabic *wāwaylī* awa
said by a person experiencing pain (*tawajja'a*) from something. 'W' 'W' awa awa. 0
- 'UWA' uwa Name of a food made by cooking rice, putting it into cold water and strain- uwa
ing it, then adding sugar and ice and letting it cool. It is eaten as a cooler. 0
- 'IW' ewä A branch of the Oγuz. ewä N
- Q
- 'AQIY aqi "Generous (*jawād*)."² Hence "a walnut that is easy to shell (*farik*)" is called: aqi
'AQIY YAΓA'Q' aqi yaγāq meaning a "generous" walnut.
- K
- 'AKA' äkä "Elder sister (*uxt akbar*)."² The Oγuz say: 'AZA' äzä. äkä D
- 'UKA' ögä The title for a man of the common people who is intelligent, mature, and özä
experienced in affairs. He is one degree below the Tegīn. The origin of this is that when Du-l ögä
Qarnayn arrived in Šīn the king of the Turks sent toward him a detachment made up completely
of young men in order to engage him in battle. The vizier said to him:

57 1. The definition reads: *al-'ām alladī yatlū l-muqbil*; the last word is crossed out and replaced by *l-qābil* in a later hand.

2. Y' (brown) altered from original N (black).

[I. 84/90]

58

“You have sent young men against him, but there ought to be with them some mature man, advanced in years, experienced in war.” He said: ‘UVKA’ ōgā meaning, “A mature man (*a-kahl*)?” and he answered, “Yes.” So he sent a mature man. They attacked the vanguard of Du-l Qarnayn and routed them. One of the Turks struck one of the soldiers of Du-l Qarnayn and cut him near the navel. The one thus killed had tied a purse of dinars round his middle, and now the purse split open and the dinars came pouring out, mixed with blood. In the morning the detachment of Turks saw the dinars mixed with blood and wondered what it was. Someone said: ‘AL-TUN QA’N’ altun qān meaning “gold and blood” – and a great mountain that was there was given this name. It is a mountain surrounded by nomads, near Uighur. Du-l Qarnayn made peace with him after that.

N

L

‘ALA’ ala “Leprous (*abraş*).” Proverb: KIŞY ‘ALA’SİY ‘IJ-TIN YILQIY ‘ALA’SİY TAŞ-TIYN’ kişi alāsi iĉtin, yilqi alāsi taştin 0 “The leprosy of a man is¹ on the inside”² – by this is intended the concealing of rebellion (*muxālafā*) – “the leprosy of animals is on the outside (of the body, apparent).” This is coined about someone who uses flattery while scheming treachery. 0

ala P

‘ALA’ ālā A particle meaning “slowly (*ruwayd*).” :: ‘ALA’ ‘ALA’ ālā ālā “Slowly, slowly.” You may also say: ‘ALA’KIL ālāgil with the addition of *kāflām*. 0

ālā

‘ULA’ ula “A waymark in the desert (*şawā* [defined]).” Proverb: ‘ULA’ BULSA’ YVL ‘ZM’S BLIK BULSA’ SUVZ YAZMA’S ula bolsa yōl azmās, bilig bolsa sōz yazmās 0 “If there is a waymark (*iram*) in the desert one cannot lose the way; if there is intelligence (in a man) one cannot err in speech. 0

ula P

‘ILA’ ila Name of a river [the Ili]. On its banks camp two tribes of the Turks, namely Yağma and Tuxsi, and a group of Čigil. It is the “Jayhūn” (the “Oxus”) of the Turk country.

ila N

[I. 85/92]

59

‘ILY QABUŦ’ ili qapuy “A door (or a bolt) that opens without a key (*yanfatihu min ğayr miftāh*).”

ili

M

‘UMA’ uma “Mother (*umm*).” Tübüt dialect –as though it were a remnant among them from Arabic. 0

uma D

58 1. gloss: “hidden.”

2. MS. *fī zāhirihi*, in error for *fī bātinihi*.

'UMA' ümä "Guest (*ḡayf*) who stays in one's house." Proverb: 'UMA' KAL'SA' QUT ümä P
 KALYR ümä käl̄sä qut käl̄ir 0 "When a guest comes (to you) good luck comes (with him)."
 That is, he should be considered a blessing, not a burden. Verse:

KAL'SA' QALY YAR'LIḡ BULUB YUNJİḡ 'UMA' V
 KALDUR 'ANUQ BULMIYŞ 'AŞİḡ TUTM' 'UMA'
 käl̄sä qali yarlıy bolup yunçiy ümä
 käl̄dür anuq bolm̄ış aşıy tutma uma

"When a guest comes (to you) tattered and distressed, then offer (him) what food is available and don't keep him waiting and hoping." 0

N

'ANA' ana "Mother (*umm*)." 0 ana

'INY ini "Younger brother (*ax aḡyar fi s-sinn*)." 0 ini

Nasal

T

'ANGIT₁ anit "Ruddy goose (*nuḡām*)." It is a red bird, similar to a duck. 0 anit

'NKUT² anut "Funnel (*qam'*) for wine." Proverb: YURT' [sic] KIJK BULSA' 'NKUT anut P
 BADUK 'UVR' bart kiçig bolsa anut bādük ür "When the wine measure is small, put in a big
 funnel." 0 This is coined to advise someone to pretend to people that a small matter is big. 0

R

'ANGAR₁ anar A particle meaning "to him (*lahu*)." :: 'ANGAR¹ 'AY'DIM anar aydim anar
 "I said to him." Verse:

'AY'DM' 'ANKAR SA'WUIK aydim anar sāwük V
 BIZ'NY TAB' NA' 'LUK [sic] bizni tapa nālük
 KJTNK BALZAY [sic] K'RIK kächtiḡ yazi k̄arik
 QIRL'R 'AḌIZ BA'DUK qirlār aḡiz bādük

Describing the phantom of the beloved: "I said to him, O my beloved! how did you cross over to us, passing over the stretched-out deserts and the lofty mountains?" 0

'UNGUR₁ ünür "Cave (*kahf*)." 0 ünür

'INGIR₁ inir "Twilight (*sudfa*)" – i.e., the mixture of light and darkness. The Oḡuz inir D
 call it: 'IMIR' imir [39]. 0

Z

'ANGIZ¹ aņiz “Stubble (*jill*)” – i.e., the stalks of wheat, or other, after it has been reaped. aņiz

S

“A man who turns right

[I. 87/94]

and left as though he were a foreigner (*a'jami*)” is called: 'INKAS KIŠY äņäs kiši. äņäs

60

L

'ANKIL 'AJUQ QABUΓ aņil ačuq qapuγ “wide open (*futuḥ jiddan*) door.” aņil

N

'UNKIN öņin A particle meaning “other than (*γayr*).” :: BUV 'AĀ¹ 'UNKIN KAL-DUR² bu atta öņin kældür “Bring a horse other than this one.” öņin

End of the Chapters of Simple Roots

Chapters of Augmented Roots

Chapter: *af'al*, in its various vocalizations

T

'AR·MUT₂ armut “Pear (*kumuṭrā*).” armut

J

AR·TUJ₂ artuč “Juniper (*'ar'ar*).” In Kāšyar there are two villages named: 'AR·TUJ² artuč N artuč. 0

'UJLJ üčlāč A “featherless arrow (*mi'rād*) used to shoot at rabbits, and made of three sticks (*talāt quḍbān*) joined at the tip by a piece of iron.” 0 üčlāč

'UDΓJ oḍyuč “Firebrand (*aš-šu'la min an-nār*).” 0 oḍyuč

2. Three dots faintly visible over the K.

60 1. Second A: another A in brown ink (indicates nunation: **attan**).
2. J altered from Ḥ by later hand (dot in brown ink).

'AR·TUJ_ aryuč Anything "by which one is deceived (*yaɣtarru bihi l-insān*)." "The world (*ad-dunyā*)" is called: 'AR·TUJ_ 'AZUN aryuč azun meaning "Deceitful (*ɣarūr*) world." 0 aryuč

'AR·KAJ_ ärkäč "He-goat (*tays*)." Proverb: 'ARKAJ_ 'ATIY 'AM BULVR 'AJ·KUV ärkäč P
'ATIY YAIL· BULUVR· ärkäč äti äm bolür, äčkü äti yel bolür 0 "He-goat's meat is medicinal, she-goat's meat is flatulent (generates wind in the belly)." 0

'UR·KUJ_³ ärkäč "Wave (*mawj*)." Hence :: SUVW⁴ 'UR·KUJ_·LAN·DIY sūw ärkäčländi
"The water was wavy (*māja*)." 0

'URKUJ_ örgüč "A woman's braid or tuft (*ḍafīra, qunza'a*)." 0 'URKUJ_ örgüč örgüč
"Trivet (*uḥfiya*)." 0

R

'ADḤIR aḍyir "Stallion (*fahīl*)," of horses. 0 aḍyir

'UL·KAR_ ülkär "The Pleiades (*aḥ-ḥurayyā*)." 0 There is a battle tactic called: 'UL·KAR_ JARIK_ ülkär čärig — the troops fall back in squadrons on all sides, then when one squadron rounds to attack, the others follow. Using this stratagem they are seldom routed. ülkär

Z

'ARWUZ arwuz A man's name. 0 arwuz N

'AR·KUZ SUVF ärgüz sūw "Thaw water (*ḍuwāba*) of snow and ice at the beginning of spring." 0 ärgüz
Verse:

YA'Y BARVBAN 'ARKUZY	yāy yarūban ärgüzi	V
'A <u>Q</u> ' <u>T</u> IY 'AQIN MUNDUZIY	aqti aqin munduzi	
TU <u>Ḥ</u> DY YARUQ YULDUZIY	tuḥdi yaruq yulduzi	
TINKL' SUVZUM KULKVSUZ	tiḥla sözüüm külgüsüz	

[I. 88/96] 61

"Spring dawned; the thaw water (*ḍawāba*) (of ice) and the flash flood flowed; the shining star rose; listen to my words (which are strange) without laughing." 0

'UK·SUZ ögsüz "Orphan (*yaṭīm*); bewildered (*ḥayrān*)." Its root-form is: 'VKSUZ ögsüz
ögsüz derived from: 'UVK_ ög meaning "understanding (*aql, fiṭna*)." 0

Š

3. First U (brown) altered from original A (black).

4. W altered from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).

- 'UTAMIŠ' utmiš A man's name. 0 utmiš N
- 'AD'RIŠ adriš "Fork of a road (*ra's kull ʔariqayn*)." 0 adriš
- 'UDRUŠ üdriš "Choosing (*muxāyara*) among things." 0 üdriš
- 'ADFIŠ ädʔiš Name of a place. 0 adʔiš N
- 'UDKIŠ ädgiš A tribe of the Turks who have settled in Özjänd. Its root-form is the metathesis of this: 'AK'DIŠ ägdiš. 0 ädgiš N (ägdiš)
- 'ARTIŠ ärtiš Name of a river [the Irtish] in the steppes of Yemāk which flows into a lake there and which has many arms and tributaries. It is called: 'ARTIŠ SUWIY ärtiš suwi. It is derived from the word: 'ARTIŠ ärtiš [122] meaning "Compete with me in crossing (*bārini*¹ *fī l-mu'ābara*) [to determine] which of us is stronger in crossing it." 0 ärtiš N
- 'IRTAŠ' irtäs The "inquiry, claim, calling to account (*tafaḥḥuṣ, muḥālaba*)" that occurs among a people over a certain matter. Thus :: 'IR'TAŠ' QUB'DIY irtäs qopdi "The inquiry (*baḥḥ, tafahḥuṣ*) was stirred up." 0 irtäs
- 'ARQIŠ arqiš "Caravan (*'ir*)." Proverb: YIRA'Q YIYR SA'WIN 'ARQIŠ KALDURUVR yirāq yēr sāwin arqiš kældürür 0 "The traveller (*safr*) brings news of a distant land." This is as in the verse: *wa-ya'tika bi-l-axbāri man lam tuzawwidi* ("There will bring you the news one whom you have not provisioned").² 0 arqiš P
- 'ARQIŠ arqiš Name of the "envoy (*mursal*)" to someone in a distant country. Thus :: 'NIK 'ARQIŠY KALDIY anig arqiši kaldi "His messenger (*rasūl*) came." It can also mean "message (*risāla*)." 0
- 'ALQIŠ alqiš "Eulogizing, recounting the strengths and virtues (*ʔanā', du'ā', dīker ayādī, 'add manāqib*) of a man." :: 'UL BAK' KA' 'ALQIŠ BIYR'DIY ol begkā alqiš bērdi "He eulogized (*aṭnā 'alā*) the emir." :: YALA'VAJ'QA' 'ALQIS' BIYR'KIL yalāvačqa alqiš bērgil "Call blessings (*ṣalli*) upon the Prophet (peace be upon him)." 0 alqiš
- Γ
- 'UTRUΓ otruy "Island (*jazīra*)." 0 otruy
- 'ATLIΓ 'AR' atliy är "Horseman (*rajuḷ fāris*)." 0 atliy
- 'UTLUΓ T'Γ otliy tāy "Grassy (*mu'ṣib*) mountain." 0 otliy

61 1. MS. *bārini*.

2. From the end of the Mu'allaqa of ʔarafa; meaning news of one's death.

'ITLΓ 'W itliy äw "House with a dog (<i>dū kalb</i>)."	0	itliy
'ARTIΓ artiy A woman's "bodice (<i>şudra</i>)."	0	artiy
'ARTIΓ artiy "[One of] the two balanced halves of a load ([<i>aḥad</i>] ' <i>idlay al-ḥiml</i> ')." 0		
'AΓRIΓ aγriy "Pain (<i>waja'</i>)," in general; then the pain of any specific member is named by that member. ³	0	aγriy
'AΓRUΓ SUNKVKY oγruy sünūki "First vertebra of the neck (<i>fahqa</i>)."	0	oγruy
'UΓRUΓ oγruy "The bend of a valley (<i>jiz' al-wādī</i>)."	::	
[I. 90/96]		62
TAΓ 'UΓRUΓY tāy oγruyi "Jag (<i>munqata'</i>) of a mountain."		
'TLQ utluq Name of a city near Ṭarāz. 0	'UT_LUQ_ utluq means "stable (<i>ārī</i>)" in their dialect. ¹	utluq N D
'UJΓUQ učyuq "The common cold (<i>zūkām</i>)."	0	učyuq
'ADRIQ adriq A plant called in Arabic <i>aṭ-ḥil</i> ("peat").	0	adriq
'ADRUQ adruq A word meaning "other (<i>γayr</i>)" in Oγuz dialect. The Turks say: 'ADIN_ adin for "other." Proverb: 'ADIN KŞY NA'NKY NANKSINMA'S ² adin kişi nāṇi nāṇ-sinmās "The property of another cannot be considered property" – even if it is in your hand, since it can be reclaimed. 0		adruq D P
'UḌLUQ uḍluq "The thick part of the bone of the foreleg (<i>mustaγlaz 'aẓm aḍ-ḍirā'</i>)."	0	uḍluq
'UD_LUQ ³ udluq "Stable for cows (<i>mabīt al-baqar min al-ārī</i>)."	Arγu dialect. 0	udluq D
'UD_MAUQ ³ udmaq ⁴ "Follower, servant (<i>tābi', šākiri</i>)."	0	udmaq

3. *ilā a'dā'ihī* is crossed out and replaced in the margin by *ilayhi*.

62 1. *fī luγatihim* – this must refer to the dialect of the place just mentioned, apparently a place named after a stable, which in their dialect was *utluq* instead of *udluq* (below). Another word in this dialect appears at 251:9 where the place is spelled: 'TLIQ.

2. Gloss above word in a later hand: NNK S'NM'S nān sānmās.

3. D' altered from original D in these two words: dot of D (black) changed to *sukūn* (brown).

4. Gloss below word in a later hand: 'UYMAQ uymaq.

'AR_TUQ: artuq "Excess (*ziyāda*)." 0

artuq

'URTUQ⁵ ortuq "Partner (*šarīk*)." Proverb: 'UR'TUQ⁵'AR'DAN 'ARTUQ 'LM'S ortuq P
ortuq ārdān artuq almās "One does not take from one's partner an excess (in the share [of the
profit])." This is coined to advise someone to be equitable. 0

'ŽMUQ aźmuq "White alum (*šabb abyad*)." The baldness of a scabby-head is likened to aźmuq
it, thus: 'AŽMUQ TA'Z' aźmuq tāz that is to say, as though the head of the bald man were spat-
tered with alum. With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. 0

'IS'RIQ isriq A word said when treating babies for demonic possession or evil eye. One
fumigates the [victim's] face with incense (*yudaxxanu wa-yubaxxaru fi wajhihi*), then says:
'SRIQ 'ISRQ isriq isriq meaning "Be bitten (*kun ma'dūd*) O jinni!" 0

'USRUQ osruq "Fart (*rudām*)." 0

osruq

'USRIQ: usriq "Sleepy (*wasnān*)," of a person.

usriq

'AΓ'DUQ KİŞY ayduq kiši "A stranger, one whose identity is unknown (*ad-daxil alladī*
lā yu'rafu man huwa)." 'DΓUQ ad'yuq is a variant, by metathesis. 0

ayduq
D

'AΓRUQ: ayruq "Heavy merchandise (*taqal al-matā'*)." ⁶ Thus :: 'AΓIR 'AΓ'RUQ: ayruq
QAYUVDA' QAL'DIY ayir ayruq qayūda qaldi "Where was the baggage (*al-ḥaml wa-t-taqal*)
left?" 0

'IWRQ iwriq "Ewer (*ibriq*)." This agrees with Arabic in sound and sense, except that
the *bā'* was changed to *wā'* in Turkic. Verse:

[I. 92/100]

63

'IWRQ BAŞY QAZLAYUV
SAΓRQ TULUV KUZLAYUV
SAQINJ QUDY KIZLAYUV
TUN KUN BILA' SAWNALIM'

iwriq baši qazlayu
saγraq tolu közlāyü
saqinč qodī kizlāyü
tün kün bilā säwnālim

V

"The head of the ewer is (upright) like (the neck of) a goose and the cup is full like the eye, so
let us bury sadness under it and be joyful night and day." 0

'UQ'RÜQ uqruq "Lasso (*wahaq*)." Proverb [cf. 539 ya]: TA'ΓIF 'UQRUQN 'AK'M'S uqruq P
TNKIZNY QAY'ΓIQN BUKM'S tāyig uqruqin āgmās, tāñizni qayyuqin bögmās 0 "The (lofty)
mountain cannot be bent with a lasso, 0 the sea cannot be dammed up with a boat." 0 This
means that an important matter cannot be rejected for a weak cause. 0

5. Second U is perhaps A (scratchy, cannot be distinguished); therefore *ortaq?*

6. Later changed to *aṭ-taqal wa-l-matā'*.

'UQLUQ	oqluq	"Quiver (<i>kināna</i>)."	0	oqluq
'AL'JAQ	alçaq	"Forbearing, gentle (<i>ḥalīm zārīf</i>)."	0	alçaq
'ULDUQ 'AT'	olduq at	"A shoeless (<i>ḥāfi</i>) horse (or other)."	0	olduq
'ALFUQ	alɣuq	Name of a village belonging to Kāşyar.	0	alɣuq N
'AM'RAQ KUNKUL	amraq köñül	"A warm, pure (<i>maḥmūm naqī</i>) heart."		amraq

K

'IB'RUK iprük "A mixture of curdled and fresh milk (*an yuxlaṭa r-rā'ib bi-l-laban al-ḥalīb*)" which is drunk as a laxative by one who is constipated from drinking sour (*raṭi'a*) or churned milk (*maxīd*). 0

'BMAK äpmäk "Bread (*xubz*)."

Dialect of Yağma and Tuxsi and part of Oɣuz and Qif-äpmäk D
 çāq. In Arabic there is an equivalent of this [i.e. the alternation *p-t* in äpmäk ~ ätmäk] in the
 alternation of *wāw* and *bā'*, because of the closeness of the points of articulation, and then of *tā'*
 and *wāw*, as in the oath *bi-llāhi wa-llāhi ta-llāhi* ("By God!"). 0 However, this rule is rarely G
 applied in Turkic. 0

'ÄTLIK¹ ätlik "Meat hook (*mi'lāq al-laḥm*)."

Also, "a sheep prepared for the slaughter ätlik
 (*uḥḍirat li-d-dabḥ*)" is called: 'AT'LIK QVY ätlik qōy meaning "meat sheep." 0

"A corpulent (*daxm*) man" is called: 'ATLIK KİŞY ätlig kişi. Also "one who owns meat ätlig
 (*şāḥib al-laḥm*)" is called: 'ATLIG² KİŞY ätlig kişi. With a thin *kāf*. It is my intention not to G
 mention adjectivals except those that would not be known if they were not mentioned. 0

'AT'RAK äträk "Ruddy (*aşqar*)," of a man. Oɣuz dialect. 0 äträk D

'UTRUK³ ötrük "Scheming (*muḥtāl*)."

Oɣuz dialect. Verse: ötrük D

'UT'RUK³ 'UTN 'UFRİY LAYUV YUZKA' BAQ'R V
 'ILKIN TUŞB' BIR'MİŞ 'ŞĠ BAŞRA' QAQ'R
 ötrük utun oyrilayu yüzkä baqār
 elgin tüşip bermiş aşıy başra qaqār

[I. 94/102]

64

"(There has remained from among men) he who is scheming (*dā ḥīla*) and ignoble, who looks into

- 63
1. First I (black) crossed out in brown.
 2. Three dots of G in brown ink.
 3. Second U altered from original A (?).

(a guest's) face as though he were a thief, who vaunts over the traveller-guest what he feeds him and hits him over the head with it [i.e. throws it in his face]." 0

'UTLUK ötlük "Advice (*'iža*)." One may also use: 'UVUT_ övüt for "advice"; its root-form is: 'UKUT_ ögüt. 0 ötlük

'ATMAK ätmäk "Bread (*xubz*)." 0 ätmäk

'IJ·LIK ičlik "Saddle cloth (*waliyya as-sarj*)." 0 ičlik

'IJ·MAK ičmäk "Fleece, sheepskin (*farw al-birqān*)." 0 ičmäk

'IDRIK idrig Something "rough (*xašin*)." Arḡu dialect. Its root-form is: IRIK irig. 0 idrig
D

'UDLAK¹ ödläg "Time (*zamān*)." Verse [= 462 *yunčiy*]: ödläg

'UDLK QAMUĠ KUFRADIY	ödläg qamuy käwrädi	V
'AR·DAM 'ARIĠ SAWRADY	ärdäm ariy säwrädi	
YUNJIĠ YAWUZ TAWRADY	yunčiy yawuz tawradi	
'AR·DAM BAKY JARTILUVR	ärdäm begi čartilür	

"Time has become weak and virtues few, the weak and obscure have grown strong, since the emir of virtues passed away" – meaning Afrāsiyāb the king. 0

'UDRAK NA'NK üdräg nāñ "Anything thriving, prospering (*rāyi*' [defined])." üdräg

'ADLIK NA'NK ädlik nāñ "Anything that can be put to good use (*yuntafa'u bihi*)." 0 ädlik

'URPAK ürpäk "Shaggy (*aš'at*)," of an animal or man. 0 ürpäk

'ARTIK ärtik "A well-travelled road (*ṭarīq maslūk*)." 0 ärtik

'URTUK² örtüg "The covering (*sutra*)" over anything, such as a saddle cover, or the brocade used to cover the graves of nobles; also "the cover (*γiṭā*)" of anything. 0 örtüg

'URJUK örčüg "Braid (*ḍafīra*)." Oḡuz dialect. It is the metathesized form of: 'UR-KUJ³ örgüč [60]. 0 örčüg

-
- 64
1. Dot of D partially altered to *sukūn*(') in brown ink.
 2. Second U altered from original A (?).
 3. First U altered from original A (?).

'URDAK ördäk "Duck (*iwazz*)." Proverb: QA'Z' QUBSA' 'URDAK KUVLG 'K'NVR ördäk
[sic] qāz qopsa ördäk kölüg ellänür (?) "When the goose⁴ rises from the pond the duck takes P
possession of it." This is coined about an obscure person who lords it over a people after their real
master leaves. 0

'ARSAK' 'ŞL'R ärsäk eşlär "Prostitute (*mūmisa bā'iyā*)." Proverb: 'ARSAK 'ARK' ärsäk
TKM'S 'IYWAK 'AWK' TKM'S ärsäk ärkä tägmäs, ewäk äwkä tägmäs "The hasty prostitute (*al-* P
'ajūl min al-bawā'ī) rarely finds men (because of her extreme haste

[I. 95/104]

65

which does not accord with her purposes; similarly) the hasty man does not get home (since he
jades his riding animal in his haste.)" This is as the Prophet said, "The traveller stranded because
his mount died has neither crossed a land nor left a mount alive." This is coined to advise some-
one to leave off haste.

'AR'LIK ärlik "Manliness (*rujūliyyā*)." ärlik

'AR'NAK ärnäk "Finger (*işba'*)." A variant of 'R'NG'K¹ ärnäk. 0 ärnäk D

'IYZ'LIK izlik "Sandal (*hiḍā'*)" of the Turks, made from camel hide. Proverb: 'IZLIK izlik P
BULSA' 'AR' 'ULDIYMA'S' 'IJ'LK BULSA' 'AT' YAI'R'YIM'S izlik bolsa är oldīmās, ičlik bolsa är
yayrīmās "When there is a sandal (accompanying) a man he does not go barefoot; when there is a
saddle cloth (on the back of) a horse he does not get galled." [This is coined] to advise prudence.
0

'AS'RUK äsrük "Drunk (*sakrān*)." 0 äsrük

'AWŞUK äwşük "Beam, rafter (*'arıḍa*)." 0 äwşük

'ILRUK ilrük "Rue (*ḥarmal*)." Dialect of Uč. 0 ilrük D

'UMZUK² ümzük "Tip of a saddle-tree in front or back (*ṭaraf ḥanw as-sarj muqaddam^{an}*
wa-mu'axxaran)." 0 ümzük

'IK'DUK igdük A food made from milk and curdled milk, similar to cheese. 0 igdük

'AKRIK ägrik "Yarn (*γazl*)." 0 ägrik

'UG'RUK¹ ügrük "Rocking of a baby's cradle (*taḥrīk al-mahd li-ş-şabī*)." 0 ügrük

4. MS. *xayt* in error for *baṭt*.

1. Three dots of G in brown ink.

2. First U altered from original A (?).

'AK·ŠIK_ äkšig Anything "sour (*muzz*)" such as a sour pomegranate. 0 äkšig

'AKSUK ägsük "Defective (*nāqış*)," of anything. :: 'KSUK YARMA'Q ägsük yarmāq ägsük
"A defective dirham." 0

'UG·MAK¹ ügmäk "Woman's earring (*xurş, ħalaqa*)," of gold or silver. 0 It is an ügmäk
infinitive in root-meaning. 0

One calls anything "piled up (*mukawwam*):" 'UKMA'K ükmäk. It is also an infinitive ükmäk
in its root-meaning. 0

'ANDAK ändäk "Roof (*sath*)." Öyüz dialect. ändäk D

L

'UJKÜIL_ üçgil "Triangle (*muḫallaf* [defined])." 0 üçgil

'R·SAL SAJ_ arsal sač "Chestnut (*aşhab*) hair." 0 arsal

'AŞTAL 'UĞUL aştal oğul "Child of a man's old age (*'ujza walad ar-rajul*)." 0 aştal

'ANDIK 'AR_ ändik ar "A simple-minded (*ablah*) man." Proverb: 'ANDIK 'UMA' ändik P
'AWLIKNY 'AĞIR·LA'R_ ändik ümä äwligni ayırlār "The simple-minded guest is one who enter-
tains the host." This means that it is the guest who should be entertained. Verse:

[I. 97/106]

66

'AN·DIK KİŞİY TA'YTILSUVN
'IYL TURV YATILSUVN [sic]
TUQLY PURY YAYTILSUVN²
QDĠV YM' SAWLSUVN

ändik kişi tētilsün
ēl törü ētilsün¹
toqli böri yētilsün
qadıyu yemä sawulsün

V

"(We shall uncover trouble with the sword,) so that the simple-minded come to his senses, the realm prosper, the wolf walk with the six-month lamb close behind,³ and care leave us." 0

66 1. The translation (*taşluḫu*) requires this reading. Possibly the initial *alif* (') was omitted by an over-zealous scribe who thought it was otiose after the V of TURV and did not belong with a Turkic word.

2. First Y altered to Q in brown ink; *qatilsün* ("may lamb and wolf be joined together") would be an excellent reading (cf. QB 461, 1040, 3096) but would not accord as well with the euphony of the rhyme position or with the translation (see next note).

3. *fa-yamši q-di'b ma'a l-jada'a min aq-di'b ma'an xalfahu*. The last four words are crossed out in MS., but the sense accords with 476 *yetil*. (*lahiqā*). Clauson (ED, 469) amends *min aq-di'b* to *min aq-da'n*; cf. 217 *toqlu*.

M

'UTRUM ötrüm "Purgative (*dawā' mushil*)."⁰ One calls "milkweed (*šubrum*)": ötrüm
 SUVT_ 'UTRUM sūt ötrüm. This is close to the Arabic [in sound and sense]. 0

'AX'ŠAM_ axšam "Evening (*waqt al-ma'rib*)."⁰ axsam

'AḌ'RIM_ ädrim ["Saddle-pad"] The leather and felt that is beneath both sides of the ädrim
 saddletree. 0

'UDRUM üdrüm The "best or choice (*xiyār*)" of a set of things. 0 üdrüm

'AR'DAM_ ärdäm "Refinement, virtue (*adab, maṅqiba*)."⁰ Proverb [= 169 til, 501 tīl]: ärdäm
 'AR'DAM BAŠIY TIYL ärdäm baši tīl "The head of virtue is the tongue" — the one who knows P
 how to speak well gains honor thereby. 0

'US'TAM_ üstäm The "inlay (*mā yuraṣṣa'u*)" of gold and silver in the buckles of belts or üstäm
 saddle straps. It is what the Oγuz call: SA'XT sāxt [Persian loanword]. 0 D

'IS'RIM KIŠY isrim kiši "A man who clenches his teeth and scowls (*mutaqabbid, isrim*
qaṭūb)."⁰

'IŠKUM išküm "A large bowl-shaped tray (*mā'ida ka-hay'a al-jafna*) which is put before išküm
 the king." It has no legs. 0

BYR 'UQTAM YZR bīr oqtam yēr "A bowshot length (*qadr ramiyya*) of land." 0 oqtam

'AK'RIM_ ägrim "Whirlpool (?), a place where water collects (*tayhūr⁴ al-mā' wahwa*
mustanqa'uhu)."⁰ ägrim

'IM'RAM imräm "All the groups of the realm when they embark boldly on a matter imräm
 (*kull jamā'āt min ahl al-walāya idā xāḍū fī amr*)."⁰ :: 'MRAM TIYRIŠTY [sic] imräm täpräšti
 "The community (*jamā'a*) was set in motion."

N

'UTTUN utyun A broad strap on the saddle from the left⁵ side; the ring of the girth is utyun
 attached to it and fastened with its tongue.

'ARQUN arqun "A horse that is crossbred from a wild stallion and a tame mare." It is arqun.
 the fastest racehorse. 0

4. Clauson (ED, 113) amends to *tayhuwa*; but cf. *tayhūr* "quicksand" at 199 *tarim*. Normally *wahwa* introduces a definition of the Arabic key-term translating the Turkic; here in error for *wa-*?

5. MS. *ansā*, error (?) for *aysar*.

- 'URKAN' örgän "Thong of a camel' girth (*nis'*)." Oğuz dialect. 0 örgän D
- 'AR_KAN_ ärkän A particle meaning "at the time of (*hālata*)" such-and-such. ärkän
- [I. 98/108] 67
- Thus :: 'UL KALUR 'ARKA'N_ KUR_DUM ol kälür ärkän kördüm "I saw him at the time of his coming." 0
- 'IRKIN SUVW irkin sūw "Water that has collected in a place (*mustanqa'*)." The same irkin
for anything "gathered together (*mujtama'*)." From this comes the title of the Qarluq chiefs: N
KVL: 'IRKIN kōl irkin meaning that his intelligence is "gathered together like a full pond." 0
- 'IRKIN YAĞMUR irkin yağmur "Rain which lasts for days (*dā'im ayyāman*)." 0
- 'ARQUN arqun The word for "next year (*al-'ām al-muqbil*)." Thus :: 'ARQUN 'YZY arqun
arqun İzi "Next year and the year after." 0
- 'URKUN ürkün "The panic (*hazāhiz*) that befalls a people because of the enemy so that ürkün
they flee to forts and castles."
- 'UTRAN otran "Trousers (*sarāwīl*)." I heard it in Yağma. 0 otran D
- 'IJ_KIN 'AR_ ičkin är "A man who has come over from the enemy and whom they grant ičkin
safe conduct (*daxala min al-'aduww mustaslim^{an} wa-āmanūhū*)." 0
- 'US_TUN üstün A particle meaning "above (*fawq*)." :: 'ANDĀ'¹ 'US_TUN anda üstün üstün
"Above it." 0
- 'ASTIN astin A particle meaning "below (*taht*)." It is an uncouth word; the more ele- astin
gant form is: 'ALTIN altin. 0 D
- 'AWRAN äwrän "Something built in the shape of a smith's furnace and used for bak - äwrän
ing."
- 'ALTIN altin A particle meaning "below (*taht*)." 0 altin
- 'İŞFUN işyun "Rhubarb (*ribās*)." 0 işyun
- 'AŞKIN TUBRA'Q äşkin topraq "Earth (or sand) that is poured out (*munhāl*)." äşkin
- "Riding at a gallop (*safar mu'addi*)" is called: 'AŞKIN äşkin. Hence "a mounted express
courier" is called: 'AŞKINJY äşkinči. 0
- 'AMŞAN amšan "Fleece, a skin made into a fur (*burqān, jild yuttaxadu minhu l-faru*)." amšan
0

'ANDĀ'N² *andan* An Oğuz word meaning "after that (*ba'da dālika*)." Thus :: 'ANDAN *andan* D
'AY·DIM *andan aydim* "I said after that (*ba'dahu*)." The Turks say: 'ANDA' *anda* with *alif*, but
the meaning is "there (*hunāka*)" [78]; thus :: MAN 'ANDA' 'AR·DIM *mān anda ārdim* "I was
there."

Doubled

T

'ARTUT *ärtüt* "A gift (*hadiyya*)," such as a horse, or the like, offered in the presence of *ärtüt*
emirs, or others; then every gift came to be called: 'ARTUT·*ärtüt*.

Q

'ARQUQ KIŠIY *arquq kiši* "Obstinate (*ḥarūn*)," of a man. 0 'ARQUQ *arquq* "A *arquq*
wooden obstruction (*xašaba mu'tariḍa*) between two walls or columns."

K

'UBKUK *üpgük* "Hoopoe (*hudhud*)." Čigil dialect. 0 *üpgük* D

[I. 100/110]

68

'AM·KAK *ängäk* "Hardship (*miḥna*)." Proverb: 'AM·KAK 'AKINDA' QALMA'S *ängäk P*
ängäk ägindä qalmās 0 "Hardship does not remain (stuck) to the shoulders (of those who are
deprived or afflicted)." This is similar to the words of God Most High [Q.94:6]: "truly with
hardship comes ease."

'UM·KUK *ümgük* "Fontanel – i.e., the soft part of the skull (*al-qurqūf wahwa ramā'a*¹
ar-ra's)." *ümgük* Verse:

'AY·DY SANIK 'UVDV	<i>aydi sānig üdu</i>	<i>ängäk V</i>
'AM·KAK TALIM 'YDV	<i>ängäk tālim İdu</i>	
YUMŠAR QTİG 'VDV	<i>yumšar qatıy üdu</i>	
KUNK·LUM· SANK' YUKRUK	<i>könlüm saña yügrük</i>	

Describing the passing phantom of his beloved, he says [cf. 59 *aṇar*], "How did you cross these
hard mountain paths to us?" and he answers: "I endured hardships because of you, and so the
mountains softened; my heart is racing toward you." 0

'ASKAK *äsgäk* "Ass (*ḥimār*)." One of two dialectal variants, the other being: 'ŠYA'K *äsgäk D*
äšyäk. The *yā'* is an alternant of one of the doubled letters. The same thing is permitted in Arabic

2. Second A: another A added in brown ink; also second *alif* (') in brown ink.

as in the phrase *taqaḍḍā l-bāzī* – its root-form is *taqaḍḍāda* (“the hawk swooped”); or in the words of God [Q.75:33]: *tumma ḍahaba ilā ahlihi yatamaḥḥā* – i.e. *yatamaḥḥātu* (“then he went to his household arrogantly”); or [Q.91:10]: *wa-qad xāba man dassāhā* – its root-form is *dassasahā* (“and failed has he who seduces it”).² 0

'AR·KAK *ärkāk* The “male (*ḍakar*)” of any animal. Thus “cock (*'utrufān*)” is called: *ärkāk*
0 'AR·KAK TAQ·ḤV *ärkāk taqāyu*. 0

'INKAK *ingäk* “Cow (*baqara*).” 0 *ingäk*

'INKAK *ingäk* “Female turtle (*al-untā min as-salāḥif*).” Oḡuz dialect. D

Initial Weak

R

'UY·ḤUR *uyḡur* The name of a principality (*wilāya*) composed of five cities, which Ḍu-l *uyḡur* N Qarnayn built when he made peace with the king of the Turks. I was told by Niḡām ad-Ḍīn Isrāfīl Ṭoḡān Tegīn, son of Muḡammad Čaqir Tonqa Khān, on the authority of his father, who said: When Ḍu-l Qarnayn arrived in the vicinity of the principality of Uighur, the Khāqān of the Turks sent toward him four thousand men. The wings of their caps were like the wings of falcons, and they could shoot backward and forward equally. Ḍu-l Qarnayn was astonished at them

[I. 102/112]

69

and said [in Persian]: *inān xuḍ xurand*, meaning “These are independent in feeding themselves” – they have no need of anyone’s food since game never escapes them but they eat it whenever they wish. Therefore the principality was named: XUDXUR *xuḍxur*. Afterward, the [first] *xā*’ was changed to *alif*. This is the case with guttural letters; they alternate with one another, especially *xā*’ with *alif* and *alif* with *xā*’.

G

Maḡmūd, the author of this book, states: In accordance with this, our forefathers, the emirs, used to be called *xamīr*, since the Oḡuz were not able to say *'amīr*; they changed the *alif* to *xā*’ and said *xamīr*. Our forefather – he was the one who conquered the lands of the Turks from the Samanids – used to be called: *al-'amīr* ?JRKYN (?).¹ They changed the *alif* to *xā*’ as I showed you.

D

2. The Arabic words *taqaḍḍā*, *yatamaḥḥā* and *dassā* are spelled with final *yā*’ (*alif maqṣūra*); Kāsyarī considers this *yā*’ an “alternant” of the final consonant in *taqaḍḍāda*, *yatamaḥḥātu* and *dassasa*, which are their respective “root-forms.”

69 1. The text reads: *الامير بجرکين*. Atalay’s suggested reading is: *xamīr tegīn* (Tercüme I, 112n.; Dizin, 832). Togan read the name “Beherkin” (sic; *Atsız Mecmua* 17, 1932, pp. 133-4). The easiest emendation is to: *al-'amīr* (error for *al-xamīr*?) *baḡr tegīn*; or, possibly: *al-'amīr naṡr tegīn*. According to Pritsak (*TM* 10, 1953, pp. 243-4) he must be Buḡra Khān Hārūn al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān, who conquered Bukhara from the Samanids in 382/992, rather than Arslan Ilig Naṡr ibn 'Alī, who together with Maḡmūd of Ghazna brought an end to the Samanid state in 389/999.

Concerning Uighur: When they changed the *xā'* to *alif* they made the *ḡāl* in *xuḡ* into a *yā'* – this is an important rule, namely that *ḡāl* may be made *yā'*. Then they made the *xā'* in *xur* into a *ḡayn* – the alternation of *xā'* with *ḡayn* and *ḡayn* with *xā'* is permitted [in Arabic also] as in *xatara* ~ *ḡadara* (“he betrayed”).

This principality consists of five cities whose people are the strongest of the infidels and the best shooters. They are: SULMY *sulmi* which *Ḍu-l Qarnayn* built; then: QUVJUV *qōḡo*; then: JANBALIQ *janbaliq*; then: BIYŠ BALIQ *bēš baliq*; then: YANKY BĀLYQ *yaḡi baliq*. N

Š

'AYTIŠ *aytiš* “The inquiring after one another’s health (*an yas’ala r-rajulān kull wāḡid minhumā ḡāl al-āxar*).” *aytiš*

Γ

'ĀYITĪΓ *aytiḡ* A variant of: 'AYITIŠ *aytiš* meaning “the inquiring after one’s health (*al-istixbār ‘an as-salāma*),” or the like. *aytiḡ* D

Q

'AYRUQ *ayruq* A variant [of 62 *adruq*] meaning “other (*ḡayr*).” *Oḡuz* dialect. *ayruq* D

'AYRIQ *ayriq* “Peat (*tīl*)” – it is a tender plant. The Turks call it: 'ḌRIQ *adriq*, and the *Oḡuz* change it [i.e. the *ḡ*] to *yā'*. 0 *ayriq* D

::'AYLUQ 'AYLUQ *ayloq ayloq* “Thus, thus (*kaḡā kaḡā*).” *Oḡuz* dialect. *ayloq* D

Doubly Weak

L

'AYLA' *ayla* – *Oḡuz* dialect – “Thus (*ka-ḡālika*).” :: 'AYLA' QILḡIL *ayla qilḡil* “Do thus (*kaḡā*).” *ayla* D

'UYLA' *öylä* “Noon (*ḡuhr*).” *Oḡuz* dialect. The *Qifḡāq* make the *yā'* into *zāy* and say: 'UZLA' *özlä*. *öylä* D

Another Type

Q

'AJLIQ *āčliq* “Hunger (*majā'a*).” 0 *āčliq*

[I. 104/114]

70

'AŠLIQ *ašliq* “Kitchen (*maḡbax*).”¹ The *Oḡuz* call “wheat (*burr*)”: "AŠLIQ *āšliq*. *ašliq* D

K

'ŠYAK äšyäk "Ass (*ḥimār*)."' 'AŠKAK äšgäk is a variant; the form with *yā*' [i.e. äšyäk] äšyäk D is more elegant.

W

'AWIYA awya "Quince (*safarjal*)."' A variant.² awya D

Final Weak

T

'IK'TUV igtü "Stall-fed (*'alūfa*)," of an animal. igtü

R

'AQRUV aqruA particle meaning "slowly (*ruwayd*)."' :: 'AQRV 'AQRV aqru aqru "Slow and gentle! (*taraffaq ruwaydan*)."' aqru

K

'ADKV ädgü "Good (*ḥasan*)," of anything. Verse: ädgü

QUŠ'NIY QUNUM 'AḤIŠQA'	qošni qonum oyišqa	V
QILḤIL 'ANKAR' 'AḤIR'LQ'	qilyil aḥar aḥirliq	
'ARTUT 'ALIB' 'ANUNḤIL	ärtüt alip anunḥil	
'ADKUV TAWAR' 'UḤURLUQ	ädgü tawar uḥurluq	

"Honor and respect your clansmen; when you receive a gift prepare a good recompense for it."

Another Type

'AM'ŠUVY: amšuy A kind of plum (*ajāš*); it is yellow. amšuy

Nasal

Z

- 70
1. MS. *muḥbax* – not a classical form; perhaps to be read *miḥbax* "cooking implement."
 2. Presumably *aywa*, the regular form, has dropped from the text.

'ANKDUZ **aṅduz** “Elecampane (*rāsan*)”³ – it is the root of a plant that is dug up and used to cure horses of stomach-ache. Proverb: 'ANK'DZ BULSA' 'AT' 'ULM'S **aṅduz bolsa at ölmäs** 0 “If there is elecampane³ the horse will not die (of stomach-ache)” – since he can be made to drink it and then will recover. This is coined [as advice] for travellers to be prepared. **aṅduz** P

J

'INKLJ **iṅlič** A mountain plant, similar to garlic, which is eaten with roast meat. **iṅlič**

K

'NKLK **äṅlik** “Rouge (*raxf*)” – a red color used to paint women’s cheeks (*wajanāt*). **äṅlik**

N

'UNKDUN **öṅdün** A particle meaning “front (*quddām*).” The Oḡuz drop the *dāl* and **öṅdün** D *nūn* and say: 'UNK' **ön**, :: 'NKDUN YURUT' **öṅdün yort** “Ride in front (*sir bi-farasika quddāmān*).” They have the correct form.⁴

Final Nasal

'UL'DANK **uldaṅ** “Sole of a shoe (*aṣfal al-xuff*).” Proverb: 'IT'Q' 'WUT 'AT'SA' **uldaṅ** P 'ULDANK YIY(T)M'S **itqa uwut itsä uldaṅ yēmäs** 0 “If one beats modesty into a dog it will not eat the sole of a shoe.” 0 This is coined to advise someone to behave modestly. The meaning is: One who is forced to be modest stops his bad behavior

[I. 105/116]

71

out of modesty.

L

'ŽLNK **azlaṅ** “Chameleon (*ḥirbā*).” With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. **azlaṅ** D Oḡuz dialect.

D

'IZDANK **izdaṅ** “A kind of net (*šabaka*) for catching fish.” One plants a row of thin stakes in the water leaving an opening in the middle of the channel, and throws the net over the mouth of the opening. The fish go into it and are pulled out all at once. **izdaṅ**

S

3. Originally *turmus* “lupine,” altered to *rāsan* in pencil (?); EP has *rāsan*.

4. Referring to the Oḡuz; presumably the second sentence and the example sentence should be reversed.

'AXSUNK' 'AR' **axsuṅ** är "A man who is brawling drunk (*mu'arbid fī sukrihi*)." A dialect variant of: 'AXSUM **axsum**. **axsuṅ**
D

Initial Weak

B

'AY·BANG¹ 'AR' **aypaṅ** är "Bald (*aṣla'*) man." Čigil dialect. **aypaṅ** D

'AY·DINK **aydiṅ** "Moonlight (*faxt al-qamar*)." **aydiṅ**

Final Weak

'AR·INGA·N₁' 'AR' **ärṅān** är "Unmarried (*'azab*) man." Proverb: 'ARNK·N₁·KA' **ärṅān** P
'ALIK·QARĪY·BUVZUN·'UVM·TUIKA·MA·S' **ärṅānkä** ällig qari bōzün üm tükāmās "Fifty cubits of cloth are not enough for the trousers of an unmarried man" – since a stranger will not sew it for him. This is coined to advise someone to marry.

Chapter: *af'āl, uf'āl, if'āl*, vocalized second radical, in its various vocalizations

R

'ARQA·R' **arqār** "Mountain she-antelope (*arwiyya* [defined])." Its horns are made into knife handles. 0 **arqār**

'ŠBA·R' **ašbār** "A mixture of moistened straw and bran that is fed to horses." 0 **ašbār**

'AIŠL·R' **ešlār** "Woman (*mar'a*)." Its root-form is: 'AŠIYLA·R' **ešilār** meaning "noble women (*as-sayyidāt min an-nisā'*)"; the *yā'* dropped for lightening since the word was used so often. It is a plural used as a singular. There is a long story behind the giving of this name. **ešlār**
G

Γ

'UXŠA·Γ' **oxšāγ** "Like or similar (*šabiḥ*)." :: 'ANIK·'UXŠA·TIY **anig oxšāyi** "One who resembles him." 0 **oxšāγ**

'AR·QA·Γ' **arqāγ** "Weft (*luḥma at-tawb*)." **arqāγ**

'UWRUVΓ' **owrūr** A variant of: 'UΓ·RUVΓ' **owrūr** [61-62] meaning the "joint (*maf-šil*)" of a bone or the "bend (*jiz', manqaṭa'*)"² of a mountain. **owrūr**
D

'UWRUVΓ' **owrūr** "First vertebra of the neck (*fahqa*)." The more correct form **owrūr**
D

71 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.
2. MS. *jaz', manqaṭa'*.

for all three of these is: 'UFRUVΓ oγrūy.

'UFRU'Γ uγrāy "Aim, intention (*qaşd*, 'azīma)." 0

uγrāy

'ANDA'Γ andāy A particle meaning "thus (*ka-dālika*)." Thus :: 'ANDAΓ 'AY'DIM andāy aydim "Thus (*kaḍā*) said I." Çigil dialect. 0

andāy

D

'NIDΓ indāy (?) "Frame of a sieve (*iṭār al-munxul wa-l-γirbāl*)." 0

indāy ?

Q

'UBRA'Q oprāq A "tattered (*xalaq*)" garment, or other. Thus :: 'UBRA'Q TVN oprāq tōn "A tattered garment." 0

oprāq

'ATΓA'Q atyāq "Bile, colic (*şufār*, *qawlanj*)." A plant with yellow flowers is called: 'ATΓA'Q atyāq. Any face that is yellow with grief is likened to it.

atyāq

UJMA'Q ucmāq "Paradise (*al-janna*)." 0

Verse: ucmāq

TURLK JJK YAZIL'DIY
BARJIN YAḌM KARILDY
'UJM'Q YARY KURUL'DIY
TUMLΓ YAN' KALKUVSUVZ

türlüg çeçäk yazildi
barcın yaḍım kārildi
uçmāq yeri körüldi
tumliγ yana kälgüsüz

V

Describing springs: "Varieties of flowers have split open, (as though) a brocade carpet has been spread, and the land of paradise has been seen; (the season has become so temperate that) cold will never return." 0

'AXSA'Q axsāq "Lame (*a'raj*)." 0

axsāq

'ART'Q NA'NK artāq nāḅ "Something spoiled or corrupt (*fāsid*)." 0

artāq

'URΓA'Q oryāq "Scythe (*minjal*)." 0

oryāq

'UΓ'RA'Q oγrāq A tribe of the Turks inhabiting a frontier district called: QARA' oγrāq N YIΓA'J qara yiγāç.

'AFLA'Q YYR' aγlāq yēr "A lonely or unfrequented (*lā anīs bihi*) place." 0

aγlāq

'UFL'Q oγlāq "Kid (*jady*)." Proverb: 'UFLA'Q YLIK SIZ 'UFL'N BILK SIZ oγlāq yiliksiz oγlān biligsiz 0 "There is no intelligence in babies, just as there is no marrow in (the bones of) kids."

oγlāq P

K

'IS·TA'K *istāk* "Inquiry, prosecution, investigation (*ṭalab, tatabbu', faḥṣ*)" of a thing. *istāk*
Thus :: 'IS·TAK QUB·DIY¹ *istāk qopdi* "The inquiry (*ṭalab*) was stirred up." 0

'US·TA'K *üstäg* "Added amount (*ziyāda*)," as when 100 is added to 1000. Thus :: MAN *üstäg*
'US·TA'K BIYR·DIM· *mān üstäg bērdim* "I gave him the added amount."

N

'B·L'N *aplān* A small animal of the rat (*jirdān*) genus. *aplān*

'AR·ḤUVN *aryūn* A small animal of the rat (*jirdān*) genus. Its body is as long as half a cubit, and it is used to hunt out small birds in the crevices of walls. If it attacks a sheep, its flesh turns yellow; and if it attacks a man *aryūn*

[I. 108/120]

73

in his sleep, he suffers retention of urine. 0

'LTVN *altūn* "Gold (*dahab*)." 0 *altūn*

'UMK'N *ömgān* "Jugular vein (*wadaj*)." 0 *ömgān*

'IN·KA'N *ingān* "She-camel (*nāqa*)." Proverb: 'IN·KA'N 'INK·RASA' BUTUV BUZ- *ingān P*
LA'R *ingān inrasa botu bozlār* 0 "When the she-camel moans the baby-camel grumbles (in answer)." 0 This is coined about the longing of relatives for each other. 0

Initial Weak

š

'UYN'Š· *oynāš* "A woman who has an illicit lover (*lahā man yarhaquhā ḥarāman*)." *oynāš*

Q

'UYN'Q 'ŠL'R *oynāq ešlār* "A coquettish (*ṭula'a xuba'a*) woman." *oynāq*

N

'AY·RA'N· *ayrān* 'Churned milk (*māxiḍ*)." *ayrān*

With Final *Vāv*

F

'UYNA·ḤUV YIYR· *oynāyu yēr* "Playground (*mil'ab*)." *oynāyu*

Defective

N

'ULYA'N¹ ulyān A sweet-smelling edible root of a plant (*ar-rāl* [? – defined]). ulyān

Nasal

K

'ARNK'K **ärñāk** "Finger (*iṣba'*)."² Proverb: BIYŠ 'RNK'K TUVZ 'ARMA'S bēš **ärñāk** **ärñāk** P
tüz **ärmās** "The five fingers are not equal" – and likewise people are unlike one another.

'URNGA'K² **ürñāk** "Gypsum (*jaṣṣ*)."³ **ürñāk**

Chapter: *fa'āl, fa'ūl*

J

'ALUVJ **alūč** "Yellow plum (? *barqūq*)."³ **alūč**

'ULA'R **ulār** "Partridge (*ya'qūb*)."³ **ulār**

Z

'UVSUVZ K₁ŠY **ūsūz kiši** "A sleepless (*šaqqdān*) one." 0 **ūsūz**

'ISIZY **esīz** "Naughty (*a'ram*)," of a child. 0 **esīz**

'ADIZY **ādīz** "Raised (*murtafi'*)." of anything. **ādīz**

Š

'AIKYŠ **egīš** "The filings of any ore which is smelted (*suhāla kull mā yudābu min al-jawāhir*)."³ 0 **egīš**

'IKYŠ **igīš** "Unruly (*ḥarūn*)," of an animal. **igīš**

K

'AIWA'K 'AR' **ewāk är** "A hasty (*'ajūl*) man." 0 **ewāk**

-
- 73 1. Y altered from B by later hand (one dot in brown ink).
2. Three dots of G in brown ink.
3. MS. *barūd*.

'A₁LUVK⁴ **älük** "Mockery (*suxriyya*)."

älük

Γ

'ULA'Γ **ulāy** "A horse which an express courier takes by order of the emir and rides until he finds another."

ulāy

'ULA'Γ **ulāy**⁵ "Patch (*ruq'a*) of a garment."

Q

'UX'Q **oxāq** "The juice of dried apricots (*'uṣāra falīq al-mišmiš*)"⁶ which is drunk. 0

oxāq

'UŠ'Q **ušāq** "Slander (*namīma*).": 'UŠ'Q SUVZ **ušāq sōz** "Words of slander."

ušāq

L

'USA'L_ K₁Š₁Y **osāl kiši** "A negligent (*γāfil fī l-umūr*) person." 0

osāl

'IN'L **ināl** The name for any young man whose mother is a Khātūn

ināl N

[I. 110/122]

74

and whose father is a commoner. This is the root-meaning.

N

'UJA'N_ **učān** "A boat with two sails (*safīna dāt janāḥayn*).": Qifčāq dialect.

učān D

Initial Weak

'AYA'S' KVK **ayās kōk** "Clear (*muṣḥiya*) sky." Thus mamlukes may be called: 'A₁YA'S **ayās** N **ayās**, likening to it the clearness (*ṣafā'*) of their faces.

N

'UTUVN_ **utūn** "Shameless, vile (*waqīḥ, la'im*)."

utūn

4. I crossed out in brown ink.

5. Gloss in brown ink below the word: YM'Γ **yamāy**.

6. MS. *muššamš*.

Final Weak

K

'UKA'Y' 'ATA' ögāy ata “Stepfather (*rābb*).” One calls a “stepson (*rabīb*)”: 'UKA'Y' ögāy
'UḠUL ögāy oḡul 0 and a “stepdaughter (*rabība*)”: 'UKA'Y' QIYZ ögāy qiz.

M

'UMA'Y' umāy [Placenta] “Something that emerges from the woman’s womb after giving birth”; it is like a container (*ḥuqqa*) and is said to be the companion (*ṣāḥīb*) of the child in the womb. Proverb: 'UMA'Y' QA' TBNSA' 'UḠUL BULVR umāyqa tapinsa oḡul bulūr 0 “One who worships that one [i.e. umāy] will get a child.” They¹ draw a good omen from that. P

Chapter: *fa'li* (*fa'tā*),² in its various vocalizations

B

'ARBA' arpa “Barley (*ša'īr*).” Proverb: 'ARBA'SIYZ 'AT' 'AŠUVMA'S 'ARQ'SIYZ arpa P
'AL'B JARIYK SIYUVMA'S arpašiz at [art] ašūmās, arqasiz alp cārīg siyūmās 0 “The horse is not able to cross the mountain pass until he nibbles on some barley; (and also) the warrior is not able to break the battle line except with a backer to help him.” This is coined to advise helping one another.

T

'URTV ortu The “middle (*wasat*)” of anything. Thus :: 'URTV 'AR' ortu är “Middle-aged (*tawassaṭa min 'umurihi*) man.” :: 'AW' 'UR'TUVSIY äw ortūsi “Middle of the house.” ortu
:: KUVN 'UR'TUV kün ortu “Noon (*zuhr*).” Čigil dialect. 0 D

'AIR'TA' ertä “Early morning (*bukra*).” ertä

J

'AR'JY arči “Saddlebag (*ḥaqība*).” arči

D

'URDUV ordu “Residence of a king (*qaṣaba al-malik*).” Thus the city of Kāšyar is called: 'UR'DUV KAND ordu känd meaning “City of Residence of Kings (*balda al-iqāma wa-qaṣaba al-mulūk*).” 'URDUW ordu A residence near Balāsāyūn. Balāsāyūn also is called: QUVZ ordu
'URDUV qūz ordu from this word. 0 N
N

74 1. Gloss: “Women.” In the text, after the heading “Proverb” comes “of women” (*maṭal an-nisā'*, altered in brown ink to *maṭal li-n-nisā'*), later crossed out.

2. This reading in brown ink.

'URDUV BAŠY **ordu baši** Name for the “bedmaker (*farrāš*)” of kings. 0

'URDUV **ordu** The “burrow (*nāfiqā*)” of a gerboa; the “hole (*ḥijr*)” of a weasel; the “underground habitation (*maskan* . . .

[I. 112/124]

75

taḥta l-arḍ)” of any animal. 0

'UR·DUV T'L **ordu tāl** “Depilatory paste (*nūra*).” One of the two variants [Cf. 84 **ardu tāl** **ardūtāl**]. 0 D

'AK·DUV **āgdi** “A crook-headed knife (*sikkīn mu'aqqaf ar-ra's*)” used to hew out sheaths for swords, or other. **āgdi**

'KDY **āgdi** (?) “Slaughterhouse (*maḍbaḥ*).” 0 **āgdi** ?

'AMD̄IY **amdi** A particle meaning “now (*al-āna*).” :: 'AM·D̄IY KALDIM **amdi kāldim** **amdi** “I came now.” The Oğuz have *kasra* with the *alif* and say: 'IM·DIY **imdi**. Verse: D **imdi**

'UBKAM KLIB·	'UFRADIM	öpkām kälip uḡradim	V
'ARS·LAN LAYUV	KUK·RADIM	arşlanlayu kökrädim	
'ALB·LA'R BAŞIN	TUFRADIM	alplār başin toḡradim	
'AM·DY MĀNY KYM	TUT'R	amdi māni kīm tutār	

“I went toward the enemy in a raging fury; I roared like a lion and cut the warriors' heads; (I called out in the midst of the multitude:) ‘[Now] who can capture me?’ ” 0

'UM·DUV **umdu** “Coveting, begging (*ṭama', su'āl*).” Hence “a beggar (*sā'il*)” is called: **umdu** 'UMDUVJ̄IY **umdūči**. 0

'ANDA' **anda** A particle meaning “there (*hunāka*).” **anda**

R

'UB·RIY **opri** “Pit or hollow (*ḥufra*).” **opri**

'UTRA' **otra** The “middle (*wasṭ*)” of anything – i.e. the middle of anything that has sides. It is a metathesis of: 'UR·TUV **ortu**. 0 **otra**

'AYRUV **ayru** A particle meaning “if not (*in lam*).” Thus :: MUVNY TIYLA'MASA' SAN 'AYRUV NA' KRA'K **mūni tīlāmāsā s̄an ayru nā kārāk** 0 “If you are not (*idā lam*) pleased with this, then what do you want?” 0 **ayru**

'AD·RIY **adri** “Winnowing fork (*miḍrā*)” – i.e., the instrument used to winnow wheat in order to cleanse [the chaff from the grain]. And anything bifurcated (*lahu šu'batān*) is: 'AD·RIY **adri**. Thus “man (*insān*)” is called: 'AD·RIY B̄UT·LUT **adri butluḡ** meaning “split at the thighs (*munfarīj al-faxīdayn*).” **adri**

U'ŪTRUV¹ **utru** "Opposite or facing (*qubāla*)" anything. :: 'UVL MANK' U'ŪTRUV¹ **utru**
 KALDY ol maṅa **utru** kaldi "He came to meet me (*bi-qubālatī*)." 0

'AS'RA' **asra** A particle meaning "under (*taḥta*)."
asra

'IS'RA'² **isra** A word meaning "beyond that place (*dūna ḍālika l-makān*)."
 Thus :: 'UL 'ANDAN 'IS'RA' 'UL ol andan **isra** ol "He is after or beyond (*ba'da, dūna*) that." 0
isra

'AIS'RĪY **esri** "Leopard (*nimr*)."
 0 "A rope with black and white strands (*mubal-laq*)" is called: 'AIS'RĪY YAŠĪF **esri** yišīy. Also anything that is two-colored (*ḍū lawnayn*) is: 'AIS'RĪY **esri** likened to the color of the leopard. 0
esri

'UFRĪY **oγri** "Thief (*liṣṣ*)."
 0
oγri

:: BUM³ [sic] NA'NK 'ANIK 'UFRY 'UL **bu nāṅ anig oγri** ol "This

[I. 114/126]

76

thing is below (*dūna*) that." The root-form is with *kasr* of the *γayn* [i.e. **oγri**], but it was lightened, as one says [in Arabic] *ibīl* or *ibl* ("camels"), *uḍun* or *uḍn* ("ear"). 0

'AGRĪY **āgri** Anything "crooked (*mu'wajj*)."
 Proverb: YLA'N KANDUV 'AKRĪY-SĪYN BĪLM'S TAWAY BUṼY'NIN 'AKRY TYR **yilān kāndu āgrīsīn bilmās, tewe bōynin āgri tēr**
 "The snake does not know its own crookedness (*'iwaj*) but claims that the camel's neck is crooked (*mu'wajj*)."
 This is coined about someone who lays blame where he himself is to blame. 0
āgri P

'UK'RA' **ügrā** "Noodles (*iṭriyya*)."
 It is similar to: TUTM'J **tutmāč** 0 except that it is finer. 0
ügrā

'AILRĪY **elri** "Kid-skin (*badra* [defined])."
 You may say: 'AIL'DIRĪY **eldri** with a *dāl* augment. 0
elri

Z

'ŽRV [sic] **aržu** "Jackal (*ibn āwā*)."
 With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. You say about people who "stand around (*ḥaffū ḥawla*)" something: KŠY 'ŽRVLYV TŪRDĪY¹ **kiši aržūlayu turdi** meaning "The people crowded around him (*izdahama . . . ḥawlahu*) as jackals crowd around a person to eat him."
aržu

-
- 75 1. Second (originally first) U crossed out in brown ink.
 2. Gloss in brown ink below the word: BSR'.
 3. Later gloss (black): BV.

- 76 1. Altered to QRY(?).

S

'AR·SUV ärsü "Vile or depraved (*radal*)," of anything. Oğuz dialect. ärsü D

Γ

'AR·ΓV arγu "Ravine between two mountains (*al-lihb² bayn al-jabalayn*)." From this the country between Tīrāz and Balāsāyūn was named: 'AR·ΓU arγu since it is between two mountains. 0 arγu N

'URΓA' urγa "A tall many-branched tree (*dawḥa*)." Oğuz dialect; also Arγu dialect. 0 urγa D

'IM·Γ' imγa "Treasurer (*al-xāzin li-l-amwāl wa-l-qayyim 'alā jam'ihā*)." 0 imγa

'NΓA' 'AR· inγa är "A vile or depraved (*radl*) man." Anything "fallen or base (*sāqit*)" is called: 'NΓA' inγa.

W

'IR·WY QULA'Q irwi qulāq "A pointed, thin (*mu'allala, ḥašra*) ear." 0 irwi

'IR·WY irwi An Indian medicine.

Q

'AR·QA' arqa "Back (*zahr*)." arqa

'AR·QA' arqa "Backer (*zahr*), one who helps you in misfortune." As in the saying: 'AR·QA'SIZ' 'ALB' JARIK SIYUVMA'S arqāsiz alp čārig siyūmās "The warrior cannot break the battle line except with a backer." [See 74 arpa P.] P

K

'UB·K' öpkä "Lung (*riyya*)." 0 'UB·K' öpkä "Anger (*γayz*)." The reason it is called this is that anger rises in the lung, and the two are closely connected, just as [in Arabic] "rain" may be called "sky." 0 öpkä

[I. 115/128]

77

'UTAKY ötki "Compensatory gift (*iwad*)." Čigil dialect. :: BUV 'ATQA' 'UTAKY ötki D BYRDIM bu atqa ötki bērdim "I gave a compensatory gift for this horse." 0

'AJ·KUV äčkü "Goat ('anz)." 0 äčkü

'IJ·KUV ičkü "Drink (*mašrūb*)," of anything. 0 ičkü

'ADKUV ädgü "Good (*ḥasan*)." Verse [= 277 küL-] ädgü

KUL·SA' KIŠY 'AT·M' 'ANK'R' 'UR·TAR' KULA' V

BAQIL 'ANK'R' 'ADKUVLKUN 'AΓ·ZIN KULA'

külsä kiši atma anār örtär küL-ä

baqqil anār ädgülükün aγzin küLä

"When a person comes toward you smiling, don't pour hot ashes on his face [i.e. put him to shame], but regard him with kindness (*iḥsān*) and a laughing mouth." 0

'AR·KIY ärki A particle of doubt (*šakk*). Thus :: 'UL KALIR· MUV 'AR·KIY ol kälir mü ärki "Is he coming or not (*am lā*)?" It takes the place of an interrogative (*istifhām*). 0 ärki

'URKV örgü "Hump (*sanām*)." 0 örgü

'AS·KV¹ äsgü "Winnowing basket (*minsaf*)." äsgü

'AS·KY äski Anything "old, worn out (*qadīm, bālīm*)." Hence :: 'AS·KY TUVN äski ton "A tattered (*xalaq*) garment." äski

'ULKUV ülgü "Measure (*faymān*)." ülgü

'AL·KA' BULA'Q älkä bulāq A tribe of the Turks. älkä N

L

'UΓ·LA' oyla "Young man (*fatā*)." Arγu dialect. 0 oyla D

'UFLY oγli "Parsnip (? *ḥinzāb*)." It is a sweet white carrot (*jazar*) cultivated in the city of Kāšyar and eaten. 0 oγli

M

'DMA' YLQY idma yilqi "Set free (*sā'iba*), of an animal." idma

'UVR·MA' SAJ· örmä sač "Braid (*dafīra*)." 0 örmä

'AZ·MA'N² azma [Gelded ram] A ram of which the skin of the testicles has been cut so that it is no longer able to mount the female. 0 azma

77 1. VU added in brown ink between *alif* (') and S (thus: *ävüsgü*).

2. N' added in brown ink.

'UŽMA' üžmä	"Mulberry (<i>tūt</i>)." ³ With <i>zāy</i> between the two points of articulation.	0	üžmä
'USMIY TARIM	<i>usmi tarim</i> Name of a large river which flows from the land of Islam toward Uighur and there is absorbed in the sand.	0	usmi N
'AK'M' ägmä	"Arch (<i>ṭāq</i>)" in a house.		ägmä
'UK'M' TUBRA'Q' ükmä	<i>toprāq</i> "Piled up (<i>mukawwam</i>) earth." The same for anything piled up.	0	ükmä
'AL'MA' alma	"Apple (<i>tuffāḥ</i>)." ³ Oğuz dialect. The Turks say: 'LMLA' <i>almila</i> .	0	alma D
'ULMA' olma	"Jar (<i>jarra</i>)."	0	olma
N			
'UT'NUV ötnü	A particle used in connection with loans. :: MAN YARMA'Q 'UT'NUV BİYR'DIM <i>mānyarmāq ötnü berdim</i> "I gave the dirham as a loan (<i>qarḍan</i>)."	0	ötnü
'AŞ'NUV ašnu	A particle meaning "before (<i>qabla</i>)." ⁴ :: MAN 'ANDĀ' ⁴ 'AŞ'NUV KALDIM <i>mān anda ašnu kældim</i> "I came before him." 0		ašnu
'ANDA' anda ⁵	A particle meaning "there (<i>hunāka</i>)." ⁵ The Oğuz		anda
[I. 117/130]			78
change the final <i>alif</i> to <i>nūn</i> [i.e. 67 <i>andan</i>] when the meaning is "after (<i>ba'da</i>)"; but when the meaning is "there" they agree with the others. The alternation of <i>alif</i> and <i>nūn</i> is permitted in Arabic, as in the words of God [Q.26:23]: <i>wa-mā rabbu 'l-'ālamīn</i> ("And what is the Lord of all Being?") in the story of Moses – the <i>alif</i> is an alternant of <i>nūn</i> , since it is not permitted when inquiring about rational beings to say <i>mā hādā</i> ("What is this?"), but rather <i>man</i> ("Who?"); or in the words of God [Q.96:15]: <i>la-nasfa'an bi-n-nāṣiya</i> ("We shall seize him by the forelock") – the <i>alif</i> is an alternant of <i>nūn</i> [i.e. <i>la-nasfa'an</i> , with <i>nūn</i> instead of <i>tanwīn</i>]; 0 or in the verse of al-A'šā:		D	
<i>wa-lā n-nuṣuba¹ l-manṣūba lā ta'budannahu</i>			
			<i>li-'āqiba^{tin} wa-llāha rabbaka fa-'budā</i>
– meaning <i>fa-'budan</i> ("Do not worship the idol that is set up, lest there be a consequence, but God your Lord, [Him] worship!") ²			

3. MS. *tūt*.

4. Second A: another A added in brown ink (indicates nunnation, thus: *andan*).

5. This entry is out of order here; see 75 *anda*.

78 1. MS. *n-nasba* (vowels in brown ink).

20: 2. Cf. R. Geyer, ed., *Gedichte von . . . al-'A'šā* (Gibb Memorial Series, 1928), no. 17 (p. 103), v.

Chapter: *fa'lā*'IKY **ekki** The number "two (*iṭnān*)."**ekki**Nasal with *jīm*Chapter: *fu'ul*

T

'UTN̄J **ötünč** "Loan (*qarḍ*).": MAN 'NK'R YARMA'Q 'UTN̄J BYR'DIM **mān aṅār** **ötünč**
yarmāq ötünč bērdim "I loaned (*aqraḍtu*) him the dirham."**ötünč**One calls a matter that is "disgraceful, reproachable (*mundiyya, mu'āyir*): 'UVTUNJ **ūtunč**
'YŠ **ūtunč iš**. Its root is from: 'UWT_ **uwut** "modesty or shame (*ḥayā*)."**ūtunč**

J

'UJNJ **üčünč** The [ordinal] number "third (*tālīt*).": 'IKNJ **ekinč** "Second." This is a **üčünč**
rule, namely that for any number below ten one adds to the root word *nūn* and *jīm* to express **G**
that it follows the number that is before it: TVRTNJ **törtünč** "Fourth," BYŠNJ **bēšinč** "Fifth" –
the roots are: TUVRT **tört** "Four," BYŠ **bēš** "Five" – *nūn* and *jīm* were added to express this
meaning. It is permitted to express the tens in the same way: 'VNNJ **ōnunč** "Tenth," YKRMNJ
yigirminč "Twentieth." 0 This is a regular rule. 0'ARINJ **ārinč** A particle meaning "perhaps (*la'alla*).": Thus :: 'UL KALDIY 'ARINJ **ārinč**
ol kāldi ārinč "Perhaps he has come." 0**ārinč**'URUNJ **urunč** "Bribe (*rušwa*)."**urunč**

[I. 118/132]

79'IRINJ **erinč** "Comfort, happiness (*at-tana'um wa-t-taqallub fī n-ni'ma*).": In some dia- **erinč**
lects it is: 'RIN/YŽ **erēž** (?) with *zāy* between the two points of articulation. 0 **D**

W

'AWINJ **awinč** "Friendliness or familiarity with a thing (*al-mu'ānasa bi-š-šay*).": :: **awinč**
MANK' 'AWIN'DY **maṅa awindi** "He was friendly (*ānasa*) with me."

wa-dā n-nuṣubi l-manṣūbi lā tansukannahu wa-lā ta'budi l-awṭāna wa-llāha fa-'budā
with the variant:

wa-lā n-nuṣuba l-manṣūba lā tansukannahu bi-'āqibatīn wa-llāhu rabbuka fa-'budā
For the grammatical principle, see Wright I, 61 D.

K

'IKINJ **ekinč** The “second (*tānī*)” of something, in numbering. 0 **ekinč**

'UKUNJ **ökünč** “Regret (*ḥasra*).” :: 'UL TALIM 'UKUNJ 'UKUNDY ol **tālim ökünč** **ökündi** “He had many regrets (*taḥassara bi-ḥasarāt kaṭīra*).” 0

'UGUNJ¹ **ögünč** “Self-praise (*tamadduḥ*).” :: BUV 'IYŠ-QA² NA' 'UGUNJ¹ KA'RA'K **ögünč** bu **išqa nā ögünč kārāk** “Why must there be self-praise in this matter?”

L

'ILINJ³ YVL **ulinč yōl** “A winding (*multawī, laysa bi-l-mustawī*) road.” The same for **ulinč** anything winding (*multawīn*).

'IALANJ **ilānč** “Reproach (*ta'yīr*) to an advisor over a matter of which it appears that **ilānč** his view was unsound.”

M

'UMNJ **umunč** “Hope (*rajā*).” :: 'UMNJ TANKRIY KA' TUT **umunč tāṅrikā tut** **umunč** “[Put] your hope in God (may He be exalted).”

'UNNJ YARMA'Q **onunč yarmāq** “The tenth (*'āšīr*) dirham (or other).” 0 **onunč**

'INANJ **inanč** “Reliable (*mu'tamad*).” From this comes the name: 'INANJ BAK **inanč** **inanč** N **beg** meaning “Reliable Emir.”

Another type: *fa'anlā*, in its various vocalizations

T

'IATINJUV NA'NK **atinču nāḥ** “Something thrown (*maṭrūḥ*).” **atinču**

'ITNJUV NA'NK **itinčü nāḥ** “Something pushed (*madfū'*).” **itinčü**

D

'IḌINJV SAJ **iḍinču sač** “A man’s hair which he lets loose after confining it (*arsala ba'd al-awl*).” The same for other things. 0 **iḍinču**

-
- 79
1. Three dots of G in brown ink.
 2. Altered to: 'IŠ'KA' **iškā**.
 3. Altered to: 'A_YL_ANJ_Y (Y in brown ink).
 4. MS. *karb*.

One calls “an animal that is set free (*sā’iba*)”: ’IDINJV YILQY **idinču yilqi**. 0

’IARINJV **irinču** “Sin (*itm*).” irinču

W

’AWINJV NA’NK **awinču nāñ** “Something with which one enjoys pleasure and familiarity (*yuta’allalu bihi wa-yusta’nasu*).” Thus slavegirls may be named: ’WINJV **awinču**. awinču
N

Q

’AQINJY **aqinči** “Night raiding party (*as-sariyya allatī tadhabu laylan wa-tubayyitu l’aduww*).” aqinči

Nasal with *Kāf*

’ABAN’K **apañ** A particle meaning “if only (*law*).” :: ’ABANK SAN BARSA’ SAN **apañ**
apañ sän barsa sän “If only you went.” apañ

T

’UTN’K **otuñ** “Firewood (*ḥaṭab*).” otuñ

R

’URN’K **ürün** “White (*abyaḍ*),” of anything. The Oğuz say: ’Q **aq**. ürün D

’URN’K **ürün** “White of the nail (*kadab*⁴[defined]).” :: TIRNK’Q ’URNKY **tirñaq ürünji**
“White (*bayāḍ*) of the nail.”

’URNK **ürün** “Diviner’s fee (*ḥulwān al-kāhin*).” :: ’LIK ’URNKY BIYR **älig ürünji bër**
“Give the fee! [lit. the white of hand].”

[I. 120/134]

80

’URANG¹ **orañ** Name of a place near Rüm. It is toward the north, over against Rüm. **orañ** N
The more correct form is: VARANK **varañ**. 0

’IRINK **irinç** “Pus (*qayḥ, ṣadīd*).” irinç

Ş

’USANK TA’Ş: **üşän tās** “Smooth (*malsā*) rock.” A variant of: YUŞAUNK **yüşän**. **üşän** D

L

’ALANG¹ YAZIY **alañ yazi** “Level (*qarqar*) plain.” It is a metathesis of: ’NKL **añil** **alañ**
[60] which is used for an “open (*futuḥ*)” door.

Doubled

'ANGAK¹ äṅäk “Jaws, jawbone on either side of the mouth (*al-māḍīḡān wa-l-fanīkān min janbatay al-fam*).” 0 äṅäk

'ANKAK äṅäk “The string (*xayṭ*) with which a woman ties her veil.” 0

'UNKIK öṅik “False earlock (*ṣudḡ . . . ḡūr^{an}*) which women make from goat’s hair.” öṅik
It is called: 'UNKIAK YURKAYK öṅik yörgäyäk. The root is: 'UNKY öṅi meaning “other.” 0

'UNKIUK öṅik “The silk tassels (*aḍnāb, āḍān*) of a pillow.” 0

Final Weak

'UNKIY öṅi A particle meaning “other (*ḡayr*).” The *yā* is an alternant of *nūn*: 'UNKIN öṅi. This is like the alternation of *yā* and *nūn* in Arabic, as in *inkamana* and *inkamā*,² “It was hidden.” öṅi

Another Type

'ARNKAYUV ärṅäyü “A man with six fingers (*lahu sitta aṣābi*).” 0 ärṅäyü

'ARNKAYUV ärṅäyü “A very short (*qaṣīr . . . jiddan*) man” – one who is two cubits tall.

Chapter: *fa'ālū, fu'ālū, fi'ālū*, in its various vocalizations

T

'ULA'TUV ülātü [Silk handkerchief] “A piece of silk which a man keeps in his pocket to clean his nose with.” ülātü

J

'ALAJUV alāču “Large tent (*fāza, fuṣṭāṭ*).” 0 alāču

'AB'JIY abāči “Nightmare (*jāṭūm*).” To frighten a baby one says: 'ABA'JIY KALDIY abāči kaldi meaning “Nightmare has come.” 0 abāči

'AḡIN·JY aḡiči “Keeper of brocade (*xāzin ad-dībāj*).” aḡiči

Γ

80 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.
2. *inkamā* is spelled with final *yā* (= *alif maqṣūra*).

'ULA'ΓUV NA'NK ulāγu nān̄ “Anything by which something is mended (*mā yūṣalu bihi š-šay*’).” such as the patch of a garment. 0 ulāγu

::: BUV 'UΓUR 'UL BURIY 'ULIYΓUV bu uγur ol böri ulīγu “This is the time for the howling (*'uwā*’) of the wolf (or other).” ulīγu

Q

'ABA'QIY abāqi “A scarecrow (*xiyāl*) that is set up in vegetable gardens to ward off the evil eye.” abāqi

'ATA'QIY atāqi atāqi

[I. 122/136]

81

A word of affectionate address, meaning “O my father (*yā abati*’).”

K

'ITA'KUV itāgü “The wooden frame on which the turning millstone is mounted.” It is raised if one wants coarse flour, and lowered if one wants white flour or the like. 0 itāgü

'IJA'KV ičāgü [Intestines] The name for what is enclosed by the ribs. 0 ičāgü

'ULIYKA' öligä “The plant of birdlime (*nabt ad-dibq*),” which is the residue (? *šarṭ*). öligä

'INA'KV ināgü Name of a sickness which takes hold opposite the navel, like colic. ināgü

K

'AB'KY äbāki A particle, said when belittling (*istiqlāl*) something. äbāki

M

'ANUVMY anūmi “Elephantiasis (*juḏām*).” anūmi

'IKA'MA' egāmä “A type of lute (*naw' min al-mazāhir*’).” egāmä

Doubly Weak

K

'AYA'KV äyāgü “Rib (*ḏil*’).” One calls the “ribs (*aḏlā*’)” of a tent: 'AYA'KUV äyāgü. äyāgü
0 And “a piece of land in the middle of a mountain, like an incline (*ša'ūd*’)” is called: 'AYA'KUV YIYR' äyāgü yēr.

With *Nūn* Final Augment

'ŠYJA'N	ašijān	Name of a city on the stages of the journey to Šīn.	ašijān N
'ALUVJYN	alūcīn	An edible plant with nodes (<i>anābīb</i>).	alūcīn
D			
'RUM DUVN [sic]	arūdūn	"Dye (<i>šibγ</i>)."	arūdūn
Γ			
'URA'GVN	urāγūn	An Indian drug used as a medicine.	urāγūn
K			
'UTUVKA'N	ötükān	Name of a place in the deserts of Tatār near Uighur.	ötükān N

Another Type

'ALIMĀLA'	almila	"Apple (<i>tuffāḥ</i>)."	almila
K			
'AR'MAKUV	ärmägi	"Lazy (<i>kaslān</i>)."	ärmägi
Proverb: 'AR'MAKUVK' BULUIT' YUK			ärmägi
BULUVR ärmägükä bulit yūk bolūr			P
"For the lazy one the (shadow of a) cloud is a burden."			
Γ			
'UFLA'ΓUV	oγlāγy	"Accustomed to or raised in luxury (<i>muna</i> " <i>am, murabbā fī ni'ma</i>)."	oγlāγy
Thus Khātūns (princesses) are called: 'UFLA'ΓV QA'TUVN oγlāγy qātūn. 0			
'UXŠA'ΓUV	oxšāγy	"Plaything (<i>lu'ba</i>)."	0 oxšāγy N

Chapter: *afā'ūl*, in its various vocalizations

T			
'ARUVBA'T	arūbāt	"Tamarind (<i>tamr hindī</i>)."	0 arūbāt
'URA'ΓUVT	urāγūt	"Woman (<i>mar'a</i>)."	0 urāγūt
'AR'MUVT	arāmūt	A tribe of the Turks near Uighur.	0 arāmūt
'AR'MUVT	arāmūt	Name of a place.	N

J

'IQYLA'J iḡilāč "Courser (*faras rāyi' jawād*)." Proverb: 'AL'Ḃ' 'ARIKAḂ YAWRIT'M' iḡilāč
'IQYLA'J 'AR'Q'SIN YAḂ'RIT'M' alp ärig yawritma iḡilāč arqāsin yaḡritma 0 "Do not harm P
and weaken the man who is a warrior, do not gall the back of the courser (*jawād*)

[I. 124/139]

82

sabūḡ)." This [is coined] as advice for emirs.

Verse:

'IQYLA'JIM' 'IRK' BUL'DY	iḡilāčim erig boldi	V
'RIK' BUL'ḂUV YARIY KURDY	erig bolyu yeri kördi	
BULIT' 'UVRUB' KUVK' 'UR'TUL'DIY	bulit örüḡ kök örtüldi	
TUMAN TUVRUB' TULIY YAḂ'DIY	tuman türup toli yaḡdi	

"My courser (*jawād*) galloped swiftly¹, because he saw that that was proper for him; when the cloud rose covering the sky, and the mist piled up and the hail poured down." 0

'ALA'VA'N alāvān "Crocodile (*timsāḡ*)." alāvān

Chapter: *af'atān*

'AR'ḂAḂ'N arpayān A plant similar to barley (*ša'īr*) that grows ears but without seeds. arpayān
0

'AR'MAḂA'N armāḡan A "gift (*hadiyya*)" which a man returning from a successful armāḡan
journey brings for his relatives. Oḡuz dialect. There is another variant: YAR'MAḂQA'N [sic] D
yarmāḡan which is more correct.² 0

Chapter: *fi'inlī*, in its various vocalizations

T

'ITINDY NA'NK itindi nāḡ "Something pushed (*madfū'*)." itindi

Q

'AQIḂDIY SUVW aḡindi sūw "Flowing (*sā'il*) water." 0 aḡindi

'AKIN'DY TARIḂ äkindi tariḡ "Sown (*mazrū'*) seed." äkindi

'UKUNDIY KŠY öḡundi kiši "A man praised (*mamdūḡ*) by every tongue." 0 öḡundi

82 1. MS. *sabaḡa* . . . *wa-a'adda fi s-sayr*; for *a'adda* read *ajadda* (or, less likely, *a'addā*, cf. 67 *äskin*).

2. MS. AMUJ (overlined, as if Turkic), in error for *aḡaḡḡ*.

'IKINDY NA'NK **ekindi nāñ** “The second (*tāni*) thing” – in numbering. 0 **ekindi**

'AKINDY **ekindi** “Time of the afternoon prayer (*waqt ṣalāt al-‘aṣr*).”

End of the Triliteral Chapters

Chapters of Quadrilaterals

Chapter: *af'āl*

Doubled

'AR'ΓA'Γ **irγāy** “Fishhook (*aṣ-ṣiṣṣ alladī yuṣādu bihi s-samak*).” 0 **irγāy**

'IR'Γ'Γ **irγāy** “Grapnel (*xuṭṭāf*) used to drag ice from the source to the icebox.”

With *yā'* suffixed to this pattern

::BUV 'YŠIΓ 'IMTILY QLDIY **bu īšiγ imtili qildi** “He performed this matter without deliberation, haphazardly (*min γayr tadabbur wa-lā rawiyya jazāfan*).” Čigil dialect. **imtili**
D

J

'UM'DUVJY **umdūci** “Beggar (*sā'il*).” **umdūci**

'AR'QUJY **arquči** “Mediator (*mutawassit*) between two men; go-between (*rasūl*) of the two families in a marriage.” **arquči**

D

'AR'DINIY **ārdini** “Peerless pearl (*durr yatīm*).” From this comes the name for women: **ārdini** N
'AR'TINY 'UZK **ārtini özüük** meaning “With a body like a peerless pearl” – the *dāl* assimilates into **ārtini**
tā' as [Arabic] *muddakir*

[I. 126/141]

83

from the root-form *muḍtakir* (“remembering”).

R

'USBRY **usbari** “[A dish made by] crumbling (*yufattu*) bread baked in ashes into butter and adding sugar.” 0 **usbari**

Chapter: *fa'ūl*, doubled middle radical

'UTUZ YARMA'Q **ottuz yarmāq** “Thirty (*ṭalāṭūna*) dirhams (or other).” This word **ottuz**
may also be used for “three (*ṭalāṭa*).” Among the Yağma, in: KUNKUT **künjüt** I heard them say: **D**
'UTUZ 'IJA'LIM **ottuz icālīm** when they meant “Let us drink three,” though the word means
thirty. In my opinion, they drank three each (*ṭalāṭan ṭalāṭan*). Verse:

'UTZ 'IJB' QIQRALIM	ottuz içip qıqralim	V
YUQ'RÜ QUBB SAK'RİLIM	yoqâr qopup sekrilim	
'AR'SLAN LAYUV KUK'RALM	arсланlayu kökrälim	
QJTY SAQNJ SAWNALIM	qaçti saqinç säwnälim	

“Let us drink three, let us stand up and shout, let us roar like a lion, and let us rejoice¹ that care has fled from us.”

According to another tradition: 'UṬVZ 'IJB' QIQRALIM ottuz içip qıqralim means: “Let each one of us drink three each.” 0

“One who is impudent, treacherous, shameless, wicked (*waqih*, *γaddār*, *xalī' al-'idār*, *širrīr*)” is called: 'IṢIZ KIṢY essiz kiṣi. The doubling [of the s] is for exaggeration. 0

'AṢIZ essiz A word of sighing for a loss (*talāhhuf*), like Arabic *yā asafā* (“Alas!”). Thus :: 'AṢIZ 'NIK YKTLIKY essiz anig yigitliki “Alas (*yā lahfā*) for his youth!” 0

'IKZ 'UFL'N ekkiz oylān “Twins (*taw'amān*).” ekkiz

Γ

'ARĪΓ N'NK arriy nān “Something very clean (*naẓīf jiddan*).” The doubling [of the r] is for exaggeration. arriy

K

'LIK YARM'Q ällig yarmāq “Fifty (*xamsūna*) dirhams (or other).” ällig

Chapter: *fa'allā*,² quiescent third radical

Γ

'AWIJ'ĪA' awičya “Old man (*šayx*).” 0 awičya

With *Ḍamma* on First Radical

M

'UDIT'M' uđitma “Moist cheese (*jubun raṭub*).” uđitma

With *Kasra* on First Radical

83 1. MS. *لسطن*, read *li-nusarra*.
2. MS. *fa'lal*.

Γ

'ILIMĪ'A' elimya "Secretary (*kātib*)" who writes the correspondence of the sultan in the Turkic script. elimya

Chapter: *af'ālil*

T

'ALBA'ΓUT alpāγut "A hero, a brave (*mubāriz, buhma*)."

Verse: alpāγut

BUḌRAJ YMA' QUDR'DIY

buḍrač yemä qu durdi

V

'ALBA'ΓUTIN 'UḌR'DIY

alpāγutin üḍürdi

SUVSIN YAN' QDIR'DIY

sūsın yana qadırdi

KLLK'LIMAT 'IR'KASUVR

kälgālimät irkišür

"Buḍrač (the name of a former emir of the Yabāqu) turned back his troops, chose
[And Buḍrač went beyond the limit
He chose his braves
He turned round his troops
They are assembled to come (against us)."]

[I. 128/144]

84

his braves (*abṭāl*) and assembled to approach."

Q

'AD'ΓIRA'Q' adγirāq "White-footed mountain goat (*al-a'šam min al-wu'ūl*)."
It corresponds to the ram (*kabš*) among sheep. adγirāq

'AD'ΓIRA'Q SUWY¹ adγirāq suwi Name of a river in Yaγma. 0

N

'R'QJQ arqičaq Name of an instrument with which medicine is poured into the corner
of the mouth. It is similar to a *sukurja* [a type of bowl] and has a spout (*maṭ'ab*). arqičaq

L

'AR'ḌUVTA'L arḍūtāl "Depilatory paste (*nūra*)."

arḍūtāl

Chapter: *fa'lūlī*

T

84 1. W altered from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).

'ŠKURTY [sic] ešgūti An embroidered Ṣinī brocade of the silk variety. ešgūti

Z

'WZUVRIY awrūzi "Mixed (*maḡlūt*)," of food, such as wheat and barley flour mixed together and baked. awrūzi

Chapter: *fa'landī*

D

'UDRUNDIY NA'NK üdrüdi nāḡ "Something chosen (*muxtār*)." 0 üdrüdi

'AWDIN'DY NA'NK äwdindi nāḡ "Gleanings (*luqāṭa*) of anything." äwdindi

This chapter consists of deverbal nouns corresponding to the Arabic pattern *fu'āla* for what is left over from something. G

Chapter: *fu'ūlīn*

Nasal

N

'UNKUVŽIYN' onūžīn "A ghoul (*ḡūl*) that attacks a man in the desert." onūžīn

End of the quadriliteral chapters

Chapters of Quinquiliterals

Chapter: *fa'al'al*, in its various vocalizations

This chapter contains simple nouns, adjectivals, and nouns of the place in which something is situated. One ought to be able to form the nouns of place and the adjectivals by applying the rule, but there are some which one could not know unless mentioned. They are therefore mentioned here so that the rule may be applied by the one who understands it.

F

"A modest (*raqīq al-ḡayā*) man" is called: 'WUTLIΓ KIŠY uwutluγ kiši. 0 uwutluγ

'TIRLIΓ 'AR' ayirliγ är "A man who is honored (*mukram*) among the people." 0 ayirliγ

'UΓRLUIΓ 'YŠ uyurliγ iš "An opportune (*allaḡī waqa'a fi imkānihi*) matter." uyurliγ

:: 'UVY 'UBUZLUΓ YZR *ōy obuzluγ yēr* “Land with rugged terrain (*dāt ȳīṭān wa-obuzluγ huzūna*).” 0

'UDZLUΓ KIŠY *uđuzluγ kiši* “Man with mange (*dū jarab*).”² 0 uđuzluγ

'GUŽLUΓ 'AR' *aγužluγ är* aγužluγ

[I. 130/146]

85

“A man with beestings (*dū libā*).” 0

'GUŠLΓ 'AR' *oγušuγ är* “A man with a clan (*lahu 'ašīra*).” 0 oγušuγ

----- Γ¹ 'AR *uqušuγ är* “An intelligent (*faṭin*) man.” 0 uqušuγ

'AJIΓLIΓ 'AR' *ačiyliγ är* “A man who savors life (*muna‘am*).” Proverb: 'AJIΓLIΓ *ačiyliγ*
-----² QRYM'S *ačiyliγ är tärk (šap ?) qarīmās* “A man who savors life (*dū ni‘ma yatana‘amu*
fīhā) does not age quickly.” P

'AJIΓLIΓ KB *ačiyliγ küp* “A vat which sours whatever is poured into it (*dū ḥamūḍāt muḥammiḍ mā šubba fīhi*).”

'DIFIΓLIΓ TA'Γ *ađiyliγ tāy* “A mountain with many bears (*dū dubb kaṭīr*).” 0 ađiyliγ

'URUΓLIΓ 'ALTVN *uruγluγ altūn* “Gold (or other) that is struck or minted (*mawḍū*).” uruγluγ
0

'AZIΓLIΓ 'AT' *aziγliγ at* “A horse that is full grown, that has all his teeth (*qāriḥ*).” aziγliγ
Also for any animal whose canines (*nāb*) have appeared.

'UJUQLUΓ³ 'AW *očaqliγ äw* “A house with a stove (*dū kānūn*).” 0 očaqliγ

'AJUΓLIΓ⁴ KŠY *ačuqluγ kiši* “A cheerful, good-natured (*ṭalq, ḥasan al-xuluq*) person.” ačuqluγ

'ASIΓLIΓ 'IYŠ *asiγliγ iš* “A useful (*dū manfa'a*) deed.” asiγliγ

'ADAΓLIΓ⁴ NA'NK *ađaqliγ nāṅ* “A thing with feet (*dū arjul*).” 0 ađaqliγ

'ARIQ'LIΓ YZR *ariqliγ yēr* “A land with a canal (*dāt nahr*).” 0 ariqliγ

85

1. Waterstained.
2. Waterstained; hitherto read: Š'BVK *šābūk*.
3. Second (originally first) U amended to A (black ink).
4. First Γ amended to Q (black ink).

U'URQ·LUΓ QUVA' uruqluγ qova "A bucket with a rope (*dū ḥabl*)." 0 uruqluγ

'ZUIQLIΓ 'AR' azuqluγ är "A man with provisions (*dū zād*)." Proverb: 'AZUIQLIΓ azuqluγ
'AR·MA'S⁵ azuqluγ armās 0 "One who has provisions for the journey does not get tired P
(since he is strong and well nourished)." 0

'ARAN·LIΓ 'AW aranliγ äw "A house with a stable (*dū iṣṭabl*)." 0 aranliγ

'ĀTANLIΓ 'AR' atanliγ är "A man with a gelded camel (*ba'īr xaṣī*)." 0 atanliγ

'ULARLIΓ T'Γ ularliγ tāγ "A mountain with partridges (*dū ya'āqīb*)." 0 ularliγ

'ALIMLIΓ 'AR' alimliγ är "A man who is a creditor (*dā'in*)." ⁶ alimliγ

'ALINLIΓ 'AR' alinliγ är "A man with a large forehead (*dū jabha 'aẓīma*)." 0 alinliγ

'ULUNLUΓ 'AR' ulunluγ är "A man who has arrow-shafts (*dū qidāḥ li-s-sihām*)." 0 ulunluγ

Q

'URUNJAQ urunčaq "Deposit (*wadī'a, amāna*)." It may also be pronounced: 'URNJ'Q urunčaq
urunčaq. Verse:

'URNJQ 'AL·B' YARMADY	urunčaq alip yermädi	V
'ALIMLIΓ KURV 'ARMADY	alimliγ körü armadi	
'DAŠLQ 'UZ' TURMADY	adašliq üzä turmadi	
QLIN 'RAN TRKŠVR	qalin ärän tergäsür	

Reproaching a man: "He was not loath to take a deposit and then to put off the one to whom it was due when he saw him; nor has he continued in friendship. Now he has mustered a huge army (and is advancing toward me with it)." 0

'UΓUL·JUQ oγulčeq "Womb (*rahīm*)," of a woman. oγulčeq

'AΓIUR·ŠUQ⁷ aγiršeq "Spindle whorl (*filka al-miγzal*)." 0 aγiršeq

'UΓUL·MAUIQ⁸ oγulmuq "A straight piece of wood supporting a beam (*xašaba musta-* oγulmuq
wiya)

[I. 131/149]

86

fī qiwām al-'āriḍa)." 0

5. Gloss between the two words: 'ARUQ (thus: azuqluγ aruq är mās).

6. MS. *dayn*.

7. A altered to U in brown ink.

- 'UJZLUQ učuzluq "Cheapness (*ruxša*)," in prices. 0 učuzluq
- 'UJUZLUQ učuzluq "Humiliation, belittlement (*mađalla, řařār)." 0*
- 'ADIAŠLIQ adařliq "Friendship (*řadāqa*)." 0 adařliq
- 'ADAQLIQ adaqliq "Wood used to make legs for trellises (*sūq al-'arīs*) in vineyards." 0 adaqliq
- 'UDUQLQ uduqluq A person's "neglect, unawareness (*yařla, tanāwum*)"¹ of a thing. 0 uduqluq
- 'UDUFLUQ ođuyluq "Wakefulness or awareness (*at-tayaqquř fi l-umūr*)." 0 ođuyluq
- 'ARIFLIQ ariyliq "Cleanliness (*nařāfa*)." 0 ariyliq
- 'URUFLUQ BUFDA'Y uruyluq buydāy "Wheat that is stored for use as seed grain (*alladī udduxira li-l-bađr*)." 0 The same for any other seed or grain. 0 uruyluq
- 'AJIFLIQ ačiyliq "Bitterness (*marāra*)." 0 ačiyliq
- YUVZ 'AJUQLQY yūz ačuqluqi "Openness (*řalāqa*) of face." 0 ačuqluq
- QBUF 'AJIQLIQY qapuy ačiqliqi "A door's being open (*an yakūna . . . mařtūħan*)." 0 ačiqliq
- 'UJAQLIQ YYR' očaqliq yer "Place for a stove (*mawđi' al-kānūn*)." 0 :: 'UJAQLIQ očaqliq
TITIK očaqliq titig Any "clay (or other) used to make a stove." 0
- 'ARUQLQ aruqluq "Tiredness (*i'yā*)." 0 aruqluq
- 'URUQLUQ YUVNG² uruqluq yūŋ "Wool that is to be made into a rope (*u'idda li-yuttařada minħu l-ħabl*)." 0 uruqluq
- 'AZUIQLIQ azuqluq "Something prepared as provisions (*mā u'idda li-z-zād*)." 0 azuqluq
- 'UZAQLIQ uzaqliq "Being slow or late (*ibřā*) for something." 0 uzaqliq
- 'UřAQLIQ uřaqliq "Childishness (*tařābi*) in a matter." :: 'UřAQLIQ QILM' uřaqliq uřaqliq
qilma "Don't be childish." 0
- 'ULUFLUQ uluyluq "Grandeur, glory (*kibriyā', řaraf*)." Thus :: 'ULFLUQ TNKRIY- uluyluq
KA' uluyluq tāŋrikā "Grandeur belongs to God (Glorified and Exalted)." 0 'ULUFLUQ
uluyluq "Old age (*al-kibr fi s-sinn*)." 0

U'AMJ_LIQ YYR amaçliq yēr “A place where a target for shooting (*hadaf li-r-ramy*) can be set up.” 0 amaçliq

'ANUQLQ anuqluq “Readiness (*al-isti'dād fi l-umūr*).” anuqluq

K

'UZTLK özütlük “Stinginess (*dinn*) over a thing.” 0 özütlük

'AKAT_LIK QARA'BA'Ş egätlik qarābāš “The maidservant who is to be sent with the bride on the night of the nuptial procession.” And “the bride (*'arūs*)” is: 'AIKAIT_LIK egätlig. egätlik

This is a general rule. When the suffix is with the hard *kāf* [i.e., -lik] the meaning is the place where the noun is, or that it is a thing stored up or made ready for the noun, or an infinitive. When it does not have any of these three senses, but the intended meaning G

[I. 133/151]

87

is the possessor or companion (*ṣāḥib*) of the noun, then it is with the thin *kāf*¹ [i.e., -lig]. Thus: 'AKAT_LIK egätlik – with the hard *kāf* – means that the slavegirl is made ready to be sent as the bride's maidservant; and if the *kāf* is made thin [i.e. egätlig] the meaning is that the bride has or is the possessor or companion (*ṣāḥiba*) of the maidservant. The meaning is thus in all of these cases. 0

'TJLK ätiçlik “Place where the hole is dug for the game of ‘walnuts’ (*al-mawḍi' alladī yuhfaru fihi l-mazda li-la'ib al-jawz*).” 0 ätiçlik

'ADAR_LIK ädärlik [Saddletree] “The wooden frame on which the saddle is placed.” ädärlik
The “possessor of a saddle (*ṣāḥib as-sarj*)” is with the thin *kāf* [i.e. adärlig]. 0 ädärlik

'UKUR_LUK ügürlük “Place where millet (*duxn*)² is put.” The owner of it is with thin *kāf* [i.e. ügürlüg]. ügürlük

'UGURLK 'AR' ögürlüg är “A man who has a flock (*dū qaṭī'*) of sheep, or other.” 0 ögürlüg

“A stallion with mares (*lahu rimāk*)” is called: 'UKUR_LK 'AD'FIR' ögürlüg ad'fir.

'ADIZLIK ädizlik “Elevation (*irtifā'*).” 0 ädizlik

'ISIZLIK esizlik “Evil (*šarr*).” 0 esizlik

87 1. MS. *fa-l-bi-kāf*, read *fa-bi-l-kāf*.

2. MS. *duxn*.

'ATAK'LIK BU_{VZ} ätäklik böz "Cloth that is to be made into a skirt (*dayl*)." If a garment is characterized by a skirt it is called: 'ATAK'LIK TU_{VN} ätäklig ton meaning "A garment with a skirt" – with the thin *kāf*. 0

'ATUKLUK SA_{FR}IY ätüklük sayri "Leather that is to be made into a boot (*xuff*)." 0 ätüklük

'UTKLIK KŠY ötüglüg kiši "A person with a petition (*dū ḥāja*) for the sultan." 0 ötüglüg

U'UZK'LUK üzüklük "A being cut off (*inqiṭā'un*)." 0 üzüklük

'URUMJK örümčäk "Spider (*'ankabūt*)." 0 örümčäk

'IALARSUK ilärsük "Waistband (*tikka*) of trousers." 0 ilärsük

'ISIK'LIK isiglik "Heat (*ḥarāra*)." 0 isiglik

'SIK'LIK isiglik "Love, affection (*ḥubb mawadda*)." :: KUNKUL 'ISKLIKY KAR'K köñül isigliki kārāk "There must be warmth of affection (*ḥarāra al-mawadda*) in the heart."

'ARUKLUK ärüklük "Peach orchard (*manbit al-xawx*)." 0 ärüklük

'YRIK'LIK ēriglik "Liveliness (*farāha*)," of animals. ēriglik

'AŠIK'LIK YI_{FA}'J ešiklik yiṭāč "A piece of wood (or other) to be used for a threshold (*'ataba*)." 0 ešiklik

'AŠUK'LK BAR_JIN äšüklük barčēn "Brocade that is to be made into a coverlet (*diṭar*)." äšüklük
The owner of one is with thin *kāf* [i.e. *ašüklüg*]. 0 äšüklüg

'AWAK'LIK ewäklik "Haste (*al-'ajala fī l-umūr*)." 0 ewäklik

'AKAK'LIK äkäklik "Wantonness, shamelessness (*xalā'a, qiḥa*)," of a woman. 0 äkäklik

'UKAK'LIK ükäklik "Any piece of wood that is to be made into a box (*ṣundūq*)." ükäklik

"A wall on which there are towers (*'alayhi burūj*)." is called: 'UKA'KLİK TA'M' ükäklik
tām. 0 ükäklik

'LIKLIK äliglik "Gloves (*quffāzān*)." 0 äliglik

'AMIKLIK 'AŠ'LA'R ämiglig ešlār "A nursing (*murḍi'a*) woman." 0 ämiglig

[I. 135/153]

88

Proverb: 'AMIKLIK 'URA'TUT KUSA'K'JY BULUVR ämiglig urāḡut küsāḡēi bolūr 0 "A nursing woman gets food-cravings" – so she is given whatever suits her. 0 P

'NUKLUK 'ARSL'N änüklüg arslān "A lioness with cubs (*dāt ašbāl*)." 0 änüklüg

Chapter: *fa'al'ān*, first and second radicals vowelled, in its various vocalizations

This chapter is concerned with participles denoting frequent occurrence of the action. It corresponds to the Arabic pattern *mif'āl* for an adjectival expressing the frequent occurrence of the action, as *miṭ'ām* “often feeding” and *miḥrāb* “often making war.” It has final *nūn*, but most of Oḡuz and Qifčāq make this *nūn* a *qāf*. For example, a “quick-tempered (*dajir*)” man is called: BUŠĠA'N *bušyān*; the Oḡuz say: BUŠAQ' *bušaq* – dropping the *ḡayn* altogether. This is a genuine rule.

G

T

:: 'UL 'AR' 'UL 'UVZIN KŠDAN 'BTĠ'N ol ār ol ōzin kišidān opityān “He is a man who habitually hides (*min 'ādatihi l-ixtifā'*) from people.” 0 opityān

:: 'UL KUB 'UL SUJIK'NY 'AĠITĠ'N ol küp ol süčigni ačityān “It is a jar which always sours (*abadan yuḡammıdu*) something sweet (that is poured into it).” 0 ačityān

:: 'UL [sic] BUV 'UT 'UL KŠINY 'UĐITĠA'N bu ot ol kišini uđityān “This is a drug which always puts people to sleep (*yurqıdu*).” 0 uđityān

:: 'UL KŠY 'UL TARIĠ'ARITĠA'N ol kiši ol tariḡ arityān “That man is always cleaning (*yunqı*) the wheat (or other).” 0 arityān

:: 'UL KIŠY 'UL YUVLDAN 'AZIYTĠ'N ol kiši-ol yōldan azityān “This is a person who always leads people away (*yudıllu*) from the road.” azityān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'IYŠİĠ' 'AZITĠA'N' bu ār ol išiḡ uzatyān “This is a man who always prolongs (*yutawwılu*) an affair.” 0 uzatyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'ATIN 'UZITĠA'N bu ār ol atin ozityān “This is a man who always makes his horse run ahead (*yusbıqu*).” 0 ozityān

BUV QUYA'Š' 'L KIŠINY 'USITĠA'N bu quyāš ol kišini usityān “This is a summer heat that makes one thirsty (*mu'aṭtiš*).” Verse: usityān

'USITĠA'N QUY'Š QABSADY
'MNJLĠ 'DŠ YAYSADY
'ARTŠ SUWIN KAJSADİY
BUVDUN 'ANIN 'URKUŠVR

usityān quyāš qapsadi
umuncluy adaš täpsädi
ärtiḡ suwin käčsädi
böduḡ anin ürküşür

V

“The summer heat encompassed us, the longed-for friend envied us, (the enemy) was about

[I. 137/155]

89

to cross¹ the Ärtiḡ River; because of that the people were panic-stricken.” 0

:: BUV KAYK 'UL 'ITIF T'ΓQ' 'AΓITΓ'N bu k̄ayik ol itiy t̄ayqa aγityān “This is game aγityān which always makes the dog climb (*yuṣa* ‘*idu*) up the mountain.” 0

:: BV T'Γ'L TAWRA'Q 'AQIN 'AQITΓ'N bu t̄ay ol tawr̄aq aqin aqityān “This is a moun- aqityān tain which makes the rainfall stream quickly (*sarī* ‘*al-isāla li-l-maṭar*).” 0

BV BITK 'L KŠINY 'UQITΓA'N bu bitig ol kišini oqityān “This is a book which often oqityān causes one to read it (*kaṭīr^{an} mā yuqri* ‘*u*) (because of its length).” 0

:: BUV 'R' 'L 'ITIN 'ULITΓ'N bu ār ol itin ulityān “This [is a man who] often makes ulityān his dog bark (*yunbīḥu*).”

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL SUVZ 'UNITΓA'N bu ār ol s̄ōz unityān “This is a man who often for- unityān gets (*kaṭīr an-nisyān*) words.”

:: BUV 'R' 'UL 'YŠIF 'ANUITΓ'N bu ār ol īšiy anutyān “This is a man who is always anutyān prepared (*yasta* ‘*iddu*) for things.” 0

:: BUV 'R' 'L QUŠIF 'UJUR'Γ'N bu ār ol qušiy učuryān “This is a man who often flies učuryān (*kaṭīr al-iṭāra*) birds.” 0

:: BV 'AŠ 'UL KŠINY 'AJUR'Γ'N bu aš ol kišini ačuryān “This is food which is (quick ačuryān to digest and) quick to leave hungry (*sarī* ‘*al-ijā'a*).” 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'L TĀLIM 'ASUR'Γ'AN bu ār ol tālim asuryān “This is a man who often asuryān sneezes (*kaṭīr al-‘uṭās*).” 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'L 'USUR'ΓA'N bu ār ol osuryān “This is a man who farts much (*ḍarrāṭ*).” osuryān 0

:: 'ISIR'ΓA'N 'IT isiryān it “A biting (*‘aqūr*) dog.”

isiryān

Γ

'AWUŽ'ΓUVN awužyūn The “acacia leaves (*qaraz*)” used in tanning hides. 0

awužyūn

:: 'UL MAṆIK BIRLA' 'UQ 'ATISΓA'N 'UL ol mānig birlā oq atišyān ol “He customar- atišyān ily competes with me in shooting arrows (*min* ‘*ādatihī an yurāmiya ma'i n-nabl mubārātan*).”

K

:: BV 'AR' 'L SUVT 'UBUR'KA'N bu ār ol sūt öpürgān “This is a man who customarily öpürgān gives others milk to sip (*iḥsā*’).” 0

:: BUV 'R' 'L TLM SUJK 'IJURK'N bu ār ol tālim süčig ičürgān “He is a man who fre- ičürgān quently gives people wine to drink (*yasqī*’).” 0

:: BUV 'IT 'L KAYIK'NY 'AḌARK'N bu it ol käyikni edärgän “This is a dog who edärgän habitually chases after (*min 'ādatihi ḡilāb*) game.” Also used to describe a man who always seeks revenge (*yaḡlubu ḡiqdahu dā'imān*). 0

:: BUV 'R' 'L 'YŠĠ 'AWURK'N TAWURKA'N bu är ol işiy äwürgän täwürgän “This is äwürgän a man who wheels and deals (*ḡuwwal li-l-umūr wa-qullab*).”

:: BUV 'R' 'L TAKM' N'NK NY 'UḌURK'N bu är ol tägmä nänni üdürgän “This üdürgän
[I. 139/157] 90

is a man who always chooses (*yuxayyiru*) among things.”

:: BUV 'R' 'L KVZIY 'UŠAR'KA'N bu är ol kōzi üšärgän “This is a man who is always üšärgän bleary-eyed (*yataḡayyaru ḡarfuhu*) (from hunger or the like).” 0

'KURKA'N ügürgän A grain plant. It is eaten by the Qarluq Turkmän. 0 ügürgän

:: BUV 'AŠL'R 'L TALIM YIB' 'AKIR'K'N¹ bu ešlär ol tälim yip ägürgän “This is a ägürgän woman who spins much (*kaḡira al-ḡazl*).” 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'L 'TILK'N SAYILĠ'N bu är ol itilgän sapilyän “This is a man who is a itilgän hustler, one who goes in and out among affairs (*xarūj walūj-fi l-umūr*).” 0

'TILK'N itilgän [Glanders?] A disease affecting horses. It consists of boils which are lanced (*ḡudad yušaqqu 'anhā*) so that the horse recovers. It is called *xunām* in Persian. 0

:: MANK 'IYŠIM 'AḌKUV LKUN 'ATILK'N 'UL mänig işim ädgülükün etilgän ol “My etilgän business always prospers (*yanşalıḡu*) with goodness.” 0

:: BV YŠİĠ 'UL 'UZULK'N bu yişiy ol üzülgän “This is a rope which always snaps (*yan-üzülgän qatı'u*).” 0

:: BUV 'R' 'L 'UB'KA'N 'URULK'N bu är ol öpkän ürülgän “This is a man who is ürülgän always swollen (*yantafixu*) with anger (like a wineskin).” 0

:: BUV YIB 'UL 'AŠILKA'N² bu yip ol äsilgän “This is a rope that is always stretched äsilgän out (*yamtaddu*).”

:: BV QAYIR' 'L 'AŠILK'N bu qayir ol äsilgän “This is sand that is always pouring out äsilgän (*yanhālu*).”

90 1. *Sukūn* (') (brown) altered from original U (black).
2. Three dots of Š in brown ink.

:: BUV BUTAQ 'L 'AKILKA'N bu butaq ol ägilgän “This is a branch that is always bending (*yatamāyalu*).” 0 ägilgän

:: BUUV NA'NK 'L TUTJY 'UKUİLKA'N bu nāṅ ol tutči ükülgän “This is something that is always piled up (*yatakaw'wamu*).” ükülgän

Another Type

D

'URUM'DA'Y' urumdāy A stone used as an antidote to poison. 0 urumdāy

Chapter: *af'alal*

'R'SALIQ arsalıq “Hermaphroditic (*xunṭā*),” of an animal. Oğuz dialect. arsalıq
D

With *Damma* on First Radical

J

'USKBJ üskäbäc “Raisins (*zabīb*),” üskäbäc

K

'UK'RAYUK ögräyük “Custom (*'āda*),” [Verse] describing Time in the elegy of King Afrāsiyāb: 0 ögräyük

'K'RAY'KY MUNDAΓ 'UQ	ögräyüki munday oq	V
MUNDA' 'DIN TILDAΓ ³ 'UQ	munda ađın tilday oq	
'ATSA' 'AŽUN 'UΓRAB' 'UQ	atsa ađun uyrap oq	
TAΓLAR BAŠIY KAR'TILUVR	taγlar baši kārtilür	

“Thus is the custom (of Time); any other (of death’s causes) is a mere pretext; for were Time to shoot an arrow toward the mountain tops, they would break apart.”

Chapter: *fu'älil*

Q

[I. 141/ 160] 91

'USA'YUQ 'R' osāyūq är “A negligent (*γāfil*) man.” osāyūq

Another Type: Defective

3. L altered to K by later hand (upper stroke in brown ink).

Q

'YAD'SILIQ 'R' **uyadsiliq (?) är** "A man who is overcome with shame (*yalaba 'alayhi l- hayā'*)." **uyadsiliq ?**

Another Type

H

'VHY **ūhi** "Owl (*būm*)." Most of the Turks call it: 'UVKIY **ūgi** with *kāf*, and this is **ūhi D** more correct, since there is no *hā'* in Turkic.

Nasal

J

'UTKUNJ **ötgünč** "Imitation or recounting (*hikāya*)." Thus :: 'UTKUNJ 'UTKUN'DIY **ötgünč** **ötgünč ötgündi** "He gave an imitation or a recounting."

Chapter: *fa'alil*

Nasal

R

'LA'NKIR **alānir** One of the rat (*jirdān*) genus, namely "the gerboa (*yarbū'*)." The **alānir** Turkmān eat it.

Q

'UNKA'MUQ 'AR' **oṅāmuq är** "A right-handed (*ayman*)¹ man." **oṅāmuq**

K

'UNKA'YUK NA'NK **öṅāyük nāṅ** "Something which is peculiar (*xāṣṣ*) to a thing." And **öṅāyük** "anything by which a man is distinguished from others (*xuṣṣa bihi*)" is to him an: 'UNKA'YUK **öṅāyük.**

Another Type

Q

'UTUNKLUQ **otunluq** "Woodshed (*muhtaṭib*)." **otunluq**

91 1. MS. *aysar* "left-handed." Cf. 244 **solāmuq.**

End of the Book of Vowel-Initial (*hamz*) Nouns

Praise be to God

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

Book of Verbs

Chapter of Biliterals 0

Know that in the verbal section of every book we shall mention the preterite, the aorist, and the infinitive. We shall also explain the usage of the preterite, but not bother with the aorist or infinitive, since this would be unnecessary. [They will be mentioned] however, since the form of the aorist and the manner of its vocalization cannot be predicted. The same holds true for the infinitive. One would not be able to distinguish the *rakīk* from the *mušba'* or the *mumāl* from the *mufaxxam* [i.e., whether the infinitive will be with **-māk** or **-māq**] unless it was mentioned.

G

The rule for all verbs is that if the infinitive has *kāf* [i.e. **-māk**] then the preterite and aorist will contain *imāla* or *rikka* [i.e., palatalization, or front vowels]. 0 The infinitive with *qāf* [i.e. **-māq**] requires that the stem have *qāf* or *išbā'* [i.e., velarization, or back vowels] or *ḡayn*. The one with *kāf* requires the word to have *kāf* or *imāla* [or] *rikka*. This is the basic rule with regard to all verbs and infinitives.

B

[I. 143/163]

92

:: 'UL MANIY 'UB'DIY ol māni öpdi "He kissed (*qabbala*) me." 'UBA'R' 'UBMA'K öpār öpmāk. Proverb: TA'SIḠ 'IS·RUVMASA' 'UBMIŠ KRA'K tāšiy isrūmasa öpmiš kārāk "One who cannot bite a stone should kiss it." This is coined to advise someone to be gentle in a manner in order to attain his goal. 0

öp-
P

:: MUVN' 'UB'DY mūn öpdi "He sipped (*ḡasā*) the soup (or other)." 'UBA'R' 'UB-MA'K öpār öpmāk.

J

:: QBUḠ 'AJ'DIY qapuy aēdi "He opened (*fataḡa*) the door (or other)." 'AJA'R 'AJM'Q aēār aēmāq. 0

ač-

:: QUŠ 'UJ'DIY quš uēdi "The bird flew (*tāra*)." :: 'ANIK QUTIY 'UJ'DIY anig quti uēdi "His luck flew away (*dahabat*)." :: 'AR' 'AT'¹ QUDIY 'UJ'DIY ār attin qoḡi uēdi "The man fell down (*saqaḡa*) off the horse." 'UJA'R' 'UJM'Q uēār uēmāq, for all of these.

uč-

:: 'UVT' 'UJ'DIY ōt ōčdi "The (flame of) the fire died down (*sakana*)." :: 'R'NINK ōč-
'UBK'SIY 'UJ'DY ärniñ ōpkāsi ōčdi "The man's anger died down (*sakana*)." :: 'AR' TIYNY
'UJ'DIY ār tīni ōčdi "The man's breath was cut off (*inqaṭa'a*)." 'UJA'R' 'UJM'Q [sic] ōčār ōčmāk,
for all of these. 0

:: 'AR' SUVW² 'ØIJ'DY ār sūw ičdi "The man drank (*šariba*) the water (or other)." ič-
For anything that "drinks (*šariba*)" a thing or "absorbs liquid (*našifa*)" one says: 'IJ'DIY ičdi.
'ØIJA'R³ 'ØIJMA'K³ ičār ičmāk.

R

:: 'L' 'NDAΓ' 'AR'DY ol anday ärdi "He was (*kāna*) thus." 'ARUVR' 'AR'MA'K ärür är-
ärmāk. 0

:: 'L' 'UVT' 'UR'DY ol ōt ürdi "He blew on (*nafaxa*) the fire (or other)." :: 'IT' 'UR'-
DIY it ürdi "The dog barked (*nabaḥa*)." 'URA'R' 'URMA'K ürār ürmāk. ür-

:: 'L'KINDA'KY NA'NKNY YYRDA' 'UVR'DIY⁴ älgindāki nāñni yērdä ürdi "He put ür-
(*waḍa'a*) the thing which was in his hand on the ground." Proverb: KMUŠ KUNKA' 'URSA'
'ALTUN 'DA'QIN KALIYR' kümüş künkä ursa altun aḍāqin kälir 0 "When dirhams [lit. silver]
are put out in the sun, gold comes walking to it." This is coined to advise someone to spend a
dirham in order to satisfy his need. 'L' QULIN 'UVR'DIY ol qulin ürdi "He struck (*ḍaraba*) his
slave (or other)." 'URUVR' 'UR'MA'Q urür urmāq. 0 P

:: 'UL' YYR'NY 'ZDIY ol yēni ezdi "He [scratched] the earth," or he "scratched ez-
(*xadaša*)" the skin, or the like. 'UIZA'R⁵ 'UIZMA'K⁵ ezār ezmāk. 0

::

[I. 145/165]

93

'UL YIB' 'UZDIY ol yip üzdi "He cut or snapped (*qaṭa'a*) the rope or string (or other)." üz-
'UZA'R' 'UZMA'K üzār üzmāk.

S¹

:: 'L' YŠIIF' 'AŠ'DIY² ol yīšiy äsdī "He stretched (*madda*) the rope (or other)." 'AŠA'R² äs-
'AŠ'M'K² äsār äsmāk.

-
2. W altered from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).
 3. U crossed out in brown ink.
 4. U (brown) altered from A (black).
 5. *Hamza over alif* in black; I in red; U in brown.

93

1. MS. Š.
2. Three dots of Š in a later hand (black).

:: 'ASIN 'AS'DIY *äsini äsdi* “The breeze blew (*tanassama*).”³ :: TARIF 'AS'DIY *tariy äsdi* “He winnowed (*nasafa*) the wheat (or other).” The same for wind that “blows up (*nasafat*)” dust. Transitive or intransitive.

:: 'AR 'US'DY *är usdi* “The man was thirsty (*aṭiša*).” 'USAR 'USMA'Q *usar usmāq.* us-

:: MAN 'AY'LA' 'US'DUM *män ayla usdum* “I thought (*zanantu*) so.” Oğuz dialect. D
[Aorist and] infinitive the same [as above].

Ş

:: 'L QAYIR'NY 'AŞ'DIY *ol qayirni äsdi* “He poured out (*ahāla*) the sand.” The same *äs-*
for pouring flour into a sack, or other. :: 'ATLΓ 'AŞ'DIY *atliy äsdi* “The horseman trotted,
galloped (*xabba, rakaḍa*).” :: 'ŞJ QAY'NA' 'Ş'DY⁴ *eşiç qayna äsdi* “The kettle boiled over (*aγlat*
... *γalayān*an).” 'AŞ'R 'AŞM'K *äšär äšmāk.* 0

:: 'UL 'UQ 'UŞDY *ol oq üşdi* “He bored a hole (*taqaba* . . . *bi-l-mitqab*) in the arrow (or
other).” :: 'ATM'KA' TALIM KŞY 'UŞ'DY *ätmākkä tälīm kişi üşdi* “Many people crowded
(*izdahama*) around the bread (or other).” 'UŞ'R 'UŞM'K *üšär üšmāk.* üš-

W

:: 'L 'TM'K 'UF'DIY *ol ätmāk uwdi* “He crumbled (*fatta*) the bread (or other).” 'UW'R
'UWM'K-Q⁵ *uwār uwmāq.* 0 uw-

:: KURNJK' KIŞY 'AWDIY *körünçkä kişi awdi* “The people surrounded a thing (*ḥaffa*
... *ḥawla şay*) to look at it.” 'AIWA'R 'AWM'K [sic] *awār awmāq.* aw-

:: 'R' 'WDIY *ar ewdi* “The man hurried (*aḗila*).” Verse: ew-

'UDV BA'RIB' 'KUŞ 'WDIM	<i>uḍu bārip üküş ewdim</i>	V
TLIM YUVRIB' KUJY KAWDIM	<i>tälīm yōrip küçi kāwdim</i>	
'ATIM BIR'LA' TKUV 'IWDIM	<i>atim birlä tægü awdim</i>	
MINY KVRUB ⁶ YASIY ⁷ 'AΓ'DIY	<i>mini körüp tüsi⁸ aydi</i>	

3. MS. *yunassamu*.

4. QAY'NA' is crossed out and QYN'R put in margin by a later hand (black ink) as belonging before 'ŞJ.

5. K is original; Q is added by later hand (brown ink).

6. Altered from KRUB.

7. Two dots of first Y in brown ink.

8. The reading *yēni* is also possible (cf. 116 *ürpär*.) and was adopted by Brockelmann (Volks-
poesie I,6) and subsequently; but 91 *āγ-* means “change color” and 535 *tü* means “hair” or “color” (spe-
cifically of an animal’s coat).

Describing a wolf: “I hurried while chasing him, I weakened his strength through much running, until I overtook him with my horse; when he saw me his skin shuddered.” ’IWR ’IWM’K ewār ewmāk.

Q

:: SUVW ’AQDY sūw̄ aqdi “The water (or other) flowed (*sāla*).” :: YAGY ’AQ:DIY aq-
yayi aqdi “The enemy (squadrons) advanced (*jā’at*).” ’AQA’R ’AQM’Q aqār aqmāq.

:: ’UL ’AR ’IYŠIN ’UQDIY ol ār išin uqdi “That man understood (*faṭina*) his business.” uq-
’UQ’R UQM’Q uqār uqmāq.

K

::

[I. 147/168]

94

’L TRΓ ’AK’DIY ol tariy ākdi “He sowed (*baḍara*) the seed.” The same for “spreading
(*darra*)” powder or medicine over a thing. ’AK’R ’AKM’K ākār ākmāk. 0 āk-

:: ’L YRM’Q ’UKDY ol yarmaq ükdi “He piled up (*kawwama*) dirhams (or other).” ük-
’UK’R ’UKM’K ükār ükmāk. 0

:: ’L BUTQ ’AKDIY ol butaq āgdi “He bent (*aṭafa*) the branch (or other).” ’AK’R
’AKM’K āgār āgmāk. āg-

L

:: ’L ’LMIN ’ALDIY ol alimin aldi “He collected (*qabaḍa*) his debt.” :: BAK ’YL
’ALDIY beg ēl aldi “The emir captured (*axaḍa*) the province.” ’ALIR ’ALM’Q alir almāq. 0 al-

:: ’AT BIŠIB ’ULDIY āt bišip oldi “The meat was cooked to shreds (*ṭubixa . . . ḥattā*
taharra’a min aṭ-ṭabx.)” The same for a garment that “is shabby or worn out (*uxliqa, baliya*)”
from long use. ’ULUR ’ULM’Q olur olmāq. 0 ol-

:: TK’N TVNUF ’ILDY tikān tōnuḡ ildi “The thorn caught on (*jaḍaba*) the garment (or
other.” :: ’R TA’Γ’DAN QUDIY ’ILDIY ār tāyḍin qoḍi ildi “The man came down (*nazala*) from
the mountain (or other).” ’ILAR ilār – with *naṣb* of the *lām* for the thorn [and] the garment; but
for “coming down” with *ḍamm* of the *lām*: ’ILUR ilur. ’LM’Q ilmāq – the infinitive has *qāf* for
“coming down”; for “catching on” it is: ’ILM’K ilmāk with *kāf*.

M

:: KNJ ’AN’SIN ’AMDY kānč anāsin āmdi “The baby sucked the breast (*raḍi’a*) of its
mother.” The same for any animal that sucks the breast. ’AMA’R ’MA’K āmār āmmāk. 0 ām-

:: ’L MNDN N’NK ’UMDY ol māndin nāṅ umdi “He coveted (*ṭami’a*) something from
me.” ’UMA’R ’UMA’Q umār ummāq. um-

N

'UT 'UNDY ot öndi "The plant¹ grew (*nabata*).": 'L 'WK' 'UNDY ol äwkä öndi "He went (*dahaba*) home" – Uighur dialect. 'UN'R 'UNM'K önär önmäk. 0

ön-
D

:: 'L T'TDN QUDY 'INDY ol tärdin qodi endi "He came down (*nazala*) from the mountain (or other)." The *nün* is an alternant of *lām* [i.e. il-] as in Arabic: *rajul šaṭn al-ašābi' wa-šaṭluhu* ("a man with rough fingers"), or: *kabn ad-dalw wa-kabluhu* ("fold of a leathern bucket").

en-

Doubled

T

::

[I. 149/170]

95

'AR' 'UQ 'AṬIY ar oq atti "The man shot (*ramā*) the arrow (or other).": TANK 'AṬIY taṅ atti "Dawn broke (*inbalaja*).": 'UL 'AṬIY N'NKNY :: ol atti nāṅni "He threw away (*ṭaraḥa*) the thing." 'AT'R 'ATM'Q atār atmāq.

at-

:: 'UL 'ANY 'UṬY ol ani utti "He defeated (*qamara*) him (in the game, or other).": 'UT'R 'UTM'Q utār utmāq.

ut-

Verse:

QIŠ YA'Y BILA' TUQŠ'TY

qiš yāy bilā toqišti

QINKR KVZUN BAQŠ'TY

qinṛ kōziün baqišti

TUTŠ'QALY YQŠTY

tutušqali yaqišti

'UTFA'LIMAT' 'UḤRAŠUVR

ut'yalimat uḥrašūr

V

"Winter debated and quarreled with summer, each looked askance [at the other], each drew near the other to capture him; each desires to defeat (*yaḥliba, yaqmara*) the other."

:: 'UQ KAYIKTAṆ' 'UṬY oq käyiktän ötti "The arrow pierced (*nafaḍa*) the deer (or other)." The same for anything that "pierces or passes through (*nafaḍa*) something.": QARIYN' 'UṬY qarīn ötti "He moved his bowels (*aṭlaqa l-baṭn wa-mašā*).": 'UT'R 'UTM'K ötār ötmäk. 0

öt-

:: 'UL BA'ŠIḠ 'UṬY ol bāšiy ütti "He singed the hair (*ašāḡa ša'r, aḥraqa*) of the head (or other).": 'UT'R 'UTM'K ütār ütmäk. 0

üt-

:: 'L 'NY 'IṬY ol ani itti "He pushed him down (*šadama wa-ḍafa'a . . . ḥattā asqaḡa*) to the ground with his hand or foot." 'IT'R 'ITM'K itār itmäk. 0

it-

TNKBY MANIK 'YŠM 'IYṬY tānri mänig išim ētti "God made my business prosper (*ašlaḡa*).": 'L YUKNJ 'YṬY ol yūkünc ētti "He performed the prayer (*šallā*)" – Oḡuz dialect.

ēt-
D

Anything that they “do (*fa’alū*)” they express with the word for “do well (*ṣalāh*)”: **’IYTY ētti**. The Turks say: **QILDY qildi** for “do (*’amila*)” [277]. The latter word, however, is used [among the Oğuz] for copulation; for this reason they [i.e. the Oğuz] avoid this word and use the other instead, in order not to embarrass the ladies. **’IYT’R ’IYTM’K ētār ētmāk**. 0 This word may also be found in the Initial-Weak¹ Chapter.

Defective

B²

:: **’AR’ SUVW ’UVB’DY är sūw ōpdi** “The man gulped down (*’abba*) the water (or other).” **’UVBA’R ’UVBM’Q ōpār ōpmāq**. **ōp-**

J

:: **’AR’ ’AJ’TIIY³ är ācti** “The man (or other) was hungry (*jā’a*).” **’AJA’R³ ’AJ’MA’Q⁴ ācār ācmāq**. **āc-**

[I. 150/172]

96

R

:: **’AR’ ’Ā’ARDIY är ārdi** “The man (or other) was tired (*’ayya*).” :: **’UL ’Ā’ĀR’DIY ol[ānī]ārdi** “He deceived (*γarra*) him.” **’ĀRA’R’ ’ARMA’Q ārār armāq**. 0 **ār-**

:: **’UL SAJ ’UVR’DY ol sač ōrdi** “He plaited (*rammala, nasaja*) the hair (or other).” **’UVRA’R’ VR’ MA’K ōrār ōrmāk**. **ōr-**

:: **’UL ’UT’ ’UVR’DIY ol ot ōrdi** “He cut (*qaṭa’a*) the grass.” The same for “mowing (*ḥaṣada*)” a field, or other. **’UVRA’R’ ’UVR’MA’Q ōrār ōrmāq**. 0 **ōr-**

:: **’AR ’IYR’DY är ērdi** “The man was lonely (*istawḥaṣa*)” – this is from lack of company. :: **’L T’M ’IYRDY ol tām ērdi** “He made a breach in (*ṭalama*) the wall (or other).” **’IYR’R ’IYRMA’K ērār ērmāk**. 0 **ēr-**

:: **BULT ’UVR’DY bulit ōrdi** “The cloud rose up (*naṣa’at*).” :: **QUVY ’UVR’DY qōy ōrdi** “The sheep got up (*naḥadat*) from their pen and were driven out to pasture.” The same if they “pasture at night (*nafaṣat taḥt al-layl*).” :: **’L SFDJ VR’DY ol sawdič ōrdi** “He wove (*rammala*) the basket.” The same for any material that is woven by hand, such as thread or palm leaves. **’UVRA’R’ VR’MA’Q [sic] ōrār ōrmāk**. **ōr-**

95

1. I.e. with y as first radical after *hamza*; cf. section headings at 68, 73, 74.
2. MS. R.
3. First *alif* (‘) added by a later hand (black ink).
4. Second *alif* (‘) added by a later hand (black ink).

Z

:: 'L YUVL 'AZDY¹ ol yōl āzdi “(The man) lost (*ḡalla*) the way.” 'A'ZA'R¹ 'AZ-MA'Q¹ azār azmāq. āz-

:: 'NIK 'ATY 'UVZ'DY anig ati ōzdi “His horse ran ahead (*sabaqa*).” The same for a person who runs ahead of another. 'UVZ'R 'UVZMA'Q ōzār ōzmāq. ōz-

S

:: 'L 'AT' 'AS'DY ol āt āsdi “He hung (*allaqa*) the meat (or other, on a peg).” The same for a man who is “hung or crucified (*ḡuliba*).” 'ASA'R¹ 'AS'MA'Q asār asmāq. ās-

Š

:: 'L TA'Γ 'AŠDY¹ ol tāγ āšdi “He crossed over (*jāwaza*) the mountain (or other).” 'AŠ'R 'AŠM'Q¹ āšār āšmāq. āš-

Γ

'L TA'Γ Q' 'AΓDY ol tāγqa āγdi “He climbed (*ḡa'ada*) the mountain (or other).” 'AΓ'R 'AΓM'Q āγār aγmāq. :: BULIT 'AIDY bulit āγdi “The cloud rose up (*naša'at*).” :: 'NIK YVZIY 'AΓDY anig yūzi āγdi “His color changed (*taḡayyara lawmuhu*).” āγ-

W

:: 'NKAR KŠY 'AW'DIY¹ anar kiši āwdi “The people crowded (*izdaḡama*) upon him.” 'AW'R¹ 'AWM'Q¹ āwār āwmāq. āw-

K

:: 'UL MANIY 'UVK'DIY ol māni ōgdi ōg-

[I. 152/174]

97

“He praised (*madaḡa*) me.” 'UVK'R 'UVKM'K ōgār ōgmāk.

Final Weak

:: 'L MANK' SUVZ 'AY'DY ol maḡa sōz aydi “He spoke (*qāla . . . kalām^{an}*) to me.” 'AYUVR 'AYM'Q ayūr aymāq. 0 ay-

'UL Q'ΓUVN 'UVY'DY ol qāγūn ōydi “He scooped out (*qawwara*) the melon (or other).” 'UVYA'R 'UVY'M'Q ōyār ōymāq. 0 ōy-

:: 'L 'VNUΓ 'UY'DIY ol ūnuγ uydi “He pressed (*ḍaṣaṣa*) the flour (or other) [in the sack]” so that it remained firm and wholesome. 'UYA'R 'UY'M'Q uyār uymāq. uy-

Nasal

K

:: 'AR' 'ANKDIY är āṅdi “The man was bewildered (*taḥayyara*).” 'ANK'R 'ANKM'K āṅār āṅmāk. āṅ-

:: 'L YAΓ'J 'UNKDY ol yiγāč üṅdi “He bored a hole (*naqaba*) in the wood (or other).” The same for “sapping (*naqaba*)” the foundation of a wall, or other. 'UNK'R 'UNKM'K üṅār üṅmāk. üṅ-

:: BARJIN' BUDVΓY 'UNKDIY barcīn bodūyi oṅdi “The color of the brocade (or other) faded (*inṭamasa, ḍahaba*).” 'UNK'R 'UNKM'Q oṅār oṅmāq. You may also say: 'UNKUQ'TY oṅuqti [116]. oṅ-

Rule. The imperative in this chapter is biliteral, as in: YARMA'Q 'AL yarmāq al “Take the dirham”; 'AṬIN 'IL attin il “Dismount from the horse.” 0 Then you should know that the verbal system in this language turns on the imperative. The form that is fixed in the imperative is the stem upon which the derivational suffixes turn. 0 The negative of all verbs is formed by adding *mīm* and *alif* after this stem, for example: 'AL'MA' alma “Do not take”; 'IL'MA' ilma “Do not come down.” All the grammatical rules will be thoroughly discussed in the Book of Sound Words [279ff.], God willing. G

End of the Biliteral Chapters

Chapter of Triliterals

Chapter: *fa'al*, vowelled second radical, in its various vocalizations

R

:: 'L MANK' SUVT' 'UBUR'DY ol maṅa sūt öpürdi “He gave me milk¹ (or other) to sip (*aḥsā*).” 'BRUR' 'BUR'MA'K öprür öpürmāk. öpür-

:: 'L SIBUZ'ΓUV² 'TURDIY ol sibizyu ötürdi “He sounded (*ṣayyaḥa*) the flute (or other).” 'UTRUVR' 'UTUR'MA'K ötrür ötürmāk. ötür-

97 1. MS. “soup”; possibly *sūt* is in error for *mūn*.
2. First U (brown) changed from A (black) (?).

:: 'UL SAJ 'UTUR·DIY ol saç oturdi

otur-

[I. 154/176]

98

“He trimmed (*qaşsa*) the hair (or the garment, or the like).” 'UTRUR 'UTR·MA'Q otrur oturmāq.
0

:: 'L TA'M 'UTURDY ol tām ötürdi “He pierced (*taqaba*) the wall (or other).” 'UTRR 'UTRMA'K ötrür ötürmāk. 0 ötür-

:: 'UL QUŞ 'UJURDY ol quş uçurdi “He made the bird fly (*aṭāra*).” :: 'UL 'ANY 'AṬİN 'UJURDY ol ani attin uçurdi “He made him fall (*asqaṭa*) off the horse (or other).” 'UJ-RUR 'JURMA'Q uçurur uçurmāq. 0 uçur-

:: 'UL 'UTUḠ 'UJURDY ol otuy öçürdi “He put out (*aṭfa'a*) the (flame of) the fire.”
:: 'ANIK 'UBK'SIN 'JURDIY anig öpkāsin öçürdi “He calmed (*askana*) his anger.” :: 'UL 'ANİY 'RUB TİYNY 'UJURDY ol ani urup tīni öçürdi “He beat him until he silenced him with death (*askata na'matahu*).” 'UJRUR 'UJR·MA'K öçürür öçürmāk. Proverb: 'VTUḠ 'ḌḠUJ BIR·LA' 'UJR·MA'S' ötuḡ oḡyuç birlā öçürmās “You cannot put out a fire with a firebrand.” This means that one civil disturbance cannot be calmed down by means of another like it, but only by peace.
0 öçür- P

:: 'UL 'ANKAR SUVW 'IJURDY ol anar sūw içürdi “He gave him water (or other) to drink (*aşraba*).” 'IJ·RUR 'IJURMA'K içürür içürmāk. 0 içür-

:: 'L 'DKVNY YAW·LA'Q·TAN 'AḌIRDİY² ol āḡgūni yawlāqtan aḡirdi “He chose, discriminated (*ixtāra*, *mayyaza*) good from evil.” 'AḌIRUR² 'AḌIR·MA'K² [sic] aḡirur aḡirmāq. Proverb: 'AT·LY TIRNG·Q·LY¹ 'AḌIRMA'S' ätli tirnāqli aḡirmās “You cannot separate (*lā yufarraqu*) the fingernail from the flesh.” This is coined about kinship; the meaning is, “There is no more separation between kin than between the fingernail and the flesh.” aḡir- P

:: 'L 'AḌIR·DIY² NA'NKNY ol üdürdi nāñni “He chose or preferred (*ixtāra*)³ the thing. 'AḌIRUR² 'AḌIRMA'K² üdrür üdürmāk. 0 üdür-

:: MN 'ANY 'AḌAR·DIM män ani eḡärdim “I followed in his tracks (*iqtafaytuhu wattaḡa'tu aṭarahu*).” 'AḌA'RUR MN 'AḌAR·MA'K eḡärür män, eḡärmāk. 0 eḡär-

'AR· 'ASUR·DY ar asurdi “The man sneezed (*aṭişa*).” 'ASURUR⁴ 'ASUR·MA'Q asurur asurmāq. 0 asur-

98

1. Three dots of G in brown ink.
2. First A and I apparently by a later hand (black ink).
3. MS. *ixtiyār*.
4. First U (brown) changed from *sukün* (·) (black).

:: 'AR' 'USRDY ar osurdi "The man farted (*radama*)."' 'US'RUR 'USR'MA'Q osur osurmāq. 0

:: 'IT' 'ISIR'DY it isirdi "The dog (or other) bit (*adḡa*)."
 Proverb: 'IT' 'SIR'MA'S 'AT TAB'M'S TIYMA' it isirmās at tāpmās tēmā "Don't say that the dog won't bite (*ya'qiru*) and the horse won't kick" – since that is what they are likely to do. 'IS'RUR 'ISIR'MA'Q isrir isirmāq. 0

::

[I. 156/178]

99

'ANIK KVZY 'UŠARDY anig kōzi ušardi "His eye was dazzled, bleary (*sadirat, irmad-dat*)¹ from looking closely or from hunger." 'UŠ'RUR 'UŠAR'MA'K ušārūr ušarmāk. 0

:: 'AR' SUNKK 'UĞURDY ar sünük oγurdi "The man disjointed (*ṭabbaqa, faṣala*) the bone." 'UĞ'RUR 'UĞUR'MA'Q oγrur oγurmāq. 0

:: 'L MĀNY YVLDIN 'AWURDY ol māni yöldin äwürdi "He turned me away (*ṣarafa*) from the road." :: 'L 'L [sic] 'AY'Q 'AWURDY ol ayāq äwürdi "He turned over (*qalaba*) the bowl (or other)." 'WR'R 'WRMA'K äwrār äwürmāk.

:: BAK KĀND 'KIRDĪY beg känd ägirdi "The emir besieged (*ḥāṣara*) the city." :: 'URA'ĞUT YĪYB 'ĀKIRDĪY urāğut yīp ägirdi "The woman spun (*ğazalat*) the yarn." :: SUVW KĀMIYNY 'ĀKIRDĪY sūw kemīni ägirdi "The water turned the boat around (*adāra*)."
 'ĀKĪR'R 'ĀKĪRMA'K ägirār ägirmāk. :: 'L MNY 'YŠQ' 'KRDIY ol māni išqa ägirdi "He directed (*alāṣa*) me to the thing."

:: TLQ' 'LRDY talqa alardi "The sour grapes (or other fruit) were varicolored (*talaw-wana*)."
 :: KŠY YIYNIY 'ALAR'DIY kiši yēni alardi "The person's body (or other) was leprous (*bariṣa*)."
 :: 'ANIK KVZY 'ALAR'DIY anig kōzi alardi "His eyes were dazzled (*bariqa*)."
 'ALA'RUR 'ALAR'MA'Q alārur alarmāq. 0

:: MANIK KVZUMA' NĀ'NK 'ILAR'DIY mänig kōzümä nāñ ilardi "The thing appeared in outline (*ṭaxayyala*) to my eye (in the distance or in the dark)." Verse [= 407 qaq]:

QAQ'L'R QAMĪ KUL'RDY
 TAĞLA'R BAŠY 'ILARDY
 'AŽUN TĪNĪY YĪLĪR'DY
 TV TV JAJAK JARKAŠVR

qaqlār qamuy kölär di
 tağlār baši ilär di
 ažun tini yilirdi
 tü tü čečäk čärgäšür

V

"The ponds filled with water, and the mountain tops appeared in outline [i.e. silhouetted]; the breath of the world became warm; (the trees blossomed and the calyxes split open so that) flowers of every variety were lined up in ranks."

R

'URA'ΓT 'UΓLINK' SUVT 'AMUZDY urāyut oγliṇa sūt ämüzdi "The woman suckled **ämüz-**
(arḍa'at) her son with milk." 'AMUZR 'MUZMA'K ämzür ämüzmäk.

Ş

:: 'L MANIK BR'L' 'BUŞDY ol mänig birlä öpüşdi "He kissed (*qabbala*) me and I kissed **öpüş-**
him." 'UBŞUR 'UBŞM'K öpşür öpüşmäk.

:: 'UL MANIK BRL' 'UQ 'ATIŞDY ol mänig birlä oq atişdi "He vied with me in shoot- **atiş-**
ing arrows (*bārānī fī r-ramy*)." The same for "throwing (*ṭarḥ*)" anything. 'ATIŞUR 'ATIŞM'Q
atişur atişmäq.

:: 'UL 'NIK BIRL' YARMA'Q 'UTUŞDY ol anig birlä yarmāq utuşdi "He made a wager **utuş-**
with him (*qāmarahu wa-xāṭarahu*)

[I. 157/180]

for a dirham (or other)." 'UTŞUR 'UTŞM'Q utşur utuşmäq.

:: 'L 'NIK BRLA' 'ITIŞDY ol anig birlä itişdi "He pushed him mutually (*dāfa'a ma'ahu*)." **itiş-**
'ITIŞVR 'ITIŞMA'K itişür itişmäk. The same for helping or competing in pushing something.
'ITIŞVR 'ITIŞM'K itişür itişmäk. 0

:: 'AL MANK' QABUΓ 'AJIŞDY ol maṇa qapuy ačişdi "He helped me in opening (*fath*) **ačiş-**
the door." The same for competing. 'AJIŞVR 'AJIŞM'Q ačişür ačişmäq.

:: 'UZUM 'AJIŞDY üzüm ačişdi "The grapes were thoroughly sour (*ḥamuḍa . . . ba'duhu*
fī ba'd)." 'AJIŞVR 'AJIŞM'Q ačişür ačişmäq.

:: 'L MANIK BIRLA' 'UJAŞDY ol mänig birlä öčäşdi "He competed (*bārā*) with me in **öčäş-**
something." 'UJAŞVR 'JAŞM'K öčäşür öčäşmäk.

:: 'L MANK BIRL' SUVT 'IJIŞDY ol mänig birlä sūt ičişdi "He vied with me in drinking **ičiş-**
(*şurb*) the milk (or other)." 'IJIŞVR 'IJIŞMA'K ičişür ičişmäk. The same for helping. 0

This very pattern has two usages. One is to make the verbal stem mutually transitive, like **G**
the Arabic pattern *mufā'ala*, or else to give the sense of helping to accomplish the verbal action or
of competing in it. 0 The other is to make the verbal stem intransitive but extending to all
parts of the subject, as in: SIRKA' 'AJIŞDY sirkä ačişdi "The vinegar was thoroughly sour
(*ḥamuḍa . . . ba'duhu fī ba'd*)"; or in: TUVN TAR'NY 'IJIŞDY tōn tārni ičişdi "The garment
totally absorbed (*naşafa . . . fī ajzā'ihī*) the sweat." There are many verbs of this type.

:: 'AR' 'AḌA'QY 'AḌIŞDY ar aḍāqi aḍişdi "The man straddled (*fahija*) his legs." **aḍiş-**
'AḌŞVR 'ḌŞM'Q aḍişür aḍişmäq. The same for any pair of which one is separated (*infaraja*) from
the other. 'AḌIŞVR 'AḌIŞM'Q aḍişur aḍişmäq.

:: 'L MANIK BRL' 'U_{DU}IŠDIY ol mänig birlä u_{di}šdi “He vied with me in sleeping (nawm) (to see which of us could sleep more).” :: 'A_{DA}'Q' 'U_{DI}ŠDY adaq u_{di}šdi “The foot was asleep or numb (xadarat).” YU_ΓRUT 'U_{DI}ŠDY yo_γrut u_{di}šdi “The milk curdled (tarawwaba, xa_ṭara).” 'U_{DI}ŠVR 'U_{DI}ŠM'Q u_{di}šür u_{di}šmāq. u_{di}š-

:: 'UL MANK' 'ARTUT 'IDIŠDY ol maṇa ärtüt i_{di}šdi “He exchanged gifts with me (ahdānī wa-innī ayḡan ahdaytuhu šay’).” Also of anything i_{di}š-

[I. 159/182]

101

that you vie with someone in sending or releasing (iṭlāq). 'I_DŠUVR 'I_{DI}ŠM'Q i_{di}šür i_{di}šmāq. 0

:: 'ULA'R 'I_KY 'ÄRIŠDY¹ olār ekki arišdi “Each of them deceived (γarra) the other.” 'ÄRIŠVR¹ 'ÄRIŠM'Q¹ arišür arišmāq. 0 ariš-

:: YA'Γ 'ARUIŠDY yāy ärišdi “The butter (or other) melted completely (taḡāwaba).” 'ARUIŠUVR 'ARUIŠM'K ärišür ärišmāk. äriš-

:: 'NIK BRLA' 'URUŠDY anig birlä urušdi “They quarrelled with each other (tašājarā).” Also for two emirs, or others, who do battle (taḡāraba). 'URUŠUVR 'URUŠM'Q uršür urušmāq. Proverb: 'ALB' LA'R' BIR'LA' 'URUŠM' BAKL'R' BIRL' TÜRÜŠMA' alplār birlä urušma, beglār birlä turušma “Do not battle with brave warriors, do not stand opposed to emirs.” P

Verse [= 181 qilič]:²

'ARAN' 'ALBY 'UQIŠ'TIYLA'R
QINIKR' KUVZUIN BAQIŠ'TIYLA'R
QAMUΓ TULMUN TUQIŠ'TIYLA'R
QILJ QIN'Q' KUJN SIΓ'DY

ärän alpi oqištīlār
qinir közün baqištīlār
qamuγ tulumun toqištīlār
qilič qinqa kücün siγdi

V

“The warriors called out to [i.e. challenged] one another, they looked [at one another] askance, they did battle with all their weapons, until the swords could [hardly] fit into their scabbards (because of the great amount of dried blood on them).” 0

:: 'L MANK' 'UVT 'URUŠDIY ol maṇa ot ürišdi “He helped me blow (nafx) on the fire.” The same for competing. 'URŠVR 'URUŠM'K ürišür ürišmāk. üriš-

:: 'L MANK' YŠIΓ 'URUŠDIY ol maṇa yisiγ örišdi “He helped me in plaiting (tawḡin) the rope.” The same for vying in weaving (raml) anything. 'URUŠVR 'URŠM'K örišür örišmāk. öriš-

101 1. Madda over alif (') in brown ink.

2. Either this is meant to illustrate 103 oqiš- and is out of place here, or else toqištīlār is in error here for uruštīlār.

When one wishes to distinguish helping from competing, this is done according to the accompanying adverbial (*ḥarf aṣ-ṣila*). When the verb is accompanied by MANKA' maṇa, a particle meaning “to or for me (*lī*),” the intention is “helping”; when it is accompanied by MANIK BIR_LA' māniḡ birlā, a particle meaning “with me (*ma'ī*),” the intention is “competing.” This is a root-principle for all reciprocal verbs. For the third person one says 'ANKAR' aṅar – a particle meaning “to or for him (*lahu*)” – if the intention is “helping”; or if the intention is “competing or contesting (*mubārāt, musājala*)” one says

[I. 160/184]

102

'ANIK BIRLA' anig birlā meaning “with him (*ma'ahu*).” This should be memorized! 0

:: 'L MANK' 'UZM 'UZŠDY ol maṇa üzüm üzüşdi “He helped me in picking (*qatf*) the grapes.” The same for breaking (*ḥaḍq*) a rope, or other; also for competing. 'UZŠVR 'UZŠM'K üzüşür üzüşmāk. 0

:: 'UL MANIK BIRLA' 'AT' 'UZUŠDY ol māniḡ birlā at ozuşdi “He competed with me in racing (*sibāq*) horses.” The same for helping. 'UZUŠVR 'UZŠM'K [sic] ozuşür ozuşmāk.

:: 'UL MANK' 'AT' 'ASIŠDY ol maṇa ät asişdi “He helped me hang (*ta'liq*) the meat (on a peg).” 'ASIŠVR 'ASIŠMA'Q asişür asişmāk.

:: 'L MANK' 'YIB 'ASIŠDIY¹ ol maṇa yip äşişdi “He helped me stretch (*madd*) the rope.” The same for competing. 'ASIŠUVR¹ 'ASIŠM'K¹ äşişür äşişmāk.- 0

:: 'ISIŠDY NA'NK isişdi nāḡ “The thing became hot (*ḥarra*) – i.e. the heat extended throughout (*ta'addā l-ḥarāra fi ajzā'ihī*).” 'ISIŠVR 'ISIŠM'K isişür isişmāk. 0

:: 'L MANK' TUBRA'Q 'AŠIŠDY ol maṇa toprāq äşişdi “He helped me in pouring out (*ihāla*) the earth.” The same for competing. 'AŠIŠVR 'AŠIŠM'K äşişür äşişmāk. 0

:: 'L MANIK BRL' T'ḤQA' 'AḤIŠDY ol māniḡ birlā tāḡqa ayişdi “He vied with me in climbing (*ṣu'ūd*) the mountain (or other).” 'AḤIŠVR 'AḤIŠM'Q ayişür ayişmāk. 0

:: 'L MANIK BIRLA' BIYR' 'ALTUVNDĀ² 'AḤIŠDY ol māniḡ birlā bīr altūnda ayişdi “He raised the price by one dinar (*ḡālā fi s-si'r bi-dīnār*).” :: BAḠL'R BIYR 'KINDY BRL' 'AḤIŠDY beḡlār bīr ekindi birlā ayişdi “The emirs dashed (*tadaffa'at*) against one another.” 0

:: 'L MANK' 'ATM'K 'UWUŠDY ol maṇa ätmāk uwuşdi “He helped me in crumbling (*fatt*) the bread (or other).” The same for competing. 'UWŠVR 'UWŠM'Q uwuşür uwuşmāk. 0

:: KŠYL'R 'IYŠQA' 'AWIŠDY kişilār işqa ewişdi “The people were hasty (*'ajila*) in the matter.” 'IYWIŠUVR 'IYWŠM'K ewişür ewişmāk. 0

102 1. Three dots in brown ink faintly visible over the S.

2. Final A: another A in brown ink (indicates nunnation, thus: -dan).

:: SUWL'R 'AQIŠDY suwlār aqišdi “The waters flowed together (*tasāyalat . . . min kull awb*).” Verse: aqiš-

QA'R' BUVZ QMΓ'ARUŠDY	qār büz qamuy arüšdi	V
TΓL'R SUWY 'AQIŠDY	taylār suwi aqišdi	
KUKŠIN BULT' 'URUŠ'DIY	kökšin bulit örišdi	
QAYTUQ' BLUB 'KRŠVR	qaytuq bolup ügrišür	

Describing summer: “The snow and ice have melted, and the [mountain] streams have flowed together;

[I. 162/186]

103

a green cloud has risen up and sways (in the air) as a boat rocks (in the water).” 0

:: 'ULA'R BUV 'IYŠIΓ' 'UQUŠTIYLA'R olār bu īšiy uquštīlār “They have understood (*faṭinū*) this matter.” 'UQUŠVR L'R 'UQUŠM'Q uqušūr lār uqušmāq. 0 uquš-

:: 'ULA'R' BYR' 'KINDY BRL' 'UQIŠTIYLA'R olār bīr ekindi birlā oqištīlār “They called (*da'ā*) one another.” 'UQIŠUVR 'UQIŠM'Q oqišūr oqišmāq. 0 oqiš-

:: 'L MANIK BRL' BİTIK 'UQIŠDY ol mānig birlā bitig oqišdi “He competed with me in reading (*qirā'a*) the book.” The same for helping. 0

:: 'L MANK' TRIΓ' 'AKIŠDY ol maṇa tariy ākišdi “He helped me sow (*badr*) the grain.” The same for competing. 'AKIŠVR 'KIŠM'K ākišūr ākišmāk. 0 ākiš-

:: 'L MANK' JUK'N 'AKIŠDY ol maṇa čögān āgišdi “He helped me bend (*aṭf*) the polo stick (or other).” The same for competing. 'AKIŠVR 'KIŠM'K āgišūr āgišmāk. āgiš-

:: 'IKY 'RAN 'UKUŠDY ekki ārān ögüšdi “The two men praised each other (*tamā-daḥa*).” 'UKUŠVR 'KUŠM'K ögüšūr ögüšmāk. ögüš-

:: 'L MANK' TARIΓ' U'UKŠDY ol maṇa tariy ögišdi “He helped me grind (*ṭaḥn*) the wheat (or other).” U'UKIŠVR¹ U'UKIŠM'K¹ ögišūr ögišmāk. 0 The same for competing. ögiš-

:: KIŠYLA'R 'IYŠTA' BIYR BIYRIK' 'IKAŠ'DIYLA'R kišilār īšta bīr birkā igāšdīlār “The people depended (*ittakala*) upon one another in the matter.” 'IKAŠVR 'IKAŠMA'K igāšūr igāšmāk. 0 igāš-

:: 'L MANK' TAMUR 'IKAŠDIY ol maṇa tāmür egāšdi “He helped me file (*saḥl*) the iron (or other).” 'IKAŠVR 'IKAŠM'K egāšūr egāšmāk. egāš-

:: 'IK̄Y BUΓ'RA' 'IKAŠDIY **ekki buγra egāšdi** "The two [camel-] stallions pushed and bit one another (*tašādama, ta'āḏḏā*)." Proverb [=409 *kökägün*]; 'IK̄Y BUΓRA' 'IKAŠUVR 'UTRA' KUKA'KUVN̄ YANJILUVR̄ **ekki buγra egāšūr otra kökägün yančilūr** 0 "Two stallions clash (*yatašādamu*) and a blue fly is crushed in between." 0 This is coined about two emirs who do battle with the result that between them the weak are killed. P

:: 'L MANK' 'ALIM 'ALIŠDY **ol maṇa alim ališdi** "He helped me to collect (*qabḏ*) my debt (or other)." 'ALIŠUVR 'ALIŠMA'Q **ališūr ališmāq.** ališ-

:: 'IK̄Y NA'NK BIRLA' 'ILIŠDY **ekki nāṅ birlā ilišdi** "The two things were caught on or stuck to (*ta'allāqa*) one another." 'ILIŠUVR̄ 'ILIŠMA'K **ilišūr ilišmāk.** iliš-

:: QAN:JIQ' 'ILIŠDY **qančiq ilišdi** "The dog's penis was stuck inside the bitch." 0

:: 'AD'ΓIR 'ILIŠDY **aḏγir ilišdi** "The two horse- (or camel-) stallions bit each other (*ta'āḏḏa*)." ališ-

[I. 164/188]

104

:: BURY BARJA' 'ULIŠDY **böri barča ulišdi** "The wolves (or other) howled (*'awat*)." uliš-
Verse:

'ULŠIB 'ARN BUVRLYV	ulšip ärän börläyü	V
YRTN YQ' 'UVR'LAYV	yirtip yaqa örlayu	
SIQRIP 'VNY YVR'LAYV	siqrip üni yūrlayu	
SIΓTAB KVZY 'UR'TULVR	siγtap közi örtülür	

"The men howl like wolves (in grief over Afrāsiyāb), they tear the collar with wailing, they warble like a singer, and cry until the eye is covered (with tears)." 'ULIŠUR 'ULIŠMA'Q **ulišur ulišmāq.**

:: 'ULA'R 'K̄Y TW'RIN 'ULAŠDY **olār ekki tawārin ülāšdi** "Each of the two divided (*mayyaza*) his property and took his share (*axada hişşa*)." 'ULAŠUVR 'ULAŠMA'K **ülāšūr ülāšmāk.** ülāš-

:: BYR N'NK BIYRK' 'ULAŠDY **bīr nāṅ birkā ulašdi** "One thing was joined (*ittaşala*) to another." 'ULAŠVR 'ULAŠM'Q **ulašūr ulašmāq.** ulaš-

:: 'ULIŠ'DY NA'NK **ölišdi nāṅ** "The thing was soaking wet (*ibtalla, nafaḏat al-ruḏūba fi ajzā'ihī*)." 'ULIŠUVR̄ 'ULIŠMA'K **ölišūr ölišmāk.** öliš-

:: 'L MANIK BRL' TA'ΓDIN QUDIY 'ILIŠDY **ol mänig birlā tāγdin qoḏi ilišdi** "He competed with me in coming down (*nuzūl*) from the mountain." 'ILIŠVR 'ILIŠM'Q **ilišūr ilišmāq.** iliš-
0

:: 'UL MANIK BRL' TUBIQ 'ILIŠDY **ol mänig birlā topiq ilišdi** "He competed with me in catching (*ta'līq*) the ball; he had a contest with me to see which of us was the better catcher (*a'laq*)." 'ILIŠUR 'ILIŠMA'K **ilišūr ilišmāk.** 0

'AMŠDIY 'AR' **amušdi ār** "The man (or other) hung his head in silence due to being blamed or rebuked (*sakata* . . . *mutriq^{an} min 'itāb aw lā'ima*)." 'AMUŠUVR 'AMİŠMA'Q **amušur amušmāq.** 0 **amuš-**

:: BUV 'IYSIΓ 'ULA'R QMΓ 'UNASŠ¹ DIYL'R' **bu īsiy olār qamuy unašdīlār** "They came to terms (*tarāḍaw*) over this matter (or other)." 'UN'ŠUVR L'R 'UNASMA'Q **unāšūrlār unašmāq.** 0 **unaš-**

:: 'UL MANIK BRL' TA'ΓDIN 'INIŠDY **ol mānig birlā tāydin enišdi** "He competed with me in coming down (*nuzūl*) from the mountain." 'INIŠUVR 'NIŠM'Q **enišur enišmāq.** **eniš-**

Q

:: 'AR' 'AJIQ'TY **ar ačiqti** "The man was convulsed with hunger (*taḍawwara* . . . *min al-jū'*)." 'AJIQA'R 'AJIQM'Q **ačiqār ačiqmāq.** 0 **ačiq-**

:: 'YŠ 'UJUQTY **īs učuqti** "The matter came to an end (*balaya* . . . *āxirahu*)." 'UJU-QA'R 'UJQ:M'Q **ucuqār učuqmāq.** 0 **učuq-**

:: 'AR' 'USUQ'TY **ār usuqti** "The man was thirsty (*aṭiša*)." 'USUQ'R 'USUQ:M'Q **usuqār usuqmāq.** Proverb: 'SUQMIŠ'Q' SA'QIΓ QAMΓ SUVF KURNVR **usuqmišqa sāqiy qamuy sūw kōrnūr** "The thirsty one sees every mirage as water." This is coined about a man in need, who sees in every **usuq-**
P

[I. 166/191]

105

thing the fulfillment of his need. 0

:: 'L 'WK' 'AŠUQ'TY **ol āwkā ašuqti** "The man longed (*ištāqa*) for home." The same for anyone who craves or longs for (*mūla'*, *muštāq*) something. 'AŠUQ'R 'AŠUIQM'Q **ašuqār ašuqmāq.** 0 **ašuq-**

:: 'AR' 'AΓUQ'TY **ār aγuqti** "The man was poisoned (*summa*)." This is intransitive, as [Arabic] *ḥumma r-rajul* ("The man was feverish") from *al-ḥummā* ("fever"). 'AΓUQ'R 'AΓUQ-M'Q **aγuqār aγuqmāq.** 0 **aγuq-**

:: 'AR' 'ALIQTY **ār eliqti** "The man was vile or corrupt (*la'uma*)." :: BA'Š 'AİLİQ'TY **bāš eliqti** "The wound festered (*tanaffaṭa, fasada*)." The same for anything that becomes spoiled (*fasada*) from the glance of a menstruating woman, a confined woman, or one polluted. 'AİLİ-QA'R 'AİLİQMA'Q **eliqār eliqmāq.** 0 **eliq-**
Verse:

BA'ŠIY 'ANIK 'İLİQTY¹
Q'NY YUZUB TURQTY

bāši anig eliqti
qāni yüzüp turuqti

V

104 1. DIY L'R added in brown ink.

105 1. A (brown) altered from original U (black).

BA'LIF BULUB TAḠIQ'TIY
'M'DY 'NY KYM YAT'R

bāliḡ bolup tayiḡti
amdi ani kīm yetār

Describing a wounded man whose blood went cold: "His wound festered (*tanaffaḡa*) but he climbed the mountain, though the blood in the wound was swollen and thick; who can reach him now?"

K

:: 'UḠL'N 'ATIKTY oḡlān ātikti "The baby put on flesh (*tarabbala, kabura*)."' 'ATIK'R ātik-
'ATIKMA'K ātikār ātikmāk. 0

:: 'AR' 'IJIKTIY ār ičikti "The man capitulated and went over to the other side (*istaslama . . . fi l-ḡarb wa-daxala ilā l-ḡarb al-āxar ḡāyi'an*)."' 'IJIK'R 'IJKM'K ičikār ičikmāk. 0

:: 'AR TIYNY U'UJKTY ār tīni öčükti "The man's voice was still (*xafata*) (in battle), or his breath was cut off (*inqaḡa'a*) (from cold water being poured over him or from a severe blow)."' 'UJUK'R 'UJKM'K öčükār öčükmāk.

L

:: SUVT' U'UBLDY sūt öpüldi "The milk² (or other) was sipped (*ḡusiyat*). This is a root-principle, namely that when you add *lām* to the preterite the verb becomes passive. U'UBLUR 'U'UBLMA'K öplür öpülmāk. 0

:: 'UQ 'ATILDY oḡ atildi "The arrow was shot (*rumiya*)."' 'ATILUR 'ATILM'Q atilur atilmāk.

:: JAJ'K 'AIḠZIY 'ATILDY čečāk aḡzi atildi "The calyx split open (*tafaḡḡarat al-jamā'a*)."' The same for any flower or blossom; also anything that splits open without leaving a gap (*inḡaraja min ḡayr baynūna*). 0

:: 'UL BUV 'IYŠ'TA' 'UTALDY ol bu išta ötäldi "He exerted himself, went to great pains (*ta'annā, mārasa š-šidda*) in this matter." 'UTALUR 'TALM'K ötälür ötalmök. 0

[I. 168/193]

:: TARIḠ 'UTALDY¹ tariḡ otaldi "The superfluous leaves of the crop were cut off (*ḡuḡi'a*)" – i.e., any [part of the] plant which one destroys in order not to let it spoil.² 'UTALUR¹ 'UTALM'Q¹ otalur otalmök.

2. MS. "soup" – see 97, n.1.

106

1. A altered to U in brown ink.

2. MS. *fa-yufsiduhu*, amend to *kay-lā yufsidahu*, cf. 555:6.

:: QUVY BAŞIY 'UTULDY qōy başi ütülđi “The head of the sheep (or other) was
singed (*uħriqa ša'r*).” U'UTLUR U'UTLM'K ütülür ütölmāk. 0 ütül-

:: 'ATILDIY NA'NK itildi nāñ “The thing was pushed (*dufi'a*).” :: 'UFL'N 'AITILDY
oylān itildi “The baby pushed himself forward, crawled (*tara'ra'a, tazahħafa*).” 'AITILVR'
'AITILMA'K itülür itölmāk. itil-

:: KVK 'AJILDY kōk açildi “(The thing opened [*infataħa*]; or) the sky cleared (*taqaš-
ša'at*).” :: KUNKUL 'AJILDY kōñül açildi “The breast dilated with joy (*inšaraħa*).” The same
for anything that opens (*infataħa*). 'AJILUVR 'AJILM'Q açilür açölmāq. açil-

:: SUVF 'IJILDIY sūw içildi “The water (or other) was drunk (*šuriba*).” 'IJI'LUR
'IJLM'K içilür içölmāk. 0 içil-

:: 'AS'RUK 'ADILDİY³ äsrük ađildi “The drunken man (or the man who fainted) came
to his senses (*afāqa*).” 'AD'LÜVR⁴ 'ADILM'Q³ ađlür ađölmāq. ađil-

:: TUTİVN 'İDILDİY³ tutγün iđildi “The captive (or the bound man, or other) was
released (*utliqa*).” 'İD'LR 'İDLM'Q iđlür iđölmāq. iđil-

:: 'AR' 'URULDY ār urulđi “The man (or other) was struck (*đuriba*).” 'URLVR'
'URULM'Q urlür urölmāq. urul-

:: TIRKY 'URULDY terđi urulđi “The table was set (*wuđi'at*).” :: TUVI' 'URULDY
tūy urulđi “The sentry drums were beat (*duriħat*).” 0

:: TARIΓ'URULDY tariγ orulđi “The grain was reaped (*ħuşıda*).” Verse: orul-

QUR·VIY JUVAJ QURLDY	qarvi čuvač qurulđi	V
TUVγUM TIKİB 'URULDY ⁵	tūyum tikip urulđi	
SUVSIY 'TN [sic] 'RULDY	sūsi anin orulđi	
QANJUQ QAJ'R 'UL TUT'R	qanč-oq qačār ol tutār	

Describing a battle: “When the royal canopy was unfurled in it” – i.e. the canopy made of silk for the kings of the Turks under which they seek shade in the summer heat and protection from rain and snow – “when my banners of war [were set up and] the drums beat, there the enemy troops were mowed like grain; now how can the greatest of them [i.e. Tutār] flee from me?” 0

:: 'URK'N 'URULDIY örgān örülđi “The thong of the camel's girth (or other) was
plaited (*rummıla*).” 'URLUR 'URLM'Q [sic] örülür örölmāk. 0 örül-

:: 'AR' 'UWK'SINDA' 'URULDY ar öwkāsindä ürülđi “The man was puffed up (*intafaxa*)” ürül-

3. D altered from D by later hand (dot in brown ink).

4. Amended from 'AD'LR.

5. Originally 'UZLDY, dot of Z altered to U in brown ink.

[I. 169/195]

in anger.” :: Q'B 'URULDY qāp ürüldi “The wineskin was blown up (*nufixa fī*).” :: 'UVT 'URULDY öt uruldi “The fire was blown (*nufixat*).” It is transitive or not transitive. Proverb: YALNKUQ¹ 'URULMIŞ QA'B' 'UL 'AĞZİY YAZLB' 'ALQINVR **yalnuq urulmiş qāp ol, aγzi yazlup alqinūr** ‘Man is (like) an inflated (*manfūx fīhi*) wineskin; when the mouth opens the wind goes out [he expires].’ 0

P

:: 'AR' 'IRILDY² SARILDY **ār erildi sarildi** “The man was shaken with grief and remorse (*ih̄tazza . . . min γamm wa-lāma nafsahu fīhi*).” 'IRILUR² 'RILM'K **erlür erilmāk**. 0

eril-

:: 'ANIK 'ATY 'IZULDY **anig āti ezildi** “His flesh was scratched (*xudiša*).” Also of anything that is scratched lengthwise (*xudiša tūlan*). 'IZLUR 'ZLM'K **ezlür ezilmāk**. 0

ezil-

:: YUVL 'AZILDY **yöl azildi** “The way was lost (*ḍulla*).” 'AZILUR 'AZILM'Q **azilur azilmāq**. 0

azil-

:: 'AR' 'UZALDY **ār özäldi** “The man suffered and persisted in a matter without finding speedy relief (*ta'ayya, baqiya fī amr la yanfariju 'anhu sarī^{an}*).” Hence :: 'IK'LIK 'UZALDY **iglig özäldi** “The sick man was tenacious in giving up the ghost, as though he were too strong for death to be decreed against him (*'asura 'alā l-marīd naz' ar-rūḥ ka-annahu lā yuqḍā 'alayhi min aš-šidda*).” 'UZA'LUR 'UZALM'K **özälür özälmāk**. 0

özäl-

'UZLDY NA'NK **üzüldi nāḡ** “The thing was cut or broke (*inqaṭa'a*).” 'UZALUR 'UZALM'K **üzlür üzülmāk**. 0

üzül-

:: YAŞIF 'ASILDY **yişiy äsildi** “The rope (or other) stretched (*imtadda*).” Also if it is stretched by someone (*mudda*). 'AS'LUR 'ASILM'K **äslür äsilmāk**.

äsil-

:: BYR NA'NK BYRK' 'ASILDY **bīr nāḡ bīrkä asildi** “One thing was hung on or stuck to (*ta'allāqa*) another.” 'AS'LUR 'ASILM'Q **aslur asilmāq**. 0

asil-

:: 'TM'K 'UŞALDY **ätmāk uşaldi** “The bread (or other) crumbled (*tafattata*).” 'UŞ'LUR 'UŞALM'Q **uşälur uşalmāq**.

uşäl-

:: 'NIK 'UZA' YUFUR'QA'N 'AŞULDY **anig üzä yoγurqān äşüldi** “He was covered (*duṭṭira*) with a coverlet.” The same when a thing is put as a cover (*γuṭṭiya*) over something. 'AŞULUR 'AŞULMA'K **äşülür äşülmāk**.

äşül-

:: QUM 'AŞILDY **qum äşildi** “The sand (or other) was poured out (*inhāla*).” 'AŞ'LUR 'ŞILM'K **äşlür äşilmāk**. 0

äşil-

:: 'NIK 'LKY 'IYŞQ' 'IŞILDY **anig älgi işqa işildi** “His hand became accustomed (*marinat*) to the job (or other).” 'AŞLUR 'IŞLM'K **işlür işilmāk**. 0

işil-

107 1. Q altered from V by later hand (brown ink).

2. First I in Red ink.

:: 'NIK 'WY 'UŠALDY **anig äwi üšaldi** “His house was searched (*buḥīta*).” The same for anything that you search. 'UŠ'LUR 'UŠLM'K **üšälür üšalmāk.** 0 üšäl-

U'UWLDY NA'NK **uwuldi nān** uwal-
[I. 171/197] 108

“The thing was crumbled (*futta*).” 'UWLUR 'UWLM'Q **uwlur uwulmāq.** 0

:: BV SUVZ 'UQULDY **bu sōz uquldi** “These words were understood (*'urifa*).” 'UQLUR 'UQLM'Q **uqlur uqulmāq.** 0 uqul-

:: BTIK 'UQILDY **bitig oqildi** “The book was read (*quri'a*).” 'UQILUR 'UQILM'Q **oqilur oqilmāq.** oqil-

:: TARIΓ 'IKILDY **tariγ äkildi** “The grain was sown (*zuri'a*).” The same for anything that is spread (*durra*) over a thing. 'AKIULUR 'AKILM'K **äkilür äkilmāk.** 0 äkil-

:: YΓ'J 'AKILDY **yiyäc ägildi** “The branch (or other) bent down (*māla*).” 'AKILUR 'AKILM'K **agilür agilmāk.** Proverb [cf. 539 ya]: QURΓ YΓ'J 'AKILM'S QUR'MIŠ KIRŠ TU-KULM'S **quruγ yiyäc ägilmās, qurmiš kiriš tügülmās** 0 “Dry wood cannot bend (*yan'atifu*), a strung bowstring cannot be tied.” 0 This is coined about anything that has passed beyond the limit of its usefulness and cannot return to its original state even if one wishes it to. ägil-
P

:: TUBR'Q 'UKULDY **toprāq üküldi** “The earth (or other) was piled up (*takawwama*).” 'UKULUR 'KULM'K **üklür ükülmāk.** ükül-

:: 'AR' 'UKULDY **är ögüldi** “The man was praised (*mudiḥa*).” 'UKULUR 'UKLM'K **ögülür ögülmāk.** ögül-

:: MANDIN 'UBAN'DIY **māndin opindi** “He hid (*ixtafā*) from me.” 'UBANUVR 'UBANM'Q **opinür opinmāq.** opin-

:: 'UL MUVN 'UBUN'DIY **ol mün öpiündi** “He pretended to sip (*yaḥsū*) the soup.” U'UBNUVR 'UBUNM'K **öpnür öpinmāk.** 0 öpün-

Some verbs formed with the *nün* suffix have this meaning, namely that the subject pretends to do the action but does not really do it; or else that he is independent in doing the action and requires no help from anyone else. 0 G

:: 'UL N'RUV 'AITNDIY **ol nāru itindi** “He crawled (*tazaḥḥafa*) to the other side.” The same if something rolls (*tadaḥraja*) due to the force of something else. 'AITNUVR 'AITNM'K **itnür itinmāk.** 0 itin-

:: 'UL 'UQ 'ATINDIY **ol oq atindi** “He pretended to shoot (*yarmi*) the arrow.” 'ATINUVR 'TINM'Q **atinür atinmāq.** atin-

:: 'UL MANDIN 'UTAN'DY **ol māndin utandi** “He was embarrassed in front of me (*istaḥyā minni*).” 'UTANUVR 'UTANM'Q **utanür utanmāq.** Oγuz dialect. utan-
D

:: 'UL XA'N'QA' 'UTUK 'UTUN'DY ol xānqa ötüg ötündi “He addressed a petition (*rafa'a qişatahu*) to the king (or other).” Its root-form is: 'UTKUN'DY ötgündi meaning “He mimicked or narrated as he had heard (*ḥakā kamā sami'a*).” U'UTNUVR 'UTUNM'K ötnür ötünmāk. 0

:: BAK 'ARIN 'AJINDIY beg ārin açindi “The emir
[I. 173/199]

entertained, favored (*akrama, na'ama*) his troops (or other).” :: 'AR' 'ATIN 'JNDY är atin açindi “The man favored (*aḥsana*) his horse (with fine barley or fodder).” 0 :: 'AR' QU'VYN 'AJINDIY är qōyin açindi “The man pretended to open (*yafṭahu*) his blouse.” The same for a sick man or a baby in the cradle who throws off (*kaşafa*) the coverlet. 'AJ'INUR¹ 'AJNM'Q açnur açinmaq.

:: 'AR' 'DUNDY är ođundi “The man woke up (*istayqaza . . . min manāmihi*).” 'U'D-NUR 'UĐNM'Q ođnur ođunmāq. 0

:: 'UVT' 'UĐNDY öt uđindi “The fire was extinguished (*xumidat, ṭufi'at*).” :: YULA' U'UĐNDY yula uđindi “The lamp (or other) was extinguished (*ṭufi'a*).” 'UĐNUR 'UĐNMA'Q uđnur uđinmāq.

:: 'NIK QUTIY U'UĐNDIY anig quti uđindi “His luck was extinguished (*ṭufi'a*).”

Verse:

'AM'DIY 'UVDN 'UĐNDY	amdi ūdin ođundi	ođun- v
KIYDIN TALM 'KUNDY	kēdin tālim ökündi	
'YL BULFA'LI 'IKANDY	ēl bol'yāli igāndi	
'ANDAΓ 'RIK KYM 'UTA'R	anday ārig kīm utār	

“Now (the enemy) woke up from his sleep; then he repented² much, since he had balked at making peace; who can overcome the likes of that man (except I)? ” 0

:: 'AR' 'ARINDY är arindi “The man wiped himself, washed (*istaṭāba, iṭtasala*).” :: 'AR' 'ARINDY är arindi “The man applied depilatory and shaved his pubes (*nawwara . . . wa-sta'āna idā ḥalaqa 'ānatahu*).” 'ARINUVR 'ARINM'Q arinür arinmāq.

:: 'UL 'UVZIN U'URNDY ol ōzin urundi “He struck (*ḍaraba*) himself in repentance over a matter.” The same for pretending to strike. :: 'AR' SUWLQ 'RUNDY är suwluq urundi “The man wrapped his turban (*ta'ammama*).” :: 'URA'ΓUT BURNJUK U'URNDY urāyut bürünçük urundi “The woman put on a veil (*ixtamarat*).” 'URNUR 'URNM'Q urnur urunmāq. 0

'AR' SKY 'URNDY är siki öründi “The man's penis was erect (*na'aza*).” 'URNUR 'URNM'K örnür örünmāk.

109 1. Original *sukün*(') crossed out in brown ink and replaced by I.
2. MS. *nađima*, read *nadima*.

- :: 'AR· 'IYŠQA' 'IRNDY är išqa erindi “The man was indolent in the matter out of boredom (*takāsala . . . mustawhīšan*).” 'AIRNUR 'AIRINM'K ernür erinmāk. erin-
- :: 'AT' 'SNDY at äsindi “The horse stretched (*madda*) the rope to escape and nearly broke it (*kāda an yaqta'a*).” äsin-
- :: MAN 'ANK'R· 'ISNDIM men aṅār isindim “I loved (*aḥbabbtu*) him.” :: 'UL 'UVT'Q' 'ISINDY ol oṭqa isindi “He warmed himself (*iṣṭalā*) at the fire.” :: 'UL KUVN [sic] 'ISINDY ol künkä isindi isin-
- [I. 175/202] 110
- “He basked (*tašarraqa*) in the sun.” 'ISINUVR 'ISINM'K isnür isinmāk.
- :: 'UL MANK' 'IŠAN'DY ol maṅa išāndi “He depended (*ittakala, i'tamada*) upon me in the matter.” 'IŠANUR 'IŠAN'M'K išanür išanmāk. išan-
- :: 'UL MANDIN 'AŠUNDIY ol māndin ašundi “He went ahead (*sabaqa*) of me.” 'AŠUNUR 'AŠUNMA'Q ašunur ašunmāq. ašun-
- :: 'UL MANK' 'AWINDIY ol maṅa awindi “He was friendly (*ista'nasa*) to me.” 'AWINUR 'AWINMA'Q awinur awinmāq. awin-
- :: 'UL 'UVZINK' 'ATM'K 'UWUNDY ol öziṅā ätmāk uwundi “The man crumbled (*fatt*) the bread for himself.” 'UWNUR 'WUNMA'Q uwnur uwunmāq. uwun-
- :: 'UL 'ALKIN 'UWUNDY ol älgin uwundi “(That man) wrung (*farraka*) his hands (because of a misfortune that befell him or bad news or pain).”
- :: BTK 'UQIN'DIY bitig oqindi “The book was read (*quri'a*).” :: 'UL BTK 'UQIN'DY ol bitig oqindi “He pretended to read the book.” 'UQINUR 'UQINMA'Q oqinur oqinmāq. The *nūn* is an alternant of *lām* [i.e. oqil-]. 0 oqin-
- :: 'UL 'UVZINK' TARIḠ 'AKINDY ol öziṅā tariḡ äkindi “He sowed the ground (*zirā'a, baḍr al-arḍ*) by and for himself.” 'AKINUR 'AKINM'K äkinür äkinmāk. 0 äkin-
- :: 'UL YA'ZUQINK' 'KUNDIY ol yāzuqiṅa ökündi “He regretted, repented for (*taḥas-sara 'alā, nadima*) his sin.” The same for any repentance (*nadāma*). 'UKNUR 'KUNM'K öknür ökünmāk. 0 ökün-
- :: 'UL 'UVZIN 'UKUNDY ol özin ögündi “He praised (*madaha*) himself.” 'UKNUR 'KUNMA'K ögnür ögünmāk. Proverb: 'UKUNKUVJY 'UMINDA' 'ARTA'TUR ögüngüçi üminda artātūr 0 “The self-praiser (*mādiḥ an-nafs*) may ruin his trousers” – meaning that when he is put to the test he may not be able to prove his boast and then will be so embarrassed that he defecates in his trousers. This is coined to advise someone to stop praising himself. 0 ög ün- P
- :: 'AT 'IKANDY at igāndi “The horse (or other) was refractory (*ḥarana*).” 'IKANUR 'IKANM'K igänür igänmāk. 0 igän-

:: QISRA'Q 'IKANDY [sic] **qisrāq alindi** “The mare conceived (*ḥamalāt* . . . *fuluwwan wa-‘aliqat*).” Also :: 'UL'ALMIN 'ALINDY **ol almin alindi** “He collected (*qabḏ*) his debt alone, without anyone’s help.” 'ALINUR 'ALINMA'Q **alinur alinmāq**.

:: 'ULANDY NA'NK **ulandi nān** “One thing was joined to (*ittašala*) another.” 'ULA'NUR 'ULAN'MA'Q **ulanur ulanmāq**.

[I. 172/204]

:: U'ULNDY NA'NK **ulindi nān** “The thing twisted and turned (*iltawā, dāra*)” – such as a rope around a tree; or as a snake writhes and twists (*tarta'īšu, taltawī*).” :: YUVL 'ULUNDY **yol ulindi** “The road twisted (*iltawā*).” 'ULNUR 'ULNM'Q **ulnur ulinmāq**. 0

:: MAN BUV 'YŠTA' 'ULIN'DIM **mān bu īšta olindim** “I was weary (*malaltu*) of this matter and all that I suffered because of it.” 'ULINUR MAN 'ULINM'Q **olinur mān, olinmāq**. 0

:: 'L 'NK'R 'IALIAN'DIY¹ **ol aṅar ilāndi** “He reproached (*‘ayyara*) him (after he had depended on his judgment in a certain matter and it now appeared that it would have been better to do the opposite).” From this comes the word for “reproach (*malāma*)”: 'ILANJ **ilānē**. 'ILA'NUR 'ILANM'K **ilānūr ilānmāk**.

:: TIK'N TVN Q' 'ILINDY **tikān tōnqa ilindi** “The thorn caught on (*ta‘allaqa*) the garment.” 'ILINUR 'ILINMA'K **ilinūr ilinmāk**. Verse:

? BDUV MANK' 'AILIN'DY	yabdu² (?) maṅa ilindi	V
'M'K'K KURV 'ULINDY	āmgāk körü olindi	
QILMŠINK' 'ILANDY	qilmišīna ilāndi	
TUTFUN BULB 'UL QAT'R	tutfun bolup ol qatār	

“The enemy [i.e. Yabdu] fell prisoner (*usira*) in my hand, and suffered hardships until he was weary with life (*sa'ima l-ḥayāt*), then he repented and reproached himself for what he had done; now [as a captive] he has become hardened after being soft.” 0

:: 'AR' YAḒY QA' 'AILINDY³ **ar yayīqa ilindi** “The man was taken prisoner (*usira*) by the enemy.” :: KYK TUZAQ' QA' 'ILINDIY **kāyik tuzaqqa ilindi** “The game was caught (*ta‘allaqa*) in the snare.” The same [aorist and infinitive as above].

:: MAṆ TNKRY DIN 'UMUNDUM **mān tānridin umundum** “I put my hope (*rajawtu*) in God (may He be exalted).” 'UMNUR 'UMNM'Q **umnur umunmāq**.

111 1. Second A by a later hand (dark black, thin pen).

2. The first letter could be b, t, n or y. Brockelmann (Volkspoesie I,15) suggested Yabdu; Atalay (I, 205) Tapdu; also conceivable are Baydu and Taydu. Though translated “the enemy” it must be a proper name.

3. First I by a later hand (dark black, thin pen).

:: 'UL YA'ŪY Q' 'ANUN'DIY ol yāyīqa anundi “(The man) prepared (*ista'adda*) for the enemy (or other).” 'ANUNUR 'ANUNM'Q annur anunmāq. **anun-**

:: MAN 'NK'R 'INAN'DIM mǎn aṅār inandim “I trusted (*i'tamadtu*) in him.” 'INA'NUR 'INANM'K-Q⁴ inānur inanmāq. Hence “a trusted emir” is called: 'INANJ BAK inanč beg. **inan-**

Doubled

B

:: 'UL 'UZIN MANDIN 'UBAṬĪY ol özin mǎndin opitti “He hid (*katama*) himself from me.” The same for concealing or hiding (*satara, katama*) anything. 'ABITUR⁵ 'ABITM'Q⁵ opitur opitmāq. **opit-**

T

:: TA'Y 'ATĪY fāy atitti “The colt was reckoned to be a horse (*tafarrasa . . . ay 'udda min al-fursān*).” This is like the Arabic: *futtīyat al-jāriya ay 'uddat min al-fatayāt* (“The girl was reckoned to be a young woman”). **atit-**

[I. 178/206]

112

Proverb: TA'Y 'ATAIT'SA'¹ 'AT' TINUVR 'UṬVL 'ARADSA'² 'ATA' TINUVR tāy atitsa at tinūr, oḡül ārādsa ata tinūr “When the colt is reckoned a horse, the horse rests (meaning the stallion rests from being mounted); when the boy is counted among the men, the father rests (since he can free him from want).” Verse [=514 tāy]: **P**

TAKUR MANIK SA'WMNY BLK'LKA' ĀY
TINUR QALY 'ATAIT'SA'¹ QISRAQ SANI TA'Y'

V

tāgür mänig sāwimni bilgālākā āy
tinur qali atitsa qisraq sani tāy

“Convey my words and say to the wise ones, that the mare rests when her colt is counted among the horses.” 0

:: 'UL 'ANY 'ATAṬY ol ani ötätti “He caused him to suffer hardship (*awqa'ahu fi muqāsāt al-miḥna*).” 'AT'TUR 'TTM'K ötätür ötätmāk. **ötät-**

4. K original (black); Q by later hand (brown); circle in red.

5. A smudged, reading doubtful.

112

1. Two dots below second T in brown ink.

2. D altered from D by later hand (dot in brown ink).

J

:: 'UL SIR'K' 'AJIṬY ol sirkä ačitti "He soured (*ḥammaḍa*) the vinegar (or other)." :: ačit-
 'UL 'NIK KVNK'LIN 'AJIṬIY ol anig kōṅlin ačitti "He pained his heart with misfortune (*amaḍḍa*
 ... *bi-fajī'a*)." 'AJITUR 'AJIT'M'Q ačitur ačitmāq. 0

D

:: 'UL MINY 'UDIṬY ol mini uḍitti "He put me to sleep (*anāma*)." 'UDITUR 'UDIT- uḍit-
 M'Q uḍitur uḍitmāq.

:: 'UL YUḠRUT 'UDIṬY ol yoḡrut uḍitti "He curdled (*rawwaba*) the yoghurt." :: 'UL
 'UDITM' 'UDIṬY ol uḍitma uḍitti "He curdled (*jabbana*) the cheese." :: 'UL 'UT 'UDIṬY ol ot
 uḍitti "He put out (*aṭfa'a*) the fire." The same [aorist and infinitive as above]. 0

R

:: 'UL TARIḠ 'ARIṬY ol tariḡ aritti "He cleaned (*naqqā*) the wheat (or other)." 'ARI- arit-
 TUR 'ARITM'Q aritur aritmāq.

:: 'UL QUVZIY 'ARIṬY ol qozi aritti "He gelded (*raza'a xuṣya*) the ram (or other)." The same for circumcising (*xattana*) a boy. The same [aorist and infinitive as above]. 0

:: 'UḠLA'N 'ARAṬY oḡlan ärätti "The boy was reckoned a man (*'udda . . . min ar- ärät-
 rijāl*)." Its root-form is: 'AIRD'TIY äräḍti and [the dentals] assimilated, as one says [in Arabic] (äräd-)
mudḍakir ("one who remembers") from *aḍ-dikr* ("remembering"). 'ARADUVR 'ARAD'MA'K
 äräḍür äräḍmāk.

:: 'UL YA'Ḡ 'ARUIṬY ol yāḡ aritti "He melted (*aḍāba*) the butter (or other)." 'ARUI- ärüt-
 TUR 'ARUIṬM'K ärütür ärütümāk.

Z

:: 'UL 'ANKA'R YUVL 'AZIṬY ol anḡar yōl azitti "He made him lose (*aḍalla*) the way." azit-
 'AZITUR 'AZITM'Q azitur azitmāq.

:: 'UL 'UḠLA'N QULA'QIN' 'AZIṬY ol oḡlān qulāqin ezitti "He slit (*aṣraṭa*) the boy's ezit-
 ear." The same

[I. 180/209]

113

for anything that one scratches lengthwise (*xadaša¹ wa-šaraṭa ṭawīlan*). 'AZITUR 'AZITM'K
 ezitür ezitmāk.

:: 'UL YŠΓ 'UZATĪY ol yišy uzatti “He stretched (*madda*) the rope (or other).” :: uzat-
 'L 'YŠΓ 'UZATĪY ol išiŷ uzatti “He prolonged, postponed (*ṭawwala, sawwafa, maṭala*) the mat-
 ter.” 'ZA'TUR 'UZATM'Q uzātur uzatmāq.

:: 'UL 'ANIK QUL'QIN 'UZITĪY ol anig qulāqin üzitti “He deafened (*ṭaqqala sam',*
aşamma) him (from talking too much).” :: SIR'K' KUB_NIY 'UZTĪY sirkā küpni üzitti “The
 vinegar (or other) caused the vat to sweat (*raşşaḥa*) (because of its acidity).” 'UZITUR 'UZITM'K
 üzitür üzitmāk.

S

:: 'UL 'URUQ_NIY 'ASITĪY² ol uruqni äsitti “He had the rope (or other) stretched
 (*amadda*).” 'ASTUR² 'ASTM'K äsitür äsitmāk. 0 äsit-

:: TUVZLUΓ 'AT MINY 'USITĪY tūzluŷ ät mini usitti “The salted meat made me
 thirsty (*aṭṭaša*).” 'USITUR 'USITM'Q usitur usitmāq. 0 usit-

:: 'UL MUVN 'ISITĪY ol mūn isitti “He warmed (*saxxana*) the soup.” The same for
 heating (*aḥmā*) iron, or other. :: 'AR' 'ISITĪY är isitti “The man had a fever (*ḥumma*).” The lat-
 ter is intransitive, the former transitive. 'SITUR 'SITM'K istür isitmāk. isit-

Ş

:: 'UL MANK' 'AŞ 'AŞATĪY ol maṇa aş aşatti “He fed (*aṭ'ama*) me the food.” Most of
 the Turks use this word for the food of kings and nobles, but the Oŷuz use it for everyone. äsat-
 'AŞATUR 'AŞAT_M'Q aşatur aşatmāq. The Oŷuz follow the rule [in this matter]. 0 D

:: 'UL MANK' YUFURQA'N 'AŞUTĪY ol maṇa yoŷurqān äšütti “He ordered someone
 to cover (*daṭṭara*) me with a coverlet.” The same for anyone who orders someone else to conceal
 (*satr*) a thing. 'AŞUITR 'AŞITM'K-Q³ äšütür äšitmāk. Verse: äšüt-

'IDUV BYRB' BUŞTUM	idu bērip boşuttum	V
TAW'R' YUVLUΓ TAŞUTUM	tawār yūluŷ taşuttum	
'RAN 'AŞIN 'SĪM	ärän äsin äšüttüm	
YUKN BARJA' 'UZY JΓDY	yükin barča özi çiydi	

Describing a captive: “I let him go free; (he ransomed himself for something, and) I had the ran-
 som conveyed to its place; I ordered the men’s corpses to be concealed (*satr*) (underground);
 their chief tied his load with his own hand, (not finding anyone to help him).”

:: 'UL MINY TUMLIΓ QA' 'UŞITĪY ol mini tumliŷqa üšitti “He put me out in the cold
 (*awjadani l-qurr*).” :: 'UL SUJUK 'UŞITĪY ol sücüg üšitti üšit-

2. Three dots in brown ink faintly visible over the S.

3. K black; Q brown (? – not clear).

[I. 182/211]

“He put the sweet juice out to be cooled (*wada'a . . . li-l-bard hattā wajada l-qurr*)” – this is a type of drink. 'UŠUTUR 'UŠTM'K üšütür üšitmāk.

:: 'UL 'ATMA'K 'UŠAĪĪY ol ätmāk ušatti “He crumbled (*fatta*) the bread (or other).” The same for crushing or crumbling (*raḍḍa, fatta*) anything. 'UŠATUR 'UŠATM'Q ušatur ušatmāq.

ušat-

:: 'UL 'NIK 'VIN 'AUŠAIĪY¹ ol anig ävin üšätti “He (the man) ordered someone else to search (*baḥṭ*) his house.” The same for searching anything. 'AUŠAITUR¹ 'UŠAITMA'K¹ üšätür üšätmāk.

üšta-

Proverb: QULA'Q 'AŠITSA' KVNKVL BĪLYR KVZ KVRSA' 'UDIK KLYR qulāq eštisā kōñūl bilīr, kōz kōrsā üdig kālīr 0 “When the ear hears (*sami'a*) (the words) the heart knows (it), when the eye sees (its beloved) desire is aroused.”

ešit- P

Γ

:: 'UL 'ANY TA'Γ QA' 'AḠĪĪY ol ani tāγqa aḡitti “He made him climb (*aš'ada*) the mountain (or other).” :: TANKRIY BULIT 'AḠĪY tānri bulit aḡitti “God raised up (*anša'a*) the cloud.” 'AḠITUR 'ḠITM'Q aḡitur aḡitmāq.

aḡit-

Q

:: TANKRIY 'AQIN 'AQIĪY tānri aqin aqitti “God caused the flood to flow (*asāla*).” :: 'UL SUVW 'AQIĪY ol sūw aqitti “He made the water flow (*ajrā*).” :: BAK 'AQINJY 'AQIĪY beg aqinči aqitti “The emir sent (*ba'aṭa*) a raiding party against an enemy.” 'AQITUR 'AQITM'Q aqitur aqitmāq. 0

aqit-

:: 'L MANK' BTIK 'UQĪY ol maḡa bitig oqitti “He had me read (*aqra'a*) the book (or other).” 'UQITUR 'UQTM'Q oqitur oqitmāq.

oqit-

K

:: UL TARIḠ 'AKIĪY ol tariy äkitti “He had the seed sown (*abdara*).” The same for a powder that one spreads (*darra*). 'AKITUR 'KITM'K äkitür äkitmāk.

äkit-

:: 'L TARIḠ 'UKIĪY ol tariy ögitti “He had the wheat (or other) ground (*aḥḡana*).” 'UKITUR² 'UKITM'K² ögitür ögitmāk.

ögüt-

:: 'UL 'ANY 'IKIĪY ol ani igitti “He reared (*rabbā*) him.” Its root-form is: 'AKIḌTIY igiḍti – the *ḍāl* assimilated to the *tā*'. 'IKIḌUR 'IKIḌMA'K igiḍür igiḍmāk.

igiti-
(igiḍ-)

114 1. First A and first I in a later hand (black ink, thin pen) – confusion with ešit-, of which the entry is missing except for the proverb.

2. First U in red ink.

L

:: 'UL YİB' 'UVLATİY ol yip ūlatti "He had him attach (*awşala*) the rope to him." ūlat-
'UVLATUR 'ULATM'Q ūlatur ulatmāq. 0

:: 'UL 'ANY 'RUB 'UVLİTİY ol ani urup ūlitti "He beat him until he made him howl
(*a'wā*) (like a wolf)." 'UVLITUR 'ULITM'Q ūlitur ulitmāq. ūlit-

:: 'UL 'ANIK BUY'NIN 'UVLİTİY ol anig boynin ūlitti "He twisted (*alwā*) his neck (or
other)." The same for anything. 'UVLITUR 'ULITMA'Q ūlitur ulitmāq.

:: 'UL TUVN 'ULIŪTİY ol tōn ōlitti ōlit-

[I.184/213]

115

"He moistened (*balla*) the garment (or other)." 'ULITUR 'ULITM'K ōlitür ōlitmāk.

:: 'UL QA'ŪUVN 'AWK' 'ILATİY ol qāyūn āwkā elätti "He brought (*dahaba bi-*) the
melon (or other) home." 'ILATUR 'LATM'K elätür elätmāk. elät-

:: 'UL JIŪA'Y QA' YARMA'Q 'ULAIŪTİY ol çiyāyqa yarmāq ūlätti "He ordered that the
dirhams be distributed (*tawzī*, *tafrīq*) among the poor." 'ULATUR ULATM'K ūlätür ūlätmāk. ūlat-

M

:: TA'M' 'AMİTİY tām āmitti "The wall (or other) was leaning so as to fall (*māla . . . li-*
yasquta)." :: KUNKLUM 'ANKAR 'AMİTİY kōṅlüm aṅar āmitti "My heart inclined (*māla*)¹ to
him." 'AMITUR 'AMIT'M'K āmitür āmitmāk. Verse:

QULA'N TUKA'L QUMTİY	qulān tūkāl qomitti	V
'AR'QA'R SUQAQ YUMIŪTİY	arqār suqaq yomitti	
YAYL'Ū TAB' 'AMİTİY	yaylāy tapa āmitti	
TZKQ [sic] TRUB SAKRIŞUVR	tizgin turup sekrişür	

Describing spring: "(Spring) has roused the wild ass² and the mountain goat³ and female and male
antelope have come together; they inclined (*mālat*) toward the summer pasture, and stood in rows,
leaping (with joy)."

N

:: 'UL YAŪY'Q' TULUM 'ANUŪTİY ol yayıqa tulum anutti "He prepared (*a'adda*) the
weapon for the enemy." The same for anything that is prepared. 'ANUŪTVR' 'ANUTM'Q anut-

115 1. MS. *amāla*.

2. MS. 'nr, read 'ayr.

3. Sic (*wa'l*); therefore tūkāl ("all") is perhaps an error for tākā.

anutūr anutmāq. Proverb: TULUIM 'ANUTSA' QULUIN BULVR TULUM 'UNUTSA' BULUN BULVR **tulum anutsa qulun bulūr, tulum anutsa bulun bolūr** 0 “One who prepares his weapon (for the enemy) finds a colt, one who forgets (to prepare) [his weapon] becomes a captive.” [This is coined] to advise preparedness. 0

:: MAN 'UNA'MA'S 'AR'DIM 'UL MINY 'UNATĪY **mān unāmās ārdim ol mini unatti** unat-
 “I was displeased (*abi*) with this but he made me pleased with it (*arḏānī fīhi*).” 'UNA'TUR
 'UNATM'Q **unātur unatmāq.**

:: 'L SUVZIN 'UNTĪY **ol sōzin unitti** “He forgot (*nasiya*) his words (or other).” 'UNI- unit-
 TUR 'UNITM'Q **unitur unitmāq.** 0

:: 'UL QUVYIN 'IYNAĪY **ol qōyin ēnātti** “He ordered his sheep to be earmarked ēnāt-
 (*i'lām* [defined]).” 'INATUR 'INATMA'K **enātūr enātmāk.**

Defective

:: 'UL MANK' SUVZ 'YĪTY **ol maḥa sōz ayitti** “He asked for (*sa'ala*) some words from ayit-
 me.” The Oḡuz say: MAN 'ANK'R' SUVZ: 'AYĪTIM **mān aḥār sōz ayittim** meaning “I talked D
 to him (*takallamtu ma'ahu wa-qultu lahu kalāman*)” – this is not according to rule. 'AY'TUVR
 'AYITM'Q **aytūr ayitmāq.**

:: 'UL MINDIN 'UYAĪY **ol mindin uyatti** “He was ashamed before me (*istaḥyā* uyat-
minni).” Its root-form is: 'UYA'D'TIY **uyādti** – it was assimilated. 'UYA'DUR: 'UYA'D'MA'Q: (uyād-
uyādur uyadmāq. 0

[I. 185/216]

116

Final Week

B

:: 'UL 'ANY KŠIYDIN 'ABIYĪY [sic] **ol ani kišidin opīdi** “He concealed (*satara,* opi-
axfā) it from the person.” The same for anything that you hide (*wārayta*) from someone else.
 'ABITUR: 'ABITM'Q [sic] **opīr opīmāq.**

Nasal

:: 'AR: YUVZIY 'UNKUQTIY **ār yūzi oḡuḡti** “The man’s face was drawn (*sahuma*).” oḡuḡ-
 :: BARJIN 'UNKUQTIY **barċin oḡuḡti** “The brocade (or the like) lost its sheen (*ḏahabat ṭarā-*
wa).” 'UNKUQ'R 'UNKUQM'Q **oḡuḡār oḡuḡmāq.**

L

:: SUKAL 'UNKUL'TY **sökāl oḡulti** “The sick man recovered (*indamala*).” :: 'IYŠ oḡul-
 'UNKUL'TIY **iš oḡulti** “The matter was set right (*istaqāma*) (that had been muddled).”¹ 'ÜNK-
 LVR 'NKULM'Q **oḡlūr oḡulmāq.**

End of the Triliteral Chapters

Chapters of Quadrilaterals

Chapter: *fa'laldī*, unvowelled second and fourth radicals, in its various vocalizations

R

:: 'AR' 'URBAR'DIY **ar ürpärđi** "The man bristled (*tanaffaša*,² *izba'arra*) (with anger, or for a fight)." :: TAQ'ŪVN [sic] 'URBAR'DIY **taqāyu ürpärđi** "The cock bristled (*taqazza'a*) for the fight." :: 'ANIK TIYŪY [sic] 'URBAR'DIY **anig yēni ürpärđi** "He had gooseflesh (*iqša'arra jilduhu*)." 'UR'BARUR 'URBAR'MA'K **ürpäür ürpärmāk**.

:: 'ANY 'UB'TURDIY **ani öptürđi** "He ordered him to kiss (*qabbala*) someone else." 'UBTURR 'UBTURMA'K **öptürür öptürmāk**. 0

:: 'UL 'UQ 'AŪTUR'DIY **ol oq atturđi** "He ordered the arrow to be shot (*ramy*)." The same for having something thrown (*aṭraḥa*). 'AŪTURR 'AŪTURMA'Q **atturur atturmāq**. 0

:: SIBUZ IUV 'UŪTURDY **sibizyu öttürđi** "He sounded (*ṣayyaḥa*)³ the flute." The same for anything which brings forth a sound by your action (*ḥadaṭa minhu ṣ-ṣiyāḥ bi-fi'lika*)." 'UŪRUR 'UŪTURMA'K **öttürür öttürmāk**. 0

:: 'UL MANIK 'IYŠIM 'IYŪTUR'DIY **ol mänig išim ęttürđi** "He ordered my affair to be settled (*iṣlāḥ*)." :: 'L 'TUK 'YŪRDY **ol ätük ęttürđi** "He ordered his boot to be repaired (*iṣlāḥ*)." The same for other things. 'YŪTURR 'YŪTURMA'K **ęttürür ęttürmāk**.

:: 'UL QABUŪ 'AJ'TURDIY **ol qapuy ačturđi** "He ordered the door to be opened (*fath*)." The same for anything that one orders to be opened. 'AJ'TURR 'AJ'TURMA'Q **ačturur ačturmāq**.

:: 'UL MANK' SUVF 'IJ'TURDIY **ol maṇa sūw ičturđi** "He made me drink (*aṣraba*) the water (or other)" 'IJ'TURUR 'IJ'TURMA'K **ičturür ičturmāk**. One may say: 'IJUR'DIY **ičürđi** [98] with this meaning.

[I. 187/218]

117

Proverb: SUVF 'IJUR'MA'S' K' SUVT' BIYR' **sūw ičürmāskä sūt bēr** 0 "To one who does not give you water, give him milk to drink" – meaning, requite with good one who harms you. 0

P

- 116
1. MS. *msws*, read *mušawwaš*.
 2. MS. *tanaffasa*.
 3. MS. *ṣannaḥa*.

The root-principle of these verbs is that they are doubly transitive, one of the agents ordering the action to be performed, the other carrying out the action directly by his order. These verbs consist of biliteral roots plus a suffix of two letters [i.e. *t* and *r*] giving this meaning. This type could not be known by the rule, and therefore I mention it here. 0

:: 'AR· TA'ŠIF 'AX·TAR·DIY **är tāsīy axtardi** "The man turned over (*qallaba*) the stone." :: TUBIY YİĞA'JİĞ 'AX·TAR·DIY **tüpi yiyāciy axtardi** "The wind felled (*aşqat*) the tree." The same for anything that turns over (*qalaba*) something. The *xā*' is an alternant of *γayn* [i.e. *aytar-*], as one says [in Arabic] *xattār* or *γaddār* ("traitor"), *xumār an-nās wa-γumāruhum* ("crowd of people"). :: 'UL YYR· 'AXTAR·DIY **ol yēr axtardi** "He turned over (*'azaqa, karaba*) the soil." 'AXTARUR 'AXTARMA'Q **axtarur axtarmāq.** 0

:: 'UVN YARMA'Q 'UZA' BİYR· 'AR·TUR·DIY **ön yarmāq üzä bir arturdi** "He added (*zāda*) one dirham to ten." 0 :: 'AR· 'AR·TUR·DIY **är arturdi** "The man exceeded his proper limit (*'adā . . . şawrahu*)." 'ARTURVR 'AR·TURMA'Q **arturür arturmāq.** Verse:

KALDY BARUV 'AR·TURV	käldi bāru arturu	V
BYR·DIY 'IYLIN 'AR·TURV	bērdi ēlin ärtürü	
MUBDA' QAILB· 'ULTURV	munda qalip olturu	
BUKRIY BLB 'UN BUT'R	bükri bolup ün bütär	

Describing a captured emir: "He came to me (with an enormous army) boasting and overstepping his bounds (*yaşlıfu wa-ya'dū şawrahu*); then he presented to us his realm, and stayed sitting among us with humped back and subdued voice." 0

:: 'NIK YA'ZUQIN 'AR·TURDIY **anig yāzuqin ärtürdi** "He pardoned (*şafaḥa 'an*) his sin." :: 'NIK 'YŠIN 'AR·TURDIY **anig İšin ärtürdi** "He permitted (*ajāza*) his affair" – meaning that he accepted (*qabila*) it. The same for anyone who lets a thing pass from a place (*jāwaza šay' 'an mawḍi'*). 'RTURR 'RTURMA'K **ärtürür ärtürmāk.**

:: 'UL 'UTLY QULA'QIN 'AZTURDIY **ol oylı qulāqin eztürdi** "He slit (*aşraḥa*) his son's ear." The same for any lengthwise scratch

[I. 189/220]

or line on the skin or the ground (*kull xadş aw xaṭṭ fi l-jild wa-l-arḍ şawīlan*). 'AZTURR 'AZTURMA'K **eztürür eztürmāk.** 0

:: 'UL YB· 'UZTURDIY **ol yip üztürdi** "He had the rope (or other) broken (*aḥḍaqa*)." 'UZTURR 'UZTURMA'K **üztürür üztürmāk.**

:: 'UL 'AR· 'AS·TURDY **ol är asturdi** "He had the man (or other) hung or crucified (*şalb*)." :: 'UL 'AT 'AS·TURDY **ol at asturdi** "He ordered the meat (or other) to be hung (*ta'liq*) (on the peg)." 'AS·TURR 'ASTRMA'Q **asturur asturmāq.**

:: 'URUQ 'AS·TURDIY⁴ **uruq ästürdi** "He had the rope (or other) stretched (*amad-da*)." ² :: 'UL QAWIQ 'US·TURDY **ol qawiq ästürdi** "He ordered the bran to be winnowed (*nasf, tanḳiya*) out of the millet." The same for winnowing (*nasf*) anything. 'US·TURR 'USTURMA'K **ästürür ästürmāk.** 0

- :: 'UL MANKA' 'USTARDIY ol maña üstardı "He opposed (*mārā*) me in a certain matter." :: 'UL QILMIŞ 'YŞIN 'USTARDIY ol qilmiş işin üstardı "He denied (*jaḥada*) what he had done." The same for any denial (*inkār, juḥūd*). 'USTARR 'USTARMA'K üstärür üstärmäk. Proverb [=209 tüzün]; TVZUN BRL' 'URŞ 'VTUVN BRL' 'US'TAR'MA' tüzün birlä uruş, ütün birlä üstärmä "Quarrel with the gentle one (for he will put up with you), do not oppose (*lā tumāri*) the shameless one (for he will be vulgar and insulting)." 0 üstär-
- :: 'UL MANK' 'DKV SUVZ 'AIŞTURDIY ol maña ädgi söz eştürdi "He let me hear (*asma'a*) good words." Its root-form is: 'ŞITURDIY eştürtürdi, with doubled *tā*'. 'İŞTURR 'İŞTURMA'K eştürür eştürmäk. 0 eştür-
- :: 'UL QUM 'AŞ'TURDIY ol qum äştürdi "He ordered the earth to be poured out (*iḥāla*)." The same for ordering flour to be poured into a sack. 'ŞTURR 'ŞTURMA'K äştürür äştürmäk. 0 äştür-
- :: 'UL 'UQ 'UŞ'TURDIY ol oq üştürdi "He ordered the socket of the arrow to be bored (*taqb ru'z*)." The same for any boring of a narrow hole (*taqb ḍayyiq*). 'UŞTURR 'UŞTRMA'K üştürür üştürmäk. 0 üştür-
- :: 'UL SUVW 'AQTURDIY ol sūw aqturdi "He ordered that the water be made to flow (*tasyīl, isāla*)." 'AQTURR 'AQTURMA'Q aqturur aqturmāq. Verse [=452 yulaq]; aqtur-
- | | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 'QTURR KVZUM YULA'Q | aqturur közim yulāq | V |
| TUŞLANUR 'UR'DAK YUĠA'Q | tüşlänür ördäk yuġāq | |
- "My eye flows (*tasīlu*) springs of water, (such that there gather) and alight in them ducks and other such water birds."
- :: 'UL MANK' 'NIK SUVZIN 'UQ'TURDIY ol maña anig sōzin uqturdi "He made me understand (*afḥama*) his words uqtur-
- [I. 190/233] 119
- (or other)." 'UQTURR 'UQTURMA'Q uqturur uqturmāq.
- :: 'UL TARIĠ 'AK'TURDY ol tariġ äktürdi "He had the seed sown (*abdara*)." The same äktür-
for a powder that one orders to be spread (*darr*). 'AKTURR 'KTURMA'K äktürür äktürmäk. 0
- :: 'UL JUKA'N' 'AKTURDIY ol çögān ägtürdi "He ordered the polo stick to be bent (*'atf*)." The same for bending (*imāla*) anything. 'AKTURR 'AKTURMA'K ägtürür ägtürmäk. 0 ägtür-
- :: 'UL MINY 'UKTURDIY ol mini ögtürdi "He had someone praise (*yamdaha*) me." 'UKTURR 'KTURMA'K ögtürür ögtürmäk. 0 ögtür-

:: 'UL MINK YARMA'Q 'ANKAR 'UKTURDIY ol miñ yarmāq añar üktürdi “He appointed him to pile up (*takwīm*) [a thousand] dirhams (or other).” 'UKTURR 'KTURMA'K üktürür üktürmāk. 0 üktür-

:: MAN 'NDAN YARMA'Q 'ALTURDUM män andan yarmāq alturdum “I ordered the dirham to be taken (*axd*) from him.” 'ALTURR MAN 'LTURMA'Q alturur män, alturmāq. 0 altur-

:: 'L 'ŠIJ 'IJRA' 'AT' 'ULTURDY ol ešič ičrā ät olturdi “He overcooked (*harrā*) the meat in the pot.” The same for wearing out (*ablā*) a garment, or other. 'ULTUR [sic] 'ULTURMA'Q olturur olturmāq. 0 oltur-

:: 'UL 'AR' 'ULTURDIY ol är olturdi “The man (or other) sat down (*jalasa*).” 'ULTURR 'LTURMA'Q olturur olturmāq. Proverb: BUTVN 'UVM LK QANJA' QULSA' 'ULTURR bütün ümlüg qanča qolsa olturur 0 “One whose trousers are sound sits as he wishes.” This is coined about one who is sure of his own chastity (*ma'mūn al-izār*) and does not worry about suspicion. P

:: 'L MANK' KAYIK' 'ILTURDY ol maña käyik iltürdi “He ordered me to catch (*ta'liq*) the game (in the snare).” The same for catching (*ta'liq*) anything. 'ILTURR 'ILTURMA'K iltürür iltürmāk. 0 iltür-

:: 'UL 'UFRİY NY 'ULDURDIY ol oγrini öldürdi “He killed (*qatala, amāta*) the thief (or other).” 'ULDURUR 'ULDURMA'K öldürür öldürmāk. 0 öldür-

:: 'UL 'ANY TA'GDIN 'ILDURDIY ol ani tāydin ildurdi “He brought him down (*anzala*) from the mountain (or other).” 'ILDURUR 'ILDURMA'K-Q ildurur ildurmāq. There is also a variant with *nūn*: 'IN'DURDIY endürdi. 0 ildur -
(endür-)

:: TANKRY 'UVT 'UVNDUR'DIY tänri öt öndürdi “God caused the plants (or other) to grow (*anbata*).” :: 'UL 'ANY 'AWKA' 'UNDURDIY ol ani äwkä öndürdi “He sent him off (*ašxaša*) home.” The latter is Uighur dialect – the Oγuz do not know it.¹ 'UNDURUR 'NDURMA'K öndürür öndürmāk. 0 öndür-
D

:: 'L MINY 'AT'ΓARDIY ol mini atγardi “He helped me mount (*a'āna . . . 'alā rukūb, arkaba*) the horse (or other).” 'AT'ΓARUR 'ATΓARMA'Q atγarur atγarmāq. 0 atγar-

[I. 192/225]

120

:: 'AT 'UTΓARDIY [o]at oγardi “He grazed (*ra'ā*) the horse (or other).” 'UTΓARUR oγar- 'UTΓARMA'Q oγarur oγarmāq.

:: 'UL MINIY 'UDΓUR'DIY ol mini ođyurdi “He woke me up (*ayqaza . . . min manām*).” ođyur- 'UDΓURR 'UDΓURMA'Q ođyurur ođyurmāq. 0

:: 'UL 'ANY KIY'DIN 'UDΓURDIY ol ani kēdin ođyardi “He recognized him after think- ođyar-
ing a while (*'arafahu*¹ *ba'da tafakkur wa-mudda*.)” 'UDΓARUR 'UDΓARMA'Q ođyarur ođyarmāq.
0

:: 'UL 'ATIN 'ARΓURDY ol atin aryardi “He jaded (*a'yā*) his horse.” 'ARΓURUR aryarur-
'ARΓURMA'Q aryarur aryurmāq. Verse:

KUNK'LUM 'ANKAR QAYNAYV	kön'lüm aṅar qaynayv	V
'IJ'TIN 'NKAR 'UYNAYV	içtin aṅar oynayv	
KALDY MANK' BUYNAYV	kāldi maṅa boynayv	
'UYNAB MINY 'ARΓURVR	oynap mini aryarūr	

“My heart welled up toward (my beloved) when I played with him within the house; he came to me with haughtiness and arrogance, and played with me until he exhausted (*a'yā*) me.” The same for an animal that you work to exhaustion (*a'yayta*). 0

:: 'UL 'ANIY 'ANΓAR_DIY ol ani anyardi “He made him swear an oath (*ḥallafa*.)” anyar-
Its root-form is: 'ANDΓAR_DIY andyardi – the *dāl* is dropped for lightening. This is as in the (andyar-) words of God [Q. 56:65]: *fa-ḡaltum tafakkahūna* (“and you would remain bitterly jesting”) – its root-form is: *fa-ḡalaltum*, but [one of the l's] was dropped for lightening. 'ANΓARVR 'ANDΓARMA'Q andyarūr andyarmāq. 0

:: 'L 'NIK YVZING' 'ALWIRDIY ol anig yūziṅā alwirdi (?) “He snapped back at him alwir-?
(lit. jumped in his face with words) as though he wanted a quarrel (*waṭaba fī wajhihi fī kalām ka-annahu yurīdu mušājaratahu*.)” 'ALWIRA'R' 'ALWIRMA'K-Q alwirār alwirmāq, alwirmāk.

:: 'UTRUM QARIN 'UTKURDIY ötrüm qarın ötgürdi “The laxative loosened (*aṭlaqa*) ötgür-
the bowels.” :: 'UL 'AWK' BITK 'UTKARDY “(The man) got a letter through (*anfada*) to his home.” The same for anyone who passes something through (*anfada* . . . 'an) a thing. 'UTKRUR 'UTKURMA'K ötgürür ötgürmāk.

:: 'UL 'ATIN 'AWK' 'IJKARDIY ol atin äwkä içgärdi “He made his horse (or other) içgär-
enter (*adxala*) the house.” 'IJ'KARUR 'J'KARMA'K içgärür içgärmāk.

:: 'UL 'ANY BAKKA' 'IJKAR_DIY ol ani begkä içgärdi “He slandered (*wašā bi-*) him to
the emir (or other).”

:: 'UL KIJK SUVZUK 'DKAR_DIY ol kiçig söziüg ädgärdi “He heard some trivial words ädgär-
but considered them important and acted accordingly (*kabbarahu wa-'amila bihi*.)” This word is usually used in the negative, thus:

[I. 194/227]

121

'NK SUVZIN 'ADKARMADY anig sözin ädgärmädi “He paid no heed (*mā ḥtafala bi-, mā bālā*) to his words.” :: 'UL YAWUZ NA'NKNY 'ADKARDY ol yawuz nāṅni ädgärdi “He improved (*aṣlahā*) the thing which was bad.” 'ADKARUR 'ADKARMA'K ädgärür ädgärmāk.

:: 'UL YA'Γ 'ARKURDIY ol yāy ärgürdi "He melted (*aḏāba*) the butter (or other)." 'ARKURUR 'RKURMA'K ärgürür ärgürmāk. ärgür-

:: 'AŞ'QA' 'AURKURDY¹ (ol) aşqa ärgürdi "He got to (*adraka*) the food before it was gone." The same for anyone who gets to something before it is gone (*adraka şay'an qabla an yanfalita*). 'AUR'KURUR¹ 'AURKURM'K¹ ärgürür ärgürmāk.

:: TUVN 'AS'KIRDIY tön äskirdi "The garment wore out (*axlaqa*) (or other)." 'ASKIRUR 'ASKIRMA'K äskirür äskirmāk. 0 äskir-

:: 'UL 'ITIF KAYIĶA' 'UŞKURDIY² ol itiy käyikkä üškirdi "He incited (*aγrā*) the dog against the game." The same for inciting a man against something. :: YILA'N 'UŞ'KURDY² yilān üškirdi "The snake hissed (*naḑaxat . . . bi-fihā*)." The same for a person who whistles (*şafara bi-fihī*); also of a vulture that shrieks (*şafara*). Proverb: 'US' 'UŞKURSA' 'ULUVR üs üškirsä ölür 0 "When the vulture shrieks (in a man's face, it is a sign that) he (it?) will die." They draw a bad omen from this. 'UŞKIRUR 'UŞKURMA'K üskirür üskirmāk. 0 üskir-

:: 'L U'UN(Y)T MŞ SUVZUK 'UŞ'KURDIY ol unitmiş sözüg üškürdi "He remembered (*taḑakkara*) the words which he had forgotten (or other)." 'UŞ'KURUR 'UŞKURMA'K üškürür üškürmāk. üškür-

When you wish to transitivize the intransitive verbs of this chapter, or to make one doubly transitive, change the preterite marker *dāl* into a doubled *tā'* – one is the *dāl*, which is assimilated, and the other is the *tā'* of transitivity. For example, you say SUVZ 'UŞKUR'DIY söz üškürdi to mean "He remembered the words." To transitivize this verb, you say: 'UŞKUR'TIY üškürtti meaning "He brought someone to remember what he had forgotten." 0 Example of the doubly transitive verb: 'ANIK 'ATIN 'AR'ΓUR'TIY anig atin arγurtti "He had someone jade his horse." Another way is to say: 'AR'ΓUR'TUR'DIY arγurturdi meaning "He ordered the jading";

[I. 195/229]

'UŞKIRTUR'DIY üškirtürdi "He caused the inciting" – but the first way is more elegant and more correct.

Ş

:: 'RAN 'UR'BAŞTIY ärän ürpäşdi "The warriors (or others) bristled (*taşa'aḑa/taşa'aba, izba'arrū*) (with anger)." 'URIYAŞVR [sic] 'URYAŞMA'K ürpäşür ürpäşmāk. Verse: ürpäş-

'RAN 'ARIΓ 'URBAŞUR	ärän ariy ürpäşür	V
'UVJIN KAKIN 'IR'TAŞUR	öçin kâkin irtäşür	
SAQAL TUTUB TARTIŞUR	saqal tutup tartişür	
KUK'SIY 'AR' 'UVT TUTA'R	kögsi ara öt tütär	

121 1. A in a later hand (dark black, thin pen).

2. U's in black but apparently the same hand as the brown of previous pages.

“The warriors look at one another askance with rage (*yanzuru . . . bi-a'yun šazr ḥanaq^{an}*); they seek to take revenge upon one another; (the warriors) have caught hold of their beards (in the intense heat of battle; it is as though) the fire of rage smoldered in their breasts.”

:: 'ULA'R· BUV SUZUK 'IR·TAIŠTIYLA'R **olār bu söziğ irtäštīlār** “They inquired into (*tafaḥḥaṣū*) this (matter or) word (or the like).” 'IR·TAŠUVR 'IR·TAŠMA'K **irtäšūr irtäšmāk.** 0 irtäš-

:: YAL·NIKUQ 'IJIN· 'AR·TAŠ·DIY **yalnuq için artašdi** “The people were corrupted by each other's example (*fasada . . . ba'duhu bi-ru'ya ba'd*).” The same for anything of a large amount that becomes thoroughly corrupted (*fasada ba'duhu fi ba'd*). 'AR·TAŠUVR 'AR·TAŠ·MA'Q **artašūr artašmāq.** artaš-

:: 'ULA'R BUV 'IYŠİF 'UR·TUŠDIY **olār bu išiğ örtüšdi** “They conspired to conceal (*tawāṭa'ū 'alā satr*) this matter.” The same for anyone who helps someone else cover or conceal (*taṭṭiya, satr*) a thing. 'UR·TUŠUVR 'UR·TUŠMA'K **örtüšūr örtüšmāk.** örtüš-

:: BUVDUN BIYR· 'AKINDIYNIK 'AWLA'RIN 'UR·TAŠ·DIY **bōdun bīr ekindinīg äwlārīn örtäšdi** “The people burned (*aḥraqa*) each other's houses.” Likewise for other things; the same for cooperating or competing. 'UR·TAŠUVR 'UR·TAŠMA'K **örtäšūr örtäšmāk.** 0 örtäš-

:: 'UL MANIK BRL· 'ARS·L'N· DAN 'AR·TIŠTIY **ol mänig birlä arslāndan ärtišti** “He vied with me in getting past (*mujāwaza 'an*) the lion (or anything frightening).” 'ARTIŠUR 'ARTIŠMA'K **ärtišūr ärtišmāk.** 0 ärtiš-

:: 'UL MANK· 'ARJY 'AR·TIŠDIY **ol maṇa arči artišdi** “He helped me load (*ilqā', ḥaml*) the saddlebag (on the animal).” 'ARTIŠUR 'AR·TIŠMA'Q **artišūr artišmāq.** The same for competing. artiš-

:: 'L 'ANIK BRL· 'UQTAŠ·TIY **ol anig birlä oqtašti** “He had a shooting contest with him (*rāmāhu¹ bi-s-sahm*).” The same for drawing lots (*qāra'ahu*). 'UQTAŠUR 'UQTAŠMA'Q **oqtašūr oqtašmāq.** oqtaš-

:: 'UL 'ANIK BIRL· 'UNDAŠ·DIY **ol anig birlä ündäšdi** “They called to one another (*tanādayā*).” U'UN·DAŠUVR² ündäš-

[I. 197/231]

123

'UNDAŠMA'K **ündäšūr ündäšmāk.**

:: TUVN LA'R UBRAŠ·TIY **tōnlār oprāšti** “The garments (or other) began to wear out (*axadat . . . fi l-bilā*).” 'UBRAŠUVR 'UBRAŠMA'Q **oprašūr oprāšmāq.** Proverb [cf. 601 **keṇ**]: KANK'Š LYK BLYK 'UDRAŠUVR KNK'Š SYZ BLYK 'UBRAŠVR **keṇāšlīg bilīg üdrāšūr, keṇāš-siz bilīg oprāšūr** [“Knowledge with counsel bears fruit, knowledge without counsel wears out.”] oprāš-
P

122 1. MS. *ramāhu*.

2. Original first U crossed out and second U written to right of the *alif* (').

“Management of affairs, when it is fertilized with counsel, daily grows better, but when it is without counsel, daily grows worse (*yablā*).”

:: 'UL MANK' MUVN U'UBRŠDY ol maṇa mūn öprüšdi “He helped me sip (*ḥasw*) the soup (or other).” 'UBRŠUVR 'UBRŠM'K öprüšür öprüšmāk. The same for competing. 0 öprüš-

:: 'ULA'R' BIYR' BYR'KA' BITK 'UTRUŠDY olār bīr bīrkā bitig ötrüšdi “Each of them got a letter (or other) through (*anfaḍa*) to the other.” 'UTRUŠUR 'UTRUŠMA'K ötrüšür ötrüšmāk. 0 Its root-form is: U'U'TUK'RUIŠDIY¹ ötgürüšdi. The same for helping or competing in carrying through (*tanfīd*) anything. 0 ötrüš-

:: 'UL 'NKAR 'UTUR'ŠDIY ol aṇar utrušdi “He opposed (*qāwama*) him in a certain matter.” :: 'UL MANK' 'UTRUŠDY ol maṇa utrušdi “He faced (*wājaha*) me.” 'UTRŠVR 'UTRŠMA'Q utrušür utrušmāq. 0 utruš-

:: 'L MANK' KS'MA' U'U'TRUŠ'DY¹ ol maṇa kāsma otrušdi “He helped clip (*jazz*) the forelock.” The same for anything of which the excess is cut off (*yuqṭa'u ziyādatuhu*) with scissors. U'U'TRUŠVR 'UTRŠMA'Q otrušür otrušmāq. 0 otruš-

:: 'UVL MANK' QUŠ 'UJRUŠDY ol maṇa quš učrušdi “He helped me fly (*iṭāra*) the bird.” The same for helping or competing. 'UJRUŠVR 'UJRUŠM'Q učrušür učrušmāq. 0 učruš-

:: 'UL 'ANIK 'UBK'SIN MANIK BRL' U'UJRUŠDY ol anig öpkāsin mänig birlā öčrüšdi “He helped me quiet (*taskīm*) his anger.” The same for helping to extinguish (*iṭfā'*) the flame of a fire. 'UJRUŠVR 'UJRUŠMA'K öčrüšür öčrüšmāk. 0 öčrüš-

:: 'UL MANK' SUVF 'IJRUŠDY ol maṇa sūw ičrüšdi “He helped me give water to drink (*saqy*).” The same for competing. 'IJRUŠUVR 'IJRUŠMA'K ičrüšür ičrüšmāk. 0 ičrüš-

:: 'ULA'R' 'IYKY 'AḌRIŠDIY² olār ēki aḍrišdi “The two (companions) separated (*tafāraqa, tazāyalā*).” 'AḌRIŠUVR 'AḌRIŠMA'Q aḍrišür aḍrišmāq. Verse: aḍriš-

TUM'N JAIJAK TIZILDIY	tümān çeçäk tizildi	V
BUKUNDAN 'UL YAZILDIY	tügündän ol yazildi	
'KUŠ YATIB' 'UZAL'DIY	üküş yatip özäldi	
YYR'DA' QUB' 'AḌRIŠVR	yērdä qopa aḍrišür	

Describing summer: “There are lined up varieties

[I. 199/234]

124

of blossoms and flowers; the calyxes have split open; how long they have endured under the ground; now they rise up out of the ground and separate (*yanfariju*) one from the other.”

- 123
1. Second (original first) U changed to *sukūn* (? – unclear).
 2. *Sukūn* (‘) changed from U (confusion with 124 *üdrüš-*); A added by a later hand.

:: 'UL MANK' TVA'R 'UḌURUŠDY ol maḡa tavār üdrüšdi “He helped me choose (taxyir) the goods (or other).” U'DRUŠUVR¹ 'UḌRUŠMA'K üdrüšür üdrüšmāk. The same for competing. üdrüš-

:: 'IK̄Y 'ADĠIR' BRL' 'IS'RIŠTIY ekki aḡyir birlä isrišti “The two stallions (or other) bit each other (ta'ādḡa).” 'IS'RIŠUVR 'IS'RIŠMA'Q isrišür isrišmāq. The same for helping or competing. 0 isriš-

:: 'IK̄Y 'AR' 'AS'RUŠDIY ekki är asrušdi “The two men sneezed at each other (ta'ā-ḡasa) to see who could sneeze more.” 'AS'RUŠUR 'AS'RUŠMA'Q asrušür asrušmāq. 0 asruš-

:: 'ULA'R 'IK̄Y 'US'RUŠDY olār ekki osrušdi “The two of them competed in farting (rudām).” 'US'RUŠUR 'US'RUŠMA'Q osrušür osrušmāq. 0 osruš-

:: 'IK̄Y YAĠY 'UĠRAŠDIY ekki yaġi uġrašdi “The two enemies (or other) headed toward (qašada) each other.” U'ĠRAŠUR¹ 'UĠRAŠM'Q uġrašür uġrašmāq. uġraš-

:: 'ULA'R BV 'YSQ' 'AĠRIŠ'TIY LA'R olār bu išqa aġrištilār “They commiserated (tawajja'ū) over this matter.” 'AĠRIŠVR 'AĠRIŠM'Q aġrišür aġrišmāq. aġriš-

:: 'L MANK' SUNKUVK 'UĠRUŠTY ol maḡa süñük oġrušti “He helped me to disjoint (taḡbiq, fašl) the bone.” The same for competing. 'UĠRŠUR 'UĠRŠM'Q oġrušür oġrušmāq. 0 oġruš-

:: 'NIK BRL' TALM 'WRŠTY anig birlä tālim äwrišti “He often tried his strength (mārasa) with him.” :: 'UL 'ANIK QJMYS 'ATIĠ 'AWRIŠTIY ol anig qačmiš atiy äwrišti “He helped him turn back (radḡ wajh . . . ilayhi) the horse after it bolted.” :: 'UL MANK' TAV'R' 'AWRIŠTIY ol maḡa tavār äwrišti “He helped me turn the commodity (or other) upside down (taġlib [defined]).” 'AWRUIŠUVR 'AWRUŠM'K äwrišür, äwrišür äwrišmāk. äwriš-

:: YUN'D QAMUĠ 'UQRAUŠDY yond qamuġ oqrašdi “The horses whinnied together (taḡamḡamat) (for fodder, or other).” U'UQRAŠVR 'UQRŠM'Q oqrašür oqrašmāq. Verse: oqraš-

YAŠIN 'TB YAŠ'NADY

TUM'N TVRB TUŠ'NADY

'ADĠIR QSIR' KIŠNADY

'KUR 'ALIB 'UQRŠVR

yašin atip yašnadi

tumān türup tüšnādi

aḡyir qisir kišnādi

ögür alip oqrašür

V

Describing spring: “The cloud lightened; the mist was stirred up; the stallions and mares (saw

[I. 201/236]

125

the traces of spring and) neighed; they whinnied together (for joy) and each stallion took his mares as a herd.”

:: 'UL BAKK' KAND¹ 'AKIRIŠ'TY ol begkâ känd ägrišti “He helped the emir to besiege (*muḥāṣara*) the fortress.” :: QIZ 'NA'SIY BIRLA' YIB' 'AKRIŠ'TY qiz anāsi birlā yip ägrišti “The girl competed with her mother in spinning (*γazl*).” The same for helping. 'KRIŠVR 'KRIŠM'K ägrišür ägrišmāk. 0

:: 'UL 'ANKAR BAYŠIK U'KRIŠTIY² ol anar beşik ügrišti “He helped him rock (*taḥriḳ*) the cradle.” 'UKRIŠUVR 'UKRIŠMA'K ügrišür ügrišmāk. 0

:: 'ATIM BAR'JA' 'AMRIŠ'TY ätim barča ämrišti “My flesh itched (*iḥtakka*) (from mange, or other).” 'AMRIŠUVR 'MRŠM'K ämrišür ämrišmāk. 0

:: QA'M' LA'R' QAMUṬ 'AR'WAŠDY qāmlār qamuy arwašdi “The diviners murmured magical phrases (*haynamat . . . bi-kalām*).” The same for pronouncing a spell against demonic possession (*raqaw min sa'fa*), or the like. 'ARWAŠUR 'ARWAŠ'MA'Q arwašur arwašmāq. 0

:: 'UL 'ANIK BIRL' YUK 'AR'QAŠ'TIY ol anig birlā yük arqašti “They lent each other their backs to carry the load (*ḥamala . . . muḏāhara^{tan}*)[defined].” 'ARQAŠVR 'ARQAŠMA'Q arqašür arqašmāq.

:: BUVY' 'IKY BILA' 'AL'QIŠ'TY bōy (bīr) ekki bilā alqisti “The people destroyed each other (*tafānā*).” The same for competing in destroying (*ifnā'*) something. 'AL'QIŠUVR 'AL'QIŠ'MA'Q alqišür alqišmāq.

:: 'UL MANIK BRL' 'ALQIŠ 'ALQAŠDIY ol mänig birlā alqiš alqašdi “He competed with me in eulogizing (*madḥ, tanā'*).” 'ALQAIŠUVR 'ALQAIŠMA'Q alqašür alqašmāq. The same for helping. Verse:

'LB LA'R 'ARIF 'ALQIŠUR·	aplār ariy alqišur	V
KUJ BYR QLIB 'ARQAŠUR·	küč bīr qilip arqašur	
BYR BYR 'VZA' 'ALQAŠUR·	bīr bīr üzā alqašur	
'ADKARMADIB' 'UQ 'TA'R	ädgärmädip oq atār	

Describing a battle: “The braves are destroying one another (*tufnī ba'duḥum ba'dan*); they have united their strength, lending one another their backs (*muḏāhirīn*); they cooperate in eulogizing one another (*yutnī ba'duḥum 'alā ba'd b-t-ta'āwun*); each shoots his arrow, paying no heed to death.”

:: 'UL MANK' TAV'R 'IR'KIŠTY ol maṇa tavār irkišti “He helped me collect (*jam'*) property (or other).” The same for competing. 'IR'KIŠVR 'IR'KIŠMA'K irkišür irkišmāk. 0

:: 'UL 'ANKAR 'UVN 'ALKAŠ'TY ol anar ün algäšti “He aided him in sifting (*naxl*) the flour.” The same for competing. 'ALKAŠUR 'ALKAŠMA'K älgäšür älgäšmāk. 0

125 1. Brown ink resumes here. Originally KNDA', A altered to *sukūn* (·) and *alif* (') crossed out in brown ink; read *kändā*?

2. *Sukūn* (·) (brown) altered from U (black).

<p>:: BUV 'YŠ TA' BUVY_ 'AM'KAŠ'TIY bu īšta bōy āmgāšti “The people tired</p> <p>[I. 202/238]</p> <p>each other out (<i>ta'iba . . . ba'duhum bi-sabab ba'd</i>) in this matter.” 'AM'KŠUR' 'AM'KŠMA'K āmgāšūr āmgāšmāk. 0</p> <p>BUVDUN 'IKN'DIY TAW'RIYN 'UBLAŠDY bodun (bīr) ekindi tawārīn üplāšdi “The people raided (<i>aḡāra</i>) each other's property.” 'UBLAŠUR 'UBLAŠMA'K üplāšūr üplāšmāk.</p> <p>:: 'UT'LAŠ'DY NA'NK ütlašdi nāṅ “The things were pierced (<i>inṭaqabat</i>).” 'UTLŠVR 'UTLSMA'K ütlašūr ütlašmāk. 0</p> <p>This is used for plundering (<i>nahb</i>).¹</p> <p>:: 'AL'B' LA'R 'UT'LAŠDIY² alplār ätlāšdi “The warriors fought closely (<i>talāhamat, tajāladū</i>).” 'UTLAŠUVR² 'UTLAŠMA'K² ätlāšūr ätlāšmāk.</p> <p>:: 'ITLIŠDY NA'NK itlišdi nāṅ “The things were pushed together (<i>indafa'at</i>).” 'ITLŠVR 'ITLŠMA'K itlišūr itlišmāk. 0</p> <p>:: QABUṬLA'R 'AJ'LIŠ'DIY qapuylār ačlišdi “The doors opened (<i>infataḡat</i>).” The same for things that are locked. 'AJ'LIŠUR 'AJ'LIŠMA'Q ačlišūr ačlišmāq.</p> <p>:: 'ULA'R BYR 'IKINDYNIY 'ADLAŠDIY olār bīr ekindīni ādlāšdi “The two of them sought to honor (<i>tafaqqada . . . ḡurma</i>) each other.” 'ADLAŠUR 'DLAŠM'K ādlāšūr ādlāšmāk. 0</p> <p>:: 'IWIQ BIYR BIYR'KA' 'UDLAŠ'DIY iwiq bīr bīrkā udlašdi “The she-antelopes walked one behind the other (<i>maṣat . . . xalifatan</i>).” 'UDLAŠUVR 'UDLAŠMA'Q udlašūr udlašmāq.</p> <p>:: 'ULA'R 'IKY 'AR'LAŠDIY olār ekki ārlišdi “The two of them vied in manliness (<i>tabārayā fi-r-rujūliyya</i>).” 'ARLAŠVR 'ARLAŠMA'K ārlišūr ārlišmāk.</p> <p>:: BVDUN QMUṬ 'UR'LAŠDIY bōdun qamuy orlašdi “The people raised a cry (<i>ṣāḡa, jalabū</i>).” 'UR'LAŠVR 'UR'LAŠMA'Q orlašūr orlašmāq. Its root-form is: 'URIYLAŠ'TIY orīlašti.</p> <p>:: 'UZ'LUŠDIY NA'NK üzlüšdi nāṅ “The thing was cut or snapped (<i>inqaṭa'a</i>).” :: BAKY KIŠY 'UZLŠDY begi kiši üzlüšdi “The marriage between husband and wife was dissolved (<i>inqaṭa'at az-zawjiyya</i>).”³ :: 'ALIM'LIF BYRIM'LIK'DIN 'UZLUŠDY alimliy bērimligdin üzlüšdi</p>	<p>āmgāš-</p> <p>126</p> <p>üplāš-</p> <p>ütlaš-</p> <p>ätlāš-</p> <p>itliš-</p> <p>ačliš-</p> <p>ādlāš-</p> <p>udlaš-</p> <p>ārliš-</p> <p>orlaš-</p> <p>üzlüš-</p>
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126 1. This sentence apparently refers to the previous entry (üplāš-).
2. U (brown) altered from A (black).
3. *w* restored in brown ink above *j*.

“The debt was dissolved between the creditor and the debtor (*infaṣala d-dā'in min al-madyūn*).”
'UVZLUŠUVR' 'UZLUŠMA'K üzlüşür üzlüşmāk.

:: 'UL MANIK BIR·LA' 'IŠLAŠ_DIY ol mänig birlä iślāšdi “He vied with me in the work (*bārānī fi l-'amal*).” The same for helping. 'IŠLAŠUVR' 'IŠLAŠMA'K iślāšür iślāšmāk. 0

:: 'UFLA'N 'IF·LAŠTY oylān iylašti “The babies cried (*bakat*).” A variant of the form with *yā'* [i.e. *yiylaš-*]. 'IF·LAŠUR 'IF·LAŠMA'Q iylašur iylašmāq.

:: KIŠY 'AWLAŠDY kiši awlāšdi “The people crowded (*izdahama*) about the thing.”
'AWLAŠUVR 'AWLAŠMA'Q awlašür awlašmāq.

:: BAK BRL' 'AWLAŠTY 'UY·NA'B' beg (anig) birlä äwläšti oynāp “The emir played with him putting a house as the stake (*waja'ala baynahumā l-xaṭar baytan*).” This is a root-principle, namely G

[I. 204/240]

127

that anything that is placed as the stake in gambling is mentioned along with the suffix: KŠTY [sic] ·lašti. 'AWLAŠVR 'AWLAŠMA'Q [sic] äwläšür äwläšmāk. 0

:: BYR NA'NK BYR' 'UZA' 'UK·LUŠDY bīr nāḡ bīr üzä üklüşdi “One thing was heaped up (*inkatāba*) on another” – of such things as sand, a swarm of locusts on reeds, a crowd of people. 'UKULŠVR 'UKULŠMA'K üklüşür üklüşmāk.

:: TKM' YANKA'Q·TIN·BUVDUN 'AQ·LIŠDIY tǧmä yaḡaḡtin bōdun aqlišdi “The people crowded together (*izdahama*) from every side.” Also of waters that flow together (*tasāyalat*) from every ravine. 'AQLIŠUVR 'AQLIŠ·MA'Q aqlišür aqlišmāq. 0

:: 'ULA'R QAMUḡ 'ḌAQ' 'AK·LAŠDY LA'R olār qamuy aḡaq iklāšdilār This is an expression for “mutual trampling (*tawāṭu'*)” upon a thing or for a group of people “agreeing (*muwāfaqa*)” upon a matter; also, “They helped each other trample (*waṭa'*) with the foot.” 'AKLAŠUR 'AK·LŠMA'K iklāšür iklāšmāk.

:: YLQY 'ARIḡ 'IKLAŠDIY yilqi ariy iglāšdi “The cattle (or other) were sick (*maridat*).” 'IKLAŠUR 'IKLAŠMA'K iglāšür iglāšmāk.

:: BA'LIF LA'R 'AMLAŠDIY LA'R bāliylār ämlāšdilār “The wounded treated each other (*ta'ālat*).” 'AMLAŠUVR LA'R 'AM·LAŠM'K ämlāšürilār ämlāšmāk.

:: 'UL 'ANIK BIRL' JUK'N 'UR·DIY 'UM·LAŠV ol anig birlä čögān urdi ümlāšü “He had a polo contest with him with trousers as the stake (*'alā xiṭār as-sarāwīl*).” 'UMLAŠUVR 'UMLAŠMA'K ümlāšür ümlāšmāk.

:: 'UL 'ANIK BL' 'ALKIN 'IM·LAŠDY ol anig bilä älgin imlāšdi “He pointed (*ašāra*) to him with his hand and the other did likewise.” 'AIM·LAŠUR¹ 'AIM·LAŠMA'K¹ imlāšür imlāšmāk. 0

Q

:: 'L YARMA'Q 'UT_SUQ'TY ol **yarmāq utsuqti** “Some dirhams were wagered (*qūmira darāhim* [i.e. he lost them]) in the game.” The same for other things. 'UTSUQA'R 'UTSUQMA'Q **utsuqār utsuqmāq**. Proverb: SIN'MASA' 'AR'SIQA'R SAQIN'MASA' 'UTSUQA'R **sināmasa arsiqār saqinmasa utsuqār** “When something is not tested one is deceived by it, when thought is not taken (at the outset of a matter) one is overcome (*yūḡlabu*).” This is coined [to advise] testing and caution. utsuq-
P

:: 'AR' 'AR'SIQ'TIY **ār arsiqti** “The man was deceived (*ḡurra*).” 'AR'SIQA'R 'AR'SIQ-M'Q **arsiqār arsiqmāq**. arsiq-

:: 'AR' 'URSUQ'TY **ār ursuqti** “The man underwent a beating (*ḡuliba² . . . fi ḡ-ḡarb wa-ṣāra maḡrūban*). 'UR'SUQA'R³ 'URSUQM'Q **ursuqār ursuqmāq**. ursuq-

:: 'UL TAW'RIN 'AL'SIQ'TY ol **tawārin alsiqti** “He was plundered, deprived (*ḡuriba, suliba*) of his property.” 'AL'SIQA'R 'AL'SIQ'MA'Q **alsiqār alsiqmāq**. alsiq-

::

[I. 206/243]

128

'AR 'AN'DIQTIY **ār andiqti** “The man swore an oath (*ḡalafa*).” AN'DIQA'R 'AN'DIQ-MA'Q' **andiqār andiqmāq**. Verse [=450 *yuluḡ*]: andiq-

QUY·GAŠIB YTS' 'NIK YVZYNK'

qoyḡašip yatsa anig yūzīḡā V

'ALSIQAR 'VKIN 'NIK SUVZYNK'

aḡsiqar ōgin anig sōzīḡā (alsiq-)

MINK KŠY YULUḡY BVLB 'VZYNK'

miḡ kiši yuluḡi bōlup ōzīḡā

BYR·KA' LAR 'UDIN [sic] 'NIK KVZYNK'

bērgālār ōzin anig kōzīḡā

“One who lies with him and sees his face loses his mind (*suliba 'aqluhu*) over his (song and his charming) speech; a thousand souls are ransomed for his beauty; [they will give their souls for his eyes].

K

:: 'R 'INJKTIY **ār enčikti** “The man lost consciousness, shook, and shriveled up (*ḡahabat ḡāssa . . . ka-annahu muḡmā 'alayhi wa-rta'ada wa-taḡallaṣa*) (from cold water being poured over him).” 'INJIKAR 'INJIKM'K **enčikār enčikmāk**. 0 enčik-

:: 'L BV 'YŠ Q' 'USTUIKTY ol bu **išqa östikti** “He coveted, longed for (*ḡariṣa 'alā, ištāqa*) this thing.” 'USTK'R 'STKM'K **östikār östikmāk**. Its root-form is: 'VZ TIKTY **öz tikti**. östik-

2. MS. *ḡulibat*.3. *Sukūn* (·) (brown) changed from A (black).

[L]

:: YΓ'J 'IRBALDY *yiyäc* irpäldi “The wood was sawn (*nušira . . . bi-l-minšar*).” 'IRBALUR 'IRBALMA'K irpälür irpäl^mäk. Proverb: 'NK'KAY' [sic] 'IRBALDY 'YŠ oḡäli irpäldi iš 0 “The matter was meant to be made right but was sawn” – i.e. ruined (*urīda l-amr bi-l-išlāḥ fa-nušira ya'nī ufsida*). 0

:: 'AR' 'AT' 'UVZA' 'AR'TIL'DY är at üzä artildi “The man threw himself on the horse in a straddled position (*älqā . . . nafsahu . . . wahwa an yakūna nişf al-badan min jānib wa-l-āxar min jānib*).” :: TAΓ'R 'AŠYA'K 'UVZA' 'ARTILDY taγār äšyäk üzä artildi “The sack (or other) was loaded (*humilat*) on the ass.” 'ARTILVR 'ARTILM'Q artilür artilmäq. 0

:: 'YŠ 'AR 'UVZ' 'RTILDY iš är üzä örtüldi “The matter was obscure (*ubhima*) to the man.” :: KVK 'URTULDIY kök örtüldi “The sky was overcast (*taγayyamat*).” Its root-meaning is anything that is concealed (*sutira*) under a thing. U'VRTULVR¹ 'URTULMA'K örtülür örtül^mäk.

:: BUK 'URTALDY buk örtäldi “The thicket (or other) was burned (*uḥriqat*).” 'URLVR 'URLM'K örtälür örtäl^mäk. 0

:: 'IRTALDIY 'N'NK irtäldi nāḡ “The thing was inquired into, sought after (*fuḥiṣa 'an, ḡuliba*).” 'IRTLVR 'IRTLM'K irtälür irtäl^mäk. Verse:

KNKLM 'IJN 'URTADY	köḡlüm iēin örtädi	V
YTMYS' YŠΓ [sic] QARTADY	bütmiš bašiy qartadi	
KJMYŠ 'DUK 'IRTADY	käcmiš öḡüḡ irtädi	
TUN KUN KJB 'IRTALVR	tün kün käēip irtälür	

Describing the one he is eulogizing: “My heart burned [inwardly]

[I. 208/245]

129

(at the pain of loss); the wound [which had healed] opened; he sought after bygone days; but Time caught up with him, while he was ever searching for (*yatafaḥḥaṣu*¹ 'an) it [lit.: while day and night pass it is sought].” 0

:: MUVN 'UBRULDY mün öprüldi “The soup (or other) was sipped (*ḥusiyat*).” 'UBRLUR 'UBRLM'K öprülür öprül^mäk. 0

:: SVW 'USTAL'DY sūw üstäldi “The water increased (*zāda*) or was added to (*zīda fihi*).” The same for other things. 'USTALUR 'USTALM'K üstälür üstäl^mäk. 0

128 1. Second (original first) U crossed out in brown ink.

129 1. MS. *yatafaḥḥaṣu*.

- :: 'IS'TALDY NA'NK **istäldi nāñ** "The thing was desired, sought after (*tuḷiba, fuḥiṣa*)."
'ISTALUR 'ISTALM'K **istälür istälmāk.** 0 **istäl-**
- :: BV SUVZ 'AŠTILDIY **bu söz eštildi** "These words (or other) were heard (*sumi'a*)."
'ASTILUR 'STILM'K **eštilür eštilmāk.** 0 **eštil-**
- :: 'AR 'AFTILDY **är aytildi** "The man was knocked down (*şuri'a*)."
'AF TARILDY **aytarildi.** 'AFTILR 'FTILM'Q **aytilur aytilmāq.** 0 **aytil-**
- :: 'WDILDY NA'NK **äwdildi nāñ** "The thing was picked up (*ultuqiṭa*)."
'WDILUR 'WDILM'K **äwdilür äwdilmāk.** 0 **äwdil-**
- :: 'UFL 'IK'DILDY **oḡul igdildi** "The boy (or other) was reared (*rubbā*)."
'IKDILUR 'IKDLM'K **igdilür igdilmāk.** 0 **igdil-**
- :: SBIZFUUV² 'UTRLDY **sibizyu ötrüldi** "The flute (or other) was sounded (*şuyyihā bi-*)."
'UTRLUR 'UTRLM'K **ötrilür ötrilmāk.** **ötrül-**
- :: SAJ U'UTRLDY **sač otruldi** "The hair (or other) was trimmed (*quṣṣa*)."
'UTRLR 'UTRLM'Q **otrulur otrulmāq.** **otrul-**
- :: YVL 'ADRILDİY **yöl ađrildi** "The two roads diverged (*tafarraqa*)."
The same for two companions, or two teeth of which one is separated (*tazāyala*) from the other.
'ADRILUR 'AD_RIL_MA'Q_ **ađrilur ađrilmāq.** **ađril-**
- :: 'UDRULDY NA'NK **üdrüldi nāñ** "The thing was chosen, set apart (*xuyyira, muyyiza*)."
The same for a party of men who are set apart (*inhāzat . . . jāniban*):
:: 'NIK 'ARA'NIY 'UD'RULDY **anıg ārāni üdrüldi** "His men were set apart (*imtāza . . . jāniban*)."
'UD'RULUR 'UDRULM'K **üdrilür üdrilmāk.** **üdrül-**
- :: 'ATM'K 'IS'RILDY **ätmāk isrildi** "The bread (or other) was bitten (*uḡḡa*)."
'IYS-RILUR 'IS'RULM'Q **isrilur isrulmāq.** **isril-**
- :: YUK 'AR'TIN 'ŠRULDY **yük arttin ašruldi** "The load was brought across (*uḡiṣa*) via the pass (or other)."
'AŠRULUR 'ŠRULM'Q **ašrulur ašrulmāq.** 0 **ašrul-**
- :: 'UL YIYR'KA' 'UFRALDY **ol yērka uḡraldi** "It was intended to go (*quṣidat*) to those regions (or other)."
'UFRALUR³ 'AFRULM'Q **uḡralur uḡralmāq.** **uḡral-**
- :: SUNKVK 'UFRULDY **siñük oḡruldi** "The bone was disjointed (*fuṣiḷa, tuḅbiqa*)."
'UFRULUR 'UFRULM'Q **oḡrulur oḡrulmāq.** **oḡrul-**
Verse:

2. Three dots faintly visible over S.

3. First U (brown) changed from A (black); A (brown) changed from U (black).

BLJQ BALQ YUΓRULVR	balçiq baliq yoγrulūr	V
JIΓ'Y YWR YIΓRILVR	çiγāy yawuz yiγirilūr	
'RNKAK LARIY 'UΓRULVR	ärñäkläri oγrulūr	
'ADΓJ BL' 'WRŠVR	odγuč bilä äwrišūr	

[I. 210/248]

130

In the debate between Summer and Winter: “Clay and mud pile up; the wretched poor one crouches hunched up; his fingers split (*yanfaşilu*) (from the severe cold), and he comforts himself with a firebrand.” 0

:: 'AR' 'AWRILDY är äwrüldi “The man turned away (*raja'a . . . min wajh*) from his course.” The same for anyone who turns away (*inşarafa 'an wijha*) from his course. 'AWRULUR 'AWRULM'K äwrilūr äwrilmāk.

:: KAND 'AKRIL'DIY känd ägrildi “The city was besieged (*hūşirat*).” :: YIB' 'AKRIL'DIY yip ägrildi “The yarn was spun (*γuzila*).” 'AKRILUR 'KRLM'K ägrilur ägrilmāk.

:: BYŞIK 'UKRILDY bēşik ügrildi “The baby’s cradle was rocked (*hurrika*).” 'UKRLUR 'UKRLM'K ügrilūr ügrilmāk.

:: QAY'NA'R 'AŞJ 'AMRUL'DIY qaynār eşiç amrildi “The boiling pot subsided (*sakana*) (because cold water was poured over it).” :: 'AR' TIYNIY 'AMRUL'DY är tīni amrildi “The man’s breath was still (*sakana*) (and he died).” Also of anything that subsides or is still after being stirred up. 'AMRULUR 'MRULM'Q amrulur amrilmāq.

:: YIΓA'J 'IRΓAL'DIY yiyāē iryaldi “The tree was shaken (*nufiḍat*).” The same for anything that is shaken (*huzza*). 'IRΓALUR 'IRΓALM'Q iryalur iryalmāq.

:: 'AR'QIŞ [sic] 'ARWALDY arwiş arwaldi “The spell was spoken (*ruqiyat*).” 'ARWALR 'ARWALM'Q arwalur arwalmāq.

:: BAK'KA' 'AL'QIS 'AL'QAL'DIY begkā alqis alqaldi “The emir was eulogized (*uḡ-niya*) and his virtues enumerated.” 'ALQALUR 'ALQALM'Q alqalur alqalmāq.

:: SUV TALIM' 'IR'KIL'DY sü tālim irkildi “The great army gathered (*ijṭama'a*).” The same for anything which gathers until it becomes many, or which is gathered by someone; transitive or not transitive [i.e., passive or middle]. 'IRKILUR 'IRKILM'K irkilūr irkilmāk.

:: 'URKNJ BULUB 'UR'KULDY ürkünē bolup ürküldi “Panic broke out causing the people to flee (*hazāhiz . . . nufira*).” 'URKULUR 'RKULM'K ürkülūr ürkülmāk.

:: 'UVN 'ALKALDY ün älgäldi “The flour (or other) was sifted (*nuxila*).” 'ALKALUR 'ALKALM'K älgälūr älgälmāk.

:: 'AR 'ARJISIN 'ARTINDIY *är arčisin artindi* “[The man] loaded (*hamala*) his saddlebag (on the pack animal).” The same for other things. 'ARTINUR 'AR'TIN'M'Q *artinur artinmāq*. **artin-**

:: 'URA'ΓUT YVZIN 'URTUNDIY *urāγut yūzin örtüdi* “The woman unveiled¹ her face; or else she veiled (*satarat*) it.” 'URTUNUR 'URTUNM'K *örtünür örtünmāk*. **örtün-**

:: 'URTANDY NA'NK *örtändi nāñ* “The thing blazed up (*iḥtaraqa*).” 'URTANUR: **örtän-**

[I. 212/251]

131

'URTAN'M'K *örtanür örtänmāk*. :: BULIT 'URTANDY *bulit örtändi* “The clouds reddened (*iḥmarrat*) (after sunset).” The Turks regard this as a good omen; hence the proverb: TUNL' BULIT' 'URTANSA' 'AWLUK 'URİY KALDURMIŞJA' BULVR TANKDA' BULT 'URTANSA' 'AWKA' YAĞY KIRMIŞJA' BULVR *tünlä bulit örtänsä äwlük uri kældürmişčä bolür, tañda bulit örtänsä äwkä yağı kirmişčä bolür* “When the clouds redden at night it is as though the wife gave birth to a male son; when they burn (*iḥtaraqat*) in the dawn (and the morning) it is as though the (raiding) enemy entered the house.” The second is a bad omen. **P**

:: 'UVZINKA' YAMIYŞ 'AWDIN'DIY *öziñä yemiş äwdindi* “He picked (*iltaqata*) the fruit (or other) for himself.” 'AWDIN'MA'K *äwdinmāk*. **äwdin-**

:: 'L MANK' U'UTRNDIY *ol maña utrundi* “He opposed (*qāwama*) me.” :: YYL YİΓA'J'Q' 'UTRUNDIY *yēl yiγāčqa utrundi* “The wind blew against (*istaqbalat*) the tree.” 'UTR-NUR 'UTRNM'Q *utrunur utrunmāq*. **utrun-**

:: 'AR' 'IS'RIND'DY *är isrindi* “The man clenched his teeth in anger (*ikla'azza γa-dab^{an}*).” Its root-meaning is for a cauliflower, or the like, when it is cooked and before it is done, water is poured over it so that it remains as if raw and does not cook any more. It is also used of a person with an easy manner who becomes severe (*ištadda*). 'IS'RINUR 'IS'RIN'MA'Q *isrinur isrinmāq*. **isrin-**

:: BA'LIF' 'AFRIN'DIY *bāliγ aγrindi* “The wounded man (or other) was in pain (*tawaj-ja'a*) (from his wounds).” 'AFRINUR 'AFRIN'MA'Q *aγrinur aγrinmāq*. **aγrin-**

:: 'UL BILIK 'UKRAN'DY *ol bilig ögrändi* “He learned (*ta'allama*) knowledge and wisdom (or other).” 'UKRANUR 'UKRAN'M'K *ögränür ögränmāk*. **ögrän-**
Verse:

'AR'DAM TILA' 'UKRANYN [sic] BULM' KUW'Z **V**

'AR'DM SIZN 'KUNSA' 'NKMKVD' 'NK'R

ärdäm tilä ögränibän bolma küwāz

ärdämsizin ögünsä äñmägüdä äñār

“Seek wisdom and knowledge and learn it and do not be too proud to learn; he who claims wisdom and education without learning will be bewildered when put to the test.” 0

:: 'AR' 'UZLUQ' 'UKRAN'DY är uzluq ögrändi "The man learned a craft¹ (or other)."

:: 'URA'ΓUT YIB' 'AG'RINDIY urāγut yip ägrindi "The woman spun (*γazalat*) the yarn for herself; or else she pretended to do it but did not really." 'AKRINUR 'KRINM'K ägrinür agrinmāk. ägrin-

:: 'UL QILMIŞ 'YŞNK' 'UXSIN'DIY ol qilmiş işına oxsindi "He regretted (*nadima*) what he had done." 'UXSINUVR 'UXSINM'Q oxsinür oxsinmāq. oxsin-

:: 'UFL 'AR'SIN'DY oγul ärsindi "The boy showed manliness (*abdā*² . . . *min nafsihi rujūliyya*)." 'ARSINUR 'AR'SINM'K ärsinür ärsinmāk. ärsin-

[I. 214/253]

132

:: 'UL BUV 'AWNY 'AWSINDY ol bu äwni äwsindi "He reckoned this house as one of his own houses (*buyūt*) and stayed in it." 'AWSINUR 'AWSINM'K äwsinür äwsinmāk. äwsin-

:: 'L QUŞNY 'ALIKDN 'IJ'QIN'DY [sic] ol quşni äligdin ičyindi "He let the bird go (*aflata*) from his hand." Proverb [=578 *yaly a-*]: YAQ'DA'QIY YALGA'ΓALIY 'ALIKDA'KIY 'IJΓINUVR yaqādāqi yalyāyali äligdāki ičyinür 0 "One who licks (the food that falls)¹ on his collar lets go (*yaflitu aw yanfalitu*) (the bowl, or other) that is in his hand." This is coined to advise a person to hold on to what he has if he cannot get what he wants. :: 'AR' 'IJΓINDY är ičyindi "The man broke wind (*radama*) in a party of people and was ashamed of it but could not hold it back." 'IJΓINUVR 'JΓINM'Q ičyinür ičyinmāq. ičyin-

:: YIΓA'J 'IRΓANDIY yiγāč iryandi "The tree shook and swayed (*ihazzat, taħarrakat*)." Also for anything else. 'IRΓANUVR 'IRΓANM'Q iryanür iryanmāq. iryan-

:: TAŞ 'AŞΓINDY tāş aşyindi "The rock was worn away or crushed (*insaħaqa*)." Also of anything that is worn away or crushed. 'AŞΓINUR 'AŞΓINM'Q aşyinür aşyinmāq. aşyin-

:: 'ALQINDIY NA'NK alqindi nāñ "The thing was completely used up (*nafada* . . . *birummatih*)." :: 'AR' 'ALQINDY är alqindi "The man died, perished (*māta, funiya*)." 'ALQINUR 'ALQINM'Q alqinür alqinmāq. alqin-

:: 'UL MANK' 'UTKUNDY ol maña ötgündi "He vied (*ħakā, bārā*) with me in something." 'UTKNUVR 'UTKNM'K ötgünür ötgünmāk. Proverb: QARGA' QA'ZGA' 'UTKUNSA' BUTIY SINUVR qarya qāzγa ötgünsä buti sinür "When the crow vies with (*ħākā*) the goose (in strength and flying) his foot breaks." This is coined to advise a person not to exceed his limit. ötgün-

:: 'UL 'UVZINKA' NANK 'IRKINDIY ol öziñä nāñ irkindi "He accumulated (*jama'a*) wealth (or other) for himself." 'IRKINUR 'RKINM'K irkinür irkinmāk. irkin-

131 1. MS. *xirfa*, read *ħirfa*.

2. MS. *abda'a*.

132 1. MS. *bifāda*, read *nufāda*.

:: 'AT 'UT 'IUS·KANDY at ot iskāndi “The horse cropped (*natafa* . . . *qalīl^{an}*)² the grass.” Also of someone who pulls out (*natafa*) hair or short grass. 'IS·KANUR 'IS·KNM'K iskānūr iskānmāk. iskän-

:: 'URA'ΓUT 'UVN 'ALKANDIY urāγut ün älgāndi “The woman sifted (*naxalat*) the flour for herself.” 'ALKNUR 'ALKNM'K älgānūr älgānmāk. älgän-

:: 'L BUV 'IYŠTA' TALIM 'AM·KANDY ol bu īšta tālim ämgāndi “He was overcome with fatigue (*ta'ayyā*) in this matter.” Hence :: XA'N QAR·ŠIYQA' 'AM·KAINDY xān qaršīqa ämgāndi “The king alighted (*nazala*)” ämgän-

[I. 215/255]

133

at the palace.” It means that fatigue (*ta'ab*) overcame him on his journey and he alighted. This is said of emirs and nobles out of extreme respect. 'AMKANUR 'AMKANM'K ämgānūr ämgānmāk. The Oγuz do not know this form. 0

D

:: 'ANIK TAW'RĪY 'UBLANDY anig tawāri üplāndi “His goods were plundered (*nuhiba*) or he was raided (*uγīra¹* ‘*alayhi*).” 'UBLANUR 'UBLANM'K üplānūr üplānmāk. üplän-

:: 'AR' 'ATLANDY ār atlandi “The man mounted (*rakiba*).” :: 'UL TA'IQA' 'ATLANDIY ol tāyqa atlandi “He climbed (*ša'ida*) the mountain.” Oγuz dialect. The same for climbing anything. 'ATLANUR 'ATLANM'Q atlanur atlanmāq. atlan-
D

:: 'ΓUL 'ATLANDIY oγul ätlāndi “The baby took on flesh (*tarabbala*).”² Also of anything which becomes fat (*samina*) after being lean. 'ATLANUR 'ATLANM'K ätlānūr ätlānmāk. ätlän-

:: TA'Š 'ITLINDY tāš itlindi “The rock (or other) was pushed (*indafa'a*).” Also of a baby when he crawls (*tazahḥafa*). Hence, in anger :: MANIK YVZDN 'TLN mänig yūzdin itlin meaning “Depart (*uγrub*) from me.” 'TLNUR 'TLNM'K itlinūr itlinmāk. itlin-

:: QABUΓ 'AJLINDIY qapuy açlindi “The door (or other) opened (*infataḥa*).” A variant of: 'AJILDY açildi [106]. 'AJLNUR 'AJLNM'Q açlinur açlinmāq. açlin-

:: 'UJ·LANDIY NA'NK üçlāndi nāḡ “The thing became three (*šāra* . . . *ṭalāṭa*).” :: 'IKY QA'Z 'UJ·LANDIY ekki qāz üçlāndi “The two geese (or other) became three (*tatallāṭa*).” 'UJLANUR 'UJLANM'K üçlānūr üçlānmāk. 0 üçlän-

:: TARIΓ 'IJ·LANDIY tariγ içlāndi “The seeds of the crop swelled (*in'aqada ḥabbāt*).” Also of anything whose center (*wasat*) is eaten when it becomes edible. 'IJLANUR 'IJLANM'K içlānūr içlānmāk. içlän-

2. There is a second *qalīlan* above the line.

1. MS. *γīra*.

2. MS. *tarayyala*.

:: 'UJLANDIY NA'NK učlandi nān "The thing became pointed (*dū atrāf*)." 'UJLNUR učlan-
'UJLANM'Q učlanur učlanmāq.

:: 'DLANDY NA'NK ädländi nān "The thing was made into goods and not left neglected ädlän-
(*uttuxida 'arađ^{an3} wa-lam yutrak muhmalan*)," as a fur is made from a skin, or a boot from felt.
'ADLANUR 'ADLANMA'K ädlänür ädlänmāk.

:: YLQY 'UD_LAN_DIY yilqi üdländi "The mares were in heat (*daba'at, ištahat al-
fuhūla*)." 'UDLANUR 'UDLANM'K üdlänür üdlänmāk.

:: 'URA'IUT 'AR_LANDIY urāyut ärländi "The woman married (*tazawwajat*)." 'AR-
LANUR 'AR_LANM'K ärlänür ärlänmāk.

:: BULIT 'UR_LANDIY bulit örländi "The clouds rose up (*naša'at*)." 'UR_LANUR örlän-
'URLANM'K örlänür örlänmāk. It is better to say: 'UVR'DY ördi [96]. Verse:

'AY QABUB 'AWLANB	ay qopup äwläniüp	V
'AQ BULT 'URLANUB	aq bulit örlänüp	
BİR BİR 'UVZA' 'UKLNUB	bir bir üzä üklänüp	
SAJLB SUWY 'NKRAŠUVR	sačlup suwi anrašür	

0

[I. 217/258]

134

"When the moon rises with its halo surrounding it, then the rain clouds rise up (*yartafi'u*) and accumulate, until they scatter water (over the face of the earth and it flows) with a noise and a murmur." They augur rain when the moon has a halo.

:: 'URQ 'UVZ_LUNDIY uruq üzlündi "The rope (or other) broke (*inqaṭa'a*)." 'UZL-
NUR 'UZLUNM'K üzlänür üzlänmāk.

:: 'AŠAIJ_ 'UZLANDY ešič üzländi "The grease in the pot rose to the top (*irtafa'a
dasam*)." 'UZLNUR 'ZLNM'K üzlänür üzlänmāk.

:: 'ASLINDY NA'NK aslindi nān "The thing was hung (*ta'allaqa*) on another thing." aslin-
'AS_LINUR 'AS_LINM'Q aslinur aslinmāq.

:: 'AY_ 'AWLAN_DIY ay äwländi "The moon acquired a halo (*dāra*)." :: 'L BUV äwlä-
'AWNY 'AWLAN_DIY ol bu äwni äwländi "He acquired this house as a dwelling (*maskan*) and
counted himself as one of its residents." 'AWLNUR 'AWLNM'K äwläniür äwlänmāk.

:: 'ARUQ¹ 'AR_ 'UKLANDY aruq är ögländi "The weary man rested (*ajamma*)." öglän-
'UKLNUR 'UKLANM'K öglänür öglänmāk. Also when someone understands (*faṭīna*) something
after not knowing it. Its root-form is: 'UVK_LANDIY ögländi.

:: 'URA'ΓUT 'IK_LANDIY urāyut iglāndi “The woman went into labor (*ṭalq*).” Also of a man who is slightly ill (*marīḍa qalīlan*).² iglān-

:: 'AR 'AMLAN_DY är ämlāndi “The man applied medicine (*'ālaḷa*) to himself.” 'AM_LANUR 'AMLANM'K ämlānür ämlānmāk. ämlān-

Doubled

[B]

:: 'AR BAŠIN 'URBATY är bašin ürpätti “The man ruffled (*sa'āṭa*) the hair of his head (or other).” 'URBATUR 'URBATM'Q [sic] ürpätür ürpätmāk. ürpät-

:: 'UL YI'J 'RBATY ol yiyāč irpätti “He ordered the wood (or other) to be sawn (*našr . . . bi-l-minšār*).” 'IRBATUR 'IRBATM'K irpätür irpätmāk. irpät-

T

:: 'UL 'ARTATY ol artatti (nāṅni) “He corrupted (*afsada*) the thing.” 'ARTATVR 'ARTATM'Q artatür artatmāq. 0 artat-

:: 'UL 'ANY 'RTATY ol ani irtätti “He had it searched for (*fahḥaša 'an, aḷaba*).” 'IRTATUR 'IRTATM'K irtätür irtätmāk. irtät-

:: 'L BAK 'URTATY ol бүк ortätti “He had the thicket (or other) burnt (*tahriq*).” 'URTATUR 'RTATM'K örtätür örtätmāk. örtät-

:: MAN 'ANY 'ISTATIM män ani istättim “I sent after him to be looked for (*ba'attu fi aṭarihi li-yaḷlaba*).”³ 'IS'TATUR 'IS'TATM'K istätür istätmāk. istät-

:: BAK 'ANIY 'UQTATY beg ani oqtätti “The emir had him shoot an arrow (*armāhu bi-n-nabl*).” 'UQTATUR 'UQTATMA'Q oqtatur oqtatmāq. oqtat-

X⁴

:: 'UL MANIY 'ULXUTY ol mäni olxutti “He seated (*ajlasa*) me.” 'ULXUTUR 'ULXUTM'Q olxutur olxutmāq. olxut-

-
- 134 1. R altered to Z by later hand (dot in brown ink).
 2. There is a second *qalīlan* over the first.
 3. Altered to *yaḷlaba*.
 4. MS. J.

[I. 219/260]

Its root-form is with *γayn*: 'UL:ΓUṬĪY *olyutti* since the verb is never made transitive with *xā*' but with *γayn*; for example, in: 'UḌΓURDY *odγurdi* "He awakened him," TUḌΓURDY *todγurdi* "He filled him to satiety," the verbs are made transitive with *γayn*.

R

:: 'UL TVNIN 'UB:RAṬĪY *ol tōnin opratti* "He wore out (*ablā*) his garment (or other)." **oprati-**
'UBRTUR 'UBRATM'Q *opratur opratmāq.* 0

:: 'UL TAW'RIG 'UḌ:RAṬĪY *ol tawāriγ üdrätti* "He made his wealth yield gain (*tammara*, *nammā*)." 'UḌRATUR 'UḌRATM'K *üdrätür üdrätmāk.* **üdrät-**

:: 'UL 'ANY 'AΓRIṬĪY *ol ani aγritti* "He hurt (*awja'a*) him." 'AΓRITUR 'AΓRITM'Q *aγritur aγritmāq.* 0 **aγrit-**

:: 'UL MAṆIY 'IYŠQ' 'UΓ:RAṬĪY *ol māni išqa uγratti* "He directed (*aqšada*) me into a matter." 'UΓRATUR 'UΓRATM'Q *uγratur uγratmāq.* **uγrat-**

:: 'UL MANK' BLIK 'UKRAṬĪY *ol maṇa bilig ögrätti* "He taught (*'allama*) me good manners and wisdom (or other)." 'UKRATUR 'UKRATM'K *ögrätür ögrätmāk.* 0 **ögrät-**

'L 'NK'R BIŠK U'UḌKRĪY¹ *ol aṇār beşik ügritti* "He had him rock (*taḥrik*) the baby's cradle." 'UKRITUR 'UKRITM'K *ügritür ügritmāk.* 0 **ügrit-**

:: QAŠINMA'Q MANIK YAṆNIM 'AM:RIṬĪY *qašinmāq mänig yēnim ämritti* "The irritation made my flesh itch (*aḥakka*)." As when something itches in a man's armpit or neck and the flesh tickles (*yaḥtakku*) making him laugh. 'AMRITUR 'AMRITM'K *ämritür ämritmāk.* **ämrit-**

S

:: 'UL MNY 'AT:SAṬĪY *ol māni ätsätti* "He made me desire meat (*aqramani*² *ilā l-laḥm wa-šahhānī*)." 'ATSATUR 'ATSATM'K *ätsätür ätsätmāk.* **ätsät-**

:: 'UL 'ANY 'AX:SAṬĪY *ol ani axsatti* "He crippled (*'arraja*) him." 'AXSATUR 'AX-SATM'Q *axsatur axsatmāq.* **axsat-**

:: 'UL 'ANIY 'AŠ:SAṬĪY *ol ani ašsatti* "He made him desire the food (*mannāhu*³ *ṭ-ṭa'am*)." 'AŠSATUR 'AŠSATM'Q *ašsatur ašsatmāq.* **ašsat-**

:: 'UḌLUM MAṆIY 'AW:SAṬĪY *oγlum māni äwsätti* "My child made me homesick (*mannānī wa-šawwaqanī ilā l-bayt*)." 'AWSATUR 'AWSATM'K *äwsätür äwsätmāk.* **äwsät-**

- 135 1. Second (original first) U crossed out in brown ink.
2. Another *-manī* added by later hand in margin.
3. MS. *mannānī* ("He made me desire"); possibly *ani* is in error for *māni*.

Š

:: 'UL MAṆĪY 'ATA'MA' 'UX_ŠAṬĪY ol māni atāma oxšatti “He likened (*šabbaha*) me to my father.” 'UXŠATUR 'UXŠATM'Q oxšatur oxšatmāq. 0 **oxšat-**

:: 'UL 'ATMA'K 'UW_ŠAṬĪY ol ätmāk uwšatti “He crumbled (*fatta*) the bread (or other).” 'UWŠATUR 'UWŠATM'Q uwšatur uwšatmāq. This is the correct form; there is also: 'UŠAṬĪY ušatti [114]. **uwšat-**

:: 'UL 'NY 'LŠAṬĪY ol ani ölsätti “He made him so hungry that he became dizzy (*aḥā'a . . . ismadarra ṭarf*).” 'LŠATUR 'LŠATM'K ölsätür ölsätmāk. **ölsät-**

Γ

:: 'L YIΓA'J 'R'IAṬĪY ol yiyāč iryatti **iryat-**

[I. 221/263]

136

“He had the tree (or other) shaken (*anfaḍa*).”

Verse:

YKTLARIK 'IŠLATUV	yigitlärig išlatu	V
YΓ'J YMŠ 'IRΓATUV	yiyāč yemiš iryatu	
QUL'N KAYK 'AWLATUV	qulān kāyik awlatu	
BADRAM QILB 'AWNALIM	baḍram qilip awnalim	

Describing a festival: “We’ll put the youths to work; we’ll have them shake trees and fruits; we’ll have them hunt the wild ass and other wild beasts; while we occupy ourselves with merrymaking for a few days.” 0

:: 'UFL'N 'ULFAṬĪY oγlān ulyatti “The baby grew (*kabura*).” Its root-form is: 'ULΓA'D'TIY ulγād̄ti, assimilated. 'ULFAṬUR 'LFAṬM'Q ulyatür ulyatmāq. **ulyat-**
(ulyād-)

K

:: 'L QVY 'URKUṬĪY ol qōy ürkütti “He startled (*naffara*) the sheep (or other).” **ürkü-**
'URKUTURR [sic] 'URKUTM'K ürkütür ürkütümāk.

:: 'L 'ANY 'AMKṬY ol ani ämgätti “He wearied (*a'yā*) him.” 'AMKTUR 'AMKTM'K **ämgät-**
ämgätür ämgätümāk.

:: 'L 'VN 'ALKṬĪY ol ün älgätti “He had the flour sifted (*anxala*).” 'ALKTUR 'ALKTM'K **älgät-**
M'K älgätür älgätümāk.

L

:: 'L 'NIK TAW'RIN 'UBLAṬY ol anig tawārin üplätti “He had his property plundered (*anhaba*).” 'UBLATUR 'UBLATMA'K üplätür üplätümāk. **üplät-**

:: 'L QVY 'AT·LAṬĪY ol qōy ätlätti “He had the sheep made into meat (*lahm*).” 'AT·LATUR 'ATLATM'K ätlätür ätlätmāk. ätlät-

:: 'L NA'NKNY 'UKLUṬĪY ol nān̄ni üklitti “He increased (*kaṭṭara, tammara*) his wealth.” 'UKLITUR 'UKLITM'K üklitür üklitmāk. üklit-

:: 'L TAV'RIN 'ADLAṬĪY ol tavārin ädlätti “He ordered that good use be made (*iṣlāḥ*) of that part of his goods which had been neglected.” 'ADLATUR 'DLTM'K ädlätür ädlätmāk. ädlät-

:: 'L 'UḤLIN 'UḌLAṬĪY ol oḥlin uḍlattī “He made his child follow (*aṭba'a*) behind him.”¹ Also for other things. 'UḌLATUR 'UḌLTM'Q uḍlatur uḍlatmāq. uḍlat-

:: 'L 'NKAR 'YŠ 'IŠLAṬĪY ol aṇar īš iṣlätti “He made him do (*ista'mala*) the job.” 'ŠLATUR 'IŠLATM'K iṣlätür iṣlätmāk. 0 iṣlät-

:: 'L 'Y'Q 'AŠLAṬĪY ol ayāq ašlattī “He had the vessel or bowl repaired (*ar'aba*).” 'AŠ·LATUR 'AŠ·LATM'Q ašlatur ašlatmāq. ašlat-

:: 'L KIŠYNIY 'AḤ·LAṬĪY ol kišini aḥlattī “He sent the people away (*ab'ada*) from him so that what he wanted would be exclusively his.” 'AḤ·LATUR 'AḤLTM'Q aḥlatur aḥlatmāq. 0 aḥlat-

:: 'L TAV'RIN 'UḤLIṬĪY ol tavārin uḥitti “He increased (*tammara, kaṭṭara*) his wealth.” 'UḤLTUR 'UḤLTM'Q uḥlitur uḥlitmāq. 0 uḥlit-

:: 'L MANK' 'IWQ 'AWLAṬĪY ol maṇa iwiq awlattī “He had me hunt (*aṣāda*) the female gazelle (or other).” 'AWLATUR 'AWLTM'Q awlatur awlatmāq. awlat

::

[I. 223/265]

137

'L 'ANKAR YAḤR 'IKLṬĪY ol aṇar yēr iklätti “He made him trample (*awṭa'a*) the ground (or other).” 'KLṬR 'KLTM'K iklätür iklätmāk. iklät-

:: BUV YAḤR 'ANY 'IK·LṬĪY bu yēr ani iglätti “This place made him ill (*amraḍat*) (because it did not agree with him).” 'IKLAṬUR 'IK·LTM'K iglätür iglätmāk. iglät-

:: MAN 'ANY 'AM·LAṬĪM män ani ämlättim “I had him treated with medicine (*'ilāj*).” 'AMLATUR 'AMLTM'K ämlätür ämlätmāk. ämlät-

:: MAN 'ANY 'IM·LAṬĪM män ani imlättim “I ordered someone to gesture (*ašāra*) to him by the hand or a wink of the eye.” 'IMLATUR MAN 'MLATM'K imlätür män, imlätmāk. imlät-

N

:: 'AR 'AD₂NAT₁Y őr adnatti “The man changed (*taγayyara*) from what he was.” The same for anything that changes from what it was. 'AD₂NATUR 'AD₂NATM₁'Q adnatur adnatmāq. adnat-

:: MAN NA'NK 'UR₂NAT₁M män nān ornattim “I put the thing in its place (*waḏa'tu . . . mawḏi'ahu*).” 'URNATUR MAN 'URNATM₁'Q ornatur män, ornatmāq. 0 ornat-

:: TANKRIY 'ASIN 'AS₂NAT₁Y tänri äsin äsnätti “God made the breeze blow (*nas-sama*).” :: YA'K 'NY 'IS₂NAT₁IY yäk ani äsnätti “The devil made him yawn (*awqa'ahu fi t-tu'abā*).” 'ASNATUR 'SNATM₁'K äsnätür äsnätmāk. äsnät-

:: MN 'ANKAR 'US₂NAT₁UM män anar osnattim “I likened (*šabbah₂tu*) him to him and suspected (*zanantu*) that it was he.” 'US₂NATUR 'US₂NATM₁'Q osnatur osnatmāq. osnat-

:: 'L 'TIN TUBRA'QA' 'AΓ₂NAT₁Y ol atin toprāqqa aynatti “He let his horse roll (*marraya*) in the dust (or other).” :: YAΓA'Q 'ANIK TIYLIN 'AΓ₂NAT₁IY yaγāq anig tīlin aynatti “(Eating) walnuts made his tongue so heavy (*taqqala*) that it seemed as though he had a speech defect (*aratta*).” 'AΓ₂NATUR 'AΓ₂NATM₁'Q aynatur aynatmāq. 0 aynat-

:: 'UL 'UQIN 'ULNAT₁IY ol oqinulnatti “He had the shaft of his arrow repaired in such a way that the notch and head were reversed (*išlāḥ qadh . . . hattā ju'ila niks^{an}*).” 'ULNATUR 'ULNATM₁'Q ulnatur ulnatmāq. 0 ulnat-

Another Type; Defective

:: 'L MANK' SUVZ 'UVTURDIY ol maḡa sōz ötürdi “He reminded (*dakkara*) me of the words (or other).” 'UVTRUR 'UVTRMA'K ötürür ötürmāk. ötür-

:: 'L 'NKAR BILK 'YTURDY ol anar bilik ittürdi (?) “He had him twist (*aftala*) the wick.” 'YTURR 'YTURMA'K ittürür ittürmāk. Also of anything that is twisted. ittür-

R

:: 'L 'ANY 'IJUR'DY [sic] ol ani āčurdi “He made him hungry (*aγaba*) for it.” 'JURR 'JURMA'Q āčur āčurmāq. āčur-

Š

:: 'ULA'R 'IKY QA'ΓUVN 'UYUŠDY olār ekki qāγūn oyušdi “The two of them vied in hollowing out (*taqwīr*) the melon.” Also for helping. 'UYŠUR 'UŠM'Q oyušur oyušmāq. oyuš-

[I. 225/268]

138

:: 'UL 'ANKAR QA'B'Q 'UVN 'UYŠDIY ol anar qāpqa ūn uyušdi “He helped him press (*šadd*) the flour into the sack (or other).” 'UYŠUR 'UYŠM'Q uyušur uyušmāq. uyuš-

K

:: 'ANIK 'ADA'QIY QUM'DA' 'UYK'TIY anig adāqi qumda üyükti “His foot sank (*sāxat*) in the quicksand.” :: 'INIK 'ADA'QIY 'UYKTY anig adāqi üyükti “His foot was injured by a stone (*latamat al-ḥijāra rijlahu wa-ḥafā*).” 'UYKA'R 'UYKM'K üykār üyükmāk.

L

:: 'NKAR SUVZ 'AYILDĪY anar söz ayildi “The words were said (*qīla*) to him.” 'AYILUR 'AYILM'Q aylur ayilmāq.

:: YZR 'ÜYULDY yēr oyuldi “The ground collapsed (*hārat, xasafat*).” :: KUTV 'ÜYULDY kütü oyuldi “The roof was pierced (*intaqaba*) by the falling rain.” 'UYLVR' 'UYLM'Q oylür oyulmāq.

N

:: 'L MANDĪN 'UYALDIY ol mändin uyaldi “He was ashamed (*istahyā*) before me in the matter and refrained from pursuing it.” 'UYALUR 'UYALM'Q uyalur uyalmāq.

:: 'L 'AR 'IYNI'DIY (ol) är iyindi “The man strained at stool (*ajhada ṭabī'atahu fi ixrāj al-barāz*).” 'IYINUR 'IYINM'Q iynur iynimāq.

Quadriliteral

R

:: 'L MANK' SUVZ 'YTRDY ol maṇa sōz ayturdi “He made me speak (*takallum*) to him.” 'AYTRUR 'AYTURMA'Q ayturur ayturmāq. 0

:: 'L MANK' QA'ΓUVN 'UYTURDY ol maṇa qāyūn oyturdi “He made me scoop out (*taqwīr*) the melon (or other).” 'UYTRR 'UYTURMA'Q oyturur oyturmāq.

:: 'UL 'UVN 'UYTURDY ol ūn uyturdi “He had the flour pressed (*šadd, ḍayṭ*) into the sack (or other).” 'UYTURR 'YTURMA'Q uyturur uyturmāq.

:: 'L MANIY 'UYTURDIY ol māni oyγurdi “He woke (*ayqaza*) me.” A variant of the form with *dāl* [i.e. 120 oγγur-]. 'UYTURR 'UYTURMA'Q oyγurur oyγurmāq.

Š

:: 'UYA'R 'IĶY 'AYIŘIŠ'DIY olār ekki ayrišdi “The two of them parted (*tazāyalā, tafarraqā*).” 'AYRIŠVR 'YRIŠMA'Q ayrišur ayrišmāq. A variant of the form with *dāl* [i.e. 123 ađris-].

L

:: SUVZ 'AYTILDY sōz aytildi “He was asked (*su'ila*) about the statement (or other).” 'AYTILUR 'YTILM'Q aytilur aytilmāq.

N

:: 'L SUVZ 'A₁IYTINDY ol s̄ōz aytindi “He took it upon himself to question (*su'āl*) the statement.” 'A₁IYTINUR 'A₁IYTINM'Q aytinur aytinmāq. 0 aytin-

:: 'L MANDIN BU_V 'IYŠ'TA' 'A₁YMANDIY ol māndin bu īšta äymāndi “He was äymān-ashamed (*istahyā*) before me and did not dare to pursue this äymän-

[I. 227/270]

139

matter.” 'A₁YMANUR 'A₁YMANM'K äymānür äymänmāk.

L

:: TA'M 'I₁YRILDY tām ērildi “The wall (or other) was breached (*inṭalama*).” 'I₁YRILUR 'I₁YRILM'K ērilür ērilmāk. Hence :: 'AY' 'A₁IYRLDY ay ērildi “The moon began to wane (*axada . . . fī n-nuqṣān*) (toward the end of the month).” 0 ēril-

:: 'IY'SIL'DY N'NK äysildi nāṅ “The thing diminished (*naqāṣa*).” 'IY'SILR 'IYSILM'K äysilür äysilmāk. äysil-

:: 'IYŠ'Q' 'IYWILDY īšqa ēwildi “There was a hurrying (*uḡila*) to the affair.” 'YWILUR 'IYWILM'K ēwilür ēwilmāk. ēwil-

Doubled

:: 'UL 'ANY 'UY₁NATĪY ol ani oynatti “He let him play (*al'aba*) with it.” 'UYNATUR 'UYNATM'Q oynatur oynatmāq. oynat-

Another Type

:: 'L TVNIN 'A₁YA'DIY ol tōnin ayādi “He took good care of (*ṣāna*) his garment (or other)” :: XA'N 'ANKAR 'A₁YA'Γ 'A₁YA'DIY xān aṅar ayāy ayādi “The king gave him an honorific title (*laqqaba*).” 'YA'R 'YA'MA'Q ayār ayāmāq. aya-

Triliteral, Final Weak

B

:: 'L YΓ'U 'I₁RBA'DIY ol yiḡāc irpādi “He sawed (*našara*) the wood (or other).” :: 'L 'YŠIΓ 'RBA'DIY ol īšiḡ irpādi “He spoiled (*afsada*) the matter when he wanted to improve it.” 'RBA'R 'RBA'MA'K irpār irpāmāk. irpä-

T

:: 'ARTA'DIY NA'NK artādi nāṅ “The thing became spoiled (*fasada*).” 'ARTAR 'ARTAMA'Q artār artāmāq. 0 arta-

:: 'UL 'UTNK 'URTA'DIY ol otuḡ örtādi “He burned (*aḥraqa*) the firewood (or other).” örtä-
'URTA'R 'URTA'MA'K örtār örtāmāk. 0

:: 'R 'YŠΓ 'IRTA'DY ār iṣiy irtādi “The man sought after (*ṭalaba, tabi'a*) the matter.” irtä-
'IRTA'R 'IRTA'MA'K irtār irtāmāk.¹

'IS'TA'DIY istādi is like: 'IRTADY irtādi. 'IS'TA'R 'IS'TA'MA'K istār istāmāk. Verse: istä-

YI'LAB 'DUV 'IRTADIM	yiylap uḡu irtādim	V
BAΓRIM BAŠIN QARTADIM	baγrim bašin qartadim	
QJMYŠ QTUΓ 'IRTADM [sic] ²	qačmiš qutuy istādim	
YΓMUR KUNY [sic] QA'N SAJA'R	yaγmur kepi ³ qān sačār 0	

“I cried after (*xalfa*) my beloved, and I broke open the sore on my liver (after it had healed); I followed after (*tabi'tu aṭar*) fleeing Fortune;⁴ (my eye) rains [blood like] rain.” 0

:: 'L MANY 'UNDA'DIY ol māni ündādi “He called (*da'ā, nādā*) me.” 'UNDA'R ündä-
'UNDA'MA'K ündār ündāmāk. 0

:: 'L YNJV 'AWDIYDIY ol yinčü äwdīdi “He picked up (*laqaṭa*) the pearls.” Also for äwdi-
[picking] any kind of fruit. 'AWDIYR 'AWDIYMA'K äwdir äwdīmāk.

:: 'UL YA'ΓIYNIY 'ALDA'DIY ol yāyīni aldādi “He deceived (*xada'a*) the enemy with alda-
cunning and stratagem.” 'ALDA'R 'LDA'M'Q aldār aldāmāq.

:: 'AT' 'ULDIYDIY at oldīdi oldi-

[I. 229/273]

140

“The horse (or other) was unshod (*ḥafiya*).” 'ULDIYR 'ULDYMA'Q oldir oldīmāq.

R

:: TUVN 'UBRA'DIY tōn oprādi “The garment (or other) was worn out (*baliya*).” oprä-
'UBRA'R 'UBRA'MA'Q oprār oprāmāq.

:: 'UḌRA'DIY NA'NK üḍrādi nāḡ “The thing had an abundant yield (*kaṭura ray'*).” üḍrä-
'UḌRA'R 'UḌRA'MA'K üḍrār üḍrāmāk.

139 1. The word “Verse,” crossed out here, is written in by a later hand (black ink) above the next line before the verse.

2. One of the two *irtādim*'s must be an error for *istādim*.

3. The text reads *küni* “the day (of rain).”

4. MS. *jidd* (vowel in brown ink), read *jadd*.

:: 'AḤRUVDY NA'NK **ayrūdi nāḥ** “The thing was heavy (*taqula*).” :: 'IKLK 'AḤRUVDIY **iglig ayrūdi** “The sick man became seriously ill (*taqula, danifa*).” 'AḤRUVR 'AḤRVMA'Q **ayrūr ayrumāq.** ayru-

:: 'NIK BASIY 'AḤRIYDIY **anig basi ayridi** “He had a headache (*suddi'a ra'suhu*).” ayri-
Also for the aching (*waj'*) of wounds and limbs whatever they may be. 'AḤRIYR 'AḤRIYMA'Q **ayrir ayrimaq.** P
The same for other aches and pains. Proverb: BYR' TUYIN BASY 'AḤRIYSA' QAMḤ TUYIN BASIY 'AḤRIYMA'S **bir toyin basi ayrisa qamuḥ toyin basi ayrimas** “If one of the imams of the infidels has a headache, not all of them do.” This is coined about a man who refuses a thing while his companions desire it and eat it and accept it.

:: BAK 'NKR 'UḤRA'DIY **beg aḥar uḥrādi** “The emir (or other) came toward (*qaṣada*) him.” 'UḤRA'R 'UḤRA'MA'Q **uḥrār uḥrāmāq.** uḥra-
The same for any going somewhere (*qaṣd*). Verse:

QUL:SA' QALY 'UḤRAYIḤAN¹ BIR'KIL TAQY 'AZUQLUQ V
QARḤIṢ QILUR 'UMA'LA'R YUNḤIḤ KRUB QUNQLUQ
qolsa qali uḥraban bergil taqi azuqluq
qarḥiṣ qilur ümālār yunḥiḥ körüp qonuqluq

“When the guest asks you for provisions and comes to you for it give it to him; the guest will curse if his reception is bad.” 0

:: 'AT' 'UQRA'DIY **at oqrādi** “The horse whinnied to be fed (*ḥamḥama . . . isti'lāfan*).” oqra-
'UQRA'R' 'UQRA'MA'Q **oqrār oqrāmāq.**

:: 'URA'ḤUT BIṢIK U'UKRIYDY **urāyut beṣik ügrīdi** “The woman rocked (*ḥarraka*) the cradle.” ügrī-
Also of someone who intrigues through flattery (*dassa l-maḥr fī tamalluq*). :: 'UL 'ANIY 'UKRIYDIY **ol ani ügrīdi** “He ‘rocked his cradle’ as though he were a baby.” 'UKRYR 'KRIYMA'K **ügrīr ügrīmāk.**

:: MANIK YIYNIM 'AM'RIYDIY **mānig yēnim āmrīdi** “My flesh itched (*iḥtakka*).” āmri-
'AM'RIYR 'AM'RIYMA'K **āmrīr āmrīmāk.**

:: 'UL SUVZNIY 'ANKAR 'AWR'DIY [sic] **ol sōzni aḥar äwzādi** “He slandered [some- äwzä-
one] to him (*waṣā ilayhi*) with these words.” 'AWRA'R 'AWRA'MA'K **äwzār äwzāmāk.**

S

:: MAN 'ANY 'UB:SA'DIM **mān ani öpsādim** “I wanted to kiss (*taqbīl*) him.” 'UBSA'R öpsä-
MAN 'UBSA'MA'K **öpsār mān, öpsāmāk.**

[I. 231/275]

141

:: 'AR' 'AT:SA'DIY **är ätsādi** “The man desired meat (*qarima l-laḥm*).” 'AT:SA'R ätsä-
'ATSA'MA'K **ätsār ätsāmāk.** 0

:: 'UL 'UQ 'AITSADY ol oq atsādi “The man wanted to shoot (*ramy*) the arrow (or other).” 'AITSAR 'AITSAMA'K-Q atsār atsāmāq. 0 atsa-

:: 'L 'UVTIN 'UTUSA'DIY ol üttin ötsādi “He wanted to get out (*yaxruja*) of the hole.” 'UTUSAR 'UTUSAMA'K ötsār ötsāmāk. Also for piercing (*nufūd*) anything. ötsä-

:: 'UL TAŠIF 'AITSADY ol tāšiy itsādi “He wanted to roll (*yudaḥrija*) the stone (or other).” 'AITSAR 'AITSAMA'K itsār itsāmāk. itsä-

:: 'AR QABUF 'AIJ'SADY är qapuy ačsādi “The man wanted to open (*yaftaḥa*) the door.” The same for opening anything. 'AIJ'SAR 'AIJ'SAMA'Q ačsār ačsāmāq. 0 ačsa-

:: 'UL SUVW 'IJISA'DIY ol sūw ičsādi “He wanted to drink (*šurb*) the water (or other).” 'IJISAR 'IJISAMA'K ičsār ičsāmāk. ičsä-

:: 'AT 'AX'SADY at axsādi “The horse (or other) was lame (*'arija*).” 'AX'SAR 'AX'SAMA'Q axsār axsāmāq. 0 axsa-

:: 'UL QULIN MANK 'IDISA'DIY ol qulin maḥa idśādi “He wanted to send (*yab'ata*) his slave to me.” 'IDISAR 'IDISAMA'Q idśār idśāmāq. idśa-

:: 'UL 'ANY 'URUSA'DIY ol ani ursādi “He desired and intended to strike (*yaḍriba*) him.” 'URUSAR 'URUSAMA'Q ursār ursāmāq. 0 ursa-

:: 'L YŠIF 'UZSA'DIY ol yišiy üzsādi “He desired and intended to cut (*yaḥdiqa*) the rope.” 'UZUSAR 'UZUSAMA'K üzsār üzsāmāk. 0 üzsä-

:: 'UL 'AR'T AŠISA'DIY ol art ašsādi “He desired and intended to cross (*muḥawaza*) the mountain pass.” Also when one desires food (*ištahā ḫ-ḫa'am*). 'AŠSAR 'AŠSAMA'Q ašsār ašsāmāq. ašsa-

:: 'L TAḤQA 'AḤISA'DIY ol tāḥqa aḥsādi “He wanted to climb (*ḥu'ūd*) the mountain (or other).” 'AḤISAR 'AḤISAMA'Q aḥsār aḥsamāq. aḥsa-

:: 'AR 'AW'SADY är äwsādi “The man longed for home (*ištāqa ilā baytihi wa-tamannā*).” 'AW'SAR 'AW'SAMA'K äwsār äwsāmāk. äwsä-

:: 'AR 'IWSA'DIY är ewsādi “The man wanted to hurry (*'ajala*).” 'IAWSAR 'IAWSAMA'K ewsār ewsāmāk. 0 ewsä-

:: 'AR SUVZUK 'U'UQ'SADY är sözüg uqsādi “The man wanted to understand (*yaf-tina*) the words.” 'UQUSAR 'UQUSAMA'Q uqsār uqsāmāq. uqsa-

:: MAN BUTUQ 'AKISA'DIM män butaq ägsādim “I desired and intended to bend (*imāla*) the branch (or other).” 'AKISAR MAN AKISAMA'K ägsār män, ägsāmāk. 0 ägsä-

:: 'UL MANY 'U'UKSA'DIY ol māni ögsādi “He intended to praise (*yamdaha*) me.” 'UKUSAR 'UKUSAMA'K ögsār ögsāmāk. 0 ögsä-

:: 'AKSUVDY NANK_ ägsüdi nāṅ

ägsü-

[I. 233/278]

142

“The thing decreased (*naqša*).” 'AKSUVR_ 'AK_SUVMA'K ägsür ägsümāk. 0

:: 'UL TUBR'Q U'UK'SA'DIY ol toprāq üksādi “He intended to pile up (*takwīm*) (the wheat or) the earth (or other).” 'UKUSA'R 'UKUSA'MA'K üksār üksāmāk. 0

üksä-

:: 'UL 'AT 'ALISA'DIY ol at alsādi “He desired and intended to buy (*yaštariya*) the horse (or other).” 'ALISA'R 'ALISA'MA'Q alsār alsāmāq. 0

alsa-

:: 'AR 'ULUSA'DY är ölsādi “The man intended and desired to die (*mawt*).” 'ULU-SA'R 'ULUSA'MA'K ölsār ölsāmāk. 0

ölsä-

:: 'AR TA'GDIN 'ILISA'DIY är tāyḏin ilsādi “The man intended to come down (*yanzila*) the mountain (or other).” 'ILISA'R 'ILISA'MA'Q ilsār ilsāmāq.

ilsa-

:: KANJ 'AN'SIN 'AMISA'DY kānč anāsin ämsādi “The baby wanted and intended to suck (*yurđi'a*) its mother.” 'AMISA'R 'AMISA'MA'K ämsār ämsāmāk.

ämsä-

:: 'AR KTUVDIN 'ANISA'DY ar kütüḏin ensādi “The man desired and intended to come down (*yanzila*) from the roof (or other).” 'ANSA'R 'ANISA'MA'K ensār ensāmāk. The *nūn* is an alternant of *lām* [i.e. *ilsa-*].

ensä-

Rule

G

Know that the *sīn* and *alif* are suffixed to bi- and trilateral nouns and verbs with the meaning that the agent desires and intends to perform that action but has not yet done it. The rule also holds for nouns and verbs beyond the bi- and trilateral but is seldom applied. 0

Examples of biliteral nouns. :: 'AR 'AT_SA'DIY är ätsādi “The man desired meat”; “meat” is: 'AT' ät a biliteral, and when *sīn* and *alif* are suffixed to it they create in it the meaning of intending and desiring. :: 'AR 'AW_SA'DIY är äwsādi “The man desired and intended his house”; “house” is: 'AW' äw a biliteral, and when these two letters are suffixed to it they give the meaning of desire and intention. 0

Examples of trilateral nouns. The word for “sour” or “bitter” is: 'AJIḐ ačiy and to say “The man desired something sour” :: 'AR 'AJIḐ_S'DIY är ačiyāsādi. The word for “a sweet taste” is: TATIḐ tatiy and to say “The man desired something sweet” :: 'AR TATIḐ_SA'DY är tatiyāsādi.

[I. 235/280]

143

Examples of words with augments. 'AR QA'ḐUVNSA'DY är qāyūnsādi “The man desired the melon.” :: 'AR JNŠTURKSA'DY är čāništürüksādi “The man desired the well-known fruit” – it is the early fruit, like hazelnuts, Ṣīnī (?). The rule applies generally, but we indicate some and you may derive the rest. 0

Examples of biliteral verbs. :: 'AR' QIYZIN 'UB'SA'DY¹ är qizin öpsädi "The man desired to kiss his daughter." 0 :: 'UL YA' 'ATISA'DY ol ya atsädi "He wanted to shoot the arrow." The roots are: 'UBDIY öpdi "He kissed," 'ATIY atti "He shot." 0

Triliteral verbs. :: 'AR' YUK KUTURSA'DIY är yük kötürsädi "The man wished to carry the load." 0 :: 'UL QUŞ 'UJURUSA'DIY ol quş uçürsädi "He wanted to let the bird fly." 0

With augments. :: 'L TNKRYK' KIYRTKIN'SA'DIY ol tänrikä kærtgünsädi "He intended to acknowledge the unity of God Most High."

This rule sometimes differs with stems ending in *rā'*. In that case a *γayn* is added to those with *iṣbā'* letters and a *kāf* otherwise. Thus :: 'L 'AWKA' BARIḤSA'DY ol äwkä bariysädi "He intended and desired to go home." :: MAN SANIY KURUK'SA'DIM män säni körügsädim "I wished to meet you." It is permissible to say BARIḤSA'DIY barsädi instead of BARIḤSA'DIY bariysädi, and KURUSA'DY körsädi instead of KURUK'SA'DIY körügsädi; however, the form used is that which I have mentioned. The roots are BAR'DIY bardi and KUR'DIY kördi. 0 The same if the stem ends in *lām*. Thus :: 'UL 'ANDIN YAR'MA'Q 'ALIḤSA'DIY ol andin yarmāq aliysädi "He intended to take the dirham from him."

The meaning of these two letters is derived from the word: SA'DIY NA'NKNIY sädi nāñni meaning "He counted the thing" 0 — as though the agent in respect to these descriptive words "counts" [them] among the things he intends and desires. 0 Thus :: 'AR SUW'SA'DY är suwsädi "The man was thirsty" — meaning that he counted water

[I. 236/282]

144

among his desires.

When the *alif* in these words is changed to *yā'*, it then means that the object named is altered from its original state and takes on the nature of what is connected with it. Example :: SUJK SUWSIYDIY süçig suwsidi "The wine became watery" 0 'USM 'AJIḤSIYDY üzüm açıysidi "The grapes became sour and the sourness overcame (lit. broke the essence of) the sweetness." This rule only holds for fluids and other things which alter from state to state. The meaning in these verbs is derived from the word: SIYDIY NA'NKNIY sidi nāñni meaning "He broke the thing" — as though wateriness broke the essence of the wine, and sourness broke the essence of sweetness.

Other examples may be drawn by analogy with these. It is a consistent rule in all the Turkic dialects.

Ş

:: MAN 'ANY 'UXŠ'DIM *män ani oxšādīm* "I soothed and caressed (*lāṭaftu, lā'abtu*) him." Also of a woman who speaks tenderly (*tunāyī*) to her child. Proverb [=409 *saqaq*]: SA-QA'Q BIJA'R SAQ'L 'UXŠA'R *saqāq bičār saqāl oxšār* "He cuts the chin (in secret) while he caresses the beard." 0 This is only coined about someone who intrigues treacherously while flattering. :: BYR NA'NK BYRK' 'UXŠ'DIY *bīr nāḥ bīrkā oxšādi* "One thing resembled (*šābaha*) the other.

oxša-
P

:: 'AT 'AXŠA'DIY *at uxšādi* (?) "The horses slept (*nāma*)." This expression is particular to horses and is not used of anything else. Dialect of Yemāk, Yabāqu, and most of the nomads. 'UXŠA'R 'UXŠA'MA'Q *uxšār uxšāmāq*. 0

uxša-?
D

:: 'AR 'AJIB 'LŠ'DIY *ār ačip ölsādi* "The man was so hungry that he became dizzy and almost fainted from hunger (*ismadarra ṭarfuhu wa-kāda an yuḡšā 'alayhi min šidda al-jū*)." Čigil dialect. 'LŠ'R 'LŠ'MA'K *ölsār ölsāmāk*.

ölsä-
D

Γ

:: 'L YIΓA'J 'IRGA'DIY *ol yiḡāč irḡādi* "He shook (*hazza, nafaḡa*) the tree (to make its fruit fall)." Also for other things. 'IRGA'R 'IRGA'MA'Q *irḡār irḡāmāq*.

irḡa-

W

:: QA'M' 'ARWA'ŪŠ¹ 'ARWA'DIY *qām arwiš arwādi* "The diviner prepared a spell (*raqā . . . ruqya*)." 'ARWA'R' 'ARWA'MA'Q *arwār arwāmāq*.

arwa-

Q

:: 'UL 'ANIK

[I. 238/283]

145

'AWIN 'ARQA'DIY *ol anig äwin arqādi* "He examined (*baḡaṭa*) what was in his house and investigated (*ṭalaba*) it and searched (*faḡaṣa*) for what he thought was in it." Oḡuz dialect.

arqa-
D

:: 'UL 'ANY QAR'GA'DIY 'ARQA'DY¹ *ol ani qarḡādi arqādi* "He cursed him and mentioned his evil deeds (*la'ana wa-dakara masa'ūt*)." This is only used as a paired expression, never alone. It is derived from their word for "praise (*ṭanā*)": 'ALQIŠ *alqiš*. From the frequent use in the paired expression, 'ALQA'DIY *alqādi* became used also for evil, even though its root-meaning was for good. Then the *rā*' is an alternant of the *lām*; just as in the words of the Exalted: *ka-annahum bunyān^{un} maršūš* (Q. 61:4 "as though they were a building well compacted"), *maššūš* is a variant reading. 'ARQA'R 'ARQA'MA'Q *arqār arqāmāq*.

K

144 1. U crossed out in brown ink.

145 1. Q altered from (or to?) Γ.

:: 'L YUVNK 'IḤSK'DIY² ol yūḥ iskādi “He plucked (*natafa*) the hair [i.e., wool] (or other).” 'SKA'R 'ASK'MA'K iskār iskāmak. iskä-

:: 'L 'VN 'AL'KA'DIY ol ūn älgādi “He sifted (*naxala*) the flour (or other).” 'AL'KA'R 'AL'KA'MA'K älgār älgāmāk. älgä-

:: 'AR' 'AM'K'DIY är ämgādi “The man suffered trials and hardship (*imtaḥana wa-qāsā l-miḥna*).” 'AM'K'R 'AM'K'MA'K ämgār ämgāmāk. 0 ämgä-

:: 'L 'NIK TAW'RIN 'UB'LA'DY ol anig tawārin üplādi “He plundered (*nahaba*)³ his property.” 'UBLA'R 'UBLA'MA'K üplār üplāmāk. 0 üplä-

:: 'L QVYḤ 'AT'LA'DIY ol qōyiy ätlādi “He made the sheep into meat (*laḥm*).” 'AT'LA'R 'ATLA'RMA'K [sic] ätlār ätlāmāk. ätlä-

:: 'AT' 'UTLA'DIY at otlādi “The horse (or other) fed on fodder (*i'talafa*).” 'UTLA'R 'UTLA'MA'Q otlār otlāmāq.

N

:: 'UL 'AT 'ATLA'NDY [sic] ol at atlādi “He mounted (*rakiba*) the horse.” 'ATLANUR 'ATLANM'Q [sic] atlār atlāmāq.⁴ Verse: atla-

YLQY YRIN 'TLNVR	yilqi yazin etlānūr	V
'UTLAB 'ANIN 'TLNUVR	otlap anin ätlānūr	
BAKLAR SAMUZ 'ATLANVR	beglār sāmüz atlanūr	
SAFNUB 'UKUR 'SRIŠVR	sāwnüp ögür isrišūr	

0 Describing spring: “The animals thrive in it [i.e., in springtime]; they [graze and] put on flesh at that time; then the emirs find fat horses to mount; the herd rejoices (at the first signs of spring) and bite one another (from joy).” 0

:: 'UL 'ANY 'ITL'DY ol ani itlādi “He reviled and scorned him and considered him a dog (*min jumla al-kilāb*).” 'ITL'R 'ITLA'MA'Q itlār itlāmāq. itla-

:: 'L⁵ TVNUḤ 'IJL'DY ol tōnuḥ ičlādi “He made a lining (*biḥāna*) for the garment.” 'IJ'LA'R 'IJ'LA'MA'K ičlār ičlāmāk. 0 ičlä-

:: 'UL 'AḌLA'DIY NA'NKIN ol ädlādi nāḥin ädlä-

2. U crossed out in brown ink.

3. MS. *anhaba*.

4. Cf. 133 *atlan-*; the verse illustrates *atlan-*.

5. Added in red ink.

“He manufactured the thing as goods (*šana'a arḡ^{an}*).” ’DL’R ’DL’MA’K **ädlār ädlāmāk.** 0

:: ’UL ’UVNUṬ ’UZ’LA’DIY ol ünuy özlādi “He baked the dough in the ashes (*mal-lala*).” ’UZL’R ’UZLA’MA’K **özlār özlāmāk.** 0

:: ’UL ’S’L’DY NA’NKNY ol uslādi nāṅni “He discriminated (*faṭana, mayyaza*) between good and evil.” Oğuz dialect. ’S’L’R ’S’L’MA’K [sic] **uslār uslāmāq.**

:: ’L ’Y’Q ’AŞLA’DIY ol ayāq aşlādi “He repaired (*ra’aba*) the bowl (or other).” ’ŞL’R ’AŞLA’MA’Q **aşlār aşlāmāq.**

:: ’AR’ ’IŞL’DIY är işlādi “The man (or other) worked (*amila*).” ’IŞL’R ’IŞLA’MA’K **işlār işlāmāk.**

Γ

:: ’UṬL’N ’IḂL’LA’DIY¹ oylān iylādi “The baby cried (*bakā*).” A variant of: YṬL’LA’DIY yiyladi. ’IṬL’R ’IḂL’MA’Q¹ **iylār iylāmāq.**

W

:: BAK ’AW ’AWL’DIY beg aw awlādi “The emir went hunting (*şāda ş-şayd*).” :: ’ANK’R KŞY ’AWLA’DIY aṅār kişi awlādi “The people crowded (*izdahama*) around him.” ’WLA’R ’WLA’MA’Q **awlār awlāmāq.**

K

:: ’UK’LIYDY NA’NK üklīdi nāṅ “The thing grew (*zāda, namā*).” ’UK’LAIR ’UKLY-MA’K **üklir üklīmāk.**

:: ’L YYRIK ’KL’DY ol yērig iklādi “He trampled (*waṭi’a*) the ground (or other).” ’KL’R ’KLAMA’K **iklār iklāmāk.** 0

:: ’AR’ ’IK’L’DY är iglādi “The man (or other) became sick (*marīḡa*).” ’IKLA’R ’IKLA’MA’K **iglār iglāmāk.**

L

:: MAN ’ANY ’AM’LA’DIM män ani ämlādim “I treated him with medicine (*‘älajtu, dawaytu*).” ’AM’LA’R MAN ’AM’LA’MA’K **ämlār män, ämlāmāk.** 0

:: MAN 'ANK'R 'IM'L'DIM *mān aṅār imlādīm* "I winked (*ḡamaztu*) to him (with my eye) or pointed (*ašartu*) to him (with my hand)." 'IM'LA'R MAN 'IM'L'M'K *imlār mān, imlāmāk*. Proverb [=54 āy]: 'AY' TULVN BULSA' 'LKIN 'IM'LA'MA'S *ay tolūn bolsa ālgin imlāmās* "When the moon is full one does not point to it with the hand." This is coined about any matter that is obvious. imlā-
P

N

:: YIYR' 'ADNA'DIY *yēr adnādi* "The land (or other) changed (*taḡayyarat*)." 'AD-NA'R 'ADNA'MA'Q *adnār adnāmāq*. adna-

:: MAN BUV YYR'DA' 'UR'NA'DIM *mān bu yērdā ornādīm* "I settled (*tawaṭṭantu*) in this place." :: 'R'NA'DIY NA'NK *ornādi nāḡ* "The thing was placed and stayed firm (*tamakana mawḡi'an wa-staqarra*)." :: KUVN 'UR'NA'DIY *kūn ornādi* "The sun set (*ḡābat*)." 'UR-NA'R 'UR'NA'MA'Q *ornār ornāmāq*. orna-

:: 'UIUL 'AT'QA' 'UZ'NA'DIY *oḡul atāqa öznādi* "The son was disobedient (*'atā, lam yanqad li-amr*) to his father." Also for others. 'UZNA'R 'UZNA'MA'K *öznār öznāmāk*. öznā-

:: 'ASIN 'AS'NA'DIY *āsin āsnādi* "The breeze blew (*tanassama*)." āsnā-

[I. 242/288]

:: 'AR' 'IAS'NA'DIY *ār āsnādi* "The man (or other) yawned (*taṭāwaba*)." 'IAS'NA'R 'IAS'NA'-MA'K *āsnār āsnāmāk*. 147

:: BYR NA'NK BYR NA'NKKA' 'US'NA'DIY *bīr nāḡ bīr nāḡkā ösnādi* "One thing resembled (*šābaha*) the other." 'UVS'NA'R 'US'NA'MA'K *ösnār ösnāmāk*. 0 ösnā-

:: 'AT 'AḠ'NA'DY *at aḡnādi* "The horse rolled (*tamarraḡa*) (in the dust, or other)." :: 'AR' 'AḠ'NA'DIY *ār aḡnādi* "The man was tongue-tied (*tata'ta'a lisān ar-rajul wa-n'aqada 'alay-hi*)." 'AḠ'NA'R 'AḠ'NA'MA'Q *aḡnār aḡnāmāq*. Its root-meaning is "talking through the nose (*al-ḡunna*)." aḡna-

Nasal

R

:: 'URNKARDIY NA'NK *ürñārdi nāḡ* "The thing became white (*ibyadḡa*)." 'URN-KARUR 'URNKAR'M'K *ürñārür ürñārmāk*. ürñār-

:: 'AR' 'AŠKRDY [sic] *ār ošḡardi (?)* "The man suddenly stopped work and sat down (*ḡaruna¹ min al-'amal wa-ḡalasa*)." 'SNKRA'R [sic] 'SNKRMA'Q *ošḡarür ošḡarmāq*. ošḡar- ?

Š

:: 'UḠLA'N 'ANKRAŠ'DIY oḡlān aḡrašdi "The babies (or other) were in pain (*aḡiyat*)."
'ANKRAŠVR 'ANKRŠM'Q aḡrašūr aḡrašmāq. aḡraš-

:: 'IN'K'N 'INK'RA'NDIY ingān inḡrandi "The she-camel (or other) moaned (*ḡannat*)."
'INKRNVR 'INKRNM'Q inḡranūr inḡranmāq. inḡran-

:: 'UZM 'UNKINDY [sic] üzüm öḡlāndi "The grapes took on color (*talawwana*)."
Also of a man when he takes on color after an illness. 'UNKLNVR 'UNKLNM'K öḡlānūr öḡlānmāk. öḡlān-

:: 'AR'NIY 'ANK'TURDY ārni äḡtürdi "He confused (*ḡayyara, adhaša*) the man in the
matter." 'ANKTARUR 'ANKTRMA'K äḡtürür äḡtürmāk. äḡtür-

:: 'L 'NKR YḠ'U 'UNKTURDY ol aḡar yiḡāč üḡtürdi "He had him pierce a hole (*aḡqaba*)
in the wood." 'UNKTURUR 'UNKTURMA'K üḡtürür üḡtürmāk. üḡtür-

Another Type

:: 'UL SUVZUK 'ANKLA'DIY ol sōzüḡ aḡlādi "He understood (*fahima*) the words (or
other)." 'ANKLA'R 'NKLA'MA'Q aḡlār aḡlāmāq. Oḡuz dialect. aḡla-
D

End of the Quadrilateral Chapters

Chapters of Quinquilaterals

R

:: 'L MANY 'UFUTḠAR'DIY ol māni uwuḡyardi "He made me feel ashamed (*alja'anī ilā uwuḡyar-*
l-ḡayā' ḡattā ḡayītu)."
'UWUTḠARUR 'UWUTḠARMA'Q uwuḡyarur uwuḡyarmāq.

K

:: 'ANIK BAŠIY 'ISIR'KNDY anig baši isirḡāndi "His head broke out in heat rash (*buḡūr*
bi-ḡarāra) (because he had not shaved it for a long while)." 'ISIR'KANUVR 'ISIR'KANM'K isir-
ḡānūr isirḡānmāk. 0 isirḡān-

:: 'AR TAWA'RINKA' 'ASIR'KAN'DY ār tawāriḡa äsirḡāngi "The man regretted the
loss (*ta'assafa 'alā ḡahāb*) of his wealth." 'ASIR'KANVR 'ASIR'KANM'K äsirḡānūr äsirḡānmāk. äsirḡān-

N

::

[I. 244/291]

148

'AR 'UWUTḠAN'DIY är uwutlandi "The man was ashamed (*istaḡyā*)."
The Oḡuz say: 'UTANḠ- uwutlan-
DIY utandi dropping some letters. 'UWUTḠANUR 'UWUTḠANMA'Q uwutlanur uwutlanmāq. D

0

:: QYZ 'AKAT·LANDY qīz egätländi “The bride acquired a maidservant (*xādīma*) who was sent with her.” 'AKAT·LANUR 'AKAT·LANM'K egätläñür egätläñmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'ŞIJLAN·DY är eşiçländi “The man acquired a pot (*qidr*).” 'ŞIJLANUR 'ŞIJ·LANM'K eşiçläñür eşiçläñmāk. 0

:: 'NIK KVZY 'ANUJLANDY anig közi äñüçländi “His eye acquired a cataract (*zafara*).” 'ANUJLANUR 'ANUJLANM'K äñüçläñür äñüçläñmāk. 0

:: 'AR· 'AFIRLNDY är ayırlandi “The man was honored (*ukrima*).” The *nūn* is an alternant of *tām* [i.e. *ayırlal*·]. :: 'UL BUV 'AT·NIY 'AFIR·LAN·DIY ol bu atni ayırlandi “He considered this horse expensive (*γālī*).” 'AFIR·LANUR 'AFIR·LANM'Q ayırlanur ayırlanmāq. Also for considering a thing heavy (*taqīl*).

:: 'UĞURLAN·DY NA'NK uγurlandi nāq “The right time came (*hāna waqt*) for the thing.” :: YUVL 'UĞURLANDY yöl uγurlandi “The journey became propitious (*mubārak*).” :: 'AT· 'UĞRLANDIY at uγurlandi “A recompense was given (*'uwwiḍa*)¹ for the horse (which had been given as a gift)” – Oγuz dialect. 'UĞRLANUR 'UĞRLANM'Q uγurlanur uγurlanmāq. 0 D

:: YUN·D 'UKR·LANDY yond ögürländi “The horses formed a herd with a stallion (*şārat dāt faḥl ra'īlan*).” 'KURLANUR 'UKURLANM'K ögürlänür ögürlänmāk. The same for any kind of animals when they form flocks (*quḥ'an*). 0

:: YZR· 'ATUIZLANDY yēr atizlandi “The land was made a watershed (*muşārāt*).” 'ATUIZLNUR 'ATUIZLANMAK·Q atizlanur atizlanmāq. 0

:: BUV NA'NKNY 'UJUZZLAN·DIY bu nāqni uçuzlandi “He considered this thing cheap (*raxīş*).” 'UJUZZLANUR 'UJUZZLANM'Q uçuzlanur uçuzlanmāq.

'L TA·Γ·NY 'ADIZLANDY ol tāγni ädizländi “He considered the mountain to be a long barrier (*māni' tawīl*).” 'ADIZLANUR 'DIZLANM'K ädizläñür ädizläñmāk. 0

:: 'UĞLA'N 'İSIZ·LANDY oylān esizländi “The baby was naughty (*'aruma*).” 'İSIZ·LANUR 'AİSIZLANM'K esizläñür esizläñmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'UĞUZLAN·DIY är oγuzlandi “The man put on the dress of the Oγuz.” 'UĞUZ·LANUR 'UĞUZLANM'Q oγuzlanur oγuzlanmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'UKUZLNDY är öküzländi “The man became owner of an ox (*tawr*).” 'UKUZ·LANUR 'KUZLANM'K öküzläñür öküzläñmāk. 0

[I. 246/293]

149

:: 'AR· 'UĞUŞLANDIY är oγuşlandi “The man acquired a party and kinsmen (*taḥazzaba wa-şāra dū ahl wa-'ašīra*).” 'UĞUŞLANUR 'UĞUŞLANM'Q oγuşlanur oγuşlanmāq. 0

:: TARIṬ 'URUṬ-LANDIY **tariṭ uruylandi** “The grain seeds swelled (*in‘aqada ḥabba*).” **uruylan-**
 :: KBA'Z 'URUṬ-LANDY **kābāz uruylandi** “The cotton formed seed (*in‘aqada*).” 0 Also for
 any kind of fruit. 'URUṬ-LANUR 'URUṬ-LANM'Q **uruylanur uruylanmāq.** 0

:: 'AW' 'UJUAQLAN'DY **āw oçaqlandi** “The house acquired a stove or fireplace **oçaqlan-**
 (*kānūn*).” 'UJUAQLANUR 'UJUQLANM'Q **oçaqlanur oçaqlanmāq.** 0

:: 'DAQLANDY NA'NK **aḍaqlandi nān** “The thing acquired a foot (*riḥl*).” Proverb: **aḍaqlan-**
 'ALIM KIYJ QAL'SA' 'AḌAQLANUR **alim kēč qalsa aḍaqlanur** 0 “When the debt remains P
 (upon the debtor) for a long time it gets a foot” – that is, his creditor sends him a request. 'A-
 ḌA'Q-LANUR 'AḌAQLANM'Q **aḍaqlanur aḍaqlanmāq.** 0

:: SUVV 'ARIQ-LANDY **sūw ariqlandi** “The water was canalized (*inṭa'aba*).”¹ Also **ariqlan-**
 of land when it is characterized by eroded channels like canals (*anhār*). 'ARIQLANUR 'ARIQ-
 LANM'Q **ariqlanur ariqlanmāq.** 0

:: 'AR' 'AZUQLANDY **ār azuqlandi** “The man obtained provisions (*zād*).” 'AZUQ- **azuqlan-**
 LANUR 'AZUQLANM'Q **azuqlanur azuqlanmāq.**

:: TUVN 'ATAK-LA'N'DY **tōn ätäkländi** “The garment was given a skirt (*dayl*).” **ätäklän-**
 'ATAK-LANUR 'ATAK-LANM'K **ätäklänür ätäklänmāk.** 0

:: 'AR' 'ATUK-LANDY **ār ätükländi** “The man obtained a boot (*xuff*).” 'ATUK-LNUR **ätüklän-**
 'ATUKLANM'K **ätüklänür ätüklänmāk.** 0

:: YĠA'J' 'ARUK-LANDY **yiyāč ärükländi** “The trees produced peaches, apricots, or **ärüklän-**
 plums (*xawx, mišmiš, aḡāš*).” 'ARUK-LANUR 'ARUKLANM'K **ärüklänür ärüklänmāk.** 0

:: 'L BUV 'UṬUR-DA' YARMA'Q QA' 'ISIK-LAN'DY **ol bu uṣurda barmāqqa isigländi**
 “(The man) considered the time too hot (*ḥārr*) to go.” 'ISIK-LANUR 'ISIK-LANM'K **isiglänür**
isiglänmāk.

:: 'IT' 'ANUK-LAN'DIY **it änükländi** “The bitch bore a puppy (*ḡirā'*).” A NUK-LANUR **änüklän-**
 'ANK-LANM'K **änüklänür änüklänmāk.**

:: 'AR' 'ATANLANDY **ār atanlandi** “The man obtained a gelded camel (*ba'īr xaṣī*).” **atanlan-**
 'ATANLANUR 'ATANLANM'Q **atanlanur atanlanmāq.**

:: BAḌIJ 'UZUM-LANDY **baḍiç üzümländi** “The trellis became covered with grapes **üzümlän-**
 (*inab*).” 'UZUM-LANUR 'UZUMLANM'K **üzümlänür üzümlänmāk.**

Doubled, Irregular²

149 1. Also pointed *inba'aṭa*.

2. This section is out of place here; it belongs rather with the doubled section of the quadri-
 literals (134-137).

:: 'AR' TAWA'RĪY 'UB'LAL'DY ăr tawāri ūplāldi “The man’s property was plundered (*nuhiba*).” 'UBLALUVR 'UBLALMA'K ūplālūr ūplālmāk. ūplāl-

[I. 248/295]

150

:: QUVY 'AT'LAL'DY qōy ātlāldi “The sheep was made into meat (*lahm*).” Also for other things. 'ATLALUVR 'ATLALM'K ātlālūr ātiālmāk. ātlāl-

:: 'AD'LAL'DIY NA'NK ādlāldi nāḡ “The thing was put to good use (*uṣliḡa*).”¹ 'AD'LALUR 'AD'LALMA'K ādlālūr ādlālmāk. Also of something that is taken good care of (*uftuqida*). ādlāl-

:: 'AYA'Q 'AŠ'LALDY ayāq ašlāldi “The vessel was repaired (*ru'iba*).” 'AŠLALUR 'AŠLALMA'Q ašlalur ašlalmāq. 0 ašlāl-

:: 'YŠ 'IŠLALDY īš išlāldi “The deed was done (*umila*).” 'IŠLALUR 'IŠLALM'K išlālūr išlālmāk. 0 išlāl-

:: KYIK 'AWLAL'DY kāyik awlāldi “The wild beast was hunted (*ṣīda*).” 'AWLALUR 'AWLALM'Q awlalur awlalmāq. Verse: awlal-

'AWLALUR 'UVZUM 'ANIK TVZNK' awlalur ōzūm anig tūziḡa V
'AM'LALUR KUVZUM 'ANIK TVZNK' āmlālūr kōzūm anig tōziḡa

Describing his beloved: “My soul is hunted by his charm; my eye is treated (for blariness) by the dust of his (foot).”

:: TKM' TURLK 'YK 'IK'LAL'DIY tāgmā türlüḡ īḡ iglāldi “He was taken ill (*muriḡa*) with every kind of illness.” 'IK'LALUR 'IKLALM'K iglālūr iglālmāk. 0 iglāl-

:: 'IK'LIK 'AM'LAL'DIY igliḡ āmlāldi “The sick person was treated (*ūliḡa*).” 'AM'LALUR 'AM'LALM'K āmlālūr āmlālmāk. 0 āmlāl-

:: KIŠY 'IM'LALDY kiši imlāldi “The man was gestured to (*ušīra*) (by winking² the eye, or the like).” 'IMLALUR 'IM'LALM'K imlālūr imfālmāk. imlāl-

Quinquiliteral, Defective

T

:: 'AT' 'AR'BALAN'DIY at arpalāndi “The horse got some barley (*ša'īr*).” Also for others. 'ARBA'LANUR 'ARBALANM'Q arpālanur arpalanmāq. arpalan-

150 1. MS. *ašlaḡa*.

2. MS. *ḡmr*, read *ḡamz*.

D

:: BAK BYR YYRK 'RDVLANDY beg b̄r ȳerig ordūlandi "The emir took a place as ordūlan- his personal residence (*qaṣaba*)."' 'URDUVLANUR 'URDUVLANM'Q' ordūlanur ordūlanmāq.

:: 'UL 'ANKAR 'UTRUVLAN'DY ol aṅar utrūlandi "He stood opposite (*wājaha*) utrūlan- him." 'UTRLANUR 'UTRLANM'Q utrulanur utrulanmāq.

Q

:: 'L MNY 'ARQALAN'DY ol māni arqalandi "He took me as a backer or helper (*za- arqalan- hīr*)."

:: 'L TA'Γ'NY 'ARQALAN'DY ol tāyni arqalandi "He leaned (*istanada*) on the moun- tain." 'ARQALANUR 'ARQALANM'Q arqalanur arqalanmāq.

M

:: YΓ'J 'UŽUM'LANDY [sic] yiγāč ūzmālāndi "The tree grew mulberries (*tūt*)."³ ūzmālān- 'UŽUM'LANUR 'UŽUMLANM'K ūzmālānūr ūzmālānmāk.

Another Type

T

:: 'AT' 'VT'LANDY at ōtlandi "The horse galloped like fire (*iltahaba jaryan*)."

Also :: ōtlan- 'AR'

[I. 250/297]

151

'UVT'LANDY är ōtlandi "The man flared up in anger (*iltahaba ḡaḡaban*)."

'VTLANM'Q ōtlanur ōtlanmāq.

Z

:: 'UL BUV YARMA'QIΓ'ZLANDY ol bu yarmāqiγ āzlandi "He considered the dir- āzlan- hams to be few (*qalīl*)."

Also for other things. 'ZLANVR 'AZLANM'Q āzlanūr āzlanmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'UVZLANDY är ūzlandi "The man displayed good craftsmanship (*abdā fī ūzlan- ṣan'atihi ḡusn 'amal wa-ḡaḡāfa*)."¹ 'UVZ'LANUVR 'VZ'LANM'Q ūzlanūr ūzlanmāq.

Š

:: 'AR 'IYŠLANDY är īšlandi "The man pretended to be working (*ya'malu*)."

:: 'AW 'IYŠLANDY² äw īšlandi "The smoke adhered to the house and it became blackened (*laziqa d-*

3. MS. *tūt*.

151 1. MS. *aḡdāfa*.

2. Later hand (brown ink) has changed the three dots of Š to *sukūn*(') and placed three dots below.

duxān, iswadda.)” The same for clothes, or other. ’IYŠLANUR² ’IYŠLANMK-Q² īšlanur īšlanmāq (īšlānmāk).

K

:: ’AR ’VZINK’ ’AWLANDY ār ōziṅā āwlandi “The man hunted (*iṣṭiyād*) by and for himself.” ’AWLANUR ’WLANM’Q āwlanur āwlanmāq. āwlan-

W

:: ’ARUQ’ ’AR’ ’VK’LANDY aruq ār ōglāndi “The tired man (or other) recovered from his fatigue (*ajamma*.)” Also used of a baby when he grows (*kabura*). ’UṼKLANUR ’VK’LANM’K ōglānūr ōglānmāk. ōglān-

Final Weak

T

:: ’AR YRMA’Q ’ADUTLA’DY ār yarmāq adutlādi “The man scooped up the dirhems with his palm (*ḥafana . . . bi-kaff*.)” Also for scooping up water with one’s hand (*ḡarafa . . . bi-yad*). ’ADUTLA’R ’ADUTL’MA’Q adutlār adutlāmāq. 0 aḡutla-

:: ’L ’ANY ’UZTLA’DIY ol ani ōzütlādi “He considered him a miser (*baxxala, nasaba ilā l-buxl*.)” ’UZTL’R ’UZTLA’M’K ōzütlār ōzütlāmāk. ōzütlä-

:: ’L ’UḡLIN ’KUTLA’DIY ol oḡlin ōḡütlādi “He counseled (*wa’aḡa*) his son (or other.)” ’UKUTL’R ’KUTLA’MA’K ōḡütlār ōḡütlāmāk. 0 ōḡütlä-

:: ’UL QIYZIN ’AKATLA’DIY ol qīzin egätlādi “He sent a maidservant (*xādima*) with his daughter to her husband’s house.” ’AKATLA’R ’AKATLA’MA’K egätlār egätlāmāk. 0 egätlä-

:: ’AR ’ULUTL’DY ār ölütlādi “The man quarreled and almost started a fight (*jādala ḡattā kāda yūqi’u l-muqātala*.)”³ ’ULUTLA’R ’ULUTLA’MA’K ölütlār ölütlāmāk. 0 ölütlä-

J

:: ’AR QUŠUF’ ’AMAJLA’DY ār qušuy amačlādi “The man made the bird a target (*ḡaraḡ*.)” ’AMAJLA’R ’AMAJLA’MA’K-Q amačlār amačlāmāq. amača-

:: ’UTA’JY KVZUK ’ANUJLA’DIY otāci kōzüḡ ānüčlādi “The doctor treated the eye for cataracts (*ḡafara*.)” ’ANUJL’R ’NUJLA’MA’K ānüčlār ānüčlāmāk. ānüčlä-

[I. 252/300]

152

R

3. MS. *muqātala*.

:: 'AT 'AÐARLA'DY (är) at ädärlädi “The man saddled (*asraja*) the horse (or other).” ädärlä-
'AÐARL'R 'ÐARL'M'K ädärlär ädärlämäk.

:: TNKRY MANIY 'ABIR·LA'DIY täñri mäni ayirlädi “God Most High honored (*akrama*) ayirla-
me.” 'AΓIRLA'R 'AΓIR·LA'MA'Q ayirlär ayirlämäq. Also of anyone who honors another person.

:: 'AR 'YŠIN 'UΓUR·LA'DY är išin uγurlädi “The man put off the matter and did it in uγurla-
its proper time (*irtaqaba, fa'ala fi waqtihi wa-imkānihi*).” 'UΓURLA'R 'UΓUR·LA'MA'Q¹ uγurlär
uγurlämäq. Hence :: 'AR TAVA'R 'UΓURLA'DIY är tavär oγurlädi “The man stole (*saraqqa*) the oγurla-
goods” – because he waited for the opportunity and the right time (*yartaqibu furšatahu wa-
waqtahu*). There is another explanation for this verb, namely that it is based on the noun:
'UΓRIY oγri the word for “thief (*sāriq*)” and the *yā'* dropped from: 'UΓRIY oγri through light-
ening. I prefer the latter explanation, but both are plausible. Verse:

BAKIM 'UVZN 'UΓRLA'DY	begim özin oγurlädi	V
YAR Γ BYLB 'UΓRL'DY	yaray bilip uγurlädi	
'LΓ TNKRY 'AΓRL'DY	uluy täñri ayirlädi	
'NIN QUT QW TURY [sic] TUΓDY	anin qut qiw tozi toγdi	

0 Describing the emir of the Tangut who prepared an ambush for the enemy: “My emir stole
away from the army and lay in ambush, waiting for the right moment; God Most High honored
him with victory, and thus arose the dust of Luck and Fortune.”

Z

:: 'AR'YYRIN 'ATIZL'DY är yērin atizladi “The man put dams and watersheds (*dibār,* atizla-
musannāt) in the land (for sowing)” 'ATIZLA'R ATIZLA'M'Q atizlär atizlämäq.

:: BAK 'ANY 'UJUZZLA'DY beg ani učuzlādi “The emir treated him with scorn (*ahāna*).” učuzla-
'UJZL'R 'UJZL'M'Q učuzlär učuzlāmäq. 0

:: 'UL 'ANY 'UĐUZL'DY ol ani uđuzlādi “He treated him for mange (*jarab*).” 'UĐUZL- uđuzla-
L'R 'UĐUZLA'MA'K [sic] uđuzlär uđuzlāmäq. 0

:: 'UL 'ARIQNY 'AΓIZLA'DIY ol ariqni ayizlādi “He made a mouth (*fūha*) for the ayizla-
canal.” :: 'L QULIN 'AΓIZ·LA'DIY ol qulin ayizlādi “He struck his slave (or other) on the
mouth (*fam*).” 'AΓIZL'R 'AΓIZL'MA'Q ayizlär ayizlāmäq.

:: 'UL MANY 'UΓUZLA'DIY ol mäni oγuzlādi “He considered me oγuzla-

[I.253/302]

153

Oγuz and related me to them.” 'UΓZL'R 'UΓZL'M'Q oγuzlär oγuzlāmäq.

S

:: 'UL BITK 'UQITISA'DIY ol bitig oqitsādi “He wanted to have the book read (yūqri'a).” Also when one wants to call (yad'uwa) a person. 'UQITISA'R 'UQITISA'M'Q oqitsār oqitsāmāq. 0

:: 'L TARIΓ 'UKITISA'DIY ol tariy ögitsādi “He wanted to have the wheat ground (yaḥḥana) by someone else.” 'UKITISA'R 'UKITISA'MA'K ögitsār ögitsāmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'AKIR'SA'DIY är ägirsādi “The man wanted galingale (wajj) (to treat himself with it)” :: 'URA'ΓUT YIB 'AKIRISA'DIY urāyut yip ägirsādi “The woman desired and intended to spin (tayzīl).” :: BAK KAND 'AKIRISA'DY beg känd ägirsādi “The emir desired and intended to besiege (yuhāšira) the fortress.” 'AKIRISA'R 'KIRISA'MA'K ägirsār ägirsāmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'AJIΓ'SA'DY är ačiyāsādi “The man desired something sour (ḥumūda).” AJIΓ'SA'R AJIΓ'SA'MA'Q ačiyāsār ačiyāsāmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'AĀA' 'ULΓ'SA'DY är atta uluysādi “The man wanted the large one (kabīr) of the horses.” The same for anything large. 'ULΓ'SA'R 'ULΓSA'M'Q uluysār uluysāmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'ARUKSA'DY är äriüksādi “The man wanted peaches (xawx) (or other).” 'ARUKSA'R 'ARUKSA'MA'K äriüksār äriüksāmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'ULUK'SA'DY är ölügsādi “The man wanted to be dead (mayyit).” 'ULUK'SA'R 'ULUKSA'MA'K ölügsār ölügsāmāk.

Ş

:: 'AR TAV'RIN 'UKUŞL'DY är tavārin üküslādi “The man considered his wealth to be much (kaḥīr).” 'UKUŞL'R 'KŞL'M'K üküslār üküslāmāk.

Γ

:: QUZY 'ARIGL'DY qozi ariylādi “He gelded (naza'a xuşya) his lamb (or other).” :: 'L YARMA'QIΓ 'ARIGL'DY ol yarmāqiy ariylādi “He picked out the best (ilṭaqata jawda) of the dirhems.” The same for anything of which one chooses the best (ixtāra nuqāwa). 'ARIGL'R 'ARIGL'M'Q ariylār ariylāmāq.

:: 'UL KBA'Z ARIGL'DY [sic] ol kābāz uruylādi “He removed the seed (naza'a ḥabb) from the cotton.” Also when one extracts the pit (axraja nawāt) from a fruit. 'ARIGL'R 'ARIGL'M'Q uruylār uruylāmāq.

:: TUNKZ 'ATIΓ 'AZIΓL'DY toḡuz atiy aziylādi “The boar attacked the horse and wounded it with its fang (nāb).”

[I. 255/304]

154

:: MAṆ TUNKZNY 'AZIΓL'DIM mән toḡuzni aziylādim “I struck the boar on its fang.” Also of

any wild animal with fangs or canines (*nāb*) on both sides. 'AZIΓL'R AZIΓL'M'Q *aziylār aziylāmāq*.

:: TANKRY MANIY 'ULUFL'DY *tānri māni uluylādi* "God Most High blessed me with glory (*razaqa al-kibriyā*)."
 :: BAK MANY 'ULUFL'DY *beg māni uluylādi* "The emir considered me great (*kabīr*)."
 'ULFLA'R 'ULFLA'M'Q *uluylār uluylāmāq*. Proverb: 'LIFY 'LFLA'SA' QUT BULUVR' *uluyni uluylāsa qut bulūr* 0 "When one honors (*waqqara*) the elder (because of his age) one finds Fortune."

Q

:: 'L 'NY 'ADAQL'DY *ol ani aḏaqlādi* "He hit him on his foot (*rijl*)."
 'DAQL'R 'DAQL'M'Q *aḏaqlār aḏaqlāmāq*.

:: 'L 'NY 'ADUQLA'DY *ol ani aḏuqlādi* "He considered it a rarity because it was unknown (*istatrafahu li-kawnihi majhūl*)."
 'ADUQL'R 'ADUQL'MA'Q *aḏuqlār aḏuqlāmāq*.

:: BAK 'ARUQL'DY *beg aruqlādi* "The emir recovered from fatigue (*ajamma min at-ta'ab*)."
 This is an expression for sleep (*nawm*) in the Khāqānī dialects. Its root-meaning is "to rest from weariness (*istarāḥa min al-kalāla*)."
 'ARUQL'R 'ARUQL'M'Q *aruqlār aruqlāmāq*.

:: 'L 'NY 'AŠUQLA'DIY *ol ani ašuqlādi* "He hit him on the anklebone (*ka'b*)."
 'AŠUQL'R 'AŠUQL'M'Q *ašuqlār ašuqlāmāq*. 0

:: 'L 'NY 'AŠAQ'LA'DY *ol ani ušaqlādi* "He considered him small (*ṣayīr*)."
 Proverb: YAIFYNIY 'AŠAQ'LSA' BAŠQA' JQ'R *yayīni ušaqlāsa bašqa ṭiqār* 0 "When one belittles the enemy it goes to the head."
 The intention is that it destroys one's head, meaning one's determination, so do not belittle him.
 :: 'UL MANIK SUVZUM'NY 'UŠAQLA'DIY *ol mānig sōzūmni ušaqlādi* "He misrepresented and slandered (*qatta, wašā*) my words."
 'UŠAQL'R 'UŠAQL'M'Q *ušaqlār ušaqlāmāq*.

:: 'L 'ANUQL'DY NA'NKNY *ol unuqlādi nāḡni* "He found the thing to be ready (*ḥāḏir mu'add*) so he took it."
 'ANUQL'R 'ANUQLA'M'Q *anuqlār anuqlāmāq*.

K

:: 'L TVNUF 'IJUK'LA'DY *ol tōnuy ičūklādi* "He attached to his garment the fur (*farw*) (of a sable, squirrel, or other)."
 'IJUKL'R 'IJUKL'M'K *ičūklār ičūklāmāk*. 0

:: TARIY 'ARUKL'DY *tāri xruklādi* "He tanned (*dabaya*) the hide."
 'ARUKL'R 'ARUKL'M'K *āruklār āruklāmāk*. 0

:: 'L QVY(N)UF 'UZAK'L'DIY¹ *ol qōyuy özāklādi* "He cut

[I. 257/306]

155

the sheep's spinal vein (*abhar*).” Also for striking it. 'UZUKL'R 'UZUK'L'M'K **özäklār özäklāmāk.** 0

:: 'R 'SIKL'DY **är isiglādi** “The man went out in the heat (*hamāwa*) of summer or the midday sun.” 'SIK'L'R 'SIKL'M'K¹ **isiglār isiglāmāk.** isiglā-

:: 'L KIRTLIK 'USKL'DY **ol kiritlik ösiglādi** (?) “He opened the lock without a key by a trick (*fataha . . . bi-hīla min γayr miftāh*).” 'SKL'R 'SKL'MK-Q **ösüglār ösüglāmāk.** Känčāk D
dialect.

:: 'L 'SIR'KA'DIY NA'NKNY **ol äsirgādi nāñni** “He regretted the loss (*taḥassara 'alā fawt . . . wa-ta'assafa*) of the thing.” 'ASIRK'R 'ASIRK'M'K **äsirgār äsirgāmāk.** äsirgä-

:: 'L KYKNY 'UŠIKL'DY **ol käyikni üsiklādi** “He captured the gazelle while it was restrained by the cold (*fī ḥašrihi wa-ḥāla wujūdihi l-bard*).” Also for other things. 'UŠIKL'R 'ŠKL'M'K **üsiklār üsiklāmāk.** üsiklä-

:: 'URA'ΓUTNY 'KAKL'DY **urāγutni äkākklādi** “The man insulted the woman and called her a whore (*sabba . . . wa-nasaba ilā l-fujūr*).” 'AKAKL'R 'AKAK'L'M'K **äkākklār äkākklāmāk.** 0 äkākklä-

:: 'L T'MΓ 'UKAKL'DY **ol tamiy ükākklādi** “He put towers (*burūj*) on the city walls.” Also for putting boxes (*šanādīq*) on a thing. 'UKAKL'R 'UKAKL'M'K **ükākklār ükākklāmāk.** 0 ükākklä-

:: 'UL 'ANY 'ALIṼK'L'DY² **ol ani älüklādi** “He derided him and mocked him (*hazi'a bihi wa-saxira minhu*).”³ 'ALIṼK'L'R² 'ALIṼK'L'M'K² **älüklār älüklāmāk.** Verse: älüklä-

TANKUT SUVSIN 'UŠIKL'DY
KIŠY 'YŠN 'ALIṼK'L'DY²
'ARIN 'ATIN BALIKLA'DY
BULUN BVLP BAŠY TΓDY

taḡut süsin üsiklādi
kiši išin älüklādi
ärin atin beläglādi
bulun bōlup baši tiydi

V

“(The enemy) attacked the troops of Tangut (a realm or province near China) at night in the bitter cold (so that he would not gain victory); then he mocked them, until they presented to us their horses and men; he bowed his head from the hardships he suffered [lit.: he fell captive and hid his head].”

:: 'URA'ΓUTNY 'AMIK'L'DY **urayūtni ämiglādi** “The man struck the woman on her breast (*iady*).” 'AMIKL'R 'MIKL'M'K **ämiglār ämiglāmāk.** ämiglä-

155 1. An S is written through the final K (black ink).

2. U (black) crossed out in brown.

3. MS. *huzi'a bihi wa-suxira minhu*.

:: 'IT' 'ANUK·LA'DIY it ʔnük̄lādi “The bitch bore a puppy (*ajrat*).” :: 'ARS·L'N ʔnük̄lā-
'ANUKL'DY arslān ʔnük̄lādi “The lioness bore a cub (*ašbalat*).” 'ANUKL'R 'ANUK·LA'M'K ʔnük-
lār ʔnük̄lāmāk.

:: 'L MANK' 'ASANL'DY ol maṇa ʔsānlādi “He greeted me and shook hands (*ḥayya, ʔsānlā-
ṣafaḥa*).” 'ASANL'R 'SANLA'M'K ʔsānlār ʔsānlāmāk.

Another Type

D

[I. 259/308]

156

:: 'L 'NY 'UDUVL'DY ol ani uḍūlādi “He followed (*ittaba'a, iqtafā*) him.” 'UDUVL'R uḍūla-
'UDUVL'A'M'Q uḍūlār uḍūlāmāq.

R

:: 'L 'KY KIŠY 'UTRA' 'RA'LA'DY ol ekki kiši otra arālādi “He mediated (*šālaḥa*) arāla-
between the two men.” Also for passing between (*jāwaza bayna*) them or between any two arīla-
things. For “making peace (*ṣulḥ*)” you may say: 'ARIYLA'DIY arīlādi – this is the colloquial arīla-
pronunciation; but the first is more correct. 'RA'LA'R' 'ARA'LA'MA'Q arālār arālāmāq. D

:: 'AR' 'URIYLA'DIY ʔr orīlādi “The man shouted (*šāḥa, rafa'a 'aqīra*).” 'URIYL'R orīla-
'URIYL'M'Q orīlār orīlāmāq.

:: 'R 'RYL'DY ʔr orīlādi “The man boasted and went beyond the limit (*šalafa, zāda 'an
al-ḡāya*).” 'URYL'R 'RYL'M'K-Q orīlār orīlāmāq. 0 Verse:¹

'UZN 'KNB 'RYL'DY	özin ögnüp orīlādi	V
YARIQ [sic] YYRK QRYL'DY	yorip tērig qarīlādi	
'TIF KMŠB 'URYL'DY	atiḡ kāmšip orīlādi	
'UFT BVLB TUBV 'TDY	uwut bōlup tōpü aḡdi	

Describing a warrior whom he attacked: “He was proud and boastful and puffed up with pride (*faxara wa-šalafa wa-nafaxa amruhu*); he came measuring the ground in cubits; he spurred on his horse [and shouted]; (then he turned back) in shame, climbing up the hill.” 0

:: 'L QVNUΓ 'URUVL'DY ol qōnuḡ örülādi “He slaughtered the sheep as it was stand- örülā-
ing.” 'URVLA'R 'URVLA'MA'K örülār örülāmāk.

Γ

:: 'L 'AŠIN 'AḠUVL'DY ol ašin aḡūlādi “He poisoned (*samma*) his food (or other).” aḡūla-
'AḠUVL'R 'ḠVL'M'Q aḡūlār aḡūlāmāq.

156 1. In MS. the verse appears after the following entry.

W

:: 'NK TKR' KŠY 'AW'LA'DY **anig tǰgrā kiši awālādi** “The people surrounded (*ħaffa ħawla*) him.” 'AW'L'R 'AW'L'M'Q **awālār awālāmāq**. This is used especially in regard to civil strife (*fitna*); otherwise :: 'AW'DIY awdi [93]. 'AW'L'R 'W'L'M'Q **awālār awālāmāq**. **awāla-**

Q

:: 'L MANY 'AQIYL'DIY **ol māni aqīlādi** “He considered me to be generous (*jūd*).” 'AQIYL'R 'QYL'M'Q **aqīlār aqīlāmāq**. **aqīla-**

K

:: 'L 'NY 'AKA'LA'DIY **ol ani ākālādi** “He called her an elder sister (*uxt kabīra*).” 'KA'L'R 'K'L'M'K **ākālār ākālāmāk**. 0 **ākālā-**

:: 'L 'NY 'UKA'LA'DIY **ol ani ögālādi** “He gave him the honorific title of 'UKA' ögä meaning ‘a chief among the people (*kabīr fi l-qawm*)’.” 'UKA'LA'R 'UKA'L'M'K **ögālār ögālāmāk**. **ögälä-**

N

:: 'L 'ANY 'NA'LA'DIY **ol ani anālādi** “He called her his mother (*umm*) [I. 260/311] **anāla-**
and attributed motherhood to her.” 'AN'L'R 'AN'L'M'Q **anālār anālāmāq**. **157**

Nasal

D

:: 'AWJY KAYIKNY 'ANKDIYDY **awči kayikni aṅdīdi** “The hunter laid a snare (*iḥtāla*) for the gazelle.” :: 'L 'ANY 'ANKDYDY **ol ani aṅdīdi** “He laid a snare to catch (*iḥtāla li-ya'xuḍa*) him.” 'ANKDYR 'NKDYM'Q **aṅdīr aṅdīmāq**. **aṅdi-**

Another Type

:: 'ŠY'K 'ANKIYL'DY **äšyāk aṅlādi** “The donkey brayed (*nahaqa*).” 'ANKIYL'R 'NKYL'M'Q **aṅlār aṅlāmāq**. **aṅila-**

Another Type

:: 'URA'ƒUT 'KKLNDY¹ **urāyut öñiklādi** “The woman put on a pair of false earlocks (*waḍa'at . . . bi-šudḡayn muzawwirayn*).”² 'NKKLANUR 'NKKLIYMA'Q [sic] **öñiklānür öñiklānmāk**. **öñiklän-**

157 1. Sic; N added before first K by a later hand (black).

Quinquiliteral

N

:: 'AR' 'AḠRIQAN'DIY *ār aḡriqandi* "The man complained of pain (*šakā . . . min aḡriqan-waja'ihī*)."³ 'AḠRIQANUR 'AḠRIQAN'MA'Q *aḡriqanur aḡriqanmāq*.

With Two Unvowelled Consonants

:: MAN 'NY 'AN'D'GAR'DIM *mān ani andyardim* "I made him swear (*ḥallaftu*)."² andḡar-'AN'D'GARUR MAN 'AN'D'GARMA'Q *andḡarur mān, andḡarmāq*.

Sextiliteral

T

:: YḠ'J 'AR'MUT'LAN'DIY *yīḡāč armutlandi* "The tree gave forth pears (*kumatrā*)."² *armutlan-*'AR'MUTLANUR 'ARMUTLANM'Q *armutlanur armutlanmāq*.

J

:: T'Ḡ 'AR'TUJLANDY *tāḡ artučlandi* "There were many junipers (*'ar'ar*) in the moun- *artučlan-*tains." 'AR'TUJLANUR 'ARTUJLANMA'Q *artučlanur artučlanmāq*. 0

:: SUVF 'UR'KUJLANDY *sūw ārkāčlāndi* "The water surged in waves (*māja*)."² 'AR'- *ārkāčlān-*KAJLANUR 'AR'KJLANM'K *ārkāčlānūr ārkāčlānmāk*. 0

:: QYZ 'URKUJLAN'DIY *qīz örgüčlāndi* "The girl acquired a braid (*qunza'a, ḍafīra*)."² *örgüčlān-*'URKUJLANUR 'URKUJLANM'K *örgüčlānūr örgüčlānmāk*.

:: 'ŠIJ 'URKUJLAN'DY *ešič örgüčlāndi* "The pot acquired a trivet (*ufīyya*)."² 'URKJ-
LNUR 'URKJLANM'K *örgüčlānūr örgüčlānmāk*.

R

:: TA'Y' 'AD'ḠIRLAN'DIY *tāy aḡyirlandi* "The colt acted like a stallion (*fahl*)."² Also *aḡyir-*lan- of mares when they acquire a stallion. 'AD'ḠIR'LANUR 'AD'ḠIR'LANMA'Q *aḡyir-*lan-
lanmāq.

Q

:: 'AR' 'UḌMAQLAN'DIY *ār uḍmaqlāndi* "The man acquired followers and servants *uḍmaq-*
(*taba', šākiri*)."² 'UḌMAQLANUR 'UḌMAQLNM'Q *uḍmaqlanur uḍmaqlanmāq*. 0 *lan-*

2. MS. *wḍ'b . . . bṣud ḡyr mrwryn*; a later hand (black) through an addition in the margin has altered it to read *bi-ṣudḡ min ša'r 'anz muzawwira^{tan}* ("a false earlock made out of goat's hair").

3. MS. *waja'ahu*; *min* above line.

:: 'AR' 'ARTUQLANDY **är artuqlandi** "The man went beyond his limit (*'adā ṭawr*)." **artuqlan-**
'ARTUQLNUR 'ARTUQLANM'Q **artuqlanur artuqlanmāq.** 0

::

[I. 263/313]

158

T'Z BAŞY 'IZMAQLANDY [sic] **tāz başi aźmuqlandi** "The scabiness (*qara'*) of the scabby-head**aźmuqlan-**
became worse." :: YIYR 'IŻMAQLANDY **yēr aźmuqlandi** "There was much alum (*šabb*) in the
ground (or other)." 'AIŻMAQLANUR 'IŻMAQLANM'Q **aźmuqlanur aźmuqlanmāq.**

:: 'UL BUV 'YŞİĠ 'AĠRUQLANDY **ol bu iṣiḡ aḡruqlandi** "He found this matter bur- **aḡruqlan-**
densome (*istaṭqala*)."
Also of a load which one considers too heavy (*īaqīl*). 'AĠRUQLANUR
'AĠRUQLANM'Q **aḡruqlanur aḡruqlanmāq.** 0

:: 'AR' 'UṬRAQLANDY **är oḡraqlandi** "The man put on the dress of Oḡrāq (a tribe of **oḡraqlan-**
people)." 'UṬRAQLNUR 'UṬRQLANM'Q **oḡraqlanur oḡraqlanmāq.**

K

:: 'AR' 'ATMAKLANDY **är ätmäklāndi** "The man had much bread (*xubz*)" – meaning, **ätmäklān-**
he was rich (*aṭrā*). 'ATMAK'LANUR 'ATMKLANM'K **ätmäklānūr ätmäklānmāk.** 0

There are many verbs of this type, derived from nouns. The equivalent in Arabic is to
say, for example, *albana r-rajul* ("The man was be-milked") meaning that he had much milk, and
aṣḥā ("He was be-stripped") meaning that he had many strips of paper. 0

G

:: 'AR' 'IJ'MAKLANDY **är ičmäklāndi** "[The man] put on a lambskin (*farw barqān*);**ičmäklān-**
or else he became owner of one." 'JM'KLANUR 'JM'KLANM'K **ičmäklānūr ičmäklānmāk.**

:: 'IŞ'LA'R 'AR_SAK'LAN'DIY **eṣlār ärsäklāndi** "The woman passionately desired a man **ärsäklān-**
(*ṭalabat ar-rajul li-šahwa bihā biḡā'an wa-ḥirṣan*)."
'AR_SAKLNUR 'RSAKLNLM'K **ärsäklānūr ärsäklānmāk.**

:: 'URA'ṬUT 'K'MAKLNDY **urāyut ügmäklāndi** "The woman put on earrings (*tašanna-* **ügmäklān-**
fat, taqarraṭat)."
'UK'MAKLNUR 'UKMAKLNLM'K **ügmäklānūr ügmäklānmāk.**

M

:: SUVW¹ 'AKRIM'LAN'DIY **sūw ägrimlāndi** "The water revolved in the swamps with **ägrimlān-**
gushing and flowing (*istadāra fi l-manāqi' ma'a fawarān wa-jary*)."
'AKRIM'LNUR 'AKRIM'LAN-
M'K **ägrimlānūr ägrimlānmāk.**

N

158 1. W changed from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).

:: 'AR·'IŠTUNLAN·DIY är iŝtonlandi “The man put on trousers (*sarāwīl*).” Its root- iŝtonlan- form is: 'IJ·TUNLANDY iŝtonlandi but the *jīm* changed to *šin* because of the proximity of the (iŝtonlan-) points of articulation. 'IŠTUNLNUR 'IŠTUNLNM'Q iŝtonlanur iŝtonlanmāq.

Doubled

Q

:: 'AR 'AR·QUQLANDY är arquqlandi “The man refused to obey the order (*'atā fī arquqlan-qabūl al-amr wa-ḥaruna*).” 'ARQUQLNUR 'ARQUQLANM'Q arquqlanur arquqlanmāq.

K

:: 'L BV 'YŠΓ 'AMKAKLNDY ol bu iŝiγ ämgäkländi “He considered this matter to be a ämgäklän-hardship (*miḥna*).”

[I. 264/315]

159

'AM·KAKLNUR 'AM·KKLNM'K ämgäklänür ämgäklänmāk. 0

:: 'AR 'AŠKAK·LANDY är äšgäkländi “The man became owner of a donkey (*ḥimār*).” äšgäklän- One of the two variants. 'AŠKAKLNUR 'AŠKAKLNM'K äšgäklänür äšgäklänmāk. 0 D

:: SUVW¹ 'AIR·KAKLANDY² sūw ärkäkländi “The water was wavy (*māja*).” :: 'ANIK ärkäklän-YYNY³ 'AIRKAKLANDIY² anig yēni ärkäkländi “His skin shuddered (*iqša'arra*).” 'IR·KKLNUR 'IR·KAKLNM'K ärkäklänür ärkäklänmāk. Also of a man when he pretends to be manly (*rujū-liyya*). 0

Final Weak

B

:: 'UL 'ATIN 'ARBA·LA·DIY ol atin arpālādi “He fed his horse barley (*ša'īr*).” 'ARBA·LA·R 'ARBA·LA·M'Q arpālār arpālāmāq. arpāla-

T

:: 'AR YA·ŠIN 'URTVLA·DY är yāšin ortūlādi “The man was middle-aged (*intaṣafa*) ortūla-*min 'umrihi*).” 'URTVL·R 'URTVL·M'Q ortūlār ortūlāmāq. 0

:: 'AR 'YŠQ·'RTA·L·DY är iŝqa ertālādi “The man rose early (*bakkara*) for work.” ertālā- 'RTA·LA·R 'RT·LA·MA·K·Q ertālār ertālāmāk.

-
- 159 1. W changed from F by later hand (two dots in brown ink).
2. First A by a later hand (?) (dark black, thin point).
3. There are two dots in brown ink over the first Y (thus T).

R

:: 'L KIDIZNIY 'IS'RIYLA'DIY ol *kiđizni esrīlādi* “He embroidered the felt with a leopard-skin pattern (*ka-lawn an-namīr*).” 'AS'RIYLA'R 'ASRIYLA'M'K *esrīlār esrīlāmāk*. 0 esrīlā-

:: 'L NA'NK 'UIRIYL'DY ol *nāñ oyrīlādi* “He stole (*saraqā*) the thing.” The common people say it with no vowel on the *rā* [i.e., 152 *oyurla-*], but this is an error. 'UI'RLA'R 'UI'RLA'MA'Q *oyrīlār oyrīlāmāq*. oyrīlā-
D

T

:: 'L QVY 'IK'TUVLA'DIY ol *qōy igtūlādi* “He fed (*'alafa*) the sheep (or other).” 'IK'TUVLA'R 'IK'TVL'M'K *igtūlār igtūlāmāk*. igtūlā-

Γ

:: 'L 'K̄Y K̄ŠY 'ARA' 'ARΓVL'DIY ol *ekki kiši ara aryūlādi* “He passed between (*marra bayna, šaqqa*) the two men.” 'ARΓVL'R 'ARΓVLA'MA'Q *aryūlār aryūlāmāq*. aryūlā-

:: 'L 'NKAR 'UBKAL'DIY ol *añar öpkālādi* “He struck him in the lungs (*ra'ā* [defined]).” 'UBKALA'R 'UBKALA'MA'K *öpkālār öpkālāmāk*. 0 öpkālā-

:: 'UL 'ANDIN 'UBKIYL'DIY ol *andin öpkīlādi* “He avoided him because he was angry (*γađiba*).” 'UBKIYLA'R 'UBKIYLA'MA'K *öpkīlār öpkīlāmāk*. 0 öpkīlā-

The rules will be discussed in their place.

G

End of the Book of Vowel-Initial (*hamz*) Words

Praise be to God

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

Book of Nouns of Sound Words

[I. 267/318]

160

Chapter of Biliterals

B

TAB **tap** A particle meaning “enough (*hasbu*).” Thus :: BUV 'AŠ' MANK' TAB **bu aš maña tap** “This food is enough for me.” :: TAB BULDY **tap boldi** “It is sufficient (*kafā*).” 0 tap

TUB **töp** “Boiled wheat (*xađīma*) that is kneaded with a leavening made from barley, then wrapped in a felt cloth and left in a warm place to mature.” Then it is eaten. 0 töp

JAB̄ JAB̄ čap čap Onomatopoeic for whips cracking (*waq' as-siyāt*) or lips smacking (šīb aš-šifāh). Thus :: 'L 'ARUK JAB̄ JAB̄ YIYDIY ol ärük čap čap yēdi "He ate the peach smacking his lips." 0

JUB čöp "Dregs (*durdī*)" of wine; also the "sediment (*'akar*)" of anything. 0 Hence "human rubbish (*ħuṭāla an-nās*)" is called: JUB̄ JAB̄ KIŠYLA'R čöp čap kišlār. 0

JIB̄ čip A "twig (*γusn laṭīf daqīq*)." This is shortened from: JIBIQ čipiq, just as "ball (*kura*)" is called TUBW̄ tōp which is shortened from: TUBIQ̄ topiq. 0

JUB̄ čöp A "piece (*qit'a*) of Tutmāč." :: BIYR̄ JUB̄ YIYKIL bīr čöp yēgil "Eat a piece of Tutmāč." The same for pieces of noodles (*al-laṭīṭ wa-l-iṭriya*). 0

ZAB ZAB zap zap An onomatopoeic particle indicating "quickness of step (*sur'a naql al-qadam wa-l-mašy*)." Thus :: ZAB ZAB BAR̄ ΓIL zap zap baryil "Hurry! (*asri'*)." 0

"The trousseau (*jahāz*)" of a bride is called: SAB̄ säp. It is her property. 0

SIB sip "A colt (*muhr*) that has reached the second year." 0

ŠAB šap A particle of hastening, like the Arabic *hallā*. Thus :: ŠAB̄ KAL̄ šap käl "Come quickly (*asri' fī l-majī*)." 0

QUB̄ qop A particle of exaggeration and emphasis. Thus :: 'UΓL QUB̄ BADUVDIY oγul qop bādūdi "The child grew a great deal (*γāyat^{an}*)." :: QUB̄ 'ADKV¹ NA'NK qop ädgü nāṅ "A very (*jiddan*) fine thing." 0

KUIB̄ NA'NK köp nāṅ Anything that is "tangled and dense (*multaff kaṭir*)." Thus :: KUIB̄ SAJ̄ köp sac "Thick (*jaṭl*) hair." Proverb: KUB̄ SUKUT'KA' QUŠ QUNA'R KRKLVG KIŠYK' SUVZ KALYR köp sögütkä quš qonār, körklüg kišikä sōz kälir 0 "Birds settle on the willow of tangled branches; (similarly) a message comes to the beautiful and charming woman." 0 It is transmitted in another version:

[I. 268/319] 161

YΓ'J 'VJNK' YYL TKYR¹ KURKLIK KŠYK' SUVZ KALYR yiγāč ūčīṇa yēl tāgīr, körklüg kišikä sōz kälir 0 "The tree branch cannot help being blown by the wind; the charming one cannot help receiving messages" – she, however, has to guard her chastity. P

T

BAT̄ bat "Dregs of pressed dates (*ṭajīr*)." 0 bat

160 1. D changed from D (dot in brown ink).

161 1. Above the line.

:: BAT' KAL' **bat käl** like: ŠAB' KAL' **šap käl**, for hastening (*isrā'*). For the sound of anything heavy that has fallen (*šay' taqīl idā waqa'a*): BAT' TUŠDY **bat tüşdi**. 0

BIT' **bit** "Louse (*qaml*)." Hence "the worm (*dūd*) that infests wheat" is called: TARİΓ' **bit**
BITIY **tariy biti**. 0

JAT JAT **čat čat** Sound of a blow (*waq'*). Thus :: JAT' JAT' URDY **čat čat urdi** "He struck with such a sound." 0 **čat**

JIT' **čit** "A hut (*xuṣṣ*) of reeds or thorns." **čit**

ŠAT' **šat** "Courage (*jur'a*)." Thus :: 'NIK NA' ŠATIY BA'R **anig nā šati bār** "What courage does he have?" – implying the negative. **šat**

QAT' **qat** "Fold (*tiny*)" of anything. :: TUVN QATIY **tōn qati** "Fold of a garment." **qat**
From this comes the word: QAD'RA'Q' **qadrāq** for "mountain bends and folds (*ma'āṭif al-jibāl wa-maḥānīhā*)." 0

QAT' **qat** Oğuz dialect. A particle corresponding to 'inda ("at, near"). Thus :: BAK QATINDA' **beg qatinda** "At the emir's." 0 **D**

QUT' **qut** "Fortune, luck (*dawla, jadd*)." From this comes the name: QUT'LUΓ' **qut**
qutluy. Verse: **N**

QUT' QUWIΓ' BIR'SA' 'IDIM QUVLINKA' **qut qiwıy bersā idim qūliṇa** **V**
KUNDA' 'IŠY YUKSABAN' YUVQ'R' 'AΓ'R **kündā iši yüksābān yōqār ayār**

0 "If God gives fortune to his slave his status rises daily." 0

KUT **köt** "Posterior (*dubur*)." 0 **köt**

MAT **mat** A particle meaning "thus" (*kaḏā*). :: 'ANDAΓ MAT **anday mat** "Thus so (*kaḏā huwa*)." 0 **mat**

J

SJ **sač** "Hair (*šar*)." 0 **sač**

SUJ **suč** Onomatopoeic for something "bouncing off (*nubūw*)." Thus :: QILJ SUJ **suč**
QILDY **qilič suč qildi** "The sword glanced off (*nabā*)." :: 'AR SUJ QILDY **är suč qildi** "The man refused to obey the order (*nabā . . . qabūl al-amr*)." 0

QAJ **qač** A particle of quantity meaning "how many? (*kam*)." :: QAJ YARMA'Q **qač**
BIYRDIY **qač yarmāq bērdi** "How many dirhams did he give?" 0

QUJ **qoč** "Ram (*kabš*)." Oğuz dialect. Its root-form is: QUJNKAR'² **qočnār**. **qoč**
D

2. K changed to G by later hand (three dots in brown ink).

QAJ qač A particle meaning “time (*marra*).” Thus :: QAJ QATA’ ’AY’DIM qač qat aydim “How many times did I say?” 0 qač

KUJ₂ köč “Moving camp” 0 köč

[I. 270/321] 162

or going on campaign (*až-ža’n wa-l-irtihāl*).” Hence :: SUV KUJTY sü köčti “The army set off (*irtahala*).” 0

KUJ köč “Hour or while (*sā’a*).” Thus :: BIYR’ KUJ KUḌKIL bīr köč küḏgil “Stay a while (*sā’at^{an}*).” 0

HJ HJ häč häč A word used to restrain horses when they wish to gallop at full speed. This expression corresponds exactly to the Arabic [i.e. *haj*]. It goes against the rule, since it contains *hā’*. There is no *hā’* in the Turkic dialects. häč

D

KAD¹ käd (with *dāl* or *dāl*) A particle of emphasis or exaggeration in the description of something. Thus :: KAD’ ĀAT’ käd āt “What a good horse! (*ni’ma l-faras*).” :: KAD’ NA’NK käd nāḡ “What a good thing!” 0 käd, käd

R

BIR’ bir The number “one (*wāḥid*).” :: BIYR YARM’Q bīr yarmāq “One dirham.” It is permissible to include this in the defective chapter and say: BIYR bīr. There are many examples of this; but the more elegant and more correct usage in the Turkic dialects is the shorter pronunciation and the abrupt enunciation. 0 bir G

:: ’R TR YLDY’ är tär boldi “The man was ashamed (*xajila*).” This is in place of saying: ’AR BULDY ir boldi. 0 tär

JAR čär Onomatopoeic for heaviness (illness) of the body (*tiqal al-badan*). Hence :: ’AR JRLAN’DY är čärländi “The man’s body was heavy (*taqala badan*).” Khāqānī dialect. 0 čär D

JAR čär “Time (*waqt*).” Oγuz dialect. Hence :: BUV JARLIK DA’ KAL bu čärlikdä käl “Come at this time.” 0 D

JAR’ čär “The opposite side (*qubāla*)” of something. Oγuz dialect. Hence :: ’ANIK ’AWIY BUV JARLIK DA’ anig äwi bu čärlikdä “His house is opposite this.” From this comes the word: JARIK’ čärig for “the two battle-lines (*šaffay al-ḥarb*)” since they face one another (*yata-qābalāni*). D

JIR: **čir** Onomatopoeic for the tearing (*mazq*) of a garment, or other. Thus :: 'NIK TUVNIN JIR YIR'ŤIY **anig tōnin čir yirtti** "He tore his garment with (such) a sound." 0 **čir**

JUR: **čür** "Profit (*manfa'a*)." Hence :: 'UL 'AN'DIN' NA'NK' JURLA'DIY ol andin **nāṅ čürfādi** "He got some profit (*nāla* . . . *manfa'a*) out of it." 0 **čür**

JUR: JUR: **čur čur** Onomatopoeic for milk falling from the udder into the pail. The same for any liquid when it makes (such) a sound. 0 **čur**

JIR: **čir** "Grease (*dasam*)." :: 'AŠJ'TA' JIR: YUVQ: **ešičtä čir yōq** "There is no grease in the pot." Its root-meaning is "suet (*as-simḥāq min aš-šaḥm*)." Thus :: BUV 'AĀ' JIR: YUVQ: **bu ättä čir yōq**

[I. 272/323]

163

"There is no fat (*šaḥm, samn*) on this meat." 0

One says of the sound of the cricket: SIR' SIR' AĀY **sir sir etti** meaning "It made such a sound." The word is also onomatopoeic for the "scratching (*šarīr*)" of a pen, and the like. 0 **sir**

SIR: **sir** ["lacquer"] A paste (*luzūjāt tuttaxadu min al-γirā'*) with which Ṣīnī bowls are smeared, then painted upon. Hence :: SIR'LIF 'AYA'Q: **sirliṅ ayāq** "A bowl so smeared and painted" [A lacquered bowl]. 0

ŠR ŠR: **šar šur** Onomatopoeic for rain falling noisily and heavily. The same for any liquid when it makes (such) a sound. The *šin* is an alternant of *jīm*. :: 'UL JAR JUR YIYDY ol **čar čur yēdi** "He ate all he found, leaving nothing." 0 **šar šur**
čar čur

QAR: QUR: 'AĀY QARIN: **qar qur etti qarın** "The belly growled (*qarqara*)." This corresponds to the Arabic in sound and sense. 0 **qar qur**

QUR: **qur** "Rank (*martaba*)." Thus :: MANIK QRUM: 'ULF **mānig qurum uluḡ** "My rank is high." 0 **qur**

QUR: **qur** "Belt (*miṅṭaqa*)." 'IJ: QUR ič **qur** "Girdle (*wašāḥ*)." 0

QIR: YAḠIY **qir yaḡi** "Secret (*mukāših*) enemy." 0 **qir**

QIR: 'ĀT **qir āt** "Dun (*samand*) horse."

QIR: **qir** "Dam (*'arim, musannāt*)." 0

QIR: **qir** "Mountain formed of one mass of rock (*al-ḥaḍba min al-jibāl*)." 0

KUR: 'AR **kür är** "A man who is cool-headed (*rābiṭ al-ja's*), strong-hearted (*qawī al-qalb*) and proud (*šāmix bi-l-anf*)." Proverb: KIM' KUR' BULSA' KUW'Z BULVR **kim kür bolsa küwāz bolūr** "Whoever is firm (*jald*) and strong-hearted may become proud (*mutakabbir*)." Verse: **kür**
P

'AR'TIŠ SUWY YĪMA'KY	är̄tiš suwi yemāki	V
SIT' ΓAB' TUTAR BĪLA'KIY	sitγap tutar bilāki	
KUR'MAT' 'ANIK' YURA'KIY	kürmät anig yürāki	
KAL'KA'LIMAT' 'IRKIŠUVR	kälgālimät irkišür	

Yemāk is a tribe of Qifčāq. "This tribe [lit.: The Yemāk of the Ärtiš River] have rolled up their sleeves, their hearts strong and high-spirited (*qawiyya 'aliyya*),¹ and have now mustered to come to us." 0

Z

BIZ biz A particle meaning "we (*naħnu*)." :: BĪZ KALDIYMYZ biz käl̄dim̄iz "We came." biz

TUZ tüz Anything "level (*mustawin*)." Thus :: TUZ' YĪYR' tüz yēr "Level ground." 0 tüz

JUZ' čuz A red and black gilt Şīnī brocade. 0 čuz

"The shaded side (*maqnuwa*) of mountains" is called:

[I. 273/325]

164

QUZ TA'Γ quz tāγ. It is the side over which the sun rises only after noon; which remains to the left (*'an yasār*) of the sun; and which is always covered with cold and snow. Proverb: quz

QUZ'DA' QA'R' 'AK' SUVMA'S	quzda qār ägsümās	P
QUVY'D' YA'Γ 'AKSUVMA'S'	qōyda yāγ äg sümās	0

"The shaded side of mountains lacks not for snow; (similarly) sheep lack not for fat." 0

"Something dear or expensive (*γālī*)" is called: QIZ' NA'NK qiz nāñ. Thus :: BU'V 'ĀT qiz
QIZ 'ALDIM bu āt qiz aldim "I bought this horse dear." 0

QIZ qiz "Girl (*jāriya*)." Thus :: QIZ QIRQIN' qiz qirqin "Girls (*jawāri*)." 0 QIZ qiz "Daughter (*bint*)." Thus :: MANIK QIZM mänig qizim "My daughter." 0 And "a virgin (*'adrā*)" is called: 'AV' QIZIY äv qizi meaning "One secluded in the house (*muxaddara al-bayt*)." 0 YINJKA' QIZ yinčgā qiz "Concubine (*surriyya*)." 0 This word can refer either to a free girl (*ħurra fatiyya*) or to a slave girl (*jāriya mamlūka*). Its root-meaning is "virgin"; the others are by extension from that.

QIZ QUŠ qiz quš Name of a bird that confronts (*yatakāfaħu*) a man as if it wished to light on him. 0

QIZ KIŠIY qiz kiši "A miserly (*baxīl*) person." Ar̄yu dialect. Proverb: QIZ KIŠIY SA'WIY YUVRIΓLIY BULM'S qiz kiši sāwi yōriγli bolmās "The report of a miser spreads not P

abroad” and he remains unknown. This is coined to advise a person to be generous in order to gain far-flung report and fine praise. 0

KAZ_ **kāz** “The notch (*fūq*) of an arrow.” :: 'UQ KAZIY o q **kāzi**. 0 **kāz**

KAZ **kāz** “Remainder of food in a pot (*al-qurāra*).” It is the remanant of milk or flour or the like that sticks to the bottom of a kettle and must be scraped off. :: 'AŠJ_ KIZIY ešič **kāzi**. 0

KAZ_ **kāz** Name of a type of Šinī brocade. 0

KUZ **küz** “Autumn (*xarīf*).” **küz**

KIZ **kiz** “Scent-box (*atīda*); wardrobe (*taxt*); clothing-bag (*ayba aṭ-ṭiyāb*).” The same for any case or cupborad (*šiwān*). :: KIZDA'KIY KIZ [siç] YIBA'R_ **kizdāki kin yipār** “A musk-bag kept in a case (*nāfija misk mašūna fī šiwān*).” This phrase is used only as a simile for the fragrant breath of maidens. 0 **kiz**

MIZ **miz** A particle meaning “we (*naḥnu*).” The *mīm* is an alternant **-miz**

[I. 275/327]

165

of *bā'*; *bā'* comes at the beginning of the word. Thus :: BIZ BAR'DIMIZ **biz bardimiz** “We went.” :: KALDIMIZ **kāldimiz** “We came.” This rule holds for both nouns and verbs. :: A'ĀTIMIZ **ātimiz** “Our horse.”

S

BIS_ **bis** “Dregs (*tufāla*) of a churn or wine-skin.” It is something like tar (*qīr*). 0 **bis**

When the Oğuz wish to exaggerate the description of anything round they say: TAS' TAKIR'MA' **tās tāgirmā**. This goes against the rule. The rule about colors and exaggerating the description of things is to take the first letter of the word and join it to *bā'* in most of the Turkic dialects, but to *mīm* in Oğuz. 0 Example. One calls a “deep-gray (*ağbar mušabba'*)” color: KUB_ KVK_ **köp kök**, but in Oğuz you say: KUM KVK **köm kök**. 0 KVK **kök** means “dark gray (*akhab*).” The Turks take the first *kāf*, join it to *bā'*, and say: KUB' **köp**, which is the exaggerative particle; then they bring forward the color name and say: KVK **kök**. The Oğuz change the *bā'* to *mīm* and say: KUM KUVK **köm kök** for “deep gray.” 0 One says for “yellow (*aşfar*)”: SARIİ' **sariy**. One says for “bright yellow (*aşfar fāqi'*)”: SAB' SARIİ' **sap sariy**. The *šin* is taken from: SARIİ' **sariy**, then joined to *bā'* to form the exaggerative, and then the color name is brought in after it. 0 “An open space (*faḍā'*)” is called:: YAZIY **yazi**. To exaggerate the description you say: YAB' YAZIY **yap yazi** meaning “wide open space (*faḍā' aḫyah*).” All exaggeratives are according to this rule. But there is no rule for changing *bā'* to *šin*.

TAS' **tas** Anything “bad (*radī'*).” Oğuz dialect. :: BUV A'ĀT TAS TAKUL **bu āt tas tāgūl** “This horse is not bad.” **tas**
D

TUS TUS **tos tos** Onomatopoeic for beating anything soft, as when one beats clothing or felt. Thus :: TUS¹ TUS¹ 'URDIY **tos tos urdi** **tos**

[I. 276/329]

166

“He beat with this sound.”

KAS' **käs** “A piece (*qiṭ'a*)” of anything. :: BIYR_ KAS_ 'ATM'K bir **käs ätmäk** “A piece of bread.” 0 **käs**

KAS' **käs** “A piece of dried clay (or other) used to wipe the anus (*nubla* [defined]).”

KIS' **kis** “Wife (*zawja*).” Thus :: 'ANIK KIŠIY¹ **anig kisi** “His wife.” Some use the word with the possessive suffix (*ma' al-iḍāfa*); :: 'UL KIŠIY² 'AL'DIY ol **kisi aldi** “He took a wife (*xatāba z-zawja*).” **kis**

Š

BUŠ YILQY **boš yilqi** “An animal that has been set free (*musayyaba*).” Hence :: 'UL 'IŠLA'R BUŠ_ ol **ešlār boš (qildi)** “He divorced (*ṭallaqa*) the woman” – as though he “let her go free (*ahmala*).” :: 'UL QUL BUŠ QILDY ol **qul boš qildi** “He freed (*a'ṭaqa*) the slave.” 0 “A free man (*ḥurr*)” is called: BUŠ **boš**. Proverb: BUŠ NA'NK K' 'IDIY BULM'S' **boš nāṅkā idi bolmās** 0 “Something left free or neglected (*muhmal*) has no master.” This is coined to advise a person to hold on to his property. 0 **boš**

TUŠ_ **tüš** “Place or time of a halt (*manzil, waqt an-nuzūl*).” 0 Hence :: TUŠ_ 'UVDIY **tüš** **tüš öḍi** “Time to halt.” **tüš**

JASŠ **čäs** “Turquoise (*fayrūzaj*).”

Verse: **čäs**

YARAṬY YAŠIL JAŠ

yaratti yašil čäs

SAWUR_DIY 'URNK QAŠ_

sawurdi üriñ qaš

TIZIL_DIY³ QARA' QUŠ

tizildi qara quš

TUN KUN 'UVZA' YURKANUVR⁴

tün kün üzä yörgänür

V

Describing the sky: “(God Most High) created a sky like turquoise in its greenness; He sowed therein the stars as though they were jade” - this is a white stone used to make seals; “He arranged from them Libra (*al-mizān*)” - a constellation called in Turkic: QARA' QUŠ **qara quš**; “that night and day would turn on one another.” 0

165 1. U (brown) changed from A (black).

166 1. *Tašdīd* (~) in brown ink.

2. Three dots of Š in brown ink.

3. Z changed from R (dot in brown ink).

4. Two dots of Y in brown ink.

JIŠ JIŠ čiš čiš A word said by a woman to make her baby (or other) pee (*'inda ibāla aṣ-ṣabī*); also by a horseman to make his horse stale after riding. čiš

SIŠ siš “Skewer (*sufūd*).” “The instrument for arranging Tutmāc (*minṣām tutmāj*)” is also called: SIŠ siš. 0 siš

QUŠ quš “Bird (*ṭayr*).” This is the generic term; then they are distinguished by special names, thus: 'URNK QUŠ üriṅ quš “White falcon (*bāzī abyad*)”; 0 QAR QUŠ qara quš “Eagle (*uqāb*)”; 0 TAWAY QUŠ tewe quš “Ostrich (*na'am*)”; 0 quš

[I. 278/331]

167

YUVN QUŠ yün quš “Peacock (*ṭawūs*)”; 0 'IYL QUŠ ēl quš “Vulture (*raxama*).”

QAR QUŠ qara quš The planet “Jupiter (*muštari*).” :: QAR QUŠ TUFDY qara quš *tuṛdi* “Jupiter has risen.” It rises, according to them, at dawn. 0

QAR QUŠ qara quš “Tips of a camel’s hoof (*aṭrāf axfāf al-ibil*).” Oṛuz dialect. 0 D

QIZ QUŠ qiz quš Name of a bird resembling the finch (*abū barāqiš*) in color. 0

QIŠ qiš “Winter (*šitā*).” Proverb: QIŠ QUNUQY 'UVT qiš qonuqi ot “Winter’s guest is fire.” 0 qiš P

[F]

TAF tāw “Deceit, trickery (*makr, ḥīla*).” Proverb [=43 aḍiṛ]: 'AWJY NAJ A'ĀL BILSA 'ADIF 'NJ' YUVL BILYR awci nāčā āl¹ bilsā aḍiṛ anča yōl bilīr 0 tāw P “As many tricks as the hunter knows the bear knows ways of escape.” 0

JIF čiw Onomatopoeic for the “boiling (*ḡalayān*)” of syrup in a vat, and the like. čiw

QIW qiw “Luck, fortune (*baxt, dawla*).” qiw

Q

TUQ KIŠY toq kiši “A satiated (*šab'an*) person.” toq

TUQ 'AR toq är “A man without hair on his head,” as of the Turks (*allaḍī la ša'ar 'alā ra'sihi kamā li-t-turk*). :: TUQ YILQY toq yilqi “A hornless (*ajamm* [defined]) animal.”

TUQ TUQ 'TY toq toq etti “Something solid (*muṣmat*) made a noise,” like one stone striking another. 0

'R KĪŠĪY² BIRLA' TUQ TUQ BULDIY **är kisi birlä toq toq boldi** "The man and woman had a falling-out (*waqa'at al-xušūna bayn ar-rajul wa-l-mar'a*)."⁰

JAQ **čaq** A particle expressing "the essence and exact identity of a thing (*'ayn aš-šay' wa-nafsuhu*)."⁰ Thus :: JAQ 'UL 'AT'NIY TUT'ΓIL **čaq ol atni tutγil** "Hold that very horse!" :: JAQ' 'UMAJNY 'UR'ΓIL **čaq amačni uryil** "Hit the target on the nose!"⁰

JAQ JUQ **čaq čoq** Sound of "breaking (*kasr*)" something like the breaking of wood or bone or nuts or the like. Thus :: JAQ' JUQ 'ATY **čaq čoq etti**.⁰

JAQ **čiq** Also onomatopoeic. ⁰ :: 'UL 'ANY 'UR'DIY JAQ' 'AT'MADIY **ol ani urdi, čiq etmädi** "He hit him, but he felt no pain nor cried out (*mā ta'allama wa-mā šāḥa*)."⁰

ZAQ ZQ **zaq zaq** A particle of incitement (*iγrā'*), used to incite rams to butt (*niṭāḥ*). **zaq**

SAQ SAQ **saq saq** A particle used by a guard among the troops to order alertness (*tayaq-quz*) in keeping castles, fortresses or horses from the hands of the enemy. :: SAQ SAQ' **saq saq**

[I. 279/333]

168

"Be alert! (*kūnū ayqāzan*)."⁰ Hence "a clever and alert (*faṭīm, mutayaqqiz*) man" is called: SAQ 'AR' **saq är**.⁰

SUQ' YALNKVS 'AR' **suq yalñūs är** "Loner, a man without a friend or help (*al-waḥīd al-munfarid lā anīs lahu wa-lā mu'āwin*)."⁰

K

BAK' NA'NK **bäk näḡ** "Anything firm (*muḥkam*)."⁰ **bäk**

BUK **bük** "Thicket (*ajama*)."⁰ **bük**

BUK **bük** "Corner (*zāwiya*)."⁰ Arγu dialect. ⁰ **D**

TAK **täk** A word meaning "without a purpose (*lā qašda*)."⁰ Thus :: TAK' KAL'DIM **täk kälđim** "I came, not for any reason (i.e. just, simply) (*bilā qašd li-šay'*)."⁰

:: TAK' TUR **täk tur** "Be quiet! (*uskut*)."⁰ Oγuz dialect. ⁰ **D**

JAK₋₁ JUK₋₁ **čäk čük** "Rubbish, old furniture (*al-xurṭī min al-matā'*)."⁰ **čäk čük**

JUK JUK **čök čök** A word used to make camels kneel (*yunāxu bihā l-ba'īr*).⁰ **čök**

2. *Tašdīd* (˜) in brown ink.

168 1. The stroke of the K has been scratched out so that it looks like L.

JIK JIK **čik čik** A phrase used for calling or driving kids (*du'ā' al-jady wa-kaḏālika idā sīqa*). 0 **čik**

JIUḲ· **čik** A particle used in playing knuckles (*al-ka'b*); when it falls on its underside (*idā waqa'a li-baṭnihi*) one says: JIUḲ TURDIY **čik turdi**. 0

:: DUK 'UR'DIY **dük urdi** "He struck a light blow with his fist (*ḏaraba bi-kaffihi ḏarban xafīfan majmū'an anāmiluhu*).” 0 **dük**

DUK MINK **dük miṅ** "Thousands (*mā bayn al-ulūf*).” :: DUK MINK YARMA'Q: **dük miṅ yarmāq** "Thousands of dirhams.” 0

If something is "set standing up (*qā'im^{an}*)" one says: DIK· TURDIY **dik turdi**. **dik**

SIK **sik** "The male member (*'ard ar-rajul*).” Maḥmūd [al-Kāšyarī] states: It shows good manners, and respect for the Book of God, for a Reader among crude Turks and their women to muffle his reading of the following verses: *wa-ātat kulla wāḥidatⁱⁿ minhunna sikkīn^{an}* (Q. 12:31 "then she gave to each one of them a knife"); and: *mā yaftaḥi llāhu li-n-nāsi min raḥmatⁱⁿ fa-lā mumsika lahā wa-mā yumsik fa-lā mursila lahu min ba'dihi* (Q. 35:2 "Whatsoever mercy God opens to men, none can withhold and whatsoever He withholds, none can loose after Him"). He should muffle his reading of such verses among them, for they do not understand the meaning, but consider that the sounds of the words mean what they understand by them in their own language; so they commit a sin by laughing at them. Likewise, he should muffle his reading of the following verse: *in hādā illā xtilāq* (Q. 38:7 "this is surely an invention") 0 because in their language TIL'Q: **tilāq** is "vulva (*farj al-mar'a*).” Likewise, he should muffle among the Oḡuz all phrases containing the interrogative *am*, as for example: *a'antum anzaltumūhu min al-muzni am naḥnu l-munzilūn* (Q. 56:69 "Did you send it down from the clouds, or did We send it?"), since 'AM· **am** is "vulva (*farj al-mar'a*)" in Oḡuz dialect. **D**

[I. 281/335]

169

But there is no objection with regard to one who understands the meaning. 0

ŠUK· **šük** A word of silencing. The Turks say: ŠUK· TUR· **šük tur** "Be quiet (*uskut*).” **šük**
0 **D**

:: 'UL MUK TURDIY **ol mük turdi** "He stood bent over (*qiyām ar-rāki*).” **mük**

L

BUL 'ĀT **bol āt** "A white-legged (*muḥajjal*) horse.” One calls a horse "with a blaze and a white leg (*aḡarr muḥajjal*)": 'UḠR BUL oḡar **bol**. 0 **bol**

One calls "wheat that has been left for years so that the flavor has gone out": BUL TARİḠ **bül tariḡ**. The same if it has rotted due to rain or moisture. And anything "that has spoiled with time (*baliya min ḡül az-zamān*)" is called: BUL **bül**. This is close to Arabic in both sense and sound, since it is *baliya* in Arabic and BUL **bül** in Turkic. 0 **bül**

TIL til “Speech (*kalām*).” :: ’UL ’ANKAR TIL TA_{KURDY} ol an_{ar} til tag_{ürdi} “He did him harm (*aḏā*) with his tongue and his speech.” 0 til

TIL til “Tongue (*lisān*).” Proverb [=66 *ārdām*, 501 *tīl*]: ’AR’DAM BAŠIY TIL *ārdām* bašī til “The head of the virtues is the tongue” – meaning thereby fine speech, as they say [in Arabic], *al-mar’ maxbū taḥta lisānihi* (“A man is hidden beneath his tongue”). 0 P

TIL til “Dialect (*luḡa*).” :: ’UḠZ TLY oḡuz tili “The dialect of Oḡuz.” :: YABA’QV TIL_{IY} yabāqu tili “The dialect of Yabāqu.” This word corresponds to the Arabic in meaning, since *al-lisān* (“tongue”) in Arabic can be divided into “speech” (*kalām*), “language” (*luḡa*), and so on; as in the following verse:

innī atatnī lisānun lā usarru bihā *min ‘alwa lā ‘ajabun fihā wa-lā saxarū* 0

(“There has come to me a word [*lisān . . . arāda bihi l-kalima*], at which I do not rejoice, from above; there is nought in it to be amazed at, nor to scoff at.”)¹

One calls “an enemy captive (*al-axīd min al-‘adū*)”: TIL til. Thus :: TIL TUṬY_M til *tuttīm* “I have taken one of the enemy” – to spy out the circumstances from him. 0

JIL čil “Trace of a blow on the skin (*aṭar aḏ-ḏarb fi l-jild*).” čil

“Someone maladroit (*axraq al-yad*)” is called: ŠAL ŠUL ’ALIK’LIK’ šal šul äliglig. šal šul

QUL qul “Slave (*‘abd*).” Proverb: QUL YAḠY ’IT’ BURIY qul yaḡi, it bori 0 “A slave (if he has power over his master’s property will take part of it, seizing the opportunity, and carry it away, like) an enemy; a dog is a wolf (in his own household, since he never guards anything edible once he has gotten hold of it).” This is coined about the lack of a slave’s loyalty to his master. 0 qul
P

QIL qil “A hair (*ša’ra*)” of a man, or other. 0 qil

QIL QUŠ qil quš “Wild swallow (*subad*).” It is a duck-like (*ka-l-iwazz*) bird which comes

[I. 282/337]

170

in the beginning of spring and is given as a gift in that season by emirs to one another. It is also called QIL QUḌRUQ qil quḏruq meaning “Hairy-tail” (*aš‘ar aḏ-ḏanab*). 0

169 1. From an elegy by A’šā Bāhila. According to the editors of Tawḥīdī, *Kitāb al-Imṭā’ wa-l-Mu’ānasa*, Vol. II, p. 199, *lisān* here means *risāla* (“message”); “from above” means from Upper Najd (citing *Khizānat al-Adab*); and the European edition of A’šā’s *Dīwān* has *kaḏab* in place of ‘*ajab*. See ed. R. Geyer (Gibb Memorial Series, 1928), p. 266 of text (line 4: *innī atānī lisānun lā usarru bihi / min ‘alwa lā kaḏibun minhu wa-lā suxuru*) and p. 251-2 of notes.

KUL **kül** “Ashes (*ramād*).” Proverb: KUL 'URKNJ' KUVZ 'URSA' Y₁YK **kül ürginčä köz ürsä yēg** 0 “Blowing on burning coals is better than blowing on ashes.” 0 This is coined to advise someone to concern himself with important matters and leave alone insignificant ones. **kül**
P

M

TAM **tam** “Bolt (*lizāz*)” of a door. Hence :: QBUΓ TAMLT_Y **qapuy tamlatti** “He bolted the door.” 0 **tam**

TUM' **tum** “Cold” (*al-bard*) in its root-meaning; but: TUMLIΓ **tumliγ** is used for “cold (*al-bard*)” as well as for “any cold thing (*aš-šay' al-barīd*).” 0 **tum**

TUM' **tum** “Single-colored (*bahīm*),” of horses' markings. Thus :: TUM QARA' 'AT' **tum qara at** “All-black (*bahīm aḍham*)” horse. 0 :: TUM TURΓ 'T **tum toruy at** “All bay (*kumayt bahīm*)” horse. 0

JIM **čim** An exaggerative particle of dampness or rawness. Thus :: JIM' Y₁YK 'AT' **čim yīg at** “Very raw (*niyy jiddan*) meat.” :: JIM' 'UL TUVN **cim öl tōn** “A very damp (*raḥb jiddan*) garment.” 0 **čim**

JIM' **čim** “Peat (*tīl*).” This is what is cut away from the ground and dried, then used as kindling, since it contains dense-rooted vegetation. :: JIM' BJ₁T₁Y **čim bičti** “He cut some peat.”

SUM' SUJK NA'NK **süm süčig nāḡ** “Something very sweet (*ḥulw jiddan*).” Oγuz dialect. 0 **süm**
D

QUM' **qum** “Sand (*raml*).” Čigil dialect; the Oγuz do not know it. **qum** D

KAM' **kām** “Sickness (*dā'*).” Hence :: 'AT' KAM' LAN' DI_Y **at kämländi** “The horse (or other) took sick.” 0 **kām**

KUM **köm** Exaggerative particle for gray, in Oγuz dialect. :: KUM' KVK **köm kök** “Deep gray (*aγbar jiddan*).” 0 **köm**
D

KIM **kim** An interrogative particle meaning “who? (*man*).” :: BUV K₁I₁YM **bu kīm** “Who is this?” It is used for singular or plural. The Oγuz say: BU₁V₁Y KYM **bōy kīm** meaning, “Who are your clan? (*man al-qabīla*).” This is a collective noun. **kim**
D

N

BAN **bän** A particle meaning “I” (*anā*). :: BAN BAR' DIM **bän bardim** “I went.” Oγuz dialect; the Turks say MAN' **män**. 0 **bän**
D

TUN' **tün** “Night (*layla*).” Thus :: TUVN' LA' KAL' DIM **tünlä kälđim** “I came at night.” 0 **tün**

TIN' **tin** “Spirit, breath (*rūḥ, nafas*).” Thus :: 'ANIK TI₁YNI₁Y KAS₁L' DI₁Y **anig tīni käsildi** **tin**

“The man’s breath and spirit were cut off.”

TIN tin “Halter (*miqwad*).” Thus :: TIN TIZ_KIN_ tin tizgin “Halter and bridle.” 0

JIN_ ċin “Truthfulness (*şidq*).” Thus :: JIN_ SUVZLA’R ċin sōzlār “He speaks truthfully (*yaşduqu l-kalām*).” :: JIN ’AY_DINK ċin aydiñ “You told the truth.”

ċin

SAN_ sän A particle meaning “you (*anta*).” The Turks use this word for children and servants, or anyone below the speaker in age or rank. For anyone of respect or rank they say: SIZ_ siz, with *zāy*. The Oğuz turn the story around. They call older people SAN_ sän, with *nūn*, and younger people SIZ_ siz, with *zāy*. The latter is also used for the plural, and this is according to rule, since SIZ_ siz is a collective. 0

sän

D

QIN qin “Sheath (*jafn*)” of a sword or knife. :: QILJ QIYNIY qilič qīni “Sword-sheath.” 0

qin

KAN_ kän Any “city” in the Eastern regions (*kull balda fī diyār aš-şarq*). This is a lightened form of KAN_D_ känd.

kän

D

KUN kün “Sun (*şams*).” :: KUN TUĠ_DIY kün tuğdi “The sun rose.” Proverb: KUN-KA’ BAQ_SA’ KVZ_ QAMA’R_ künkä baqsa köz qamār “One who looks at the sun will daze his eyes.” 0

kün

P

KUN_ kün “Day (*yawn*).” :: BUV KUN BAR_ĠIL bu kün baryil “Go today.” It is called this because daylight is due to the sun.

KIN YBA’R_ kin yipār “Musk-bag (*nāfija misk*).” 0

kin

MAN_ män A particle meaning “I (*anā*).” Turk dialect. 0

män D

MUN mün “Soup (*marāqa*).” Among the Yağma I heard them say: MUN KALDUR mün kaldür meaning “Bring the soup” but they brought noodles (*iṭriya*), since that is what they meant.

mün

D

In Turkic script or in this script it is permitted to insert the *līn* letter in these words; in the pronunciation, however, its presence in their dialects is as I have written. 0

G

End of Chapters of Sound Biliterals

Chapters of Trilaterals

Chapter: *fa’l, fu’l, fi’l*, medial quiescent, in its various vocalizations

T

BART **bart** “A measuring vessel for wine (*naytal aš-šarāb*); a measuring-cup (*mikyāl*) of any liquid.” 0 **bart**

YART_T **bart** “Jug (*kūz*) for drinking water.” Oğuz dialect. D

YART YURT TUŦY **bärt bürt tutti** “He grasped it from every side at once (*min kull bārt bürt jānib faj’atan*).” 0 **bärt bürt**

YUR·T **bürt** “Nightmare (*jāfūm*).” It may be called KTY BURT **köti (?) bürt**. **bürt**

BYRT [sic] **bert** “The tax (*darība*) which a master (*mawlā*) receives annually from his slave (*abd*).” The better pronunciation is: BYRT **bērt**, with *yā*. 0 **bert**

:: ’ANIK TUŦVNIN TIR·T TIR·T YIR·ŦY **anig tōnin tirt tirt yirtti** “He tore his clothes with this sound, carelessly (*min yayr mubālāt bihi*).” 0 **tirt**

TURT YARMA’Q **tört yarmāq** “Four (*arba’a*) dirhams.” Likewise, every “four” is: TUŦVR·T_T **tört**. The better pronunciation is: TUŦVRT_T **tört**, with *vā*. 0 **tört**

One calls the “crumbs (*duqāq*)” or “fragments (*ruqād*)” of anything: JAR·T JUR·T **čärt čürt**. Hence :: BZINIK ’ANDA’ BYR· JART ’ALŦUVMIZ BA’R **biziŋ anda bir čärt alŦümüz bār** “He has a crumb (*kisra*) which belongs to us.” 0 **čärt čürt**

If a man “spits through his teeth (*min xilāl asnānihi*)” one says: JIR·T_T SUVD·TIY **čirt sūđti**. 0 **čirt**

SAR·T_T **sart** “Merchant (*tājir*).” Proverb: SAR·T ’AZUQY ’ARIF BULSA’ YULDA’ **sart** **YYR sart azuqi ariy bolsa yolda yēr**. 0 We have already explained this above [45 *azuq*]. 0 **sart** P

:: ’ANIK ’AĐA’QIY SAR·T SURT QILDY **anig ađāqi sart surt qildi** “His foot made (such) a sound” – it is like the sound a foot makes in a loose-fitting slipper. 0 **sart surt**

SIR·T **sirt** “Coarse hair (*hulb*).”¹ **sirt**

The Oğuz call every “stream (*tu’ā*)” or “small valley (*wādī šarīr*)”: SIR·T **sirt**. D

QAR·T **qart** “Wound or sore (*qarḥ*).” Hence “an ill-tempered (*sakis al-xuluq*) man” is called: QART ’AR· **qart ār**. 0 **qart**

QURT_T **qurt** “Worm (*dūd*),” among all the Turks; and the Oğuz call “a wolf (*đi’b*)”: QUR·T_T **qurt**. 0 **qurt** D

:: 'ALIK: QART: QURT 'AṬY älig qart qurt etti “His fingers cracked (*tafarqa'at al- qart qurt aṣābi'*).”

QIRT 'UT qirt ot “Short (*qaṣīr*) grass.” Similarly, “short hair” is called: QIRT SAJ qirt sač. 0 And “a man who is miserly and bad-tempered” (*baxīl, sayyi' al-xuluq*) is called: QIR:T: KIŞY qirt kişi. 0

:: 'AT' 'AR:BA'NY KURT KURT YIYDIY' at arpāni kürt kürt yēdi “The horse ate kürt

[I. 287/343]

173

the barley crunching (*bi-xaḡd*).” The same for one who eats something, like a cucumber, and crunches it (*axḡada*).

KURT kürt *an-nab'*. It is a mountain tree used for making bows, whips and staffs.

J

:: 'AR: TURMUZNY QARJ QURJ YYDY är tarmuzni qarč Qurč yēdi “The man ate the gherkins crunching (*bi-xaḡd*).” 0

One calls “steel (*ḡadīd ḡakar*)”: QUR:J: ATAMUR Qurč tāmür. This word is used as an epithet for strong (*jilād*) men, thus: QUR:J 'ARAN: Qurč ārān meaning “tough (*ṣilāb*) men.” The same for anything “solid and hard (*muṣmat ṣalb*).” 0

MUR:J murc “Pepper (*filfil*).” murč

[D]

KAN:D känd “City (*balad*).” Kāṣyar is called: 'UR:DUV KAND: ordu känd meaning “City of residence (*balad al-iḡāma*), since Afrāsiyāb used to reside there because of its fine air; it is Lower Şīn. Verse:

KAL:NKIZLAYUV [sic] 'AQ:TIMZ	kälginlayü aqtimiz	V
KAND:LAR 'UZA' JIQTIMZ	kändlär üzä çiqtimiz	
FURXAN: 'AWIN YQTIMZ	furxan äwin yiqtimiz	
BURXAN 'UZA' SIJTIMZ	burxan üzä siçtimiz	

Describing their raid on the Uighur: “We came down on them like a flood; we went out among their cities; we tore down the idol-temples; we shat on the idols' heads.” It is customary for the Muslims when they capture a country of infidels to defecate on the heads of their idols in order to profane them. 0

KND känd “Village (*qarya*)” (among the Oḡuz and those who associate with them); “town (*kūra*)” (among most of the Turks). The chief city (*qaṣaba*) of Farḡāna is called: 'UVZ: KAND ōz känd meaning “City of our souls (*balad anfusina*).” SAMIZ: KAN:D sāmiz känd meaning “Fat city (*balda samīna*)” is called thus because of its great size; it is, in Persian, Samarqand. N

S

BAR˘S˘ bars “Leopard (*fahd*).” 0 BAR˘S˘ bars One of the twelve years in Turkic. bars
0

The Turks take the names of twelve different animals and brand twelve [successive] Calendar years by these names. Dates of births and battle are then reckoned according to the succession (*dawarān*) of these years. 0

The origin of this custom is that one of their kings once required information about a battle that had occurred some years before his reign, and they [his ministers?] were mistaken about the year

[I. 289/345]

174

in which that battle fell. 0

So he consulted with his people about it. He said: “Just as we were mistaken about this date, so will those who are after us be mistaken. Let us now therefore appoint a twelve-year cycle, corresponding to the number of the months and the number of the signs of the Zodiac, so that the reckoning[of years] from now on shall be according to their succession, and shall be an everlasting memorial.” They said: “Just as thou judgest.”

Then he went out hunting, and ordered that the wild beasts be driven toward the valley of the Īla, a great river. They hunted the beasts and drove them into the water. Twelve different ones crossed the river, and he put the name of each of them on a year. The first is: SIJ˘GA˘N˘ sičγān “Mouse (*fāra*).” This was the first to cross, so he put it at the beginning of the cycle. The usage follows these names. ∴ SIJ˘GA˘N˘ YILY sičγān yili “Year of the mouse”; 0 then: ʾUVD YILY ūd yili “Year of the ox (*baqar*)”; then: BAR˘S˘ YILY bars yili “Year of the leopard”; then: TA˘WIŠGA˘N˘ YILY tawišγān yili “Year of the hare (*arnab*)”; then: N˘K LVV¹ YILY nāg (lū) yili “Year of the crocodile (*timsāḥ*)”; 0 then: YILAN˘ YILY yilān yili “Year² of the snake (*ḥayya*)”; then: YUN˘D˘ YILY yond yili “Year of the horse (*faras*)”; 0 then: QU˘VY˘ YILY qōy yili “Year of the sheep (*yanam*)”; then: BI˘YJIN˘ YILY bēcin yili “Year of the monkey (*qird*)”; 0 then: TA˘QA˘ΓUV YILY taqāγu yili “Year of the hen (*dajāj*)”; then: ʾIT˘ YILY it yili “Year of the dog (*kalb*)”; then: TUNKUZ YILY tonuz yili “Year of the pig (*xin-zīr*).”

When it reaches this: TUNKUZ tonuz, then the reckoning begins again with: SIJ˘GA˘N˘ sičγān “Mouse.”

The year in which I wrote this book was: Muḥarram, 466, during which began the year of the snake or YILAN˘ YILY yilān yili. When this year ends, and the year ʾ70³ begins, then will begin the year of the horse or: YUND YLY yond yili.

174 1. Below the line (gloss by a later hand?).

2. MS. *sana wahya*, omit *wahya*.

3. Marginal note in brown ink: “Correction: the year ʾ67.”

The reckoning of the cycle is thus, as I have shown you.

The Turks claim a piece of wisdom (*hikma*) for each of the years,

[I. 290/347]

175

and draw an omen from it. They say: “If it is: 'VD YILY ūd yili – i.e. the year of the ox – there will be many battles, because of the goring of oxen. 0 If it is the year of the hen there will be much food, but there will be strife among men, since the food of hens is grain, and they are constantly tossing about refuse [to find pieces of grain]. If it is the year of the snake, or the year of the crocodile, there will be rains and abundance of herbage, because the home of these animals is water. If it is the year of the pig there will be much cold and snow and discord.” Thus do they claim something for each year.

The Turks do not have names for the seven days, since the week became known [only] with Islam. Also, the names of the months, in the cities, are given in Arabic. The nomads¹ and the heathen infidels give them names according to four seasons: every three-month period has a name by which the passing of the year is known. For example, the beginning of spring, after Nayrūz, is called: 'UFLA'Q 'AYI oylāq ay meaning “Month of the kid (*jady*)”; then: 'LUF 'UFLA'Q 'AYI uluγ oylāq ay meaning “Month of the large kid” – since the second month is longer; 0 then: 'LUF 'AY uluγ ay meaning “Great month” – since it falls in mid-summer when milk is abundant and all the blessings of livestock and of earth appear. And so for the rest; but I will not mention them, since they are seldom used – so understand! 0

BAR'S bars Any “swelling (*waram*)” on the body, from the bite of a louse or flea, or from the eruption of pimples. :: 'NIK 'ATY BAR'S BULDY anig äti bars boldi “His skin swelled up (*tawarrama*) in that way.”

bars

TAR'S tärs Anything “difficult (*ša'b*).” Thus :: TAR'S 'IYŠ tärs iš “A difficult matter.” 0

tärs

:: 'UL 'ANY JAR'S JAR'S 'URDIY ol ani čars čars urdi “He struck him on the skin with (such) a sound.” Similarly one says: TRS TRS 'URDY tars tars urdi meaning that “he struck him from all sides (*min kull jānib*).” 0

čars

tars

QARS qars “Robe (*kisā'*) of camels-hair or sheeps-wool.” 0

qars

[I. 291/348]

176

:: 'UL QAR'S QAR'S 'AYA' YAB'TY ol qars qars aya yapti “He clapped his hands (*šaffaqa bi-yadayhi*).” This is onomatopoeic for the sound of clapping.

F

175 1. “The nomads” added in margin (original copyist).

:: TA'M̄ KULF YQLDY **tām külf yiqildi** “The wall collapsed noisily and suddenly (bi-šawt wa-sur'a).” **külf**

Q

:: 'AW BAR_Q äw **barq** “House and home (*bayt wa-dār*).” One never uses: BAR_Q **barq** alone, but only paired. 0 **barq**

One calls the “length (*ḫūl*)” of any body: TUR_Q **turq**. Thus :: B̄YR̄ SUNKUV **turq** TUR_QY **bīr sūñü turqı** “As long as a spear (*qadr ḫūl al-qanāt*).” :: YIYR̄ 'IYNIY TURQIY **yēr ēni turqı** “The length and breadth of the land.” 0

JULQ 'S'KURK [sic] **čulq äsrük** “Drunk, ‘potted’ (*sakrān ṭāfiḥ*).” 0 **čulq**

:: JALQ JULQ ?DR QILDY: **čalq čulq badar qildi** “He shoved him (*wakazahu*).” This is **čalq čulq** onomatopoeic for the sound of shoving.

QIAR_Q **qirq** The number “forty (*arba'in*).” Proverb: QIR_Q YILQA¹ BA'Y_ JIΓA'Y **qirq** TUZLIUNÜVR_ **qirq yilqa bāy čiryāy tüzlinür** 0 “The rich and the poor shall be equal in forty years” – meaning with death, or with the turning of Time. **qirq**
P

K

BAR_K NANK **bärk nän** “Something firm (*muḥkam*).” Its root-form is: BAK_ **bäk**; the **bärk** *rā'* is an augment.

BUR_K **börk** “Cap (*qalansuwa*).” Proverb [=407 tat]: TA'T_SIYZ_ TURK_ BULM'S **börk** BA'Š_SIYZ_ BURK_ BULM'S **tätsiz türk bolmās, bäsiz börk bolmās** 0 “A Turk is never without a Persian (just as) a cap is never without a head.” **börk**
P

TRK_ **türk** Name of a city in the country of the Turks. 0 **türk N**

:: TARK KAL **tärk käl** “Come quickly! (*asri' fi l-ḫudūr*).” Also used in any command of hastening; :: TARK QIL **tärk qil** “Hurry! (*asri'*).” 0 **tärk**

TURK **türk** Name of the son of Noah, God's blessings be upon him. This is the name by which God called the sons of Turk son of Noah, just as “Man (*al-insān*)” is the name of Adam, peace be upon him, in the following verse: *hal atā 'alā l-insāni ḫin^{un} min ad-dahr* (Q. 76:1 “Has there come on man a while of time . . . ?”) – in this passage a general name (*ism*) is used for an individual (*wāḥid*); and in the following verse: *la-qad xalaqnā l-insāna fi aḥsani taqwīmⁱⁿ tumma radadnāhu asfala sāfilin illā lladīna āmanū wa-'amilū ṣ-ṣāliḫāt* (Q. 95:4-6 “We indeed created Man in the fairest stature then We restored him the lowest of the low – Save those who believe, and do righteous deeds”) – it is a collective noun (*ism jam'*), since there is no one who can be excluded **türk N**

from this singular. In the same way “Türk” is the name of the son of Noah, in the singular; but when it refers to his sons it is a collective – like the word “human (*al-bašar*),” it is used for singular or plural. Likewise, “Rūm” is the name of Rūm son of Esau son of Isaac, God’s blessings be upon him, and also his sons were called by that name.

I state that *at-Turk* is the name given by God. This is on the authority of the venerable Shaykh and Imam, al-Ḥusayn Ibn Khalaf al-Kāšġarī, who was told by Ibn al-Gharqī, who said: It was transmitted to us by the Shaykh, Abū Bakr al-Muʿyīd al-Jarġarāʾī,¹ known as Ibn Abī-d-Dunyā, in his book *On the End of Time (al-muʿallaf fī āxir az-zamān)*, with his chain of transmission going back to the Prophet, God bless him and give him peace, who said: “God, exalted and mighty, says, ‘I have a host whom I have called *at-Turk* and whom I have set in the East; when I am wroth over any people I will make them sovereign above them.’ ” This is an excellence of theirs above the rest of created beings: that He the most high took it upon himself to name them; that He settled them in the most exalted spot and in the finest air on Earth; that He called them his own army. Not to mention their other virtues, such as beauty, elegance, refinement, politeness, reverence, respect for elders, loyalty, modesty, dignity and courage, all of which serve to justify their praises unnumbered. Verse:

QJAN KURSA' 'ANY TURK	qačan körsa ani türk	V
YUḌN 'A'ḤA' 'NIK 'AYDAJY	(boḍun) ayġa anig aydaċi ²	
MUNKAR TAKIR 'ULUḤLUQ	muṅar tāġir uluġluq	
MUNDA' NARUV KAS'LINUVR	munda naru kāslinür	

Praising a man: “When the tribes of the Turks see him they will say, ‘Glory and pride befit this one, and after him will be cut off.’ ”

The singular is: TURKU *türk* as well as the plural. :: KIM SAN *kim sän* “Who are you?”; answer: TURK_ MAN *türk män* “I am a Turk.” :: TURK SUVSIY 'ATLAN_ḌIY *türk süsi atlandi* “The troops of the Turks mounted.” 0

177 1. MS. Jarġarānī. The title given here is not found among the works of the famous Ibn Abī d-Dunyā, Abū Bakr ‘Abdallāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ubayd (d. 281/894). (Cf. GAL, S I, 247-8: “40. K. Āḥir az-zamān, zitiert al-Kāšġarī . . .”)

2. Possibly *boḍun* goes with the first line, and “tribes of the Turks” (*ṭawāʾif at-turk*) translates *türk boḍun*. Omitting the word altogether both lines are metrically correct, and line two literally means: “a sayer of theirs will say.” This would translate the Arabic phrase *qāla qāʾiluhā* (“one of them would say”) in a verse of al-Farazdaq on which this Turkic verse is based according to A.-Z. Validi [Togan], “Maḥmūd Kašġarīʾye ait notlar,” in *Atsız Mecmua* 17 (1932), p. 126. The Arabic verse in question is: *idā raʾathu qurayshun qāla qāʾiluhā / ilā makārimi hādā yantahī l-karamu* (“When the Quraysh saw him, one of them would say: ‘Nobility reaches as far as this one’s noble qualities’”). Alternately line two must be amended to read: *boḍun anār aydaċi*, and the first two lines translated either “When the Turks see him, the people will say to him” (thus Brockelmann, “Volkspoesie,” I, p. 18) or “When they see that he is a Turk, the people will say” (thus Atalay, *Tercüme*, I, 352 n.).

[I. 294/353]

178

TURK türk A particle of time indicating “the mid-point of the ripening of a fruit (*wasat idrāk kull šay’ min at-ṭamar*).” Thus :: **TURK ’ZUM ’UVDIY türk üzüm ödi** “The mid-time (*waqt tawassuṭ*) of ripening grapes.” :: **TURK QUY’Ş ’UVDY türk quyāš ödi** “Mid-time (noon *waqt tawassuṭ [aš-šams?]*).” :: **TURK YIKT_ türk yigit** “A young man at the prime of his youth (*šābb tawassaṭa šabābuhu*).” 0

SAR·K sār̄k “Earthenware, potsherd (*al-xazaf wa-mā nkasara minhā*).” 0 **sār̄k**

:: **’NIK ’DA’QY SUR·K BUVZ¹ TAK anig aḏāqi sūr̄k būz tāg** “His foot is cold as ice (*ka-l-jamd fi l-burūda*).” This word is used only in this context. 0 **sūr̄k**

KUR·K kür̄k “Fur (*farw*).” 0 **kür̄k**

KUR·K kör̄k “Beauty (*ḥusn, jamāl*).” Hence :: **KUR·K’LUK’ kör̄klüg** meaning “beautiful (*jamīl*).” 0 **kör̄k**

End of Chapters of Medial Quiescent Words

Chapters of Medial Vowelled Words

Chapter: *fa’al, fa’ul, fa’il*, medial vowelled, in its various vocalizations

B

KALAB’ kälāp A tender plant (*nabt nā’im*) which grows in the summer pasture of the Turks and fattens cattle quickly. **kälāp**

T

BASUT basut “Assistant, sympathetic helper (*ṣahīr, mu’āwin mušfiq*).” 0 **BASUT’ basut** “Help (*i’āna*).” Thus :: **’UL MANK’ BASUT’ BIR’DIY ol maṇa basut berdi** “He helped me.” These two are related. 0 **basut**

BULIT bulit “Cloud (*saḥāba*).” :: **QAR’ BULIT’ qara bulit** “Black cloud.” :: **’AQ’ BULIT’ aq bulit** “Rain-cloud (*muzn*).” Proverb [cf. 540 tüpi]: **bulit**

QAR’ BULIT’ YIYL ’AJA’R
’URNJ BIL’ ’IYL ’AJA’R

qara bulitiḡ yēl ačār
urunč bilä ēl ačār

P

0 “When a black cloud covers the sky, the wind clears it away; similarly, a bribe opens the door of state.” This is coined to advise someone to spend money in order to attain his desire.

Black hair may be likened to it; thus :: BULIT' TAK SAJY bulit tåg saçi "His hair is like a cloud (in its abundance)." Verse:

'AḠDIY BULIT' KUKRAYUV	aydi bulit kökräyü	V
YAḠMUR TULY SAK'RİYUV	yaḡmur toli sekriyü	
QALIQ 'ANY 'UK'RAIYUV ²	qalıq ani ügr ügriyü	
QANJ' BARIYR BALKUVSUVZ	qanča barır bälgüsüz	

[I. 296/354]

179

"A cloud came up thundering, rain and hail leaping from it, the air blowing it about; it is unknown what direction it will take." 0

TUBÜT_ tübüüt A large tribe (*jīl* . . . *kaṭīr*) in the lands of the Turks. Among them is found the musk-deer whose navel or musk-bag is cut out. 0 They are the descendants of Ṭābit. He was a man from Yemen who committed a crime, then took fright and fled by sea to Ṣīn. He found those regions to his liking and settled there. His children multiplied to such an extent that they took over 1500 parasangs from the lands (*arāḍī*) of the Turks. They are bordered on the East by Ṣīn, on the West by Qišmīr, on the North by Uighur, and on the South by the Indian Sea. In their language one still finds some Arabic words, such as: 'UMA' uma "Mother (*umm*)" and: 'ABA' aba "Father (*ab*)." 0

tübüüt
N

TIKIT_ tegit Plural of: TIKYN_ tegin. Its root-meaning is "slave (*'abd*)"; then it became an honorific for the sons of the Khāqāniyya. It is an irregular plural. :: 'UKA' TIKIT_ ögä tegit "The class comprising great commoners and small nobles (*al-kibār min as-sūqa wa-ṣ-ṣiḡār min abnā' al-mulūk*)." This is used as a paired expression: 'UKA' TIKIT_ ögä tegit. The origin of the appellation: 'UKA' ögä goes back to the time of Dū-l Qarnayn, when a skirmish took place between the vanguards of his army and of the Turks, before the truce [see 57 ögä]. 0

tegit
N

JUKUT_ KIŞY_ ööküt kişi "A short (*qaşır*) man (or other)." 0

ööküt

JIKIT_ öigit "Cotton seed (*ḡabb al-qutn*)." Arḡu dialect.

öigit D

SIBUT_ sibus "Coriander seed (*kuzbara*)." Kāşyar dialect. 0

sibus D

SUFUT_ suyut "Dried curds (*aqıṭ*)." Qarluq dialect. 0
(*al-am'ā'*) stuffed with spices, rice and meat, then cooked and eaten." 0

SUFUT suyut "Gut-wurst
suyut D

SIFIT_ siyit "Weeping (*bukā'*)." 0

siyit

SUKUT_ sögüt "Willow (*şajar al-xilāf*)." Proverb [=502 söl]: SUKUT SUVLIḠK' QADINK Q'SNK' sögüt söliḡä, qadıḡ qāsiḡa 0 "The moistness which is in the willow most properly belongs to it, and the bark-strap of the birch most properly belongs to the birch." [The

sögüt
P

2. I in a later hand (black, thin point).

willow for its sap, the birch for its bark.] This is coined about anything which inclines toward its origin (*yamīlu ilā aṣlihi*). 0

QAJUT **qačut** “Pursuit (*ṭirād*)” in battle, etc. 0

qačut

QARIT **qarit** A word of abuse belonging to the Türkmän (*sabb li-t-turkmān*). I think it is borrowed from the Arabic *qārat* (“raid”?). 0

qarit
D ?

QURT **qurut** “Dried curds (*aqiṭ*).” 0

qurut

[I. 298/357]

180

QANAT_ **qanat** “Wing (*janāḥ*).” 0

qanat

QUNAT_ **qonat** “Any group of people who stick together (*kull ṣirm min an-nās talab-bada ba‘duhum bi-ba‘d*).” Thus :: ’UL MANIK QUN’TIM ’UL ol mänig qonātim ol “He is one of those who stick with me.” 0

qonat

KABIT **kābit** “Shop (*ḥānūt*).” 0

kābit

KUJAT_ **küčät** A tribe (*jīl*) of Turks, who have been settled (*uskinū*) in Khwārizm. 0

küčät N

KJUT **köčüt** “Horse (*faras*).”

köčüt

KADUT **käđüt** “An item of clothing (*kull mā yulbasu min al-aṭwāb*).” This word is normally confined to weddings, when the relatives of the groom and bride put on a certain garment in their honor. One then says: KADUT_ BIR_ DIY **käđüt berdi** meaning, “He gave him a garment of honor (*libās al-karāma*).” 0

käđüt

KIRIT **kirit** “Key (*miftāḥ*).” This word is close to the Arabic *iqḻīd*; the *alif* was dropped, the *qāf* was changed to *kāf*, the *lām* to *rā*, and the *dāl* to *tā*. 0

kirit

KULUT_ **külüt** “A laughing-stock (*duḥka*) among the people.”

külüt

J

BUQAJ_ **buqač** “Earthen jar or kettle (*at-tawr aw al-qidr min xazaf*).” :: ’AŠJ BUQAJ_ ešič **buqač** “Pots and pans (*qidr wa-tawr*),” used pleonastically. 0

buqač

BAKAJ **bäkäč** A princely honorific (*laqab li-t-takākīn*), as in: BAKAJ_ ’ARS_ LA_ N_ TIKIYN **bäkäč arslān tegīn**.

bäkäč
N

If this word is pronounced with the thin *kāf* [i.e. **begäč**] it means “O little emir” (*yā umayyir*). It is a diminutive of “emir,” used as a term of endearment. The word: BAK_ **beg** “Emir” is with a thin *kāf*.

begäč

BULUJ_ **buluč** A man’s name.

buluč

TUQJ **toqač** “Flat-bread (*qurş*).” This is derived from the expression: TUQ· ’AR· **toq är** meaning “a satiated man,” since it fills him up. 0 **toqač**

TIKUJ **tiküč** “Pastry-cook’s prick (*minsaya*).” 0 **tiküč**

JANJ **čanač** “One who is effeminate (*muxannaṭ*), cowardly (*jabān*), ungainly and awkward (*lā rifq lahu fī l-umūr wa-fīhi faṣal wa-futūr*).” **čanač**

“A red leather bag (*jirāb aḥmar*)” is called: SANJ KSIR·LUV **sanač** *käsirgü*. 0 **sanač**

QAQAJ **qaqač** “Filth, pollution (*wasax, daran*).” Thus :: TUVN QAQAJ BULDY **tōn qaqač** **boldi** “The garment became soiled (*wasixa*).” 0 **qaqač**

QUILUJ· **quluč** A man’s name. 0 **quluč** N

QULAJ **qulač** “Span of the outspread arms (fathom) (*bā’*).” Its root is the expression: QUL· ’A’J· **qol āč** meaning “Open wide your arms (*iftaḥ al-bā’*).” Thus :: BYR QULJ· BAR·JIN **bir qulač** **barčēn** “A span of brocade.” 0 **qulač**

QILIJ **qilič** “Sword (*sayf*).” Proverb: QUŠ QILJ QIN·QA’ SIΓM’S **qoš qilič qinqa siymās** 0 “Two swords cannot fit in one sheath.” **qilič**
P

[I. 299/359] 181

This is coined about two men who are arguing over something or who are wooing the same woman. The Khāqāniyya use this word as an honorific, as in: QILJ XA’N **qilič xān** meaning “a king who executes his affairs and decisions like a sword.” N
Verse [=101 **uruš**]:

’RAN ’ALBY ’QIŠ·TIYLAR·	arān alpi oqištīlar	V
QINKR KVZIN BAQIŠ·TIYLAR·	qinr kōzin baqištīlar	
QAMUΓ TULMUN TUQIŠ·TIYLAR·	qamuγ tulumun toqištīlar	
QILJ QINQA’ KUJUN SIΓ·DIY	qilič qinqa küčün siγdi	

Describing battles – “The warriors called out to each other; they looked at one another askance; they fought with all their weapons; (until) the sword could hardly fit in its sheath” – because of the large amount of blood that dried on it.

QAMIJ· **qamič** “Ladle (*miḡrafa*).” 0 **qamič**

To curse out a boy, one says: KUTIJ **kōtič** meaning “O stink-bum! (*yā muntin ka-š-šumārā*).” This derives from the word for “posterior [i.e. 161 **kōt**].” 0 **kōtič**

KUZAJ **küzäč** “Jug, pot (*kūza*,¹ *bastūqa*).” This word corresponds to the Arabic except that the *hā’* became *jīm*. 0 **küzäč**

- KUADAJ **küďäč** with *ďäl* – also, “Jug (*kūza*)”; Arγu dialect. One finds the same alternation of *ďäl* and *zāy* in Arabic, for example: *zabara* and *ďabara*² for “to write”; and: *mā’ zu’āq wa-ďu’āq* (“bitter water”). 0 **küďäč** D
- KUMAJ’ **kömäč** “Flat-bread (*qurş*) that is buried in the embers [for baking].” 0 **kömäč**
- KUMUJ **kömüč** “Buried treasure (*kanz*).” :: ’UL KUMUJ BULDY ol **kömüč buldi** “He found buried treasure.” 0 **kömüč**
- “Black grapes (*inab ħirbīb*) are called: MAŠJ ’ZUM **mašič (?) üzüm.** **masič ?**
- R
- BUTR **botar (?)** “Cotton of rushes (*tūt al-bardī*).” **botar ?**
- :: YDAR’ YADAR YUKRDY **badar badar yügürdi** “He ran with a pattering sound (*’adā wa-sumi’a li-’adwihi ħafīfan*).” 0 **badar**
- BASR **basar** “Mountain garlic (*tūm al-jabal*).” 0 **basar**
- BAĞIR **bağir** “Liver (*kabid*).” A man who obeys no one is called: BADUK BAĞIR’LİĞ **bağir**
bädük bağirliğ meaning “Big-livered.” And “the middle (*kabid*) of a bow” is called: YA’ BAĞIR’-RIY ya **bağri.**
- BAQIR’ **baqir** “Copper (*nuĥās*).” Proverb: BA’R BAQIR’ YUVQ ’ALTUVN’ **bār baqir** **baqir P**
yōq altūn 0 “What is present is (like) copper (one cares nought about it), what is missing is (like) gold (in its preciousness).” This is coined about one who is the object of scorn among his near ones but whom they grieve over sorely when they lose him. 0 BAQIR’ **baqir** “Copper coins (*fulūs*)” in Šīn, with which they buy and sell. 0 BAQIR’ **SUQIM baqir suqim** D
- [I. 301/361] **182**
- “Mars (*mirrix*).” Its redness is likened to copper. 0
- BUKUR’ **bögür** “Kidney (*kulya*).” 0 **bögür**
- BUKR **bögür** A fortress (*qal’a*) on a mountain-top between Kuča and Uighur. It is a frontier post (*tağr*). 0 N
- TABAR’ **tapar** The two sons of : ’INA’L’ ’UVZ’ **ināl öz**, one of the kings of Qifčāq. 0 **tapar N**
- TATIR’ YZR’ **tatir yēr** “Steppe (*al-qarāḥ min al-arḍ*).” 0 **tatir**
- TITIR’ **titir** “Female camel (*nāqa*).” 0 **titir**

:: 'AT 'ADA'QIY TAQIR TAQIR 'AṬIY at adāqi taqir taqir etti "The horses' hooves made (such) a sound." Also: TIKIR' TIKIR' 'AṬIY tikir tikir etti, same meaning. 0 taqir
tikir

TAMUR **tämür** "Iron (*ḥadīd*)." Proverb: KUVK TAMUR KRUV TURMA'S' **kök tämür kerü turmās** "The blue iron does not come to rest ineffectually (*lā yastaqirru min ḡayr 'amal*)" – that is, it causes a wound when it strikes something. 0 This has another meaning also. The Qirgiz, Yabāqu, Qifčāq and others, when they enter into alliance with a person or become party to a contract with him, place an unsheathed sword crosswise before him and say the following: BUV KUVK' KIR'SUVN' QIZIL' JIQ'SUVN **bu kök kirsün qizil čiqsün** meaning, "May this (iron) go in blue and come out red" – that is "bloody" – if I break this treaty. This means he will be killed by iron, in order that the iron be avenged upon him, since they regard iron as possessing great power (*yu'azžimūna l-ḥadīd*). 0 tämür
P

TAMUR' **tamur** "Vein (*'irq*) in the body." The Oḡuz say: TAMAR' **tamar**, with *fath* of the *mīm*. They always prefer lightness, and *naşb* (A) is the lightest of vowels, so they have recourse to it. tamur
D tamar

TAWAR' **tawar** "Property, animate or inanimate" (*as-sil'a ma şāta¹ wa-şamata*). The Oḡuz and other say: TAVAR' **tavar**, with *vāv*. tawar
D tavar
Verse:

TAWAR KIM'NIK UK'LISA'	tawar kimnig üklisä	V
BAKLIK 'ANKAR KARKAYUVR'	beglik anar kargäyür	
TAWARSIZIN QALIB' BAK	tawarsizin qalip beg	
'ARAN'SIZIN 'AM'KAYUVR'	äränsizin ämgäyür	

"Whoever has much wealth (*māl*) is more worthy of being emir than another; but if an emir is left emptyhanded he will tire himself in collecting men," since they gather around him only out of a desire for wealth. 0

JUBUR **čöpür** "Goat's-hair (*şar al-ma'z*)." čöpür

One calls "rubbish, old furniture" (*al-xurfi min al-matā'*): JUBUR JABUR **čöpür čäpür**, pleonastically. 0 čöpür
čäpür

One calls "a bad-tempered (*sayyi' al-xuluq*) man": JUTUR² **KIŞY čotur kişi**. 0 čotur

[I. 303/363]

JAGIR **čaḡir** "Juice (*'aşir*)." 0 JAGIR **čaḡir** "Wine (*xamr*)." This word has two opposite meaning (*min al-aḡḡād*). čaḡir

JAGIR **čiyir** "Narrow path (*zaqab* [defined])." 0 čiyir

JAQIR **čaḡir** "Blue (*azraq*)." Proverb: čaḡir

182 1. MS. *şā*.

2. Under the T is a dot in red ink (indicates B).

'IT' JAQIRIY 'AT'QA' TAKIYR:
'AT' JAQIRIY 'ITQA' TAK'MA'S:

it čaqiri atqa tąg̃ir
at čaqiri itqa tąg̃mäs

P

0 “A blue [-eyed] dog is worth a horse but a blue [-eyed] horse is not worth a dog” – since such a horse does not see well – coined as a warning against such a one.

JKIR JKIR čikir čikir Sound of teeth [chewing] bread that has grit (*qadıđ*) in it so the teeth are set on edge (*yakillu*).

čikir

SUFUR suγur “Weasel (*wabr*).” It is a small animal resembling the monitor lizard (*waral*); its skin is used to make raincoats. 0

suγur

SFIR sayir [Battue-shooting] A type of hunting (*şayd*) of kings with their subjects: the king scatters people among the thickets and plains to round up animals and drive them toward him while he stands there shooting, without tiring himself from seeking them out. 0

sayir

SIFIR siγir “Ox (*baqar*).” 0 SUVW SIFIRIY sūw siγiri “Water-buffalo (*al-jāmūs ay baqar al-mā'*).” 0

siγir

QATIR: qatir “Mule (*bayl*).”

qatir

QADIR: NA'NK: qadir nāñ “Something hard (*şab*).” Thus :: QADIR: YIYR: qadir yēr “A hard place” – this refers to a place in the mountains that is very cold and snowy. 0 QADIR: QIŞ qadir qiş “Severe cold (*zamharir*).” 0 QADIR qadir “A tyrannical and harsh king (*al-jabbār aş-şab min al-mulūk*).” The Khāqāniya use this word as an honorific in: QADIR: XA'N: qadir xān. This usage corresponds to the Arabic, since tyranny (*tajabbur*) derives from power (*qudra*) and the tyrant (*jabbār*) is one who has power (*yaqdiru*) to act as he wishes. 0

qadir

D N

QISIR: qisir “Barren (*aqim*),” of a woman or animal. :: QISR QISRA'Q qisir qisraq “A mare that has not yet foaled (*hā'il*).” 0

qisir

KALAR: kälär “Lizard (*dabb*).”

kälär

Z

BUFUZ boγuz “Throat (*halq*).” 0

boγuz

TABIZ täpiz “Swamp or salt marsh (*sabxa*).” 0 TABIZ KIŞY täpiz kişi “An envious (*hasūd*) man.”

täpiz

“A (pack-saddle or) load which the rider cannot settle comfortably (*alladı lā yastaqirru rākibuhu*)” is called: TUBZ YK topuz (?) yük. 0

topuz ?

TITIZ NINK titiz nāñ “Anything bitter (*lahu ta'm 'afiş*),” such as the myrobalan nut, or the like. 0

titiz

TKUZ 'AT tögüz (?) at “Horse with a blaze on the forehead (*aqraḥ*).” 0

tögüz ?

SAGIZ	sayiz	“Resin (<i>ilk</i>).”	0	SAGIZ TUBRA’Q	sayiz topraq	“Dry clay, pure clay (<i>şalşāl, tīn hurr</i>).”	0	sayiz
SAQIR	saqiz	Any “viscous substance (<i>luzūja</i>)” that sticks to clothing, such as rob, etc.	0					saqiz
SAKYZ:	säkiz	The number “eight (<i>tamāniya</i>).” This is the lightened form of: SAĶYZ:						säkiz
säkkiz.	0							
[I. 305/365]								184
SAMIZ:	sämiz	“Fat (<i>samīn</i>),” of an animal. This word corresponds to the Arabic except that they have changed the <i>nūn</i> to <i>zāy</i> , which is permitted in their language, as in: SAN <i>sān</i> meaning: “You (<i>anta</i>)”; and: SIZ: <i>siz</i> also meaning “You (<i>anta</i>).” <i>Zāy</i> alternates with <i>nūn</i> .	0					sämiz
								G
QUBUZ	qopuz	“Lute (<i>al-‘ūd alladī yuḍrabu bihi</i>).”	0					qopuz
QUTUZ	qotuz	“Wild ox (<i>baqar al-wahš</i>)” [i.e. “yak”].						qotuz
QUTUZ ’IT	qutuz it	“Rabid (<i>kalīb</i>) dog.”	0					qutuz
QDZ	qadiz	“Bark (<i>liḥā’</i>)” of a tree.	0					qadiz
QDUZ	qoduz	“A woman left without a husband (<i>mar’a tayyib</i>).”	0					qoduz
QIMIZ:	qimiz	“Koumiss (<i>al-āmiš</i>).” This is mares’-milk which is poured in skins, then fermented and drunk. QIMIZ: ’AL’MILA’ <i>qimiz almila</i> “Sour apples resembling koumiss.”	0					qimiz
KUKUZ	kögüz	“Breast (<i>şadr</i>).”	0					kögüz
KIDIZ	kidiz	“Felt (<i>libd</i>).”	0					kidiz
KWIZ	köwiz	“Carpet (<i>zarbiya</i>).”	0					köwiz
KUWŽ	köwiž	— with <i>zay</i> between the two points of articulation — “The hollow part of a tree” (<i>wašt kull šajara bāliya</i>), e.g., the decayed portion of a willow. ∴ KUWIŽ TUR:MA’ <i>köwiž turma</i> “A rotten (<i>fāsīd</i>) radish,” or other, that the taste has gone out of.						köwiž
S								
TARUS:	tarus	“Roof (<i>saqf al-bayt</i>).”	0					tarus
TALS	talas	“Goal-rope (<i>maqbaḍ</i> [defined])” in horse-racing or polo.	0					talas
TALAS:	talas	The city known as <i>Ṭarāz</i> . There are two cities by this name. One is: ’LUF TLA’S <i>uluḡ talās</i> meaning “The great Talas”; the other, on the frontier of Islam, is: KAMIY TALA’S: <i>kümi</i> (?) <i>talās</i> .	0					N
		One calls “a sad or mournful (<i>sāhim</i>) face”: TULAS YVZ <i>tulas yüz</i> .						tulas

Ş

BIJŞ biçiş Name for “a piece of brocade (<i>qiṭ‘a min ad-dībāj</i>)” given to guests at the feasts of nobles and at wedding feasts. 0	biçiş	
BURIŞ burış “A wrinkle (<i>inziwā</i>)” in skin or clothing. 0	burış	
BAĞIŞ bağış “Joints (<i>mafāşil</i>)” of fingers and other limbs; also “nodes (<i>anābīb</i>)” of reed, etc. 0	bağış	
BAQIŞ baqış “Looking (<i>al-munāzara bi-l-başar</i>).” 0	baqış	
BILIŞ biliş “Acquaintance (<i>ma‘rifa</i>).” It is here a descriptive word (<i>şifa</i>) and not a verbal noun (<i>maşdar</i>). 0	biliş	
BULUŞ buluş “The profit (<i>manfa‘a</i>) which one derives (<i>yajidu</i>) from something one does.” 0	buluş	
BULUŞ boluş “Verbal aid (<i>al-i‘āna bi-l-kalām</i>).” Thus :: ’UL MANKA’ BULUŞ QILDİY ol maṅa boluş qildi “He aided me verbally.” 0	boluş	
TABIŞ tapiş “Mutual trust (<i>muwākala</i>)” between two men, or other. 0	tapiş	
TUTUT’ tutuş – pronounced more firmly ¹ – “Quarrel (<i>mu‘axaḍa</i>).” TTŞ’ tutuş A man’s name. 0	tutuş N	
[I. 306/367]	185	
TAWUŞ’ tawiş “Sound and movement (<i>hiss wa ḥaraka</i>).”	tawiş	
TUQUŞ toqış “Battle (<i>ḥarb</i>).”	Verse: toqış	
TUQIŞ ’IJRA’ ’URŞTM	toqış iĉra uriştım	V
’LUĠ BIR’LA’ QARŞTM	uluĝ birlä qariştım	
TUKUZ ’TIN YARŞTM	tögüz atın yariştım	
’AYDM ’M’DY ’AL ’UTA’R	aydim amdi al utâr	
“I fought in the thick of battle (<i>hayjā</i>) with a great hero, I vied with him on my blazed horse, (then shot him with an arrow) and said: ‘Take this, Utar!’” ¹ – this is a man’s name. 0		
TUQIŞ toqış A name. 0		N

184 1. *aşlab lafz^{an} minhu* – perhaps this refers to **tutuş** as a proper name.

185 1. MS. *utā*.

TAIKIŠ ² tikiš “Mutual feeding (<i>munāwala</i> [defined]).” 0	tikiš
TAKIŠ tāgiš “The extreme or limit (<i>ḡāya, madā</i>)” of anything. 0	tāgiš
TAKIŠ tāgiš A man’s name. 0	N
JABIŠ čäpiš “Six-month old goat (<i>min awlād al-ma’z idā atā ‘alayhi sitta ašhur</i>).” 0	čäpiš
JAWUŠ čawuš “[The officer] who keeps the troops in battle order and holds them back from unwarranted violence (<i>alladī yusawwī š-šufūf fi l-ḡarb wa-yaza’u l-jund ‘an aḡ-ḡulm</i>).” 0	čawuš
JIQIŠ čiqiš “Profit (<i>manfa’a</i>).” :: ’UL ’IYŠTA’ JIQIŠ YUVQ ol išta čiqiš yōq “There is no profit in that business.” 0	čiqiš
JALIŠ čališ “Wrestling (<i>mušāra’a</i>).” 0	čališ
SURUŠ soruš Name for grains of wheat that are roasted on the ear before they harden, then picked off and eaten. 0	soruš
SIQIŠ siqiš “Crowding, colliding (<i>zaḡma, tašādum</i>).” 0	siqiš
SUKUŠ sōküš “Cursing, mutual reviling (<i>sabb, tasābb</i>).” 0	sōküš
SUKUŠ sōgüš – with the thin <i>kāf</i> – “Kid or lamb fit for roasting (<i>mā yašluḡu li-š-šiwā’ min al-jidā’ wa-l-ḡumlān</i>).” 0	sōgüš
SIKIŠ sikiš “Coitus (<i>mujāma’a</i>). 0	sikiš
QABIŠ qapiš “Plundering (<i>intihāb, ixtilās</i>).” 0	qapiš
QABUŠ qapuš Name of a place (<i>mawḡi’</i>) in Arḡu. 0	qapuš N
QAJŠ qačiš “Panic and flight (<i>al-munāfara wa-l-muḡārada bayn al-qawm</i>).” Proverb: QJIŠ BULSA’ QYA’ KUR’MA’S qačiš bolsa qaya körmās 0 “When there is panic no one turns toward his fellow (<i>ida waqa’a n-nifār wa-l-hazāhiz bayn al-qawm fa-lā yu’arriju aḡad ‘alā aḡad</i>).” 0	qačiš P
QUJUŠ qučuš “Embrace (<i>mu’ānaqa</i>).” 0	qučuš
QDŠ qadaš “Kinsman (<i>al-qarīb min al-ixwān</i>).”	qadaš
QADIŠ qadiš “Leather strap (<i>as-sayr alladī yuqaddu min julūd al-juzur</i>).” 0	qadiš
QARIŠ qariš “Span (<i>šibr</i>).” :: BIYR QARIŠ’ bīr qariš “One span.” 0	qariš

2. A by a later hand (?).

QUGUŠ qoγuš “Leather (*jild al-juzur*),” tanned or untanned. 0

qoγuš

QUGUŠ qoγuš “Water-course; drain (*maṭ‘ab, mīzāb*).” :: QUGUŠ qoγuš “Millrace” (*maṭ‘ab aṭ-ṭāḥūn*). :: TAKRMA’N QUGUŠIY tǎgirmān qoγuši 0

QUGUŠ qoγuš “Arrow-straightener (*ṭarīda an-nabbāl*).”

QAMIŠ qamiš “Reed (*qaṣab*).” 0

qamiš

[I. 308/369]

186

KAJIŠ kǎčiš “Ford (*ma‘bar*)” of a canal or river. Proverb: ’UL KJŠNY SUVW ’ILAṬIY ol kǎčišni sūw elǎtti “The flood has taken away that ford” – this is coined about something that is past and out of reach. 0

kǎčiš

P

KARIŠ kǎriš “A mountain top that can be climbed (*ra’s kull jabal yuṣ‘adu ‘alayhi*).” Oγuz dialect.

kǎriš

D

KARIŠ kǎriš “Withers (*kāhil*) of a horse.” Proverb: KARIŠ YAḠRY ’UḠULQA’ QALIYR kǎriš yayri oγulqa qalīr 0 “The sore of the withers remains (an inheritance) for the son” – since it is the place where the joints are gathered and does not heal quickly. This is coined as advice to protect that part of the body. 0

P

KARIŠ kǎriš “Resistance in a quarrel (*al-muqāwama fī l-mujādala*).” 0

KURUŠ kōriš “Looking (*al-munāzara bi-l-ahḥāz lā bi-l-alfāz*).” 0

kōriš

KIRIŠ kiriš “Bowstring (*watar al-qaws*).” 0

kiriš

KIRIŠ kiriš “Income (*daxl*) – what comes in from one’s estate (*ḡay‘a*).” 0

KARIŠ kǎriš “Quarrel (*mujādala*).” :: NA’LIK KARS’TINK nālūk kǎrištin “Why did you quarrel (*lima jādalta*)?” 0

kǎriš

One calls “coming and going (*aḡ-dahāb wa-l-māji*)”: KALIŠ BARIŠ kǎliš bariš. From this comes the expression for “guest-house” (*bayt aḡ-ḡifān*): KALIŠ LIK BARIŠ LIḠ ’AW kǎlišliḡ barišliḡ āw, meaning “House of coming and going.” 0

kǎliš

KUMUŠ kümüš “Silver (*fiḡḡa*).” 0

Verse:

kümüš

’LB’ RAN NY¹ ’UḠRDUM
BUY’NIN ’ANIK QADIR’DIM
’ALTUN KMUŠ YUḠR’DUM
SUVSIY QALIN KYM ’UTA’R

alp äränni aḡirdim
boynin anig qaḡirdim
altun kümüš yüḡürdüm
süsi qalin kīm öṭär

V

Describing a battle: “I divided the enemy troops, twisted the warrior’s necks, then loaded up the gold and silver of their treasuries; but I could hardly pass through the throng of soldiers.” 0
 KUMUŠ_ kümüš “Dirham (*dirham*),” since it contains silver. :: KMUŠ kümüš A slave-girl’s name. N

Γ

BATIΓ_ batiγ “Deep (*γamiq*),” of a canal, or other. 0

batiγ

BAIJΓ_ bičiy “Covenant, contract (*mītāq*, ‘*ahd*.’) :: ’UL MANIK BIR’L’ BIJIG QIYL_ DIY ol mänig birlä bičiy qildi “He made a pact with me (*‘āhada ma’ī*).” 0

bičiy

:: ’UL BARIΓ BRDY ol bariγ bardi “He went directly (*dahaba dahāban wa-lam yu’arrij ‘alā šay*’).” 0

bariy

BAIRIΓ bariγ “Something stinking (*muntin*.)” This word is used in the paired expression: SASIΓ BAIRIΓ sasiγ bariγ. 0

BASIΓ basiy “Place of a night raid; taking by surprise (*maḥall at-tabyiṭ yuqālu* [sic] *wal-axd ‘alā γirra*.)”

basiy

[I. 310/372]

187

:: ’UL ’ANY BASIYNDÄ’ TUṬIY ol ani basyinda tutti “He captured him during a night raid (*fī awānihi bayātan*.)” 0

BUSUΓ busuγ “Ambush (*kamīn*.)” 0

busuγ

BUŠUΓ bošuy “Permission to return (*al-iḍn . . . bi-l-qufūl*),” granted by a ruler to a messenger sent to him; also the “gift (*jā’iza*)” that he gives him. Compare the Arabic *sufra*, which originally meant the food given to a visitor, then came to mean the piece of hide on which the food was served. A similar shift is involved in this word. Also, when a relative comes from afar, before he can return he must give a party (*da’wa*) to which he invites his kinsmen, and others; then he receives permission to return after giving them gifts. This is called: BUŠUΓ ’AŠY bošuy aši meaning “Food of permission (*ṭa’ām al-iḍn*.)” 0

bošuy

BIŠIΓ ’Š bisiy aš “Cooked (*maḥbūx*) food.” The same for anything cooked. Thus “baked bricks (*ājurr*)” are called: BIŠIΓ KRBJ bišiy kārpič, meaning “Cooked bricks” :: BIŠIΓ SUJVK bišiy süčüg “Mulled wine (*šarāb maḥbūx*.)” 0

bišiy

BAQIΓ baqiy “Glance (*naẓra*.)” Thus :: ’ANIK BAQIΓIY KUR anig baqiyi kör “Look at his glance.”

baqiy

It is my intention in this book not to mention verbal nouns of this sort unless they are very commonly used. 0

G

:: BUSUΓ BUŠDIY bušuy bušdi “He was intensely annoyed (*ḍajira ḍajran*.)” 0

bušuy

TABUΓ tapuγ “Service (*xidma*.)” 0

tapuγ

TABUḤ tapuḡ “Obedience (*tā’a*),” Thus :: TNKRY TABUḤY tānri tapuḡyi “Obedience to God (may He be exalted).”

TUTUḤ tutuḡ “Pledge or hostage (*rahn*).” 0

tutuḡ

TUTUḤ tutuḡ “Demonic possession (*al-ixd wahwa s-sa’fa min al-jinn*).” :: ’NK TUTḤY BA’R anig tutuḡyi bār “He is possessed (*bihi sa’fa*).”

TIDİḤ tiḡiy “Restraint, prevention (*ḥazr, man’*)” from something. 0

tiḡiy

TARIḤ tariḡ The generic word for “cereal crops (*zar’*).” 0 TRḤ tariḡ is “Wheat (*ḥinṭa*)” according to most of the Turks, but “millet (*duxn*)” according to the Oḡuz. This latter is wrong. They [i.e., Oḡuz] call “wheat”: ’AṢLIḤ aṣliḡ. 0

tariḡ

D

TURUIḤ turiḡ “Mountain stronghold (*wazar* [defined]).” 0

turiḡ

TURUḤ toruḡ A word used to designate “horses (*xayl*).” :: BUV ’UḤL’NİḤ BİYR’ TURUḤQA’ ’ALDIM bu oḡlāniḡ bīr toruḡqa aldim “I bought this slave for a horse (*faras*).” By extension it may also designate camels or cattle. :: TURIḤ ’ĀT toruḡ āt “A bay (*kumayt*) horse.” 0

toruḡ

TURİḤ ’AR’T TIYZ turiḡ art tēz Name of a summer pasture (*muṣṭāf*) in Kāšyar. 0

turiḡ N

JAWİḤ čawiy “Whip lash (*’adaba as-sawṭ*).” 0

čawiy

[I. 312/374]

188

SABḤ sapiḡ “Tent skirt (*kisr al-xibā*).” 0

sapiḡ

SATIḤ satiy “Selling (*mubāya’a*).” 0

satiḡ

SİḌİḤ siḡiy “One of the two skirts of a robe, from the thighs up to the collar (*aḥad ḡaylay al-qabā’ ilā t-talbīb min al-ḡanbayn*).” Thus :: SİḌİḤ YABIYB¹ ’UL’TURḌİY siḡiy yapip olturdi “He drew together the two skirts of his gown and sat down” – this act is indicative of good breeding. 0

siḡiy

SİḌİḤ siḡiy “Tooth-gaps between the gums (*furaj al-asnān bayn al-liṭāt*).” One says to a person whom one is asking to keep a secret: BUV SUVZ’NİY SḌİḤḌİN’ SIZIT’MA’ bu sōzni siḡiyḡin sizitma 0 “Don’t let this word seep out between the gaps of your teeth” – i.e. don’t reveal it. 0

SARIḤ sariḡ “Yellow (*aṣfar*)” of anything. One calls “bright yellow (*aṣfar fāqi*)”: SAB’ SARIḤ sap sariḡ. 0 “Yellow bile (*al-mirra al-ṣafra*)” is called simply: SARIḤ sariḡ. SARIḤ SUVW sariḡ sūw is “the yellow water that collects in the belly (*aṣ-ṣufār fi l-baṭn*).” 0 :: SARIḤ SURİḤ sariḡ suriy – a paired expression – “Yellow (*aṣfar*).” 0

sariḡ

- SURUḤ soruḡ “Seeking a stray (*nišdān aḡ-ḡālla*).” :: SURUḤ QIYLḤDIY soruḡ qildi “He sought a stray.” 0 soruḡ
- JALIḤ čaliḡ also means “Seeking a stray”; also, “the urgent news which one of the emirs sends out to the populace, both settled and nomadic, calling them to him (*yab’atūna l-xabar . . . li-ya’tūhu*).” 0 čaliḡ
- QABUḤ qapuḡ “Door or gate (*bāb*).” 0 qapuḡ
- QATIḤ qatiḡ “Hard (*ṣalb*)” of anything. 0 qatiḡ
- QADIḤ qadiḡ “Reinforced needlework (*xiyāṭa mu’akkada*).” qadiḡ
- QUḌUḤ quḡuḡ “Well (*bi’r*).” Proverb: QUḌUḤDA’ SUVV BA’R ’ITḤ BURNY TKM’S quḡuḡda sūw bār, it burni tāgmās 0 “There’s water in the well but the dog’s nose won’t reach it.” This is coined about one who wants something but cannot get it, or one who sees someone else’s food and desires it but cannot get at it. 0 quḡuḡ P
- QIDIḤ qidiḡ The “shore or bank (*jānīb*)” of a sea, canal, or river; also the “rim (*ḡitār*)”² of anything. :: ’ARIQ QIDIḤY ariḡ qidiḡi “The bank (*ṣaṭṭ*) of a canal.” :: ’AYAQ QIDIḤY ayaḡ qidiḡi “Rim (*ṣafīr*) of a bowl.” YA’RḤ QIDIḤY yār qidiḡi “Brink (*ṣafā*) of a chasm.” 0 qidiḡ
- QURUḤ ’AW quruḡ āw “A house that is empty (*xālī*)” of people or of furniture. :: QURUḤ ’ULḤMA’ quruḡ olma “A dry (*yābisa*) jar.” The root-meaning here is that any container that is “empty (*iḡa xalā ’ammā fīhi*)” is called: QURUḤ quruḡ 0 QURUḤ quruḡ “Dry (*yābis*)” of anything. quruḡ
- [I. 313/375] 189
- The previous word goes back to this one.
- QURIḤ qoriḡ “The protected place or reserve (*ḡimā*)” of emirs or others. Any “enclosed place (*makān maḡḡūz*)” is called: QURIḤ qoriḡ. qoriḡ
- QASIḤ qasiḡ “Hollow of the mouth on either side (*ṣaḡr* [defined]).” 0 qasiḡ
- QISIḤ qisiḡ “Confinement (*ḡabs, ḡīq*).” :: ’UL BAK QISIḤINḤDA’ QALḤDIY ol beg qisiḡiḡinda qaldi “He remained in the emir’s custody (*ḡabs*) and claim (*muṭālabā*) over a matter.” 0 qisiḡ
- QUSIḤ qusiḡ “Vomiting (*quyā*).” :: ’ANY QUSIḤ TUṬIY ani qusiḡ tutti “He had a fit of vomiting.” 0 qusiḡ
- QUṢUḤ qoṣuḡ “Poem, ballad, ode (*ṣi’r, rajaz, qaṣā’id*).” Verse: qoṣuḡ

TARKAN· QATUN QUTIYNK'	tärkän qatun qutīna	V
TAKUR MINDIN QUŠUḤ	tägür mindin qošuḡ	
'AY·ḤIL SIZINK TABUḤJY	ayḡil siziḡ tapuḡči	
'UTNUR YANKY TABUḤ	ötnür yaḡı tapuḡ	

“Convey an ode from me to the Khātūn, the queen, and say: ‘Your servant presents you with a new act of service.’” 0

QAQIḤ qaḡıḡ “Anger, spite (*yaḡab, murāḡama*).” Thus :: MAN 'ANIK QAQIḤIN·DA' qaqıḡ
 BUV 'IYŠ QILDIM män anıḡ qaḡıḡında bu iš qildim “I did this to spite him (*raḡm^{an}lahu*).” 0

QAMUḤ qamuḡ A particle meaning “all” (*kull*). Thus :: QAMUḤ KIŠY TUḠVZ 'AR·MA'S' qamuḡ kiši tüz ärmäs “Not all men are equal.” qamuḡ

QANIḤ qanıḡ “Joy (*aryahıyya*).” Verse: qanıḡ

TUTJY YAḤAR· BULYTY	tutči yayar bulīti	V
'AL·TUN TAMR· 'ARIḤ	altun tamar ariḡ	
'QSA' 'NINK 'QYNY	aqsa aniḡ aḡīni	
QANDIY MANIK QANIḤ	qandi mänig qanıḡ	

Describing the bounty of the queen: “The cloud of her (bounty) rains down pure gold; should her flood flow (upon me my happiness (*našāḡ*) would be perfect and) I would overflow with joy (*surūr*).”

Q

BUTIQ butıḡ “Branch (*ḡuṣn, šu'ba*)” of anything. 0 butıḡ

BTIQ butıḡ “A small water-skin (*qırba ṣaḡīra*)”; Kāšḡar dialect. 0 BTUIQ¹ butıḡ D
 “A container (*qırba*)” made from the skin of a horse’s leg, used to keep koumiss, etc. 0

BUTAIQ butaq “Branch (*ḡuṣn*),” also; in one variant. The vowel with the *tā*’ is either butaq D
našb [a] or *kasr* [i]. Verse:

KIM· 'AYIB· 'ISTUR QULA'Q	kim ayip eštür qulāq	V
'AY· 'AWIY 'AR·TUJ BUTA'Q	ay äwi artuē butāq	

“Which ear heard, and who

[I. 315/377]

190

said, that the house of the moon was a juniper branch?” He is describing a girl and compares her face to [the halo of] the moon and her stature to the branch [of the juniper]. 0

- BJUQ **bičūq** “Cut off (*maqṭū‘*)” of anything. Thus “half (*niṣf*)” of anything is called: **bičūq**
 BJUQ **bičūq**. :: BJUQ YARMA’Q **bičūq yarmāq** “Half a dirham.” 0
- BIDIQ **biḍiq** “Mustache (*sabala*).” 0 **biḍiq**
- BARAQ: **baraq** “A shaggy dog (*kalb aḥlab*).” The Turks claim that when the vulture grows old it lays two eggs, then hatches them; from one of them emerges this dog called: **baraq**
 BARAQ **baraq**. It is the swiftest running of dogs and the most reliable in hunting. From the other emerges a chick, the last of its chicks. 0 **baraq**
- YURIQ¹ **bariq** “Behavior, conduct with people (*as-sīra wa-l-‘išra ma’a n-nās*).” :: BAK
 YURIQ¹ NATK **beg bariqi nātāg** “How does the emir conduct himself?” 0 **bariq**
- BIRUQ **biruq** Name for the one who specifies the stations of courtiers (*allaḍī yunzilu l-akābira fī marātibihim ‘ind al-malik*). Its root-form is: BUY’RUQ **buyruq** which means “Command (*amr*),” since he commands them to do this. 0 **biruq**
- BUZUQ ’AW: **bozuq āw** “Ruined (*munhadim*) house.” Likewise, anything “broken or ruined (*maksūr munhadim*)” is: BUZUQ **bozuq**. **bozuq**
- BAŠAQ **bašaq** “Head (*naṣl*) of an arrow; point (*sinān*) of a spear.” 0 **bašaq**
- BAŠAQ **bašaq** “Slipper (*mik‘ab*)”; Čigil dialect. The Oγuz and Qifčaq add *mīm* and say: BAŠ’MAQ **bašmaq**. This type of augment is permitted also in Arabic; one says *tamadra‘at al-mar’a* (“the woman put on a shift”) – its root is *tadarra‘at* from *ad-dir‘* (“shift”). 0 One says *tamaskana r-rajul* (“the man became quiet”) – its root is *tasakkana* from *as-sukūn* (“quiet”). 0 **D**
- BUŠAQ ’AR: **bušaq ār** “Annoyed (*ḍajūr*) man.” Dialect of Oγuz et al. 0 **bušaq D**
- BIŠIQ ’AT: **bišiq āt** “Cooked (*maṭbūx*) meat (or other).” Yaγma dialect for: BAŠIQ **bišiq D**
 [sic] **bišiq**. 0
- BALIQ: **balıq** “Fish (*samak*).” Proverb: BALIQ SUWDA’ KVZİY TAŠ’TIN **balıq suwda kōzi taštın** 0 “The fish is in the water but his eye is out.” This is coined about one who appears to be unaware of something while he is actually aware of it. 0 **balıq P**
- BALIQ **balıq** “Mud (*ṭīn*)”; Arγu dialect. Part of Oγuz and part of Arγu say: BA’L’IQ’ **bālq** with three unvowelled consonants in a row. In Turkic only two unvowelled consonants in a row are found; the Arγu slur their speech. 0 **D**
- BALIQ **balıq** “Fortress (*ḥiṣn*), city (*madīna*),” in the dialect of the heathens (*al-jāhiliyya al-juhalā’*) and of Uighur. From this comes the name: BIYŠ BALIQ **bēš balıq** – (the largest city of Uighur) – meaning: **D**
N

[I. 317/379]

“Five cities (*xams bilād*). Another city of theirs is called: YANKIY BALIQ *yaŋi baliq* meaning: “New city (*balda jadīda*).” 0

BULAQ: 'AT' *bulaq* at “Broad-backed (*adakk*) horse.” 0 BULAQ *bulaq* A tribe (*jīl*) of the Turks. The Qifčāq took them captive, then God (may He be exalted) caused them to be released, and they came to be called: 'ALKA' BULA'Q *älkä bulāq*. The vowel is long or short. 0 bulaq
N

BAMUQ *bamuq* “Cotton (*quṭn*).” Oγuz dialect. 0 bamuq D

TUBIQ *topiq* “Ball (*kura*)” that is hit with a stick. :: TUBIQ SUNKVK *topiq sünük* – “Meat bone (*al-kurdūs min aṭ-ṭa'ām*).” 0 topiq

TUTUQ *tutuq* “Gelding, eunuch (*xaṣī, majbūb*).” 0 tutuq

TURUQ *turuq* “Emaciated (*mahzūl*)” of anything. turuq

'ARUQ TURUQ *aruq turuq* Name of a pass (*'aqaba*) between Kāšγar and Farγāna. 0 N

TUZAQ *tuzaq* “Snare, trap (*faxx, ḥibāla*)” for hunting. Verse: tuzaq

'IK'LADY MA'NIK 'DA'Q	iklädi mānig adāq	
KURMAḌIB 'UFRY TUZ'Q	körmäḍip oγri tuzāq	V
'IKLADIM 'ANDIN 'UZA'Q	iglädim andin uzāq	
'AM'LAKIL 'AM'DY TUZA'Q	ämlägil amdi tuzāq	

“My foot accidentally trod upon a snare hidden in the ground, and it has been in agony a long time because of it; therefore heal me, my charming one (*malīḥa*)!”

TUZAQ *tuzaq* An utterance which a man uses in praising the charm (*istamlaha*) of his beloved; it is fixed with *yā'*: TUZAQIY *tuzaqi*. 0

TAŠAQ: *tašaq* “Testicle (*xuṣya*).” “The penis (*dakar*)” is also called: TAŠAQ *tašaq* because of the close connection between the two. 0 tašaq

TUTUQ *tutuq* A man's name. tutuq N

TANUQ *tanuq* “Witness (*šāhid*).” tanuq

JABAQ *čapaq* Name of a type of fish. They are small and are found in the lake of the Turks. “A puny (*naḍl*) man” is likened to them and called: JABAQ 'AR' *čapaq är*. 0 čapaq

JIBIQ *čipiq* “A tender branch (*qaḍīb raṭb*).” 0 čipiq

JUJUQ *čočuq* “Suckling pig (*xannūs*).” čočuq

JARUQ *čaruq* “Sandal (*ḥidā'*).” Proverb: YD'Γ 'TY JARUQ KUVJY 'AZUQ *yadāγ ati čaruq küči azuq* 0 “The footman's horse is a sandal, his strength is provisions.” Coined to čaruq
P

advise a person to outfit himself with these two things so that he does not go barefoot or become weak.

JARUQ **čaruq** A tribe of the Turks. They inhabit: BARJUQ **barčuq** the city of Afrāsi-yāb, in which he imprisoned: B̄TZAN [sic] **bīzan** son of Nebuchadnezzar. 0 N

JULUQ **čoluq** “One-armed (*aqṭaʿ*).” 0 čoluq

JULIQ **čuliq** A spotted water bird the size of a ring-dove. 0 čuliq

JUMAQ **čomaq** “Stick or cudgel (*ʿaṣā*).” 0 JUMAQ **čomaq** “Muslim (*muslim*)” – according to the Uighur and all the Infidels. :: JUMAQ 'ARIY **čomaq äri** “A man of the Muslims.” D

[I. 319/381] 192

JANAQ **čanaq** “A turned piece of wood (*al-maxrūt min al-xašab*)” such as a salt-container, or the like. 0 čanaq

JANAQ **čanaq** “Wooden bowl (*qaṣʿa*).” Oγuz dialect. D

SAJUVQ NA'NK **sačūq nāḅ** “Something scattered (*manṭūr*).” 0 sačūq

SUDUQ **suḍuq** “Spittle (*buzāq*).” 0 suḍuq

SIURUQ **siruq** “Tent pole (*šaqb* [defined]).” siruq

SASIQ **sasiq** “Earthenware (*xazaf*).” Dialect of Uč and environs. sasiq D

SUSI'QU **susaq** “Bucket (*dalw*).” In a certain dialect which I have heard. 0 susaq D

QABAQ **qapaq** “Eyelid (*jafn al-ʿayn*).” :: KUVZ QABAQIY **kōz qapaqi**. 0 qapaq

QABAQ **qabaq** “Gourd (*dubbā*).” It is the squash (*qarʿ*) which is eaten when fresh. qabaq
0

QABQ **qapaq** “Virginity (*uḍra al-ʿadrā*).” :: QIYZ QABAQIY¹ SIYDIY **qīz qapaqi** **sīdi** “He deflowered the maiden (*iqtaḍḍa l-jāriya*).” 0 qapaq

QATIQ **qatiq** “A condiment (*šibγ*) that is added to Tutmāč,” such as vinegar or churned milk. 0 QATIQ **qatiq** “something mixed (*mizāj*)” in anything. 0 qatiq

:: BIYR' QUJAQ BUVZ **bīr qučaq bōz** “A bundle (*iḍbāra*) of cloth (or other).” 0 qučaq

- QADIQ_ **qadiq** “A hollowed-out piece of wood (*naqīr al-xašab*).” Ar̄yu dialect. 0 **qadiq** D
- QARAQ **qaraq** “Eyeball (*muqla*).” QAR' QARAQ **qara qaraq** “The black part of the eye (*sawād al-'ayn*).” 0 'RUNK QARAQ_ **ürünq qaraq** “The white of the eye (*bayād al-'ayn*).” 'UVT' QARAQ_ **üt qaraq** “The pupil of the eye (*nāzir al-'ayn*).” 0 **qaraq**
- QIRUQ 'AR' **qiruq är** “A disabled (*ašall*) man.” :: QIRUQ 'DAQ **qiruq adaq** “A lame (*a'sam*) foot.”² 0 **qiruq**
- QAZUQ 'ARIQ **qazuq ariq** “A canal (or other) that is dug out (*maḥfūr*).” 0 **qazuq**
- QASUQ **qasuq** A thing like a water-skin (*rāwiya*) made of horse-hide, used to keep milk or koumiss. **qasuq**
- QASUQ **qasuq** “Bark (*liḥā'*) of a tree.” Its root is QA'S' **qās** – the *qāf* is an augment. 0
- QUSIQ **qusiq** “Hazel (*jillawz*).” This is used as a name for slave-girls. **qusiq** N
- QAŠAQ **qašaḡ** “Alfa (*ḥalfā'*).” 0 **qašaḡ**
- QAŠUQ **qašuḡ** “Spoon (*mil'aqa*).” Proverb: QURUQ QAŠUQ 'AḠIZ'QA' YARAMA'S' QURUḠ SUVZ QULA'QA' YAQIŠMA'S' **quruḡ qašuḡ aḡizqa yaramās, quruḡ sōz qulaḡqa yaqiš-mās** 0 “A dry spoon does not fit the mouth, vain speech does not approach the ear.” This is coined to advise someone to favor³ the person who has what he needs. **qašuḡ** P
- QAWAQ 'AR'T **qawaq art** Name of a pass (*'aqaba*) between Kāšḡar and Özjänd. 0 **qawaq** N
- QUWUQ NA'NK **qowuḡ nāḡ** “Anything hollow (*ajwaf*).” **qowuḡ**
- QAWUQ **qawuḡ** “Bladder (*maṭāna*).” 0 **qawuḡ**
- QAWIQ **qawiq** “Millet bran (*nuxāla al-jāwars wa-d-duxn*).” 0 **qawiq**
- QALIQ **qaliq** “Air (*hawā'*).” 0 **qaliq**
- QULAQ **qulaq** “Ear (*uḡḡun*).” Some say: QUL'XA'Q **qulxāḡ**, and some say: QUL'QA'Q **qulqāḡ**, but the first is the most correct. 0 **qulaq** D

[I. 320/383]

193

QULAQ_ TUVN **qulaq tōn** “A short-sleeved (*qāšir al-kummayn*) garment.” 0

QILIQ **qiliq** “Behavior, conduct with people (*as-sīra wa-l-'išra ma'a n-nās*).” The *lām* may be unvowelled, thus QIL'Q' **qilq**. **qiliq**

2. MS. *rajuḡ*, read *riḡl*; or else **qiruḡ adaqliḡ** “A lame man.”

3. MS. *an-nayl ilā*, read *al-mayl ilā* (?).

QUMQ **qumuq** Name of an emir with whom I associated for a time. 0 QUMQ **qumuq qumuq** N
 “Dung (*rawt*),” especially of horses. 0

QANAQ **qanaq** “The pellicle on milk (*duwāya*),” Dialect of Arḡu and Bulḡār. The *nūn* **qanaq** D
 is changed from *yā*’ [i.e. 518 **qayaq**].

QUNUQ **qonuq** “Guest (*ḡayf*),” Verse [=55 **oyuq**]: **qonuq**

BAR·DIY ‘ARAN QUNQ BULB· QUT·QA’ SQ’R V
 QALDY ‘ALIF ‘YUQ KRUB ‘AW·NIY YIQA’R
bardi ārān qonuq bulup qutqa saqār
qaldi aliy oyuq körüp äwni yiqār

“Gone are those who reckoned a guest as good fortune; remaining are those who tear down the tents when they see a scarecrow (lest he wish to camp with them).” 0

QUNAQ **qonaq** “Coarse millet (*jāwars*),” 0 Proverb: QUNAQ BAŠY SAD·RAKY **qonaq**
 YYK **qonaq baši sädräki yēg** “An ear of millet is better the fewer seeds it has” – since if the seeds
 are few they are firm and large, while if they are many they are thin and small. This is coined
 about one who prefers small company 0 so that he may attain his desire and authority. P

K

BITIK **bitig** “Book (*kitāb*),” 0 BTIK **bitig** “Writing (*kitāba*),” Also the verbal **bitig**
 noun; thus :: ‘NIK BITKY BALKUVLK **anig bitigi bālgülüg** “His writing is clear.” 0 BTIK
bitig “Amulet (*ūda*)” – Oḡuz dialect. 0 D

BIJAK **bičäk** “Knife (*sikkīm*),” Proverb: NAJ’ YITIG BIJA’K ‘AR·SA’ ‘VZI SA’BIN **bičäk**
 YUNUṼMA’S **näčä yitig bičäk ärsä öz säpin yonümäs** 0 “No matter how sharp the knife is it
 cannot cut its own handle.” This is coined about one who is clever at solving other people’s prob-
 lems but is unable to solve his own. 0 P

BADUK **bädük** “Big (*kabīr*),” of anything. :: BADUK TAIWAIY¹ **bädük tewe** “A big
 camel.” 0 **bädük**

BURUK **bürük** “A string that is drawn around (*xayt mudawwar*),” such as the loop of a **bürük**
 bag or the belt of trousers. 0

BAZAK **bäzäk** “Painting or decoration (*naqš*),” A variant [cf. 207 **bäzäk**]. **bäzäk** D

BZIK² **bäzig** “Shivering (*ri‘da*),” Thus :: ‘L BAZAK² BZDIY² **ol bäzig bāzdi** “He
 shivered.” 0 **bäzig**

-
- 193 1. All vowels except the first by a later hand (? – black ink).
 2. Dot of B in brown ink.

:: 'L QULIN BUSK BUSDY ol qulin bösüg bösdi “(He laid an ambush;³ also,) he gave [his slave] a beating (*ḍirāb*).” 0 bösüg

BULK bөлük “Group (*tā'ifa*),” of any kind of animal. Thus :: BYR BULK QUVY· bīr bөлük qōy “A herd (*qaṭī'*) of sheep.” 0 bөлük

[I. 322/385] 194

:: BİYR BULUḲ KİŞİY bīr bөлük kiši “A group (*tā'ifa*) of people.” This is a collective noun, like *al-qawm* (“people”) and *al-ibil* (“camels”). 0

BILAK biläk “Wrist (*mi'šam al-yad*).” 0 biläk

BALAK beläg “Gift (*hadiyya*)” which a traveller brings his relatives, or which is sent from one spot to another. 0 beläg

BALIK bilik “Wick of a lamp (*fatīla as-sirāj*).” 0 bilik

BLIK bilik “Probe for wounds (*misbār*).” 0

BILIK bilig “Knowledge (*ilm*).” Thus :: BILIK 'UK·RAN bilig ögrän “Learn knowledge.” 0 BILIK bilig “Wisdom (*ḥikma*).” Hence :: 'UZ'QIY BILKA'LA'R ozāqi bilgālār “The sages of old (*al-ḥukamā' al-mutaqaddimūn*).” 0 BILIK bilig “Understanding (*aql*).” Proverb: 'UḤLA'N BILIK SIYZ· oγlān biligsiz “There is no understanding in babies.” 0 P

BANK¹ bänäk “Seed of grain (*ḥabba*).” Arḡu dialect; in some other dialects (*wa-fī* bā'd al-luḡa) BNAL [sic] bänäk is “Penny (*fals*).” bänäk D

TABUK täpük [Football] Something fashioned from lead in the shape of a spindle-whorl, then wound with goat's-hair or the like. Boys play with it by kicking (*rakl*). täpük

:: 'UL QULIN TABIK TAB'DY ol qulin täpig täpdi “He gave his slave a kick (*rakla*).” 0 täpig

:: BA'Š TITK TIṬY bāš titig titti “The wound throbbed with pain (*amaḍḍa ayya imḍāḍ*).” titig

This [structure] is only used for emphasis. Example: 'UL 'ARIK 'RUḤ 'UR'DY ol ärig uruy urdi “He struck the man hard (*ḍaraba . . . ḍarban 'ayya ḍarb*).” :: 'UL QJḤ QJDY ol qačiy qačdi “He fled quite away (*firār*).” 0 G

TUTAK tütäk “Spout (*šunbūr*)” of an urn, or the like. tütäk

TITIK titig “Clay (*ṭīn*).” 0 titig

3. *ittaxaḍa l-kamīn* – confusion (?) with 187 busuḡ.

TIRIK tirig	“Living (<i>ḥayy</i>),” of an animal.		tirig
TAZAK täzäk	“Horse dung (<i>rawṭ al-faras</i>).”	Proverb:	täzäk
TAZAK QA'RDA' YTM'S		täzäk qārda yatmās	P
'DKV 'YSYZ QATM'S		ädgü ēsīz qatmās	
“Dung does not remain beneath snow (because of its heat it melts the snow; similarly,) one must not mix the good with the bad (since they are not alike).”			
TAZIK täzig	“Panic, flight (<i>an-nifār bayn al-qawm</i>).”	:: TAZIK_ KIŠY täzig kiši	täzig
“One who flees (<i>nafūr</i>) from something.” 0			
TIZIK tizig	“Row (<i>ṣaff</i>)” of anything.	:: TZIK TZIK [sic] tizig teräk	tizig
“A row of poplars (<i>ṣaff min al-ḥawr</i>).”			
:: BYR TIZK YNJUV bīr tizig yinčü			“A string (<i>naẓm</i>) of pearls.” 0
TAŽIK tažik	“Persian (<i>fārisī</i>)”	– with <i>zāy</i> ² between the two points of articulation.	0 tažik
TAŠUK täšük	“Ruptured in the scrotum (<i>āḍar</i>).”		täšük
[I. 324/387]			195
Proverb: TAŠUK SUWDA' BALKURA'R täšük suwda bālgürār	0	“A man's rupture is noticed only when he bathes.”	0 P
This is coined about one who does something that he boasts of, so people say, “We'll see whether it's good or not when you reveal it.” 0			
TAŠIK täšik	“A glutton (<i>manhūm</i>)”	– one whose eyes are bigger than his stomach.	0 täšik
“A sluggard (<i>sāqiṭ kaslān</i>)” is called: TUŠUK KIŠIY tüšük kiši.			tüšük
TUŠAK töšäk	“Bedding (<i>firās</i>).”	0	töšäk
TIŠAK tišäk	“A two-year old sheep (<i>aṭ-tanī min al-ḡanam</i>).”	0	tišäk
TULAK_ töläk	“Tranquil, quiet (<i>muṭma'inn sākin</i>).”	Proverb: 'AJ' 'IYWAK TUQ	töläk
TULAK_ ač ēwäk toq töläk	0	“The hungry one is hasty (for food), the full one is tranquil”	P
– he is not bothered if dinner is late. Oḡuz dialect.			D
TULAK tüläk	“The season in which animals shed their winter coat (<i>waqt 'isqāṭ ad-dawābb 'aqā'iqahā</i>).”	:: 'UL QVY' TULA'KINDA' KAL_DY ol qōy tülākkindä kälđi	tüläk
“He came during the season when sheep shed their winter coat.” 0			
TALIḲ tālik	“Hole (<i>taqb</i>).”	0	tālik

2. z changed to ž (two dots in brown ink).

TUWK **tüwäk** [Blowgun] made by removing the bark from a tender willow branch. It is like a trumpet (*šabbūr*). It is used to shoot at small birds, using hazelnuts or pellets (*banādiq*). It can also be made from reed. Čigil dialect. 0 **tüwäk** D

JUBAK **čüpäk** "Baby's penis (*fayšala aš-šabi*)."⁰ **čüpäk**

JIBAK QARŪVY **čipäk qarŷūy** "Sparrow-hawk (*yu'yu'*)."⁰ **čipäk**

JATUK **čätük** "She-cat (*hirra*)."⁰ Oğuz dialect. 0 KVK JATK **küvük čätük** "He-cat (*daywan*)."⁰ **čätük** D

JAJAK **čečäk** "Flower, blossom (*nawr, zahr*)."⁰ **čečäk**

JKAK **čečäk** "Measles (*hašba*)."⁰ Čigil dialect. 0 D

JARIK **čäriḡ** "Battle line (*šaff al-ḡarb*)."⁰ Proverb: 'AL·B· JARIK·DA' BIL·KA' TAIYRIK·DA' **alp čäriḡdä bilḡä tēriḡdä** "The hero (is tried) in battle ('when the fuel of war is kindled'),¹ the sage (is tried) in council."⁰ **čäriḡ** P

JARIK **čäriḡ** "Opposite side (*qubāla*)" of anything, in Oğuz dialect; "time (*waqt*)" of anything. D

JURAK **čöräk** "Flat bread (*qurş*)."⁰ **čöräk**

One says, as a call for kids (*fī du'ā' al-jady*): JLIK JLIK **čilik čilik**. 0 **čilik**

JUNK **čünük** "Plane tree (*šajar ad-dulb*)."⁰ **čünük**

JUŠK **čüšäk** "Pasturage (*ri'y*)."⁰ Soğd dialect. **čüšäk** D

DULK **düläk** "Potsherd (*xazaf a'šar*),² such as a jar with a broken top. 0 **düläk**

SIBAK **sibäk** "Pivot of a hand-mill (*quṭb ar-raḡā*)."⁰ It is the piece of iron around which the millstone turns. 0 **sibäk**

[I. 325/389] **196**

SIBAK **sibäk** "The reed (*qašab*) which is placed in a baby's cradle as a urinal (*li-yabūla fīhi*)."⁰

SIDUK **sidük** "Urine (*bawl*)" of any kind. **sidük**

195 1. *iḡā šubba ḡirāmuhā* — a quotation from the Mu'allaqa of Labīd.

2. MS. *a'šā*.

SIDIK **sidig** “One of the two skirts of a robe (*aḥad jānibay al-qabā’ min al-jānibayn*).” **sidig**
This form is better than: SIDIΓ **sidiy** [188]. 0

SURUK: **sürüg** Any “herd (*qaṭī’*)” of cattle. :: BIYR: SURUK QUVY: **bir sürüg qōy** **sürüg**
“A flock (*qaṭī’*) of sheep.” Verse:

’UKUR SURUK QVY: TAWY YUNDIY BILA’ **V**
YUMURLAYUV ’R: KANN SUVTIN SAĠA’R
ögür sürüg qōy tewe yondi bilä
yumurlayu erkānin sütün saġār

“(He who is blessed with) herds of sheep, camels, and horses should gather them [early] to milk (and profit therefrom).”

SUZUK SUVV¹ **süzük sūw** “Clear blue (*azraq ṣāfī*) water” Anything “clear (*ṣāfī*),” **süzük**
such as a ruby, is: SUZUK **süzük**. 0

Anything “that is loosed from its bond (*ḥulla min waṭāqihī*)” is called: SAŠUK **säšük**. **säšük**
:: SAŠUK ’ĀT **säšük āt** “A horse set free (*muṭlaq*) from its tether.” 0

SAWUK NA’NK **säwük nāṅ** “Something loved (*maḥbūb*).” 0 **säwük**

SILIK ’AR: **silig är** “A man who is graceful (*ẓarīf*), clean (*naqī*), handsome (*ḥasan*) and **silig**
fine-spoken (*laṭīf al-kalām*).” 0

ŠUBIUK **šöpik** “The remainder of a fruit which is discarded after eating (*šamāj* [de- **šöpik**
fined]).” The *šin* is an alternant of *jīm* [i.e. **čöpik**]. 0 **D**

ŠUTUK **šütük** “Inkstand (*dawāt*)” made from the horn of an ox, or other. :: ŠUTUK² **sütük**
SAQA’L **šütük saqāl** “Scanty-bearded (*kawsaj*)” – as likened to an inkstand. 0

“A plane tree (*dulb*)” is called: ŠUNUK **šünük**. The *šin* is an alternant of *jīm* [i.e. 195 **šünük** **D**
čünük]. 0

KABAK **käpäk** “Bran (*nuxāla*).” 0 KABAK YNJV **käpäk yinčü** “Small pearls (*lu’lu’* **käpäk**
šayīr).” 0 KABAK **käpäk** “Scurf (*ḥazāza ar-ra’s*).” 0

KUBUIK **köpük** “Foam (*zabad al-mā’*).” 0 KUBUK **köpük** “Overflow of a kettle **köpük**
(*ṭufāḥa al-qidr*).” 0

KAJIK **käčig** “Ford (*ma’bar*).” Proverb [=528 **qayin-**]: QAY’NA’R ’UKUZ KAJIK **käčig**
SIYZ BULMA’S: **qaynār ögüz käčigsiz bolmās** “There is no rushing river that is without a ford.” **P**
This is coined about a perplexing problem of which one says, “There must be a way out.” 0

196 1. W changed from F (two dots in brown ink).
2. Second U (brown) changed from A (black).

- KJK **köçük** “The fatty tail (of a sheep); buttocks (of a man) (*al-alyatān wa-riḏf al-insān*).” 0 **köçük**
- KIJK **kiçig** “Small (*ṣaγīr*)” of anything. 0 **kiçig**
- KADUK **kädük** “Felt cap (*lubbāda*).” KADUK **kädük** “Feather head-dress (*al-γifāra* [I. 327/390] **kädük** 197
min ar-rīš)” – since it resembles a felt cap.
- “Toil and work (*aš-šubl wa-l-‘amal*)” is called: ’YŠ KUDUK **īs ködüg**. 0 KUDUK **ködüg** **ködüg** is never used alone but only in this paired expression. 0
- KARAK **käräk** A particle meaning “necessary (*yanbaγī*).” It is used as the answer to one who says: KARAK’MUV **käräk mü** “Is it necessary? (*a-yanbaγī*).” The answer is: KARAK’ **käräk** meaning: “Yes it is (*balā*).”¹ 0
- KURUK **körük** “Smith’s bellows (*ħimlūj, minfāx al-ħaddād*).” 0 **körük**
- KUZK **küzük** In a loom, “the knotted threads (*al-xuyūṭ al-mun‘aqida ba’ḏuha ‘alā ba’ḏ*) by which the upper warp is separated from the lower.” Also for one who weaves brocade (*nāsij ad-dībāj*), or other. 0 **küzük**
- KAZIK **käzik** “Fever and chills (*al-ħummā allatī ta’xuḏu l-insān bi-ra’da*).” :: SARIḒ **käzik**
 KAZIK **sariḒ käzik** “Jaundice (*yaraqān*).”
- KAZIK **käzig** “A turn” in work (*an-nawba fī l-‘amal*). Thus :: SANIK KAZIYKIYNK² **käzig**
 KAL’DIY **sänig käzigīḅ kälđi** “Your turn has come.” 0
- KAZIK **käzig** “Courage (*jur’a*).” :: BV ’YŠTA’ SANK’ KAZIK KARA’K’ **bu īšta saḅa**
käzig käräk “You must have courage in this matter.” Its meaning is the first (? *wa-ma’nāhu al-awwal*).
- KUŽK **küžäk** “Lock or tuft of hair (*al-quzza’a min aš-ša’r wa-š-šudγ*).” Arγu dialect. 0 **küžäk** D
- KASAK **käsäk** “Piece (*qiṭ’a*)” of something. :: BYR KASAK ’UTM’K **bīr käsäk ötmāk** **käsäk**
 “A piece of bread.” 0
- KAWK **käwig** – with the thin *kāf* – “Cartilage of the nose (*γudrūf al-anf*).” **käwig**
- KUWK MUVŠ **küwük müš** “He-cat (*ḏaywan*).” Čigil dialect. 0 **küwük** D

197 1. MS. *balī*, *kasra* in brown ink.

2. K changed to G (three dots in brown ink).

- KULUK N'NK **kölük nāñ** “Something borrowed (*musta'ār*).” 0 **kölük**
- KULUK **kölük** “Beast of burden (*zahr* [defined]).” 0
- KAMK **kāmāk** “A fabric (*nasīj*) of cotton, embroidered and striped,” used for mantles and, by the Qifčāq, for raincoats. 0 **kāmāk**
- KUNAK **könäk** “Leather bag (*rakwa*).” 0 **könäk**
- MAŽK **māžäk** “Dog’s dung (*ja'r al-kalb*)” – with the *zāy*³ between the two points of articulation. ∴ 'IT MAŽKY it **māžäki**. 0 **māžäk**
- NATAK **nätäğ** An interrogative particle meaning “how? (*kayfa*).” Thus ∴ NATAK SAN **nätäğ sän** “How are you?” 0 **nätäğ**
- NAJUK **näčük** A particle meaning “why? (*lima*).” Thus ∴ NAJUK BAR'DIYNK **näčük bardīñ** “Why did you go?” Yabāqu dialect. **näčük**
D
- NALK **nälük** A particle with the same meaning as NAJUK **näčük**, among the rest of the Turks. It means “why? (*lima*).” 0 **nälük**
D
- NRAK **näräk** A particle meaning “why is it necessary? (*limādā yanbaγī*).” ∴ BV SANK' NRAK **bu saña näräk** “Why is this necessary for you?” Its root-form is: NA' KARA'K **nä käräk**, with some letters dropped. **näräk**
- [I. 329/392] **198**
- L
- BJAL **bičal** “Uncircumcized (*matkā*),” of a woman; “castrated (*amtan*)” of a man, horse, any animal. 0 **bičal**
- BAŠIL QUVY **bašil qōy** “Sheep with a white spot on the head (*aşqa'*).” A variant [cf. 242 **bašγil**]. 0 **bašil**
D
- BADAL 'R'T **badal art** Name of a pass (*aqaba*) between Uč and Barsγān. It is steep (*ka'ūd*). **badal**
N
- TSL **tasal** “The boundary (*madā, ḥadd*)” that is set up in polo. It is a metathesis of: TALA'S' **talās** – as, in Arabic, one says *mā fi al-arđ 'alaq wa-la'aq* meaning “[there is no] pasture [in the land].” 0 **tasal**
- TAKAL **tägül** – Oγuz dialect – “Not so (*laysa kađālīka*).” It derives from the Arγu phrase: DA'Γ 'UL **dāy ol**. The *dāl* was changed to *tā'*, the *γayn* to *kāf*, and the two *alifs* were dropped. 0 **tägül**
D

3. z changed to ž (two dots in brown ink); MS. in error, *bi-zā bayn bayn*, read *bi-zāy bayn*.

:: 'UQ KYŠ 'JRA' JIĞIL TIĞIL QILDY oq kēš ičrā čiyil tiyil qildi “The arrow made čiyil tiyil [such] a sound in the quiver,” or other.

JIKIL čigil Name for three groups (*ṭawā'if*) of the Turks.

čigil N

The first is a nomadic people (*qawm min ahl al-wabar*) inhabiting: QUYA'S qayās, a small district (*bulayda*) beyond Barsyān.

The second is a small district near ʤarāz called: JIKIL čigil. It is the original referent of this name. Thus: When Dū-l Qarnayn came to the land of Arṣu the clouds loosed their founts and the road became muddy, and this caused him great difficulty. He said in Persian: 'IYN JIKIL 'AS'T' ĪN čigil ast meaning: “What is this mud (*mā hādā ṭ-ṭīn*) – there's no escaping it!” So he ordered a building to be constructed in that spot, and they built the fortress (*ḥiṣn*) that is called: JKIL čigil to this day. The place was called by that name; then the Turks who settled there were called: JKILY¹ čigilī and this name spread after that. Now the Oṣuz, since their lands bordered on this fortress, used to fight the Čigil continually – the enmity between the two peoples persists to the present – and so they called all Turks who dressed in the manner of the Čigil by that name. That is to say, the Oṣuz called all the Turks from the Jayḥūn (Oxus) to Upper Šin: JKIL čigil – but this is an error.

The third is a group of villages (*qurā*) in Kāšṣar

[I. 330/394]

199

called: JKIL čigil. They too have spread out from one place. 0

JMUL čömül A tribe (*jīl*) of the Turks. 0

čömül N

SUKAL sökäl “Sick (*marīd*),” Oṣuz dialect. 0

sökäl D

SIGIL¹ sigil “Wart (*tu'lūl*),” 0

sigil

QZIL qizil “Red (*aḥmar*)” of anything.

Proverb [=453 yepün]:

qizil P

QILNUV BLSA' QIZL KAD'R
YARA'NUV BLSA' YAŠIL KAD'R

qilnu bilsä qizil kädär
yarānu bilsä yašil kädär

“If (a woman) knows how to be good company she will wear red silk; if she is flattering and flirtatious she will wear green silk.” This is one of the women's proverbs. It is coined as advice to be good company in order to get good things. 0

QIZIL qizil Name of a river (*wādī*) in Kāšṣar.

Verse:

N

198 1. There are two U's in brown ink over the Y (indicate nunnation).

199 1. Three dots of G in brown ink.

QIZIL SARIΓ 'R·QAŠIB·	qizil sariy arqašip	V
YBKIN YAŠIL YUR_KAŠIB· ²	yepgin yašil tergäšip (?)	
BIR· BIR· KARUV YURKAŠIB·	bir bir kerü yörgäšip	
YALINKUQ· 'ANY TANK·LAŠUVR	yalnuq ani tañlašür	

Describing spring: "The red and yellow (flowers and blossoms) are heaped up, the green and brown (basils) are [in rows (?) and] entwined upon one another; mankind is astonished." 0

KAWL 'AT· **kāwāl at** "Fleet horse, courser (*faras rā'i' jawād*)." **kāwāl**

M

:: BYR BJIM QA'ΓUVN **bir bičim qāyūn** "A slice (*šaṭba*) of melon." The same for something else. **bičim**

BUΓIM **boyim** "Knuckle (*ašja'*)" of the finger. A "node (*anbūb*)" of reed or alfa is also called: BUΓIM³ **boyim**. 0 **boyim**

BUKUM 'ATUK **büküm ätük** "Boot (*xuff*) worn by women." Oγuz dialect; others say: MUKIM **mükim** or: MUKIN **mükin**, changing the *bā'* to *mīm* and the final *mīm* to *nūn*. I think this is not genuine; 0 nevertheless, the Qifčāq and other crude peoples⁴ use this word. 0 **büküm** D

TARIM **tārim** The title by which one addresses princes (*takākīn*) and those princesses (*xawātīn*), and others, great or small, who descend from Afrāsiyāb. This term is used only for the sons of the Khāqānī kings, and for no one else, however great. One says 'ALTUN TARIM· **altun tārim** when addressing princesses. 0 **tārim** N

TARIM **tarim** "River channels (*a'ḏād al-awdiya*) that flow into swamps and quicksand." **tarim**

TARIM **tarim** Name of a place (*mawḏi'*) on the frontier of Uighur near Kuča. It is called: 'S·MY⁵ TARIM **üsmi tarim** and there is a river (*wādī*) flowing in it **N**

[I. 332/396] **200**

which is also called by that name. 0

TURUM· **turum** "The height of a man (*qadr qāma ar-rajul*)." Thus :: BIYR· 'AR· TURUMIY SUVV¹ **bir är turumi sūw** "A man's height of water." The same for other things. 0 **turum**

2. Two dots of Y in brown ink.

3. Dot of Γ in brown ink.

4. MS. *aḥlāf*, read *ajlāf* (cf. 168:11, 459:9).

5. This word added below the line (original copyist).

200 1. W changed from F (two dots in brown ink).

TURUM_ torum – with *išbā'* – “Newborn camel (*ibn maxād*).” The female (*bint al-maxād*) is called: TIŠY TURUM_ tiši torum. 0 torum

“A string (*naẓm*) of pearls” is called: BYR' TIZIM YINJU²V² bīr tizim yinčü. 0 tizim

TUQUM toqum “Slaughter-animal (*jazūr*)” – usually used of a horse. 0 toqum

“A portion (*bidḍa*) of rolled bread” is called: BIYR' TIKM' TURMA'K' bīr tikim türmāk. tikim

TALIM tālim “Much or many (*kaṭīr*)” of anything. :: TALIM YARMA'Q tālim yarmāq “Many dirhams.” 0 tālim
Verse:

TALIM BAŞLAR' YUWLDIYMAT	tālim başlar yuwuldīmat	V
YAĜY 'ANDIN YAWLDYMT	yaği andin yawaldīmat	
KUJY 'NINK KAWILDIYMAT	küci aniñ kawildīmat	
QILJ QIN'Q' KUJN SĜ'DIY	qiliç qinqa kücün sıydi	

Describing a battle: “The warriors’ heads rolled; the foe’s rage was stilled because of it; their strength waned; until the sword entered the sheath [only] by use of force (because of all the gore which was clotted upon it).” 0

TULUM tulum “Weapon (*silāḥ*)” (generic term).³ tulum

:: BYR TILIM 'AT bīr tilim āt “A slice (*filḍa*) of meat.” The same for anything cut or split lengthwise (*maqṭū' aw mašqūq ṭūlan*). tilim

DIDIM didim “The crown (*iklīl*) which is worn by the bride on the night of the nuptial procession.” 0 didim

SARIM sārim “A piece of silk or other material used to cover the mouth of a jug or decanter in order to filter (*li-yuṣaffā bihi*) wine.” 0 sārim

:: BIYR' SAĜIM SUVT bīr sağim sūt “The milk of one milking (*qadr ḥalba min laban*).” 0 sağim

SUQM suqim Name of a piece of wood which is hollowed out in the shape of a pine cone, then perforated on three sides and attached to an arrow; it is “the whistler (*aṣ-ṣufārī*).” “The planet Mars (*mirriḫ*)” is called by this name: BAQIR SUQIM baqir suqim. 0 suqim

BYR' QUJAM NA'NK bīr qučam nāñ “A bundle (*iḍbāra*) of something.” 0 qučam

QURUM_ qorum “Rocks (*ṣaxr*).” One calls “a treasure (*māl jamm*)”: QRUM qorum. qorum
:: 'UL' QRUM_ BULDY ol qorum buldi “He found a treasure.” 0

2. Two dots of Y in brown ink.

3. In MS. this entry comes before the verse s.v. tālim.

- KARAM **kārām** “Underground habitation (*sarab*).” Dialect of Upper and Lower Šīn. 0 **kārām** D
- [I. 334/398] 201
- KARIM **kārim** “Figured curtain (*al-qirām*).” Hence :: TA’M’ KARIMIY **tām kārimi** **kārim**
 “Wall cover (*sitr al-jidār*).”
- N
- One calls “a trustworthy person (*amīn nāṣih*)”: JIYN’ BUTUN’ KIŠIY **čīn bütün kiši**. 0 **bütün**
 BUTUN’ **bütün** “Sound or genuine (*ṣaḥīḥ*)” of anything. :: BUTUN YARMA’Q **bütün yarmāq** “A
 sound dirham.” 0
- BUDUN’ **boḍun** “Subjects, commoners (*ar-ra’īya wa-’awāmm an-nās*).” Čigil dialect. 0 **boḍun** D
- BURUN **burun** “Nose (*anf*).” 0 BURUN **burun** “Mountain peak (*ra’n al-jabal*).” :: **burun**
 TA’Γ’ BUR’NIY **tāγ burni**. One calls the “first part (*awwal*)” of anything: BURUN’ **burun**. ::
 ’UL MANDIN’ BURUN BAR’DIY **ol māndin burun bardī** “He went ahead of me (*qudāmī*).” This
 word corresponds to the Arabic in sense, not in sound.¹ 0
- BUŽIN **bužin** “Hellebore (*xarbaq*).” With the *zāy* between the two points of articula- **bužin**
 tion.
- BASAN’ **basan** “A meal (*ṭa’ām*) which is prepared for the dead person after they have **basan**
 buried him.” :: YUVΓ BASAN **yōγ basan**. 0
- BUḠYUN’² **boγin** “Knuckle (*ašja’*); node (*unbūb*)” of reed. The *nūn* is an alternant of **boγin**
mīm [i.e. 199 **boγim**]. This type of alternation is permitted in Arabic also as in the following D
 couplet: 0
yā rubba ja’dīn fīhimū law tadrīn
yaḍribu ḍarba s-sabiṭi l-maqādīm
- (“Many a stocky one among them – if you only knew – strikes like a lanky one, forward in
 battle.”) Note also the negative particles *lam* and *lan*. 0
- BAQAN’ **baqan** “Ring or necklace (*ḥalqa, ṭawq*)” made of brass. :: ’ALTUN BAQAN **baqan**
altun baqan “A ring of gold”; etc. 0
- BIQIN **biqin** “Hip (*xāšira*).” **biqin**
- BUKN **bögān** “Impotent (*innīn*).” **bögān**
- BUKN **bögān** “Caecum (*al-mimraγa³ min al-am’ā*).”

201 1. Ar. *anf* “nose” is also used to mean “first part.”
 2. I crossed out by later hand.
 3. MS. *mumarraγa*.

BUKAN bükän “Watermelon (<i>baḡix hindī</i>).” 0		bükän
BULUN bulun “Captive (<i>axīd, asīr</i>).”	Verse:	bulun
A'ABNG ⁴ QULSA'M ⁵ 'UḌUV BA'RIB TUTAR 'AR'DIM SUSIN TA'RIB BULUN QIYLIB BA'ŠY YA'RIB YULUḡ BARJA' MANK' YAḤIḡ'DIY ⁶	apaḡ qolsa uḡu bārip tutar ārdim süsin tārip bulun qīlip bāši yārip yuluḡ barča maḡa yiḡdi	V

Describing the routed foe: “Had I wished I would have followed him, taken him, dispersed his troops, made him captive, and split open his head; (but) he gathered for me much ransom (so I granted him freedom).” 0

TABAN taban “Hoof (<i>xuff</i>) of a camel.” 0		taban
TUBUN topun “Knob of a corn-stalk (<i>ku'bura aḡ-ḡa'ām</i>).” Uč dialect.		topun D
TADUN taḡun “Calf (<i>al-jaḡa' min al-baqar</i>).” The female is: TIŠIY TADUN tiši taḡun.		taḡun
0		
TUDN tuḡun “Village chief (<i>arīf al-qarya</i>); distributor of water (<i>muwazzi' al-miyāh fi š-širb</i>).” 0		tuḡun
TUTUN tütün “Smoke (<i>duxān</i>).”	Proverb [=451 yazuq]:	tütün
[I. 335/400]		202
'UVT TUTUN SUZ BULM'S YGT YA'ZUQ SUZ BULMA'S	0ḡ tütünsüz bolmās yigit yāzuqsuz bolmās 0	P

“No fire without smoke, no youth without sin.” 0

TUGUN ¹ tügün “Knot (<i>uḡda</i>).” 0		tügün
TIKAN tikän “Thorn (<i>šawk</i>).” This pronunciation is only for lightness. By rule one should double the <i>kāf</i> and say: TIḲÄN: tikkän. 0 This word comes from the verb: TIK'DY tikdi meaning “He pricked or planted (<i>ḡaraza</i>), pierced with an awl (<i>xaraza</i>), ² goaded (<i>naxasa</i>).”		tikän G

-
4. Three dots of G by later hand.
 5. M· by later hand.
 6. A crossed out by later hand.

- 202
1. Three dots of G by later hand.
 2. MS. *jazaza*.

The first *kāf* is part of the root, the second *kāf* is added to form an adjectival (*šifa*). Other examples: TAW'DIY 'AT'NY *tāwdi ātni* "He pierced the meat (on a spit) (*šakka l-laḥm fī s-saffūd*)"; to form an adjectival from this verb you say: 'AT'NIY TAW_KA'N' *ātni tāwgān* "One who skewers meat (*šakkāk li-laḥm*).” You add a *kāf* for the noun that is not part of the root. ∴ 'AR' JUM'DY SUWDA' *ār čömdi suwda* "The man dove (*γāš a*) into the water”; to form this into an adjectival you say: SUWQA' JUMKA'N' 'AR' *suwqa čömgān ār* "A diver (*rajuḷ γawwāš*).” You add a *kāf* for the adjectival that is not a part of the root. If the word has a *kāf* as part of the root the rule is to add the adjectival *kāf* (*kāf aš-šifa*) by doubling the *kāf*. For example: 'AR' 'URA'ΓUT_NIY SIKTY *ār urāγutni sikti* "The man cohabited with (*jāma'a*) the woman”; to form the adjectival you say; SIKĀ'N 'AR' *sikkān ār* "One who cohabits frequently (*rajuḷ jammā'*).” The word: TIKAN³ *tikān* "Thorn" is on the same order, except that one of the *kāf*'s has been dropped for lightness. 0

TULUN' *tulun* "Temple of the head (*šudγ*).” One of the two variants [cf. 606 *tulun*]. And "the gear (*hana*) to the right and left of the temples on a bridle" is called: TULN *tulun*. 0 tulun
D

TULUN' 'ĀAY' *tolun āy* "Full moon (*badr*).” 0 tulun

TAMAN' *tāmān* Name of a river flowing through Kāšγar. 0 tāmān N

TAMAN' YINK'NA' *tāmān yinqā* "Large needle (*ibra kabīra*).”

TUMAN *tümān* "Much (*kaṭīr*)" of anything. ∴ TUMAN TUR_LUK SUVZ_LA'DIY *tümān türlüg sözlādi* "He spoke much about every sort of thing (*qāla min kull naw' kalāmān kaṭīran*).” TUMAN MINK' *tümān miṅ* "A thousand thousand ('*alf 'alf fī al-'adad*).” ∴ TUMAN MINK YARMA'Q *tümān miṅ yarmāq* "A million dirhams.” 0 tümān

TUSUN *tosun* "Colt not yet broken (*al-muhr alladī lam yuraḍ ba'du*).” 0 tosun

JUBAN'⁴ *čupan* "Assistant to the village chief ('*awn 'arīf al-qarya*).” 0 čupan

[I. 337/402]

203

JIQAN' *čiqan* "Mother's sister's son (*ibn al-xāla*).” 0 čiqan

JAKUN *čäkün* "Young of the weasel (*walad al-wabr*).” 0 čäkün

JUKAN *čögän* "Polo stick (*šawḷajān*).” 0 čögän

SABAN' *saban* "Plowing gear (*al-faddān bi-jamī' ālātihi*).” SABAN *saban* is also "the act of plowing (*falāḥa al-arḍ*).” Proverb [=373 *sanriš*, 625 *sandruš*]: SABANDA' SAND- saban
P

3. Later hand has placed a *tašdīd* above KA.

4. A changed from U (?).

RIŞ BULSA' U'URT·KUN·DA' 'IRTAŞ BUL·MA'S' sabanda sandriş bolsa örtgündä irtäş bolmäs
 "If there is quarreling¹ during (the season of) plowing there will be no strife during harvest."
 This is coined as advice for someone to secure an affair at the beginning of his dealing with it
 so that contention will not arise at the end. 0

SAĞUN sayun Honorific title of the Qarluq chiefs. 0 "A Turkic doctor (*ṭabīb turkī*)" is called: 'ATA' SAĞUN ata sayun. 0 sayun
N

SİĞAN· SAJ siyan saç "Lank (*sabiṭ*) hair." 0 siyan

SUKAN sögän (?) "Basket or pack saddle (*qırṭāla*)." 0 sögän ?

QAJN qačan A particle meaning "when? (*matā*)." Thus :: QAJN KAL·DINK qačan
 kälidin "When did you come?" It may also be used in the meaning "if only (*law*)"; thus :: QAJN
 BAR·SA' SAN qačan barsa sän "If only² you had gone." It can also mean "When (*iḍā*)." The
 root-meaning is the first. 0 qačan

QAĐIN· qađin "Relation by marriage (*ṣihr*)." Or with *zāy* [i.e. *qazın*] in Qifcāq dialect.
 Proverb [=553 *qay*-]; QADAŞ TYMYŞ QAY·MA'DUQ QAĐIN TYMYŞ QAY·MIYŞ· qadaş tēmīš
 qaymaduq, qađin tēmīš qaymīš "They said (concerning kinsmen) 'brother' and he paid them no
 heed; they said 'brother-in-law' and he paid them heed." This is coined as advice to bridegrooms
 to respect their inlaws. qađin D
P

QARIN qarın "Belly (*baṭn*)." 0 QARIN· 'AT·MA'Q qarın atmāq The stomach
 (*karš*) of a slaughtered beast is made a target for shooting and whoever hits it gets a portion of the
 meat. qarın

QURUN qurun [Soot] "The trace of smoke that sticks to the wall (*aṭar ad-duxān*
al-murtabik 'alā l-jidār)." 0 qurun

QUQUN qoqun "Spark (*ṣarara*)." 0 qoqun

QALIN· qalın Anything "thick or coarse (*ṭaxīn ḡalīz*)." "Dense (*kaṭīf*) troops" are
 called: QALIN· SUV qalın sü. 0 qalın

QULUN· qulun "Foal (*falw*)." 0 qulun

QULAN· qolan "Saddle girth (*ḥizām*)." 0 QULAN· 'ATİY qolan äti "The place on
 the horse for the saddle girth." 0 qolan

KATAN kätän "Hardship (*mihna*)." Hence one says of a person undergoing hardships:
 KATAN KUR·DIY KARA·KUV YUD·TIY kätän kördi kārākü yüditi "He underwent (so many)
 hardships (that) he could carry his tent (on his back because of the fewness of his belongings)."
 [But cf. 225 *kārākü* P.] 0 kätän
(P)

203 1. MS. *mulāḥa*, read *mulājja*.

2. MS. *lima*, read *law*.

KUDAN' **küdän** "Wedding feast (*walīma*)."

küdän

KUBAN **köpän** — Oğuz dialect — "A camel blanket (*hils al-ba'ir*), pack saddle (*barda'a*), or other such animal gear." 0

köpän
D

[I. 339/404]

204

KURIN **kürin** "A basket (*šarīja*) for transporting melons, cucumbers, and the like." 0

kürin

KUZAN' **küzän** One of the rat (*jirdän*) genus, used to hunt small birds; also "the gerboa (*yarbū'*)."

küzän

KUSAN **küsän** Name of the city which is called Kuča. It is a frontier of Uighur. 0

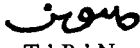
küsän N

KALIN **kälin** "Bride (*arus*)."

kälin


When the nouns in these chapters are written down [i.e., in the Uighur script] you must write the medial A (*al-manšūb al-awsat*) by adding an *alif* in the Turkic script (*fi hijā' at-turkiyya*).

G

Example :: TABAN **taban** "camel's hoof" is written thus:  ; you add two *alifs* which


T'-B'-N

are not found in Arabic script in the root-word (*fi hijā' al-'arabiyya fi aṣl al-kalīma*).¹ This is with regard to A (*naṣb*). Example of words with medial U (*marfū'a awsatuhā*): TUBAN **topun** "knob

of a cornstalk" is written in the Turkic script thus:  ; in the same way, you add two

T-V-B-V-N

vāvs for U (*ḍamm*).² 0 :: KALIN' **kälin** "bride" is written in the Turkic script:


K'-L'-Y-N

[with Y for I].³ The rule follows these examples for what I have not mentioned. The addition of the *madd* and *līn* letters is permissible; but the more elegant and more correct pronunciation is that indicated in this book (*mā yanṭiqu bihi l-kitāb*). The reason it is permissible is that *fa'al* is the shortened form of *fa'āl*, *fu'al*⁴ of *fu'āl*, and *fi'al*⁵ of *fi'āl*. The lengthened form does not depart from the pattern. The shortened form is for conciseness and lightness, and lightening is more correct.

End of Unaugmented Chapters

Chapters of Words with a *Madd* Augment between the First and Second Radicals

Chapter: *fā'il*, in its various vocalizations

204 1. Kāšyarī points up the plene character of Uighur script by repeating the letters one for one in Arabic script below: T'-B'-N.

2. T-V-B-V-N.

3. K'-L'-Y-N.

4. MS. *fu'āl*.

5. MS. *fi'āl*.

T

QA'ΓUT' qāyut Name of a dish made from millet. The millet is boiled, dried and ground, then mixed with butter and sugar. It is one of the foods given to confined women. qāyut

R

JA'TIR' cātir "Tent (*xayma*)." 0 cātir

JA'TIR' cātir "Sal ammoniac (*nuṣādir*)." Kuča dialect. D

JA'JIR' cācīr "Tent (*xayma*)." The Oγuz call it: JA'ŠIR' cāšir. 0 cācīr

SA'TIR' satir A term of abuse⁶ meaning "You bastard!" cāšir D
sātir

[I. 340/406]

205

(lā aṣl lahu)." 0

SA'ΓIR' saγir "A conical vessel for wine, shaped like a mortar." sāγir

Z

SIYBIZ' KŠY sībiz kiši "A clumsy, careless (*axraq γāfil*) person." sībiz

Š

One calls "anything that resembles something else of the same sort (*kull jins min al-ašyā' yuṣbihu ba'ḍuhu ba'ḍan*)": TUVDAŠ NANK tūdāš nāḡ. The root is: TUV tū meaning: "Hair (*ša'r*)." One says of animals: BUV 'AT NA' TUVLUK bu at nā tūlūg meaning "What is the color-marking (*šiya*) of this horse?" 0 DAŠ -daš, -dāš is a particle of close association (*ḥarf muṣāḥaba wa-muqārana*). One calls two children from one womb: QARIN'DAŠ qarindaš; QARIYN qarīn is "womb" (*baṭn*); when DAŠ' -daš is suffixed the meaning is "womb-fellow" (*muṣāḥib al-baṭn*). "A breast (*ṭady*)" is called 'AMIK āmig; and "two babies sucking at the same breast" are called: 'AMIK'DAŠ āmigdāš meaning: "Breast-fellows" (*ṣāḥibay at-ṭady*). :: YIYR'DAŠ' yērdāš "Two people who come from the same place (*mawḍi'*)." :: QADAŠ' qadaš "Brother, kinsman (*ax, qarīb*)"; the root is: QA' qa "Receptacle (*zarf*)"; and DAŠ' -daš is suffixed causing it to mean that each of the two kinsmen lay in a single receptacle, the mother's womb. :: KUNKUL'DAŠ' kōñūl-dāš "Heart-fellow (*muṣāḥib al-qalb*)," since "heart" is: KUNKUL' kōñūl. Therefore TUVDAŠ' tūdāš is "color-fellow (*muqārīn al-lawn wa-š-šiya*)." 0

tūdāš

D

TIYDİS' tīdiš "Hindering (*mumāna'a*)." 0 tīdiš

KA'KUŠ' kākūš A salve for tumors known as "white hellebore (*kundus*)." kākūš

6. *sabb*, written SAB' and overlined as if Turkic.

Γ

BA'LIF' bāliy	“Wounded (<i>jarīh</i>).”	0	Verse:	bāliy
'URMIŠ 'AŽUN BUSVĠIN				V
QILMIŠ 'ANIY BA'LIF				
'AM' SAM' 'NKAR TILA'NIB				
SIZDA' BULUR YAQIF				
	urmiš ažu busūyin			
	qilmiš ani bāliy			
	ām sam aṅar tilānip			
	sizdā bulur yaqiy			

Describing his condition: “Time held me in a snare of trials and left me wounded [lit: Time laid its ambush, and wounded him]; he sought medicine for that, and found a dressing with you.” 0

TA'TIF' tātiy “Pleasant taste (*laḏḏa*).” One says, as a paired expression: TA'TIF' T'LIF' tātiy tātiy.

K

BIYŠK' bēšik “Cradle (*mahd aṣ-ṣabī*).” 0 bēšik

DIYDAK dīdāk “Litter curtain (*kabīsa aṣ-za'īna*).” The bride is always hidden by it from strangers when she departs. dīdāk

BIYLAK bēlāg “Gift (*hadiyya*).” 0 bēlāg

TUVNAK tūnāk “Prison (*sijn*)” Barsyān dialect. 0 tūnāk D

SUVJIK sūčig “Sweet (*ḥulw*),” of anything. 0 SUVJIK sūčig “Wine (*al-xamr*),” specifically. This word has two opposite meanings. The people of the Īla valley – Yaḡma, Tuxsi and Čigil – call wine: QIZIL' SUJIK qizil sūčig meaning: sūčig D

[I. 342/408] 206

“Red drink” (*šarāb aḡmar*). 0

SAJYZIG sēzig “Opinion or suspicion (*zann*).” sēzig

KUVBIK' kūpig “Quilting (*taḏrīb aṭ-ṭawb*).” 0 kūpig

KUVŠIK' kōšik “Screen, curtain (*xamar, sutra*).” 0 kōšik

KUVLIK' kōlik “Shadow (*zill*).” kōlik

L

QA'ĠIL qāyil “Tender willow rods (*quḏbān xilāf raṭb*)” used to bind vine stalks. Pro- qāyil
verb: QL [sic] SA'WIY QALM'S QA'ĠIL BA'ĠIY YAZIL'MA'S qari sāwi qalmās, qāyil bāyi P
yazilmās 0 “An old man’s words are not left (neglected but are used, just as) fresh willow rods
(once they are bound) do not (afterwards) come loose.”

M

BIYRIM *bērim* “Debt (*dayn*).” Proverb [=50 *alim*]: ’ALIMJY ’AR_S’LA’N BIYRIMJY *bērim*
 СИЈГА’N *alimči arslān bērimči sičγān* 0 “The creditor is (like) a lion (in his power over the
 debtor), the debtor is (like) a mouse (in his fear of him).” P

N

BIYJIN *bēčin* “Monkey (*qird*).” BIYJIN *bēčin(yil)* One of the twelve years in Turkic. *bēčin*
 0

TYMIN *tēmin* A particle meaning “a short while ago (*qabla hāḏihi s-sā’a*).” :: TYMIN *tēmin*
 KALDIM *tēmin kāldim* “I came a short while ago.” 0

JUVDIN *čōḏin* “Bronze (*qitr*).” Thus :: JUVDIN ’AŠJ *čōḏin ešič* “A bronze kettle.” 0 *čōḏin*

SUVḠUN *sōγun, sōγan* “Onion (*baṣal*)” (with *ḏamm* [u] or *naṣb* [a] in the second
 syllable). 0 *sōγun,*
sōγan

SUVḠAN_ YILA’N *soγān yilān* “A large harmless snake (*al-ḥuffāt min al-ḥayyāt*).” 0

SIYḠUN *sīγun* “Stag (*ayyil*).” SIYḠUN ’UTY *sīγun oti* [Mandrake] A certain plant
 whose root is shaped like a man and which is used as a remedy for impotence. It is called in Per-
 sian *istarang*. It is found as male and female; the male is for men, the female for women. 0 *sīγun*

SIYḠUN SAMUR *sīγun samur* Name of a place (*mawḏi’*). Buḡra Khān was poisoned
 there. 0 N

JA’ḌAN *čāḏan* “Scorpion (*aqrab*).” *čāḏan*

LA’JIN *lāčin* “The shahin falcon (*šāhin*),” a bird of prey. A man may be called: LA’-
 JIYN *lāčin* for his prowess in war. 0 *lāčin*
 N

Chapter: *fā’ūl*

Q’TUVN *qātūn* The name of all female descendants (*banāt*) of Afrāsiyāb. Proverb: *qātūn* N
 XA’N ’IYŠIY BULSA’ QA’TUVN ’IYŠIY QALIYR *xān īši bolsa qātūn īši qalir* “When the Khā-
 qān’s business is at hand the Khātūn’s business is put off.” This is equivalent to the Arabic saying:
iḏā jā’a nahr allāh baṭala P

[I. 343/410]

207

nahr ’īsā (“When the canal of God comes the canal of Jesus is vain.”) ¹

207 1. Cf. Tha’ālibī, *Thimār al-Qulūb* (Cairo, 1384/1965), pp. 30-31. *Nahr allāh* means “the sea” or “rain” or “a flood”; *nahr ’īsā* was the name of a canal in Baghdad.

QA'ΓUVN: qāγūn “Melon (*baṭīx*).” Proverb: QA'ΓUVN: QARMA' BULSA' 'IDISIY 'IKIY 'ALKIN TAKIYR: qāγūn qarma bolsa idisi ekki ālgın tągır 0 “When a melon is the plunder its owner is snatched along by both hands.” This is coined about the tenacity with which a wealthy man holds on to his belongings. 0

qāγūn
P

LA'ΓUVN: lāγūn “Something hollowed out like a grain-measure (*šay' manqūr ka-š-šā'*), out of which one drinks milk, curdled milk, and the like.” 0

lāγūn

Chapters of Words with a *Madd* or *Līn* Augment between the Second and Third Radicals

Chapter: *fa'āl, fa'ūl, fa'īl*, in its various vocalizations

J

BUQA'J 'AR'T buqāč art Name of a pass (*'aqaba*). 0 buqāč N

BUQA'J: buqāč “Pots and pans (*tawr wa-qidr*).” :: 'ŠIJ BUQA'J: ešič buqāč.

R

TATA'R: tatār A tribe (*jīl*) of the Turks. 0 tatār N

TATA'R taγār “Sack (*γirāra*)” for keeping wheat, etc. 0 taγār

TW'R: tawār “Merchandise, property (*sil'a, māl*).” tawār

JAWA'R: čawār “Kindling (*aḍ-ḍaram alladī yūqadu bihi n-nār*).” It is used in the paired expression: JAWA'R JUW'R čawār čuwār. 0 čawār

SUQA'R: soqār “Hornless (*lā qarn lahu*)” (animal); bald toward the temples (*lā ša'r 'alā ra'sihi naḥw aš-šud'γayn*)” (man) – or like the Turkic (? *aw ka-t-turkiyya*). :: S UQA'R: QUVY: soqār qōy “A hornless (*jammā'*) sheep.” 0 soqār

XUZ'R: xuzār Name of a place (*mawḍi'*) in the country of the Turks. xuzār N

Z

KUFA'Z: küwāz “Haughty (*mutakabbir*).” 0 küwāz

MARA'ZA marāz “Indigo (*'izlim*).” marāz

MARA'ZU marāz “Hireling (*ajīr*).” Arḡu and Yaḡma dialect. :: XIYA'R MARA'Z xiyār marāz. D

Γ

TAŠUVΓ tašūy “Conveyance (*nuqla*)” of merchandise, etc. 0 tašūy

TUŠA'Γ̣ tušāy “Shackle for the fore-legs of a horse (*šikāl yaday al-faras*).” tušāy

Q

BAJA'Q̣ bačāq “Christian fast (*šawm an-našārā*).” 0 bačāq

TALA'Q̣ talāq “Spleen (*ṭiḥāl*).” 0 talāq

TILA'Q̣ tilāq “Female organ (*matā' al-mar'a*).” Čigil dialect. 0 tilāq D

SULA'Q̣ solāq “Spleen (*ṭiḥāl*).” Qifčāq dialect. The *sīn* is an alternant of *tā'*. This is like the Arabic *sitt* (“six”) from the root *sids* and *ṭast* (“basin”) from the root *ṭass*. The grammarians cite the following verse in this connection: *jazā llāhu banī s-si'lāti 'amr^{an} wa-qābūsa širār an-nāti* (“May God requite the sons of the demons, ‘Amr and Qābūs the vilest of men”)² – intending by the final word *an-nās*.

K

BUDIYK bōdīg “Dance (*zafan, raqš*).” 0 bōdīg

BAZA'K bāzāk A variant of: BZK bāzāk [193].³ bāzāk D

TIRA'K terāk “Poplar (*al-ḥawr min aš-šajar*).” 0 terāk

TILA'K tilāk “Wish (*murād*).” tilāk

TUL'K YLQY tülāk yilqi “An animal which sheds (*mu'iqq*) its winter coat and grows a summer one.” 0 tülāk

[I. 345/412] 208

L

TUKA'L tükāl “Completeness (*tamām*).” Also, “a complete thing (*šay' tamm*)” is called: TUKA'L tükāl. Thus :: TUKA'L 'ALΓIL tükāl al'yil “Take it all (*tamm^{an}*).” 0 tükāl

QIWA'L BURN qiwāl burun “A proud nose (*'irnīn ašamm*).” This is an object of praise. qiwāl
Verse:

2. Two syllables are missing at the beginning for a good Rajaz: — — $\overset{\check{y}}{j} \overset{\check{a}}{z} \overset{\check{a}}{l} \overset{\check{h}}{l} \overset{\check{a}}{h} \overset{\check{u}}{u} \overset{\check{b}}{a} \overset{\check{n}}{i} \overset{\check{s}}{s} \overset{\check{i}}{i} \overset{\check{l}}{l} \overset{\check{a}}{t} \overset{\check{i}}{i} / \overset{\check{a}}{m} \overset{\check{r}}{a} \overset{\check{n}}{n} \overset{\check{w}}{a} \overset{\check{q}}{q} \overset{\check{a}}{b} \overset{\check{u}}{s} \overset{\check{a}}{a} \overset{\check{s}}{š} \overset{\check{r}}{r} \overset{\check{a}}{r} \overset{\check{a}}{a} \overset{\check{n}}{n} \overset{\check{a}}{t} \overset{\check{i}}{i}$ Cf. the verses of 'Ilbā' ibn Arqam (cited *Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. nwt): *yā qabbaha llāhu banī s-si'lāti / 'amra bna yarbū'a širāra n-nāti / laysū a'iffā'a wa-lā akyāti* (“May God efface the sons of the demons, ‘Amr son of Yarbu’ the vilest of men, neither modest are they nor clever”).

3. The definition is below the line in a later hand.

'AR'DIY SINY QIYZ	ardi sini qīz	V
BUVDY 'NIK TA'L	bōdi anig tāl	
YAY'LIṼR 'ANIK 'AR'TUJY	yaylur anig artuči	
BUR'NY TQY QIW'L	burni taqi qiwāl 0	

Describing a girl: “The girl led you on, (the supple-bodied one), her body swaying coyly and shaking like a juniper branch, while her nose was in the air.”

M

JURA'M **čurām** “A shot with a light arrow (*ramya bi-sahm xaffif*).” It is farther than the *γalwa* [= one-eighth mile]. The man shoots while lying on his back (*mustalq^{an}*) so that the arrow will cover the most distance. ∴ JURA'M 'UQIY **čurām oqi** “The arrow used in this kind of shooting.” 0

QUR'M KIŠY LA'R **qurām kišilār** “People seated according to rank (*al-julūs 'alā l-marātib*),” as they are seated in court. ∴ KIŠILA'R QURA'M' 'ULTURDIY L'R **kišilār qurām olturdilār** “The people sat down according to rank.”

N

BULA'N **bulān** Name of a large beast hunted in the lands of Qifcāq. It has one horn, shaped like a jar, hollowed out and erect toward the sky, in which snow and rain accumulate. The female kneels down so that the male may drink from her horn, and the male kneels down so that the female may drink from his. 0

TĪKYN **tegīn** “Slave (*'abd*)” – this is the root-meaning. Thus ∴ KMUŠTĪKYN **kümüš tegīn** “A slave clear-colored as silver.” 'AL'B' TĪKYN **alp tegīn** “Strong slave.” QUTLUĠ TĪKYN **qutluy tegīn** “Blessed slave.”

Then this word became a title pure and simple (*sima maḥḍa*) for the sons of the Khāqā-niyya. It is found joined with the names of birds of prey. For example: JAĠ'RIY TĪKYN **čayri tegīn** meaning: “A Tegīn like a falcon (*bāzī*) in his ferocious courage.” KUJ' TĪKYN **küč tegīn** “A powerful Tegīn.”

The reason why this name was transferred from the slaves (*mawālī*) to the sons of Afrāsi-yāb is simply that the latter used to

[I. 347/414]

209

pay their respects to their fathers by addressing them in the following way, both orally and in letters: “Your slave (*'abd*) did such-and-such and performed such-and-such.” This showed modesty on their part and respect for their fathers. Afterwards this name was reserved for them [when uttered alone], while as a name for slaves (*mawālī*) it remained joined to some other element, so as clearly to distinguish the two. 0

TUZUVN: *tüzün* “Forebearing (*ḥalīm*).” Proverb [=118 *üstär*-]: TUZVN BYRLA’ *tüzün* ’URUŠ ’UVTUVN BYRLA’ TIRAŠMA’ *tüzün birlä uruš, ütün birlä tiräsmä* 0 “Argue with one who is forbearing (for he will bear with you) but do not quarrel with one who is insolent and foolish (for he will overcome you).” 0 *tüzün* P

TUKUVN: *tögün* “Brand, cauterization (*wasm, kayy*).” 0 *tögün*

TUMA’N: *tümān* “Mist (*dabāb*).” 0 *tümān*

JARUVN *čarün* “Plane tree (*šajar al-dulb*).” Yağma dialect. *čarün* D

JIKIYN: *čigün* A plant which grows among vines, forms ears, and is used as fodder. 0 *čigün*

JIKYN: *čigün* “Silk (*ibrīsam*).” :: JIKYN: YIBIY *čigün yipi* “Silk thread.”

0 JIKIYN *čigün* “A stitch of brocade figured with gold (*xiyāṭa ad-dībāj muqarqam^{an} bi-d-dahab*).” :: JIKYN JIK’NA’DIY *čigün čignādi* “He embroidered (*qarqama*) the brocade.” 0

SAMA’N: *samān* “Straw (*tibn*).” Čigil dialect. 0 *samān* D

QULA’N *qulān* “Wild ass (*ḥimār al-waḥš*).” *qulān*

QABA’N¹ *qapān* A man’s name. *qapān* N

QUT’N *qutān* A man’s name also. 0 *qutān* N

0 KUKA’N: *kögän* “Noose (*ribāq*)” for small cattle or for milch cows when being milked. *kögän*

?IL KUKA’N: *yel kögän* “Rainbow (*qaws quzah*).”

Those with an Augment after the Third Radical

Chapter: *fa’lā, fa’lū, fa’lī*, medial quiescent

B

TUR’BIY *torpi* “Calf in its first year (*tabī’*).” 0 *torpi*

KUR’BA’ ’UVT: *körpä öt* “Late-sprouting (*xalifa*) plant.” Similarly :: KURBA’ YIMIŠ: *körpä yemiš* “Late-ripening (*xalifa*) fruit.” It refers to what emerges after its first

season. Likewise, one calls “a child born in the summer (*walad šayfi*)”: KURBA' 'UḤUL' körpə oḡul. Lambs and camels and calves if born after their season (*ida wulidat ba'da awānihā*) are called: KUR'BA' körpə.

KIR'BIY kirpi “Hedgehog (*qunfuḍ*).” The “porcupine (*duldul*)” is called: 'UQ'LUḤ KIR'BIY oḡluḡ kirpi. 0 kirpi

JATIYBA' [sic] käsbə (?) The name for a compensation (*rahn*) which the village chief exacts from one who does not come out to dig a canal or irrigation channel. Čigil dialect. 0 käsbə ? D

[I. 348/416] 210

KNPA' kənpə A plant. Känčək dialect. kənpə D

T

BARTV bərtü “Tunic (*qurtaq*).” 0 bərtü

BUR'TA' burta “Gold leaf (*ruqāqāt aḍ-ḍahab*).” 0 burta

TAX'TUV taxtu “Raw silk before it is spun (*al-qazz qabl al-ḡazl*).” taxtu

SUK'TIY sökti “Bran (*nuxāla*).” Barsḡān dialect. 0 sökti D

SUQ'TUV suqtu “Gut-wurst (*am'ā*)” stuffed with liver, meat and spices, then cooked and eaten. 0 suqtu

QIF'TUV qiftu “Shears (*miqrād*).” Čigil dialect. 0 qiftu D

KIR'TUV kertü “Oath (*yamīn*).” 0 KIRTUV' kertü “The place of truth (*mawḍi' aš-šidq*).” One says of a dead man: 'UL KIR'TUV YIYR'DA' 'UL ol kertü yērdā ol meaning: “He is in a place of truth where it is not permissible to lie.” From this comes the expression: 'UL TANKRIYK' KAḶRTIḶN'DIY ol tānḡikā kertündi “He believed (*āmana*) in God (and acknowledged His Prophet).” kertü

J

BAR'JA' barča A particle meaning “all (*kull*).” :: BAR'JA KAL'DIY LA'R' barča kəldilār They all came. Verse: barča

QUL'DAJIY QA' MINK YAḠA'Q qoldaçiqa miḡ yaḡāq V
BARJA' BILA' 'AY'RUQ TAY'AQ barča bilā ayruḡ tayāq

“I owe the beggar a thousand walnuts; besides all this (I'll give him) a stick to lean on.”

TARJIY tärči “Hireling (*ajir*).” 0 tärči

TANJUUV tanču “Morsel (<i>luqma</i>).” 0	tanču
JUMJA’ čömčä “Ladle (<i>miḡrafa</i>).” Oḡuz dialect. 0	čömčä D
JINJUUV jinčü “Pearl (<i>lu’lu’</i>).” Oḡuz and Qifčāq dialect. The <i>jīm</i> is an alternant of <i>yā</i> ’ [i.e. <i>yinčü</i>]. 0	jinčü D
JANJUUV janču “Rollingpin (<i>miḡmala</i>)” for flattening noodle dough. 0	janču
SINJUUV sinču A type of bread larger than a wafer but smaller than a loaf (<i>xubz bayn ar-ruqāqa wa-r-raḡīf</i>).	sinču
ŠANJUUV šanju A city (<i>balda</i>) on the road to Upper Šīn. The more correct pronunciation is to lengthen the vowel: ŠA’NJUV šānju . 0	šanju N
QAM’JIY qamči “Whip (<i>sawḡ</i>).” 0 QILJ QAM’JY qilič qamči “Pickax (<i>mi’wal</i>)” i.e., a whip with a sword inside. 0 QAM’JY qamči “Rod (penis) (<i>qaḡīb</i>)” of a horse, bull or camel. It is usually used for a horse. :: ’AT QAM’JIYSIY at qamčisi . 0	qamči
KAW’JIY käwči A measure (<i>mikyāl</i>) in use from Kāšḡar to Uighur. It holds ten <i>raḡls</i> . 0	käwči
KUM’JUV kömčü “Buried treasure (<i>kanz</i>).” :: TAW’GA’J KUM’JUYSIY tawḡäč köm-čüsi “Treasure of ‘Ād” (magnificent treasure) (<i>kanz ‘ādī</i>). 0	kömčü
MAN’JUV manču “Wage, of a craftsman only (<i>ujra al-muḡtarif faqat</i>).”	manču
D	
BUK’DA’ bögdä “Dagger (<i>xanjar</i>).”	bögdä
BAL’DUV baldu “Ax (<i>fa’s</i>).” 0	baldu
TAM’DUV tamdu “Kindling (<i>ḡaram</i>).” One may also say: TAM’DUQ tamduq . 0 tamdu D?	
JUK’DAY čügde “The projecting part of the head behind the ears (<i>xuššā’</i> [defined]).”	čügde
0	
SAM’DA’ samda The fabric “sendal (<i>aḡ-ḡandal alladī yulbasu</i>).” Čigil dialect. 0	samda D
SIN’DUV sindu	sindu
[I. 350/418]	211
“Shears (<i>miḡrād</i>).” Oḡuz dialect.	D
QAM’DUV qamdu A piece of cloth, four cubits long and a span in breadth, sealed with the seal of the Uighur Khān, and used in commercial transactions (<i>bihā biyā’atuhum</i>). When it becomes worn it is patched, then washed and re-sealed; this occurs once every seven years.	qamdu

QANDA' **qanda** An interrogative particle of place meaning "where? (*ayna*).": QANDA' 'AR_DIYNK **qanda ärdiñ** "Where were you?" The *nün* is an alternant of *yā*: QAY_DA' **qayda**. The root-form is: QAYUVDA' **qayūda**. 0 **qanda**
D

QAR_DUV **qardu** "Ice grains (*ḥabbāt al-jamd*) the size of hazelnuts which flow on the surface of the water in extreme cold." **qardu**
Verse:

QAR_DUVNIY YINJUUV SAQINM'NK	qardūni yinčü saqinmāñ	V
TUZΓVNY MANJUUV SIZINM'NK	tuzγūni manču sezinmāñ	
BULM' DQ ¹ N'NK K' SAWINM'NK	bulmaduq nāñkā säwinmāñ	
BILKA'LA'R' ANIY YIYRA'R	bilgālār ani yērār	

"Do not consider ice grains as pearls; do not consider a gift of food as a wage for work; do not rejoice at what you have not found; for at all these the sages scoff." 0

KAN_DUV **kändü** "Self (*dāt, nafs*).": 'UL KANDUV 'AY_DIY ol **kändü aydi** "He himself said." 0 **kändü**

KUNDIY **kündi** "Vile (*rađl*).": Oγuz dialect. :: 'UL KUNDIY KIŞY 'UL ol **kündi kişi ol** "He is a vile man." This particle may be used as a filler (*şila*) when one loses the thread of speech (*iđā lam yattafiq ḥuđūr al-kalām*). One inserts this word until one can resume the thread of speech. 0 **kündi** D

MUNDA' **munda** A particle meaning "here (*hāhunā*).": 'UL MUNDA' 'UL ol **munda ol** "He is here." **munda**

MAN_DA' **mändä** A particle meaning "I have (*fiyya wa-indi*).": Verse: **mändä**

'AM_KAK SIZIN TURΓUV YUVQ MUNDA' TAMUV	V (munda)
'AD' KUV ² LUKUK KURMAĐIB' 'AZUN JIQA'R	
ämğäksizin turγu yōq munda yamu	
ädgülüküg körmädip azun eiqār	

"It is unthinkable that man remain here without grief; before he sees any good his time is up (and he dies)." 0

MANDUV **mandu** Name of a Turkic vinegar (*xall turki*). The juice from fine grapes is kept in an earthen jar until it ferments, then pure wine is poured over it and the mixture is left overnight to mature. It is the most excellent of vinegars. 0 **mandu**

[R]

-
- 211 1. DQ below line.
2. KUV above line (apparently a later hand).

BUΓRA' buγra "Camel stallion (*fahl al-ibil*)." From this comes the name: BUΓ'RA' buγra N
XA'N' buγra xān. 0

[I. 352/420]

212

BUKRIY bükri "Bent over (hunchbacked) (*aḥḍab*)," of anything. 0

bükri

TAT'RUUV tetrü "Inverted (*ma'kūs*)," of anything.

tetrü

TUΓRUV toγru "The tang of a blade (*sīlān*)." It is the tail (*danab*) of a sword, knife or dagger, which is inserted into the handle. 0

toγru

TAK'RA' tägrä "Circuit, rim (*ḥawl, ḥitār*)" of a thing. :: QUḌUΓ TAKRASIY quḍuy
tägräsi "Rim of a well (or other)." tägrä

JUBRA' ööprä "Shabby (*xalaq*)," of clothing.

ööprä

JAFRIY čayri "The sacer falcon (*šaqr*)." From this comes the man's name: JAF'RIY
BAK čayri beg. 0 čayri

N

JIFRY čiyri "Sphere (*falak*)." :: KUḌK JAFRIYSIY kōk čiyri "The celestial sphere." čiyri

JIFRY čiyri "The spindle (*falak*)" of a mill, waterwheel, or the like; a "whorl (*šihrija*)" of silk; a "pulley (*bakara*)" of any kind.

Verse: V (čayri)

JAF'RIY 'ALIB' 'AR'QUN MUNUB' 'AR'QAR' YATA'R
'AWLAR KAYIK TAY'ΓAN 'IDIB' TILKUV TUT'R
čayri alip arqun münüp arqar yetār
awlar käyik tayγan idip tilkü tutār

Describing the hunt: "He takes sacer in hand and, mounting a courser, reaches the mountain goats; he hunts the wild beasts and foxes with his hounds." 0

SAΓRY saγri "Hide (shagreen) (*zaryab*)." The "skin or surface (*adīm*)" of anything is called: SAΓ'RIY saγri. Thus :: YIYR' SAΓ'RIYSIY yēr saγri "The surface (*adīm, wajh*) of the earth. :: KIŠIY SAΓ'RIYSIY YUVZ' kiši saγri "A man's hide (*zaryab*) is his face" — since it is the hardest and coarsest skin because it is exposed to heat and cold. (P)

SIF'RA' siyra "Ravine, valley (*fajj, wādī*)." Oγuz dialect. 0

siyra D

SUWRAY süwre Any "pointed (*muḥaddad ar-ra's*)" object, such as a spearhead, arrow-head, minaret, skewer, and other small objects. 0

süwre

:: 'AWK' SḌUQ'RUV¹ KIR'DIM' äwkä suqru kirdim "I entered the house as an intruder, without permission (*dāmīran min γayr idn*)." 0

suqru

KUŠ·RY	küsi (?)	“Ribcage (<i>jawāniḥ aṣ-ṣadr</i>).”	küsi ?
KUW·RA’	köwrä	“The trunk (<i>šabalḥ</i>) ² of a dead animal when its insides have rotted away and the flesh remains dried to the bones.” 0	köwrä
KAK·RA’	käkrä	A bitter plant chewed by camels.	käkrä
Z			
BAN·ZY	banzi	“Remains of the vine on the trellis after the grapes have been plucked (<i>baqāyā l-‘inab ba’d al-qiṭāf</i>)”	banzi
[I. 353/422]			213
‘alā	l-‘ariš).	Känčäk dialect.	D
SUN·ZIY	sunzi (?)	A type of flea (<i>burγūt</i>). I consider it to be the louse (<i>qaml</i>). 0	sunzi ?
JWŽV	čawžu (?)	A tree that is red in trunk and branch, has red bitter berries, and grows in the mountains. It is the ‘ <i>anam</i> tree to which are likened the fingertips of young girls. 0	čawžu ?
KAN·ZIY	känzi	A Šini fabric (<i>nasij</i>) in various colors, red, yellow or green.	känzi
S			
BUX·SIY	buxsi	Name of a food. It is made by cooking wheat, putting it into a jar with almond kernels, and pouring over it <i>talbīna</i> [a mixture of bran, milk and honey], then leaving it to ferment. One eats the solid part and drinks the liquid. 0	buxsi
TUX·SIY	tuxsi	A tribe (<i>jil</i>) of the Turks in Qayās. ¹ :: TUX·SIY JIKIL tuxzi čigil. 0	tuxsi N
TAW·SIY	täwsi	“Tray (<i>xiwān</i>).” 0	täwsi
TUM·SA’	tumsa (?)	“Platform (<i>minbar</i>).” Arγu dialect – not original. 0	tumsa ? D
XAF·SIY	xafsi	“Small box (<i>ḥuqqa</i>).” 0	xafsi
Š			
TUT·ŠIY	tutši	Something “adjoining (<i>muqārīn, mujāwir</i>).” :: ‘ANIK YIYRY MANIG ² YYR ³ KA’ TUT·ŠIY ‘UL anig yēri mänig (yēr)kă tutši ol “His land is adjacent (<i>muqārīna</i>) to	tutši

2. MS. *sayx*.

1. MS. *quyās* (*u* by later hand).
 2. Three dots of G by later hand.
 3. Added by later hand below line.

mine.” The *šin* here is related to *jīm*; one may say: TUT·JIY *tutši*. A variant of the same word is: TUTA·ŠIY *tutāši*. :: MAN· SANK· TUTA·ŠIY BARIYR· MAN *mān saṇa tutāši barīr mān* “I go to you habitually (*dā’iban*).” 0

JAX·ŠUV *čaxšu* “Box-thorn (*ḥuḍaḍ*).” It is used to treat ophthalmia. Not original. 0

QAR·ŠIY *qarši* “Royal palace (*qaṣr al-malik*).” 0

QAR·ŠIY *qarši* “Opposite (*ḍidd*).” :: TUVN KUVNUK· QAR·ŠIYSIY ‘UL *tūn kūniḡ qaršisi ol* “Night is the opposite of day.”

QAR·ŠIY *qarši* “Disagreement (*ixtilāf*)” between two emirs. :: ‘UL BAK ‘ANIG BIR·LA· QAR·ŠIY ‘UL *ol beg anig birlā qarši ol* “That emir is in disagreement (*muxālif*) with the other.” 0

QAW·ŠIY QA·Š· *qawši qāš* “Joined and arched (*maqrūn azajj*) eyebrows.”

Γ

BAT·ΓA· *batya* “The board (*lawḥ*) upon which one cuts felt and goat’s-hair cloth for caps.” 0

TUZ·ΓUV *tuzyu* “A gift (*hadiyya*) of food which is brought out for a relative or acquaintance who is passing through.”

TAM·ΓA· *tamya* “Seal (*ṭābi’*)” of the king, or other.

TAM·ΓA· *tamya* Any “tributary (*sā’id*)” of water, running into a sea, lake, river, etc. Also “an estuary (*furḍa al-baḥr*)” is called: TAM·ΓA· *tamya*. 0

[I. 355/424]

214

Verse:

TAM·ΓA· SUWIY TAŠ·RA· JIQB· TA·ΓIΓ ‘UTA·R·
 ‘AR·TUJ LARIY TAK·RA· ‘UNUB· TIZ·KIN YATA·R·
tamya suwi tašra čiqip tāyiy ötār
artučlari tāgrā önüp tizgin yetār

V

“The water of this tributary penetrates the mountain, while on either bank grow junipers in a row like a horse’s halter.”¹

JUF·ΓA· *čuwya* “Relay horse of the express courier (*al-faras alladī ya’xuḍuhu l-barīd al-musri’ fi ṭ-ṭariq fa-yarkabuhu ilā an yajida l-āxar*).”

čuwya

214 1. A play on words with *tizig* “row” and *tizgin* “halter” (see ED, 574).

JUF_ΓA' žuwya "Scout, guide (*dalīl, qā'id*)." Qifčāq and Oγuz dialect. Proverb [cf. 244 *qulāvuz*]: QALIN QULA'N JUF_ΓA' SIZ BULM'S' qalin qulān žuwyasiz bolmās "There is no herd of wild asses without a guide (*dalīl, hādī*)." This is coined [to advise] a person to follow another in a matter where it is right for him to obey. 0

SURΓUV sorγu "Cupping glass (*miḥjama*)." 0 sorγu

SLΓ' ĀT_ salya āt "A restive (*jamūh*)² horse." salya

QAB_ΓA' qapγa "Gate or pass (*darb*)." qapγa

QAD_ΓUV qadγu "Care, sorrow (*hamm, ḥuzn*)." 0 qadγu

QUD_ΓUV qudγu "Flies (*dubāb*)." 0 qudγu

QAR_ΓA' qarγa "Crow (*γurāb*)." Proverb: qarγa

QAR_ΓA' QARIYSIN KIM BILYR qarγa qarīsin kim bilīr P
KIŠY 'ALA'SIN KIM TAB'R kiši alāsin kim tapār

"Who is it that knows old crows (from young? Likewise,) who is it that knows a man's secret thoughts?" Verse:

QAR_ΓA' QLY BŪILSA' MUNGIN 'UL_ BUZ SUQ'R V
'AW_JY YAŠIB_ TUZAQ_ TABA' MANK_K' YAQA'R_
qar γa qali bilsā muñin ol buz suqār
awči yašip tuzaq tapa māñkā yaqār

"The crow, when he knows that hardship (and hunger will come down on him) will bore through the ice; but he will not hesitate to enter the trap when he sees grain inside, as long as the hunter is well hidden." 0

QUR_ΓUV 'AR_ qurγu ār "A light-witted (*ḥayyās*) man." qurγu

QAR_ΓUV qarγu "A structure in the shape of a minaret, built on a mountain peak, on which a fire is lit to warn people to arm themselves against an approaching enemy." 0 qarγu

QAŠ_ΓA' QUVY_ qašγa qōy "Sheep with black body and white head (*arxam*)." QAŠ_ΓA' 'AT_ qašγa at "Horse with a white blaze (*mubarqa'*) except for black around the eyes." "A camel with a white spot on the head (*ašqa'*)" is also called this. 0 QAŠ_ΓA' BUΓRA' qašγa buγra. The name of two places (*ism mawḍi'ayn*).³ 0 N

2. MS. *jamū'*.

3. Atalay (Tercüme I, 426) speculates that "A camel with a white spot on the head" is the definition of *qašγa buγra*, and that the word defined as "The name of two places" has dropped from the text.

Anything “twisted or crooked (*inzawā, i‘wajja*)” is: QAM’ŦIY **qam̄yi**. One calls “a person with palsy of the mouth (*laqwa*)”: QAM’ŦIY YUVZ’LUK’ **qam̄yi yūzlūg**.

W

TAL’WA’ **telwä** “Crazy (*majnūn*).” 0 **telwä**

QAL’W’ **qalwa** “An arrow that has a rounded wooden head in place of the iron point (*jummāḥ* [defined]).” **qalwa**

[I. 357/426]

215

Q

“Anything wrinkled (*fīhi yuḍun*)” is called: BUR’QIY NA’NK’ **burqi nāḅ** – for example, a frowning face in which the forehead is wrinkled. 0 **burqi**

TAR’QA’ **tarqa** “Sour grapes (*ḥiṣrim*).” A variant of: TAL’QA’ **talqa**. **tarqa D**

TUR’QUV **torqu** “Silk (*ḥarīr*).” Proverb: TAW’ŦA’J’ XA’ŦĪK TURQUV SIY¹ TALIM TANK’LA’MADIB’ BIJ’MA’S’ **taw̄yāč xān̄nig torqusi tālim, tāḅlāmādip bičmās** 0 “The Khāqān of Ṣīn has much silk but he measures it out before cutting it (for clothing).” This is coined to advise someone to be moderate and leave off squandering. 0 **torqu P**

TAL’QA’ **talqa** “Sour grapes (*ḥiṣrim*).” The *lām* is an alternant of *rā*’ [i.e. **tarqa**]. **talqa D**

Anything “twisted” or “spun” (*maftūl mudawwar*) is called: TAL’QUV **talqu**. Thus “a twisted rope” is called: TAL’QUV YIŠIŦ’ **talqu yišiy**. 0 **talqu**

JANQA’ **čanqa** “A type of hunting snare (*ad-dāḥūr wahwa naw‘ min al-maṣāyid*).” 0 **čanqa**

“A hard-tempered (*‘asir aṭ-ṭab‘*) man, one who obeys no one (*lā yanqādu li-aḥad*)” is called: QAT’QIY KIŠIY **qatqi kiši**. **qatqi**

QUT’QIY ’AR’ **qotqi ār** “A humble man (*mutawāḍi‘*).” **qotqi**

K

BAR’KA’ **bārgä** “A rod or whip (*qaḍīb, sawṭ*)” used to beat thieves or to goad asses. 0 **bārgä**

BURKA’ **bürgä** “Flea (*barḡūt*).” “A light-witted (*ṭayyāš*) man” is likened to this and called: BURKA’ KIŠIY **bürgä kiši**. 0 **bürgä**

BIYR’KUV **bērgü** “Debt (*dayn*).” :: ’ANIK MANK’ BIYR’ ’AĀT’ BIYR’KV SIY¹ BA’R’ **anig maḅa bir āt bērgüsi bār** – “He owes me a horse.” 0 **bērgü**

- BAL_KUV **balgü** “Mark, sign (*amāra*, ‘*alāma*).” Proverb: QUT BALKUVSIY BILIK **qut** **balgü**
bālgüsi bilig “The mark of Fortune is Wisdom.” 0 P
- BILKA’ **bilgä** “Wise (*ḥakīm*).” 0 **bilgä**
- BILKA’ **bilgä** “Knowing (‘*ālim*).” 0
- BIL_KA’ **bilgä** “Intelligent (‘*āqil*).” Verse:
- BILKA’ ’ARIK ’ḌKV TUTB SUVZIN ’İŞIT V
’AR_ḌAMINIY ’UK_RANIBAN ’İŞ_QA’ SURĀ’
bilgä ärig äqgü tutup sözin eşit
ärdämini ögränibän işqa sür-ä
- “Hold the wise man in good stead, listen to his words, learn his manners and virtues, and apply (what you have learned).”
- From this comes the name: BIL_KA’ BAK’ **bilgä beg** meaning “Wise, knowing, intelligent emir.” The Khān of the Uighur was called: KUVL’ BIL_KA’ XA’N’ **köl bilgä xān** meaning “His intelligence is like a lake” (‘*aqluhu ka-l-ḡadīr*). 0 N
- [I. 358/428] 216
- :: BUKV BILKA’ **bügü bilgä** “Intelligent (‘*āqil*).” It is likened to pools of water only because of its abundance. 0
- T_ÄIR_KUV **tergü** “Saddle straps (*simāt*).”¹ 0 **tergü**
- TIRKY **tergi** “Spread table (*mā’ida*).” Proverb [cf. 237 *sayrāq*]: TILIN’ TIRKY K’ **tergi**
TAKIYR **tilin tergikä tägür** 0 P “By (gracious) speech you’ll reach the table spread.” This is coined to advise a person to show his excellence through his speech. It is like the Arabic saying: *al-mar’ maxbūw taḥta lisānihi* (“A man is hidden beneath his tongue”). 0
- One says of the panic (*ḥazāhiz*) which befalls a people when the enemy appears, so that they flee (*nafarū*) from him: TAZKY BULDY **täzgi boldi**. 0 **täzgi**
- TILKUV **tilkü** “Fox (*ṭa’lab*).” 0 This is a nickname for baby girls. When a woman gives birth, they ask the mid-wife: TILKUV MUV TUF_DIY ’AZUV BURIYMUUV **tilkü**
mü tuydi azu börimü meaning “Did she bear a fox (meaning a girl, since girls are coy and cunning; and :: BURIYMUUV) or a wolf (meaning a boy, since boys are brave)?” 0 **tilkü**
- :: BIYR TILKA’ ’AT **bīr tilgä ät** “A slice (*filḡa*) of meat.” The same for anything cut lengthwise. Hence “a strip (*ṣaṭba*) of land” is called: BIYR TILK’ YIYR_ **bīr tilgä yēr**. 0 **tilgä**

216 1. The classical plural of *simṭ* “saddle strap” is *sumūṭ*; *simāt* can mean “tablecloth”; see ED, 544.

JAJK' *čäčgä* "Weaver's reed (*ħaff al-nassāj*)."

čäčgä

To ask a child whether he must [pee] or not (*hal bihi am lā*) they say: JURKV BA'R MUV *čürgü bār mu*. 0

čürgü

BUTKUV *bütgü* "Excrement (*γā'it*)," used only of children. :: BUTKV BA'R MUV *bütkü bār mu* "Do you have to go ca-ca?" 0

bütgü

JILKUV 'AT_ *čilgü at* "A sorrel (*ašqar*) horse." 0

čilgü

SIR'KA' *sirkä* "Vinegar (*xall*)."

sirkä

SIR'KA' *sirkä* "Nit (*šu'āba ar-ra's*)."

KATKIY 'AT_ *kätki at* "Horse with protruding chest and hollow back (*aq'as*)."

kätki

KUT_KIY *kötki* "Mound of earth (*at-tall min al-turāb*)."

kötki

KADKUV *kädgü* "Clothing (*malbūs*)," of whatever sort.

kädgü

KULKV *külgü* "Laughter (*ḍahika*)."

külgü

"Apoplexy (*sakta*)" is called: KULKV *külgü*. :: 'AR_ KLKV BRDY *är külgü bardi* "The man had an apoplectic stroke." One may also say: KUL'T_KUV *kültgü*. 0

KAR_KIY *kärki* "Carpenter's ax (*qaddūm*)."

kärki

KUR'KA' *körgä* "A wooden plate (*aṭ-ṭabaq alladī yuṣna'u min xašab*)."

körgä D

L

BUTLV *butlu (buylu ?)* Camel's nose-plug (*xašāš anf al-ba'īr*).² 0

butlu (buylu ?)

[I. 360/430]

217

BIRLA' *birlä* A particle meaning "with (*ma'a*)."

birlä

:: 'UL MANIK BIR'LA' 'AR'DY ol *mänig birlä ärdi* "He was with me." One may elide the *rā'* for lightness and say: BILA' *bilä*. 0

BBLY *bibli* "Long pepper (*ad-dār fulful*)."

bibli

TUB'LUV *toplü* (?) Grave (*qabr*). To curse someone you say: TUB'LUVQA' TUL *toplüqa tol*, meaning: "May the grave be filled with him!" 0

toplü ?

2. See S. Tezcan in *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı - Belleten*, 1977, p. 60.

TUQ̄LIY toqli “Sixth-month old sheep (*al-jada’ min ad-da’n wahwa lladī maḍā ‘alayhi sitta ašhur*.)” 0 toqli

JAFly čawli “The shahin falcon (*sāhin*.)” 0 čawli

JAF̄LA’ čayla Name of a summer pasture in Uč. čayla N

ŠUFLUV šuylu “Hound’s-berry (*‘inab at-ta’lab*.)” šuylu

M

BIJ̄MA’ YURYNJ̄ΓA’ bičma yorinč̄ya “Cut (*maqṭū’*) clover.” bičma

Those [deverbal] nouns with the *mīm alif* suffix [-ma] indicating the passive participle become simple nouns, and so I shall mention them here. 0 G

TUITM’ tutma “Box (*šandūq*.)” 0 tutma

TURMA’ turma “Radish (*fijl*.)” Hence “carrot (*jazar*)” is called: SARIΓ̄ TURMA’ sariy turma, meaning, “yellow radish.” The people of Ar̄yu call the latter: KIYZRIY gēzri, borrowing the Persian word for carrot *gazar* but pronouncing it with slurring (*rikka*). The Oγuz call it: KAŠUR̄ gāšūr which they also borrowed from the Persians. When they mixed with the Persians they forgot some of their own language and used Persian in its place. For example, they call a flask (*qumquma*): ’AF̄TABAY aftabe which is the Persian *āftābe*. They call a necklace (*ṭawq*): QALIYDAH qalīda — in Arabic¹ it is *qalāda*. The Turks call a flask (*qumquma*): QUMΓ̄A’N̄ qumγān and they call a necklace or ring (*ṭawq, ḥalqa*): BAQAN baqan. 0 D

Know that the Oγuz are refined. They use nouns and verbs in isolation that the Turks use only in paired expressions, as a branch or subordinate is joined to its root. For example, the Turks say to mean “He mixed two things”: QAT̄IY QAR̄DY qatti qardi. 0 QAT̄IY qatti is the root in the matter of mixing two things; QARDIY qardi is subordinate to it. The Oγuz say: QAR̄DIY qardi for mixing two things, leaving off the root. Similarly, the Turks say: ’DKV YAWLA’Q adgū yawlāq — ’ADKUV ādgū is “good”; 0 YAWLA’Q yawlāq is “bad” and is used paired with ’ADKUV ādgū not alone. The Oγuz use it alone. 0 D

[I. 361/433] 218

TIZ̄M’ tizmā “Waistband (*nayfaqa*)” of trousers. Also anything that resembles it, such as the “mouth (*ra’s*)” of a bag. It is made like a waistband, then a string is inserted to tie it up. 0 tizmā

TAK̄MA’ tāgmā A word meaning “every one (*kull aḥad*.)” Proverb: TAK̄MA’ KIŠY ’UVZ̄ BUL̄M’S̄ YA’T YAΓUQ̄ TUVZ̄ BULM’S tāgmā kiši ōz bolmās, yāt yaγuq tūz bolmās 0 P
 “Every person is not like your self (that you should entrust your secret to him or rely upon him), nor are the foreigner and the kinsman equal.”

217 1. MS. *bi-l-γuziyya*, read *bi-l-‘arabiyya*.

TUKMA' tügmä	“Button (<i>zirr</i>)” of a shirt. 0	Also the buttons of tunics and robes. 0	tügmä
TIK_M' NA'NK' tikmä nāñ	“Something sewn (<i>muxayyaŧ</i>).”		tikmä
JAL'MA' čalma	“Clod (<i>madar</i>).” “The dung (<i>kirs</i>) from sheep folds and camel stables which is cut up and dried for fuel in the winter” is called: JAL_M' čalma. 0		čalma
SATM' satma	“A type of platform which the vineyard guard sets up in a tree to sit on at night (<i>irzāl</i> [defined]).”		satma
SUZ'MA' süzmä	“Curds (<i>hālüm</i>).” 0		süzmä
QAT'MA' YUVŦA' qatma yuvya	“Folded bread cooked in butter (<i>yuŧbaxu fi samn</i>).” 0		qatma
QAR'MA' qarma	“Plunder (<i>nahb</i>).” Hence :: NA'NK QAR_MA'LA'DIY nāñ qarmālādi “He plundered something.” 0		qarma
QIR'MA' qirma	Anything “turned on a lathe (<i>maxrūt</i>).” Thus :: QIRMA' TUBIQ qirma topiq “A turned ball.” 0		qirma
KAS'MA' käsmä	“A broad iron arrowhead (<i>al-mišqaŧ min an-niŧāl</i>).” 0		käsmä
KAS_MA' käsmä	“Forelock (<i>nāŧiya</i>).”	Verse:	
	TUNLA' BIL' BASTIMIZ	tünlä bilä bastimiz	V
	TAK_M' YNKAQ BUSTIMZ	tägmä yaŋaq bustimiz	
	KS'MA'LARIN KAS'TIMZ	käsmälärin kästimiz	
	MINK_LAQ 'ARIN BJTIMZ	miŋlaq ärin bičtimiz	
Describing their raid on the Uighur: “We attacked them at night; we lay in ambush on every side; then we cut their horses' forelocks, and killed the men of: MINK_LA'Q miŋlāq (a place name).” 0			
[N]			
BAK_NIY bägni	“Beer (<i>ŧarāb</i>)” of wheat, millet or barley. 0		bägni
BAŦ'NA' baŧna	“Rung (<i>daraja</i>) of a ladder.” 0		baŧna
	“A type of laserwort (<i>maŧrūt</i>)” is called: TAŦ'N' YWA' taŧna yawa. Its medicinal juice ¹ is mixed with curdled milk and added to the gravy of Tutmāč.		taŧna
TAK'NA' täknä	“Trough (<i>naqir</i>).”		täknä
JURNY čurni	“A laxative (<i>dawā' mushil</i>) compounded by the doctors of the Turks.”		čurni

218 1. MS. *ma'qūrun*, read *ma'qūruhu*, in the meaning 'aqqaruhu.

JIKN' **čignä** "Harrow (*mimlaqa*)." Yağma dialect.

čignä D

XAS'NIY **xasni** An Indian medicine which is placed in the butter-skin of a baby,

xasni

[I. 363/435]

219

who licks it in order to get fat.¹ 0

QUŠNIY **qošni** "Neighbor (*jār*)." The Oğuz put the *nūn* before the *šin* and say:
QUNŠIY **qonši**. Both of these are correct. 0

qošni

D

Chapter: *fa'lān, fu'lān, fi'lān*, in its various vocalizations

B

TUR'BUN' **torpun** (?) "Inquiry, conjecture (*taħarri, qiyās*)." :: 'ANIK 'AFIN TUR-**torpun** (?)
BIN'LA' **anig äwin torpinla** "Inquire where his house is (*taħarra ayna baytuhu*)." 0

T

TRBYN **tartīn** "A band or retinue (*jamā'a, raħt*) of people, under the command of a
chief from among them." 0 **tartīn**

TARTIYN **tartīn** "Provisions (*mīra*)." 0

:: 'AR' TAŠTIN BARDIY **är taštin bardi** "The man went outside (*xārijān*)." 0

taštin

JIK'T'N **čiktān** "Saddle cover (*γāšiya as-sarj*)." 0

čiktān

QAF'TA'N' **qaftān** "Robe (*qabā*)." 0

qaftān

J

BARJA'N **barčān** Name of a place.

barčān N

TABJA'N **tapčān** "A three-legged [stool] shaped like a tray (*xiwān*), used to stand on
when picking grapes." 0 It is for picking those bunches which cannot otherwise be reached. 0

tapčān

JUR:JA'N **jurčān** One of the frontiers (*taγr*) of Islam, on the road to Šīn.

jurčān N

X

BARXA'N **barxān** Name of Lower Šīn. It is a fortress (*hišn*) on a mountain top near **barxān** N Kāšγar. There are gold mines beneath it. 0

BURXA'N: **burxān** "Idol (*šanam*)."
As a painted effigy (*dumya*) it is called: BDAZ **burxān**
BURXA'N **bāqiz burxān**. 0

TARXA'N **tarxān** A pagan word meaning "emir (*amīr*)."
Arγu dialect.

tarxān D

D

JIN'DA'N: **čindān** "Sandalwood (*šandal*)."
0 JINDA'N 'AT: **čindān** at "A reddish-
bay (*ward*) horse." **čindān**

R

TAW'RA'N **tāwrān** "Threads which are gathered and then twisted together (*xuyūt tāwrān tujma'u tumma yuftalu*)"
for trouser-bands and sling-ropes. 0

SAB'RA'N **sabrān** Name of one of the cities of the Oγuz. The common people call it **sabrān** N
ŠAB'RA'N: **šabrān** with *šād*, but there is no way for *šād* to come into Turkic. 0

SUY'RA'N **subrān** (?) Anything "long or tall (*tawīl*)," such as a minaret, or the like. **subrān** ?
Oγuz dialect. 0 D

S

TUKSIYN **tügsīn** "A type of four-ribbed knot (*naw' min al-'uqad yu'qadu 'alā arba'a adlā'*)."
Verse [=408 **boquq**]:

TAK:M' JAJ'K 'UKUL:DIY
BUQUQLANIB: BUKUL:DIY
TUKSIYN TUKUVN TUKUL:DIY
YAR:ΓA'LIMAT:³ YURKAŠVR

tāgmā čečāk üküldi
boquqlanip böğüldi
tügsīn tügün tügüldi
yazγālimat yörgāšür

V

Describing summer: "The flowers are heaped up; their calyxes are gathered like ribbed knots; they are entwined one in another, ready to burst asunder." 0

TUK:SIYN **tügsīn** Title of a commoner in the third rank

N

2. Gloss above line in a later hand: *ta'am* ("food").

3. First *sukūn* (˘) changed from dot over R (indicates Z).

from the king. 0

TUQSUVN **toqsōn** The number “ninety (*tis’ūn*).” Its root is: TUQVZ ’UVN **toqūz ōn** **toqsōn** meaning “nine times ten.” 0 The two words were joined into one. 0

SAX:SIYN: **saxsīn** A city near Bulḡār. It is Suvār. 0 **saxsīn** N

SAKSUVN **sāksōn** The number “eighty (*tamānūn*).” Its root is: SAKIZ ’UVN: **sākiz ōn** **sāksōn** meaning “eight times ten.” The two words were joined into one.

KUB:SUVN: **kōpsūn** “Mattress, soft bedding (*ḥaṣīyya, firāš mawṭū*).” **kōpsūn**

KIM:SA’N: **kimsān** “Gold leaf (*ruqāqāt ad-dahab*),” used on caps, etc. **kimsān**

Š

KIR:ŠA’N **kirsān** “White lead (*isfidāj*).” 0 **kirsān**

KUKŠYN NA’NK **kōksīn nāṅ** “Anything of a sky-blue color (*ka-lawn as-samā*).” **kōksīn**

Γ

BAR:ΓA’N [sic] **bazyān** “A smith’s hammer (*futs*).” 0 **bazyān**

BAŠ:ΓA’N: **bašyān** A large fish weighing 50-100 raṭls. A tribal chieftain (*kabīr al-qawm*) is likened to it and called: BUDUN: BAŠ:ΓA’NIY **bodun bašyāni** meaning “Chief of the people (*ra’īs al-qawm*).” 0 **bašyān**

TUTΓUVN **tutyūn** “Captive (*axīd, asīr*).” 0 **tutyūn**

TAD:ΓUVN **tadyūn** “River (*wādī*),” such as the Euphrates, etc. It is used like: ’UKUZ **tadyūn** **ögüz** for any “flowing river (*wādī jāri*).” 0 **tadyūn**

TALΓ’N ’YK **talyān īg** “Epilepsy (*şar*).” **talyān**

SIJ:ΓA’N: **sičyān** “Mouse (*fāra*).” Proverb [=562 qaši-]: ’ULDAJY SIJ:ΓA’N MUVŠ **sičyān** TAŠAQIY QAŠIYR: **öldäči sičyān mūs tašaқи qašīr** 0 “The mouse whose death is near will scratch at the cat’s testicles.” This is like the Arabic expression: *ka-l-bāḥit ‘an al-mudya* (“Like one who seeks the dagger”), coined about a person who hovers about that which will bring his death. 0 SIJ:Γ’N YILIIY **sičyān yili** One of the twelve years in Turkic. P

SAR:ΓA’N **saryān** A plant which grows in swamps. The place where it grows is called: SAR:ΓA’N YIYR: **saryān yēr**. “A thicket in which the cane has dried up (*yabisa*)” is called: SAR:ΓA’N QAMIYŠ **saryān qamīš**. 0 **saryān**

QRΓA’N YIYR: **qazyān yēr** “Land that has erosion (*juruf*), cracks (*axāqīq*) and furrows (*şuqūq*).” **qazyān** Proverb:

QUŠ YAWZIY SAḤ_ZIḤ'N	quš yawuzi saḡizḡān	P
YIḤA'J YAWUZY 'AZḤA'N	yīḡāč yawuzi azḡān	
YIYR' YAWUZY QAZ_ḤA'N	yēr yawuzi qazḡān	
BUDN YAWUZY BARS_Ḥ'N	bodun yawuzi barsḡān	

“The worst bird is the magpie. The worst tree is the (one called) *Azḡān*.” 0

[I. 366/439]

221

This is a shrub which has white and yellow rose-like blossoms and red berries like ear-drops; among us it is planted with the grazing-weeds (? *xuss*) of orchards, since it has no value as firewood: whenever it is kindled it crackles in the fire and sparks of it fly out and burn one's clothing and furniture. “The worst land is the eroded (*dāt al-juruf*)” – since it has no value for camping or sowing. “The worst people are those of *Barsḡān*” – since they are unsociable and miserly. 0

QUZ_ḤUVN_ quzḡūn “Raven (*ḡudāf*).” Proverb: BURININK 'URTAQ_ QUZ_ḤUV-
N_ḤUG_1 YIḤA'J_ BA'ŠIN_DA' böriḡiḡ ortaḡ quzḡūnnuḡ yīḡāč bāšinda 0 “The raven shares with
what the wolf hunts, but what the raven hunts is on top of the tree.” [The wolf's is shared, the
raven's is on the tree top.] This is like the Arabic saying: *yarbuḡu ḡajratān wa-yarta'ī wasaḡān*
 (“He lies down aside and pastures in the middle”). 0

QŠḤVN qušḡūn “Tender cane (*qaḡab raḡb*) which is used as fodder.” 0 qušḡūn

QŠḤVN qušḡūn A variant of: 'UŠḤUVN ušḡūn meaning “rhubarb (*rībās*).” 0 D

QUM_ḤA'N_ qumḡān “Flask (*qumquma*).” 0 qumḡān

MUN_ḤA'N_ KIŠIY munḡān kiši “A loquacious person (*ḡartār*).” munḡān

Q

BAR_QIN KIŠIY barḡin kiši “A traveller whom nothing alters from his course (*ar-rajul*
al-musāfir alladī lā yaḡnīhi 'an 'azmihi šay').” 0 barḡin

TURQUVN_ SUVW_2 turḡūn sūw “Still (*dā'im*) water.” 0 turḡūn

TALQA'N_ talḡān “Barley gruel (*sawīq*).” Verse: talḡān

'UḤLM 'UKUT_ 'ALḤIL	oḡlum öḡüt alḡil	V
BILIK_ SIZLIK KTA'R_	biligsizlik ketār	
TAL_QA'N KIM_NIK BUL_SA'	talḡān kimniḡ bolsa	
'ANGAR_3 BAK_MAS_ QATA'R_	aḡar bākḡās qatār	

- 221 1. *Tašdīd* (~) and three dots of G by later hand.
2. The dots of the W by later hand.
3. Three dots of G by later hand.

“My son, take my counsel and drive off ignorance, for he who has barley gruel mixes it with syrup” – and similarly, he who has intelligence will accept advice. 0

JAL'QN **čalqan** “The spread of an infection (*ta'diya al-jurh wa-sirāyatuhu*) from one spot to another,” such as a swelling of the leg which causes lumps in the groin. 0

QAL'QA'N **qalqān** “Shield (*turs*).” One of the two variants. [Cf. 612 **qalqan**] Verse: **qalqān**
 D
 V

QIQ'RIB' 'ATIΓ' KAM'ŠALIM' ⁴	qiqrip atiy kāmšālim	
QAL'QAN' SUNKUVN' JUM'ŠALIM'	qalqan sūnūn čomšālim	
QAY'NAB' YANA' YUM'ŠALIM'	qaynap yana yumšālim	
QAT'ΓIY YAΓIY YUWIL'SUVN' ⁵	qatγi yaγi yawalsūn	

[I. 368/441]

222

Describing the enemy: “We’ll attack them screaming and shouting; we’ll thrust with them with spear and shield; we’ll be violent in the fray – then quiet (for the sake of peace, if it be sued for), so that the hard foe may relent.”

K

TAR'KAN' **tärkän** An address (*xiṭāb*) of the Khāqāniyya for one who has sovereignty over a realm or province (*man kāna malikan 'alā l-wilāya*). It is used only for those who belong to (? *'alā ṣadr*) the Khāqāniyya and the king. The word means: “You who are obeyed! (*yā muṭā'*).” 0

:: TAR'KIN' KAL' **tärkin käl** “Come quickly (*asri' fi l-ḥuḍūr*).” Its root is: TAR'K' **tärkin** **tärk** meaning “speed (*sur'a*).” 0

TUR'KUN' **törkün** “Gathering-place of the clan (*majma' al-'ašīra*); parents’ house (*bayt al-umm wa-l-ab*).” :: QIZ' TUR'KUNIKA' KAL'DIY **qiz törkünkä kälđi** “The daughter came to her father’s house.” Verse [=371 **čärgäš-**]:

KAL'SA' 'ABNG' ¹ TAR'KANIM'	kälsä apan tärkänim	V
'ATIL'KAMAT' TUR'KUNIM	etilgämät terginim	
YAĐIL'MAĞAY' TAR'KINIM	yađilmağay törkünim	
'AM'DIY JARIK' JAR'KASUVR	amđi čäriğ čärgäšür	

4. Most *suküns* (') in this stanza are apparently by later hand. This is not indicated in the transliteration beyond this point except in very striking cases.

5. All the U's in this stanza are apparently by later hand. This is indicated only sporadically beyond this point in the transliteration.

222 1. Three dots of G by later hand. Most of the vowels in this stanza are apparently by later hand.

Calling the Khāqān to help fight the Yabāqu: “May the Khāqān but come! then my gathered goods (*jam‘ī*) will prosper, my clan’s houses (*buyūt ‘ašīratī*) will not go to ruin; now the battle line is drawn up (may he reach me!)” 0

TAR·KIN· SUVW² *tergin sūw* “Stagnant (*mustanqa‘*) water.” 0 TAR·KIN· SUV **tergin**
tergin sū “Gathered (*mujtama‘*) troops.” Anything “gathered together (*mujtama‘*) is: TARKIN·
tergin.

TAŠ·KAN· *taškān* Name of Šāš. This is the home-town of Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl aš-Šāšī. **taškān**
 Its root-form is: TA’Š· KAN·D· *tāš kānd* meaning “City of stone (*balda min ḥijāra*).” 0 N

TUŠKUN *tüšgün* “Goat’s-thorn (*šajar al-kaṭīrā’ dū šawk*).” **tüšgün**

JAT·KA·N· *čätgān* (*čīgān* ?) “Bridle rein (*‘inān al-lijām*).”³ 0 **čätgān**
 (*čīgān*?)

JUMK·N [sic] *čimgān* “Meadow (*rawd*); peat (*tīl*).” 0 **čimgān**

JIWKIN· ‘AŠ· *čiwgin aš* “Food that is wholesome and fattening (*nāji‘ musammin*).” :: **čiwgin**
 JWKIYN· ‘UT· *čiwgīn ot* “A fattening plant (for animals).” 0

SITKUVN *sitkūn* A city of the Oγuz. **sitkūn** N

SUZKUN *süzgün* A black thorny mountain tree. **süzgün**

KIR·KIN· *kirgin* “Rut of a stallion (*qaṭm al-fahl*).” :: BUΓ·RA· KIR·KINIY· KIR·DIY **kirgin**
buyra kirgini kirdi “The [camel] stallion was at rut (*daxala qaṭm al-fahl*).” 0

KAWKIN· ‘AŠ· *kāwgin aš* “Unwholesome (*γayr nāji‘*) food.” It is the opposite of: **kāwgin**
 JIWKIN· *čiwgin*. Also of a plant. 0

KAL·KIN· *kālgīn* “Flood tide (*al-madd wahwa bi-manzil as-sayl*).” 0 **kālgīn**

[I. 370/444]

223

LIM·KAN· *limkān* “Yellow plum (*ijjāš ašfar*).” **limkān**

L

BAQ·LA·N· QUZIY· *baqlān qozi* “A young and fat (*ṭarī samīn*) lamb.” **baqlān**

2. Two of the dots of W by later hand.

3. See ED, 402 for the suggestion that the definition is for **tizgin** which has dropped from the text. DTS, 145 (*četgān*) compares with *čīgān* at QB, 6110 (hapax legomenon) with the same meaning. Since MSS. B and C of QB both clearly have *čīgān* (JYK·N) and since this fits the meter (while *čätgān* would not), it must be genuine.

BK'LA'N	bāklān A man's name. 0	bāklān N
JUΓ'LA'N	čoylān Name of a Qarluq chieftain.	čoylān N
SUK'LYN	süglīn "Pheasant (<i>tadruj</i>)." SUK'LYN ¹ süwlin is a variant.	süglīn süwlin D
[M]		
BAT'MA'N	batmān "A <i>manā</i> [= 2 raṭls]." :: BIYR BAT'MA'N 'AT' bīr batmān āt "A <i>manā</i> of meat." 0	batmān
JUQMIYN	čūqmīn A bread which is shaped like a biscuit and cooked by steaming in a kettle. It is the most wholesome type of bread. 0	čūqmīn
SUKM'N	sōkmān An honorific title for warriors (<i>abṭāl</i>), meaning "He who breaks the battle line (<i>kāsir šaff al-ḥarb</i>)." It comes from the expression: SUK'TY MA'NK'NIY sōkti nāṇni meaning "He broke through (<i>hataka</i>) the thing." 0	sōkmān
SIQM'N	siqmān "Grape pressing season (<i>awān 'aṣr al-'inab</i>)." 0 In the autumn.	siqmān
QUR'MA'N	qurmān "Bow case (<i>miqwas</i>)." Oγuz and Qifčāq dialect. :: KIYŠ' QUR'- MA'N' kēš qurmān "Bow case and quiver." Its root is the expression: QUVR MA'N' qūr mān meaning "Fasten the belt (<i>šudd al-minṭaqa</i>) (to your waist)."	qurmān D
KAIT'MA'N	ketmān "Hoe (<i>mi'zaq</i>) with which one breaks up the soil."	ketmān
KUVZ'MA'N	kōzmān "Bread baked in hot ashes (<i>xubx al-malla</i>)."	kōzmān

Chapters of Words with a *Madd* or *Līn* Augment between the Second and Third Radicals

Chapter: *fā'alā*, in its various vocalizations

T

?M'T' **tamāta** (?) Name of a thin batter (*'ajīn raqīq*), the consistency of *qaṭā'if* dough, which is spread on fat chickens or meat to retain the juices when roasting. 0 **tamāta** ?

J

QAR'JIY **qarāči** "A beggar (*sā'il*) who goes from door to door." **qarāči**

KALA'JUV **kālāčü** "Talking, speech (*ḥadiṭ, kalām*)."
Oγuz dialect. 0 **kālāčü** D

KUMYJA' **kōmīčä** "Gnat (*baqq*)."
kōmīčä

R

:: 'UL MANIK TABA'RUV KAL'DIY ol mänig tapāru kaldi "He approached me (*ḥaḍara ilayya*)." 0 :: 'UL 'ANIK TABA'RUV BAR'DIY ol anig tapāru bardi "He approached him." 0 TABA' tapa is a particle meaning "toward (*ilā*)." The *rā*' and *vāv* are augments. 0

XUM'RUV xumāru "Inheritance (*al-mirāt bi-'aynihi*)." :: BUVNIY 'TAM' DAN XUM'RUV BULDUM būni atamdan xumāru buldum "I received this from my father as an inheritance." 0 XUMA'RUV xumāru "Memorial property (*at-taḍkira min al-amwāl*)." It is a custom of the Turks

[I. 371/445]

224

that when a chief of the realm dies a valuable portion of his property is set aside for the king. This is called: XUMA'RUV xumāru meaning "a memorial from him (*taḍkira minhu*)." The word is used as a man's name or a woman's name. Also a traveller leaves behind with his kinsmen something to remember him by (*šay' taḍkirat^{an}*), and this too is: XUMA'RUV xumāru.

N

Z

NAMYZ' namīza "Wife's sister's husband (*silf* [defined])." Čigil dialect. namīza D

Š

ŠALA'ŠUV šalāšu A type of Šinī fabric. šalāšu

ŠAMUVŠA' šamūša "Fenugreek (*al-ḥulba allatī yu'kahu*)." šamūša

Γ

QARA'ΓUV qarāyu "Vitriol (*zāj*)." 0 qarāyu

QARA'ΓUV qarāyu "Blind (*a'mā*)." 0

QURIYΓUV NA'NK qurīyu nāḡ "Something about to dry (*alā šaraf al-jafāf*)." Also, "the time in which a thing dries (*waqt jafāf*)." 0 qurīyu

QIRA'ΓUV qirāyu "Frost (*jalīd*) which drops from the sky when it is cold." 0 qirāyu

BUZA'ΓUV buzāyu "Calf (*'ijl*)." Proverb: 'AWDA'KY BUZA'ΓUV 'UKUVZ BULMA'S' āwdāki buzāyu öküž bolmās "The house calf never becomes a bull." 0 This is coined about a man who stands high in virtue and honor but whose kinsmen still regard him as though he were a child. 0 buzāyu P

BUZA'ΓUV TILİY buzāyu tili [lit. "calf's tongue"] "A rat (*jirdawn*)." It is a small animal. 0

:: 'AT' BUŠUVΓUV BULDY at bošūγu boldi "It became time to let the horse loose from the tether (*awān iṭlāq . . . min al-waṭaq*)." The same for other things. bošūγu

:: 'AT' TUŠA'ΓUV BULDY at tušāγu boldi "It became time to put the shackle (*waqt waqḏ' aš-šikāl*) on the horse." The same for other things. tušāγu

BUQA'ΓUV buqāγu "A fetter (*maqṭara*) which is placed on a thief." 0 buqāγu

TAQA'ΓUV taqāγu The generic word for "fowl (*dīk wa-dajāj*)." Then one distinguishes them by saying 'AR'KAK' TAQA'ΓUV ārkāk taqāγu for "cock (*dīk*)"¹ and TIŠIY TAQA'ΓUV tiši taqāγu for "hen (*dajāj*)." Proverb [cf. 449 *yawaš* V]; YAZYDA' QY SUW-LIYN' 'AḌAR'KALIY 'AW'DA'KIY TAQA'ΓUV 'IJ'ΓIN'MA' yazīdaqi sūwlin eḏārgāli āwdāki taqāγu ičyinma 0 "When you go out to hunt pheasant [in the field] do not let the hens in the house escape." 0 This is coined to advise a person to stop spending what he has to get what he does not have. 0 taqāγu P

TAQA'ΓUV YILIIY taqāγu yili Name of one

[I. 373/447]

225

of the twelve years in Turkic. 0

TALA'ΓUV talāγu "Fatal poison (*summ mujhiz*)."¹ "Dysentery (*zaḥīr*)" is also called: TALA'ΓUV talāγu. 0 talāγu

TUMA'ΓUV tumāγu "A cold (*zūkām*)." 0 tumāγu

QAN'ΓIV qanāγu "Lancet (*mibḏa'*)." qanāγu

K

BUTUVKA' bütügä "Eggplant (*bāḏinjān*)." bütügä

BILA'KUV bilāgü "Whetstone (*misann*)." 0 bilāgü

TIRA'KUV tirāgü "Anything that supports (*yu'tamadu 'alayhi wa-ya'midu bihi*) something else," such as a column, etc. tirāgü

KAR'KV kārākü "Tent (*xibā'*)," among the Türkmān; "winter house (*bayt šatwī*)," among the settled folk. Proverb [=203 *kātān*]: KUK KURDIY KARA'KV YUḌTY kāk kōrdi kārākü yūdti "He saw trouble so he loaded the tent (on his back)." kārākü D P

224 1. MS. *dajāj*.

225 1. MS. *mujahhaz*.

KUZ'KUV *közāgü* "Fire poker (*miḥḍāt*)." Proverb: KUZ'KUV 'UZUVN BULSA' *közāgü*
'ALIK KUY'M'S *közāgü uzūn bolsa ālig köymās* 0 "If the poker is long the hand will not
get burned." 0 This is coined about a man who has sons and servants looking after his
affairs while he relaxes. 0 P

KUŠIYKA' *kōšīgā* "Slight shade (*zill šayīr*)." 0 *kōšīgā*

KALA'KUV *kālāgü* "Gerboa (*yarbū'*)." *kālāgü*

KULIYK' *kōlīgā* "Deep shade (*zill zālīl*)." *kōlīgā*

L

JUMA'LIY *čümāli* "Ant (*naml*)." Čigil dialect. 0 *čümāli* D

One says of a man who is dazed (*sadira ʔarfuhu*) from the heat: JUMAIYLY² BULDY *čümēli*
čümēli (?) *boldi* meaning "He became dizzy and sluggish (*sadira wa-fatara*)." 0 ?

KABA'LIY *kāpāli* "Butterfly (*al-farāša allatī taṭīru*)." 0 *kāpāli*

Chapter: *fa'ālān, fa'īlān*, in its various vocalizations

Z

QARIYZ'N *qarīzān* "Dotard (*šayx harim*)." *qarīzān*

Q

JIYQA'N³ *čibiqān* "Jujube (*unnāb*)." 0 JIYQA'N³ *čibiqān* "Boil (*dummal*)" — *čibiqān*
likened to a jujube because of its redness. 0

QAR'Q'N *qarāqān* A type of mountain tree. *qarāqān*

M

JULYMA'N 'IYŠ *čulīmān* (?) *īš* "An inextricable (*lā yu'rafu maxrajuhu*) affair." The *čulīmān*
root-meaning is "stagnant water (*mustanqa' al-mā'*)." Kānčāk dialect. ? D

Chapter: *fa'anlī*, in its various vocalizations

D

2. I by a later hand (dark ink, thin point).
3. One dot of Y crossed out, making it BI.

0	TATINDY SUVT' tatindi sūt "Remainder of milk in the udder (<i>al-γubr⁴ min al-laban</i>)."	tatindi
	SAJIN'DIY NA'NK sačindi nāñ "Something thrown off, scattered (<i>maṭrūḥ manšūr</i>)."	0 sačindi
	TADIN'DY NA'NK' tiđindi nāñ "Something inaccessible (<i>mumanna'</i>)."	0 tiđindi
	KADINDY TUVN kādindi tōn "An often-worn (<i>malbūs kaṭīran</i>) garment."	kādindi
[I. 374/449]		226
	SURUN'DIY 'AR' sūrindi ār "A man who has been cast out (<i>maṭrūd</i>) of every place."	0 sūrindi
	QIRINDIY qirindi "The peel or parings (<i>qušāra</i>) of a thing."	qirindi
	Z	
'UR'FIY ¹	ZARNZ' zaranza "Safflower (<i>'uṣfur</i>)."	zaranza
	'UR'FIY ¹ zaranza uryi. "Safflower seed (<i>qirṭim</i>)" is called: ZARNZ'	
	N	
	SUZUN'DIY SUVW' sizüendi sūw "Water that has been much filtered (<i>allađī ṣuffiya kaṭīran</i>)."	0 sizüendi
	QAZIN'DIY TUB'RA'Q' qazindi toprāq "Excavated earth (<i>nabīṭa at-turāb</i>)."	0 qazindi
	BUFN'DIY boγundi "Bladder (<i>maṭāna</i>)," of animals, not of humans.	boγundi
	SALIN'DIY 'UTUNG ² salindi otuñ "Firewood which the flood has thrown up (<i>lafaza</i>) ³ on the bank."	0 salindi
	SALIN'DIY NA'NK salindi nāñ "Something thrown out (<i>maṭrūḥ</i>)."	SULNDY salindi "The male member (<i>'awf⁴ ar-rajul</i>)."
	This comes from the expression: SALINDY NA'NK salindi nāñ meaning "The thing hung down (<i>tadallā</i>)," since it is always hanging. An inelegant word (<i>luγa γayr faṣīḥa</i>). 0	
	TAMIN'DIY SUVW ² tamindi sūw "Drip water (<i>quṭāra al-mā</i>)."	0 tamindi
	KUMUN'DIY NA'NK kömüendi nāñ "Something buried (<i>madfün</i>)."	kömüendi

4. MS. 'ubr.

1. *Sukūn* (·) changed to U (?).
2. Three dots of G and two of the dots of W by later hand; not indicated henceforth in our text.
3. MS. *laqaṭa*.
4. MS. 'arf; cf. 451:10, and see Dozy II, 190. Possibly to be read 'ard; cf. 168 sik.

When *nūn dāl yā'* are added to verbal roots they become nouns with the meaning of excess (*fuḍāla*) or of the passive participle (*al-maf'ūl*). It is the same function as the Arabic form *fu'āla*.

G

Another approach is to begin with the past tense form of the verb. When *nūn* is inserted between the final radical of the verbal root and the past tense marker *dāl yā'*, then the verb becomes a noun with the meaning of the passive participle. For example: SUW⁵ NIY SUVZ·TIY [sic] **suwni sūzdi** "He filtered the water." When you insert *nūn* between the radical *zāy* and the past tense marker *dāl yā'* and say: SUZUN·DIY SUVW₂² **sūziindi sūw**, then the verb becomes a noun which is the object of the action, meaning "Filtered (*muṣaffā*) water." Other words follow this rule. 0

Chapter: *fu'lulī*

L

BUS·TULY **bustuli** "Mountain spinach (*as-sarmaq allaḍī yu'kalu*)." 0

bustuli

End of Triliteral Chapters

Chapters of Words of More than Three Radicals

Chapter: *fa'lal, fa'lāl, fu'lul*, in its various vocalizations

[I. 376/451]

227

T

BUŠĠUT· **bošyut** "Apprentice (*at-tilmīd fī l-ḥirfa*)." 0

bošyut

TARMUT· **tarmut** "Mountain ravines and streams (*fajāj al-jabal wa-talā'uhu*)." Thus ::
TA'Γ· TARMUT KAJTIM **tāy tarmut kāctim** "I crossed the mountain ravines and streams." 0

tarmut

TAK·ŠUT· **tāgšūt** "Exchange (*badal*) of something in the way of compensation (*'iwad*)," such as the exchange of bad coin for good. 0

tāgšūt

RABJAT **rabčat**¹ (?) "Forced labor (*suxriyya*)," as when an emir uses his subjects' pack-animals without recompense. Kāncāk dialect. 0

rabčat ?

D

JABĠUT **čapyut** "Mattress (stuffing) (*ḥašiyya*)." 0

čapyut

5. W changed from V (three dots by later hand).

227 1. See ED, 780. Note that this word is not in the correct alphabetical order, which requires the first letter to be T or J. Perhaps *tapčut* (< *tapšut*) or *čapčut* (< *čapšut*)?

- QAR·ŠUT_ qaršut “Opposite (*ḍidd*),” such as night and day. 0 qaršut
- QIZĠUT qizġut “Exemplary punishment (*nakāl*)” — a man is disgraced (*yufḍaḥu*) before the people because of a crime, and he is punished for it, so that others will see him and be restrained thereby. qizġut
- QAW·ŠUT_ qawšut “Reconciliation (*muṣāfaḥa muṣālaḥa*) of two kings for the well-being of the state.” From this comes the man’s name: QAW·ŠUT_ qawšut. qawšut
N
- LUJNT lučnut² (?) “Giving aid (*i’āna*) in the cleaning of wheat, etc.” The villagers help one another by sending over a slave, or else an animal to thresh the grain. Kāncāk dialect. lučnut ?
D
- J
- BIJ·ĠUVJ_ bičġuč “Shears (*miqrād* [defined]).” 0 bičġuč
- BUD·RA’J budrāč Name of a chieftain of the Yabāqu. They fell into the hands of the Muslims in the time of Bākāč Arslān Tegīn. budrāč
N
- YAR_KUVJ_ bürgüč “A broad piece of wood shaped like a sword, used to turn over bread in the oven.” bürgüč
- BUS·KA’J bösgāč “A flat loaf (*raġif*).” bösgāč
- TUT·M’J tutmāč A well-known food of the Turks. 0 It is one of the provisions of Dū-l-Qarnayn [remaining] among them. Thus: When Dū-l-Qarnayn emerged from the lands of darkness the people’s food supply was short and they complained to him of hunger, saying: BIZ·NIY TUT·M’ ’ĀJ_ bizni tutma āč meaning “Don’t keep us (here) hungry (*lā tumsiknā hāhunā jiyā’an*) — but let us go, that we may return to our homelands.” He consulted with the wise men about this, and they came up with this food. It strengthens the body and reddens the cheeks,
[I. 377/452] 228
- and is not quickly digested. After eating 0 Tutmāč one then drinks the broth, double (? *aḍ’āfahu*). When the Turks saw this they called it: TUT·M’J_ tutmāč. Its root is: TUTM’ ’AJ_ tutma ač meaning “Don’t leave hungry (*lā tujawwi*).” The two *alifs* were dropped for lightness. The sense is, “Don’t leave yourself hungry, but take this food and eat it.” 0
- TUT·ĠUVJ_ tutġuč “Breakfast (*as-sulfa min aṭ-ṭa’ām*).” 0 tutġuč
- TUD·RIJ¹ tudrič “Manure (*zibl*).” Arġu dialect. 0 tudrič D

2. Perhaps *köčnüt* (cf. 180 *köčüt* “horse”)?

228 1. U changed to (or from?) A.

TAL'ΓUVJ' **talγūč** The name for a piece of wood which is inserted between an animal's bundle and the rope. The rope is twisted (*yuftalu*) with it several times so that the rope is stretched taut, the load is fastened securely, and the bundle does not go awry. 0 **talγūč**

TAW'Γ'J' **tawγāč** The name for Māšīn. It lies beyond Šīn a distance of four months' travel. 0 Šīn is originally threefold: "Upper," in the east, which is: TAW'Γ'A'J' **tawγāč**; "Middle," which is: XIAṬA'Y' **xiṭāy**; and "Lower," which is: BAR'XA'N **barxān**, the vicinity of Kāšyar. 0 But now Tawγāč is known as Māšīn, and Kxiṭāy as Šīn. 0 **tawγāč**
N

TAW'Γ'A'J' **tawγāč** The name of a tribe of the Turks who settled in those regions. From this word comes the expression: TAT TAW'Γ'A'J' **tat tawγāč** meaning "Uighur (which is Tat) and Šīnī (which is Tawγāč)." 0 **tawγāč**
N

"Any manufactured item that is ancient and imposing (*idā kāna qadīman 'azīman*)" is called: TAW'Γ'A'J' 'AḌIY **tawγāč āḍi**. This is like the Arabic expression *šay' 'adī* ("something of 'Ād"). The word is also used as a name for kings: TAW'Γ'A'J' XA'N' **tawγāč xān** meaning "of great and inveterate rule (*'azīm al-mulk wa-qadīmuhu*)." 0 **tawγāč**
N

They say, as a paired expression: TAT' TAW'Γ'A'J' **tat tawγāč**. By "Tat" they mean "Persian (*al-fārisī*)," and by "Tawγāč" they mean "Turk." In my opinion the more correct usage is what I have mentioned [above]. The latter is used in the lands of Islam; the former in that place. Both are correct.

TAW'Γ'A'J' YUDA'SIY **tawγāč yodāsi** A shrub whose leaves are like leaves of the lily (*sūsan*) and are used as a medicine. 0

SAR'QIJ' **sarqič** "Gum succory (*mārūra* [defined])." 0 **sarqič**

SURQIJ' **surqič** "Resin (*'ušāra šibγ al-lukk*)" used to glue the tangs of swords, daggers and knives to their handles. 0 **surqič**

SAR'NIJ' **sarnič** "A leather milking pail (*'ulba*)." 0 **sarnič**

[I. 379/455]

229

SAT'DIJ' **saydič** "Friend (*šadīq*)." 0 **saydič**

SUF'DIJ' **soydič** Name of a feast (*ḍiyāfa*) that circulates among the people in winter, in succession (*'ala t-tartib*). 0 **soydič**

SAWDIJ' **sawdič** "A basket (*qaf'a*) woven from branches," used to carry fruit, etc. 0 **sawdič**

SANKAJ' **sāngāč** A species of apple (*tuffāḥ*) the size of a hazelnut, sweet, red and white. **sāngāč**
0

QTQJ' **qatquč** (?) "Something that stings (*šay' yaldaru*)," like a scorpion. Arγu dialect. **qatquč** ?
0 **D**

- QIS'GA'J' qisγāč "Pincers (*kalbatān*)."⁰ qisγāč
- QJUS'GA'J' qisγāč A small black animal that bites people. Oγuz dialect. ⁰ D
- QUŠ'GA'J' qušγāč "Sparrow (*'usfūr*)."⁰ qušγāč
- KAR'BIJ' kārpič "Brick (*labin*)."⁰ "Baked bricks (*ājurr*)" are called: BIŠIΓ KAR- kārpič
BIJ' bišiγ kārpič. ⁰
- KIR'TUJ KIŠIY kirtüč kiši "A grudging and ill-natured (*ḥasūd šaris al-xulq*) person."⁰ kirtüč
R
- BAŠTAR baštar "Scythe (*minjal*)."⁰ Arγu dialect. ⁰ baštar D
- BAK'TUR' bāktür A man's name. Its root is: BAK' TUR' bāk tur meaning "Hold fast (to your place) (*uḥbut makānaka jaldan*)."⁰ bāktür N
- BUKTIUR¹ böktir "Hard depressed ground in a mountain (*al-ḥazan wa-l-wahada fī l-jabal*)."⁰ böktir
Verse:
- | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 'AΓA' BUKTIR 'Z' YURDIM | aya böktir üzä yordim | V |
| BARIQ YA'QIB QYA' [sic] KURDM | yiraq bāqip qara ² kördim | |
| 'NY BYLB TQY BARDM | ani bīlip taqi turdim | |
| TUKAL YA'ΓY TURY [sic] TUΓDY | tükäl yāyi tozi toγdi | |
- "I climbed a hard outcropping (*ḥazn*)³ of the mountain, I saw a black spot from afar, I stayed in my place after I recognized (it), then the dust of the enemy rose up [completely]."⁰
- BALDIR bāldir "Mountain peak (*ra'n al-jabal*)."⁰ :: TA'Γ BALDIRIY tāγ bāldiri. ⁰ bāldir
- BALDIR' 'UΓUL baldir oγul "Step-son (*rabīb*)."⁰ BALDIR' QIYZ baldir qīz "Step-daughter (*rabība*)."⁰ baldir
- BALDIR' TARİΓ baldir tariγ "A field that is tilled at the beginning of spring (*allaḍī ḥuriṭa fī btidā' ar-rabi'*)."⁰ That is the best time for it. Similarly, "anything that occurs at the beginning of its season (*kull fi'l fī btidā' awānihi*)" is called: BAL'DIR' baldir. :: BALDIR' QUZIY baldir qozi "A lamb born at the beginning of the parturition season (*nutija fī btidā' an-natāj*)."⁰ All four of these have *išbā'* of the *bā'*. ⁰

229 1. Second U in red ink.

2. Read thus, to correspond to the translation (**qara**, Ar. *sawād*, here means "a form dimly perceived in the distance"; cf. WB,ii, 138). **Qaya** is also a good reading; the phrase would then mean, "I looked back from afar."

3. MS. *ḥazm*.

:: TA'Š QUDŪQ' TUŠTY BULDUR BULDUR' 'İTIY tās quđuryqa tüsti buldur buldur **buldur**
etti "The stone fell in the well causing such a sound to arise."

BILDIŪR' bildur "Last year (*al-'ām al-māđī*)." 0 **bildur**

BUL'ĀR' bulyār A well-known city of the Turks. 0 **bulyār N**

TUL'FIR' tolwir (?) "Bridal pavilion (*as-sitr wahwa l-ħijāl*)." It is stretched out (*yumad-* **tolwir ?**
du) for women, and is made of brocade and silk. 0

[I. 380/457] 230

:: 'UQ KIYS'TA' JAL'DIR' JAL'DIR' 'ITY oq kēstā ħaldir ħaldir etti "The arrow rattled **ħaldir**
(*taqalqala*)¹ in the quiver." Also for the [rustling] sound of dry grass blown by the wind.

JAFMUR ħaymur "Turnip (*šaljam*)." 0 JAMĜUR ħamġur The same, by metathesis. **ħaymur**
0 **ħamġur**

SAR'KAR' sarkār "Bandit (*qāṭi' aṭ-ṭariq*)." Qarluq dialect. 0 **sarkār D**

QAN'DIR' qandir Name of the skin (*jild al-laħm*) which remains after the hide which is **qandir**
suitable for tanning has been stripped off. 0

KAS'TAR kästär "Earthenware (*xazaf*)." Uč dialect. 0 **kästär D**

KAŠMIYR' kāšmīr A city in the region of the Turks. It was built by Solomon, God's **kāšmīr N**
blessings be upon him. 0

MANDA'R mandār A plant which winds around trees and causes them to dry up – **mandār**
"bindweed (*'ašaqā*)." Oġuz dialect. **D**

Z

YURDUZ borduz "Truck-garden (*fālīz*)." This word is not original. 0 **borduz**

BALDIZ' baldiz "Wife's younger sister (*uxt al-mar'a aš-šuġrā*)." "A man's sister (*uxt* **baldiz**
ar-rajul)" is not called: BAL'DIZ **baldiz**, but rather: SINGIL' **siñil** [604]. 0

TARMAZ' tarmuz "Gherkin (*qaṭad*)." 0 **tarmuz**

QUT'SUZ' qutsuz "Luckless (*al-mudbir fī l-umūr*)." Proverb [cf. 545 qowi]: QUTSUZ **qutsuz**
QUĐUŪ'QA' KIR'SA' QUM' YAĜA'R' qutsuz quđuryqa kirsā qum yayār 0 "When a luckless **P**
one (*al-mudbir allađī lā jadd lahu*) falls in the well² it rains sand (on top of him)." This is like the

230

1. MS. *yuqalqilu*.

2. "in the well" added by a later hand above the line.

Arabic saying: *idā aqbala aqbala wa-idā adbara dammara* (“Going forward he brings fortune, going backward he brings misfortune”). 0

QIR·QIZ **qirqiz** A tribe of the Turks. 0

qirqiz N

QALBUZ **qalbuз** “Morsel (*luqma*).” :: QAL·BUZ LA·DIY NA·NKNY **qalbuзlādi nāñni** “He took a bite (*iltaqama*) of the thing.” 0 **qalbuз**

QUNDUZ· **qunduz** “Beaver (*al-quḏā‘a wahya kalba al-mā‘*).” 0 QUNDUZ QAY·RIY **qunduz**
qunduz qayri “Castoreum (*xizmiyān*) (a medicine).”³ 0

KUNDUZ **kündüz** “Daylight (*ḏaw‘ an-nahār*).” 0

kündüz

MUNDUZ **munduz** “Simpleton (*al-ablah min an-nās*).” Proverb: NAJA·MUN·DUZ·
'ARSA· 'IYŠ· 'AD·KUV NAJA· 'K·RIY 'AR·SA· YUVL· 'AD·KUV **nāčā munduz ārsā ēš ādgü,**
nāčā āgri ārsā yōl ādgü “Though your companion be a simpleton, that is better than being alone
in the desert; though the road be twisted, travelling on it is better than going at random through
the desert wastes, for at least by the road one may reach one’s destination.” [Lit.: “No matter
how simple, a companion is good; no matter how crooked, a road is good.”] 0 **munduz**
P

MUNDUZ· 'AQIN **munduz aqin** “Sudden flood (*al-atī min as-sayl*).” 0 MUN·DUZ
YURIY· 'ĀAT· **munduz yoriya āt**

[I. 382/458]

231

“A horse whose only pace is a jog-trot (*hamlaja*).”

S

BIJ·GA·S· **bičyās** “A contract or covenant (*‘ahd, miṭāq*)” among people, etc. Verse: **bičyās**

BIJ·G·S BTIK QILURLAR·

'ND KAY YM· BIRUVRLAR·

X·NDIN BASUT TILAR·LAR·

BAS·MIL JUMAL TIRKAŠUVR·

bičyās bitig qilurlar

and käy yemä berürlär

xāndin basut tilärlär

basmil čömul tergäšür

V

Calling the Khāqān to help in battle with the Yabāqu: “My people write a pact of allegiance (*kitāb al-‘ahd wa-l-bay‘a*) not to go against the king; [they even take a firm oath; they seek aid from the Khān;] for now the tribes of Basmil and Čömul are gathered to do battle with us.” Then the Khāqān overtook them and took them captive. 0

BAKMĀS· **bäkmäs** “Syrup (*rub*b).” Oğuz dialect. 0

bäkmäs

QIRBA·S· 'AR· **qirpās är** “A man whose hair falls out (*yatanātaru*) of his head so that it
is wispy not thick (*yaxıffu wa-lā-yakuṭtu*).” **qirpās**

Ş

3. MS. *al-xirmiyān fī l-awdiya*, read *al-xizmiyān fī l-adwiya*.

YURBAŠ 'IYŠ **borbāš** īš "A confused, inextricable (*muxtalīḡ lā yu'rafu maxrajuhu*) **borbāš** affair."

BATRUŠ SUVV· **batruš sūw** "Muddy (*kadir*) water." Also "noodles (*aḡriyya*) that have too much dough and too little water." **batruš**

BUL·ΓA'Š· **bulγāš** "Civil disorder (*fitna*) that befalls a people at the approach of an enemy." 0 **bulγāš**

TIR·K'Š **tergāš** "The press of a crowd preventing movement (*at-tamānu' fī s-sayr min az-zahma*)." 0 SUVF· TIRK'ŠIY **sūw tergāši** "Stagnant water in a river channel (*mustanqa' al-mā' fī l-wādī min al-a'ḡād*)."

JULBUŠ **čalpuš** "The sticky substance (*luzūja*) of fruits that sticks to (*yuṣību*) one's clothes or hands." 0 **čalpuš**

SAR·MAŠ **sarmaš** "The winding of one thing around another (*iltifāf aš-šay' bi-š-šay'*)."
0 When people "mingle in confused discord (*māja . . . ba'ḡduhum fī ba'ḡ fī fitna*)" one says:
SAR·MAŠ BULDY **sarmaš boldi**. 0 **sarmaš**

SUWSUŠ **suwsuš** "What remains of beer after its alcoholic strength has gone out (*āxir mā' al-ḡinḡa ba'da mā ḡahaba quwwa šarābihi*)."
Also "churned milk that has been watered down (*al-māxiḡ¹ yuṣabbu 'alayhi l-mā'*)" is given this name. 0 **suwsuš**

QAT·LIŠ· **qatliš** "The place where channels of a river come together (*mu'tarak al-miyāh 'inda tanāḡuḡ al-a'ḡād*)."
:: SUVV· QAT·LIS·TIY **sūw qatliši**. 0 **qatliš**

QATMIŠ **qatmiš** A man's name. 0 **qatmiš** N

QIRTIŠ **qirtiš** "Face color or complexion (*lawn wajh*)" of a person, or other. **qirtiš**

[I. 383/460]

232

:: KUR·K·LK QIRTIŠ·LIḡ KIŠY **körklüg qirtišliḡ kiši** "A person with a beautiful complexion."

:: YVR· QIRTIŠY **yēr qirtiši** "The surface (*adīm*) of the earth." Not every surface is called: QIRTIS **qirtiš**. 0

QAR·ΓIŠ **qaryiš** "Curse (*la'na*)."
:: TANKRIY QAR·ΓIŠIY 'ANIK· 'UZA' **tāḡri qaryiši qaryiš**
anig üzä "God's curse upon him!" It may be used as an adjective; thus: QAR·ΓIŠ· KIŠY **qaryiš**
kiši "A damned (*mal'ūn*) person." 0

QULDAŠ· **qoldaš** "Associate (*qarīn*)."
This is used only among servants of the nobility (*? fī xidam al-kubarā*). 0 **qoldaš**

- KIR·DAŠ kirdäš “A neighbor who resides with you in a single dwelling (*al-jār alladī yuḥālluka fī dār wāhida*).” 0 kirdäš
- Γ
- YURBA·Γ borbāy “Postponing, procrastination (*al-maṭl wa-t-taswīf fī l-umūr*).” 0 borbāy
- BIR·QIF· birqiy “Snorting (*naxīr*) of a horse or donkey.” :: 'ĀT BIR·QIFIY āt birqiyi. birqiy
- BRQΓ burqiy “A wrinkle (*inziwā'*)” in the skin, etc. 0 burqiy
- BAŠ·LA·Γ NA·NK· bošlāy nāḡ “Something left free or neglected (*muhmal*).” Thus :: bošlāy
BAŠLA·Γ· YILQY bošlāy yilqi “An animal that is left free.” 0
- BIFRIF boyruy (?) “A bulge (*amt*)” in a straw sack, a milk skin, etc. 0 boyruy ?
- TAB·LA·Γ taplāy “Satisfaction (*riḍā'*)” with a thing.” :: BUV 'IYŠ· DA' SANIK taplāy
TAB·LA·ΓINK· BA'R· MUV bu işda sānig taplāyın̄ bār mu “Do you have satisfaction in this mat-
ter?” 0
- TAB·ZUΓ tapzuy “Riddle (*al-ulγūza allatī yuḥājā bihā*).” :: TABUZ·TUQ TABUZDM tapzuy
tapuzyuq tapuzdum “I proposed (to him) a riddle (*uḥjiyya*).” 0
- TUT·SUΓ tutsuy “Will or request (*waṣiyya*).” :: MAN 'ANKAR· TUT·SUΓ· TUTUZ· tutsuy
DUM· mǎn aṅar tutsuy tutuzdum “I enjoined upon him a will or request (*awṣaytuhu bi-waṣiyya*).”
0
- TAR·TIF· tartiy “Saddle girth (*ḍafr ar-raḡl¹ wa-ḥizāmuhu*).” 0
- TAR·TIF· tartiy “Summons (*du'ā'*) of a king to his retinue because of a matter that has
arisen.” Hence :: BAK· DAN TARTIFIY KAL·DIY begdān tartiyçi kǎldi “The summoner (*dā'ī*)
of the king or emir has come.” 0
- TURQΓ turqiy “Shame (*al-ḥayā' fī l-amr*).” :: 'UL· MANDAN TRQΓ ol mǎndān turqiy
turqiy² “He was ashamed (*ṣāra . . . ḥayī*) before me over something he did.” 0
- TUΓRA·Γ tuγrāy “The king's seal and signature (*tābi' al-malik wa-tawqī'uhu*).” Oγuz tuγrāy
dialect. The Turks do not know this word and I do not know its origin. 0 D
- TUΓZA·Γ [sic] tuγzāy “Any horse which the king gives his troops on the day of a
parade or a battle (*yawm ar-rukūb aw al-ḥarb*) and which he takes back when they return.” 0
- TILDA·Γ tildāy “Falsely accusing a person (*at-tajannī 'alā l-insān*).” tildāy

232 1. MS. *ṣafr ar-rajul*.

2. Read *turqiylandi* (402-3) or *turqiy boldi*.

Thus :: 'UL 'ANKAR' TILDA'Γ' QILUVR' ol anar tildāy qilūr "He accuses him falsely (*yatajannā 'alayhi*).” This is equivalent to the Persian *bahāne*. 0

"The east (*šarq*)” is called: KUVN' TUFSUΓ kün tuysuγ. 0 KUVN BATSIG kün tuysuγ (batsiy) "the west (*γarb*).” 0

TALQΓ talqiy "A place where ropes collide (*muštadam al-ḥibāl*).”¹ 0 TALQIG talqiy "An impediment (*ta'wiq*) in affairs.” 0

TUMLΓ tumliy "Cold (noun or adjective) (*bard, bārid*).” Verse: tumliy

TUMLIG KLB QAB'SADIY	tumliy kälip qapsadi	V
QUTLIG YA'YIG TAB'SADIY	qutluγ yāyiy täpsädi	
QAR'LAB 'AŽUN YAB'SADIY	qarlap ažun yapsadi	
'AT' YIN 'UŠB 'AMRIŠUVR'	ät yen üšip ämrišür	

0 "Cold has come and covered the world. It is envious of blessed summer. It has snowed and nearly hidden the earth. Bodies shiver as though ants were creeping inside.” 0 The root of: TUM'LUΓ' tumliy is: TUM' tum. 0 :: 'ULUK' YUDIJ TUM'LUΓ' ölüγ yüzi tumliy "The dead man's face is cold” – this means that his kinsmen draw back from him after death. P

SIR'TIG sirtiy "The trace of a story (*aṭar kull ḥadīṭ*) of which one is only partially aware.” Thus :: MAN BUV SUVZDAN SIR'TIG BULDUM män bu sözdän sirtiy buldum "I got wind of this story (*wajadtu aṭar ḥādā l-kalām*).” 0

SAJ'LIG 'AR' sačliy är "A hairy (*ša'rānī*) man.” 0 sačliy

SAR'SIG SUVZ sarsiy sōz "Coarse (*xašin*) speech.” The same for a coarse matter, or a coarse way of walking. 0 sarsiy

SIZ'LA'Γ sizlāy The word for "setting the teeth on edge (*kalāl as-sinn*)” from drinking freezing water or biting ice and feeling the cold. sizlāy

SIΓZIG siγzay "A thong that is inserted between stitch-holes of a shoe or the like (*kalb* [defined]).” 0 SIΓZIG siγzay "A patch holding two things together (*ar-ru'ba bayn aš-šay'ayn*).” 0

"A toothpick (*xilāl al-asnān*)” is called: TIYŠ' SIΓZA'GIY tiš siγzāyi. 0

SAΓLIG [sic] sanliy Anything "counted (*ma'dūd*).” Its root-form is: SA'Γ'LIG [sic] sanliy. 0

SUW·LA'Γ *suwlāy* “Watering place (*mašra'a al-mā*).” 0 SUWLA'Γ *suwlāy* Name of a place. *suwlāy*
N

QUT·LΓ NA'NK· *qutluγ nāṅ* “Anything blessed (*mubārak*).” The man's name is after this word. *qutluγ*
N

QAR·ŠA'Γ *qaršāy* “Spanning of cloth (*šibr at-tawb*).” *qaršāy*

[I. 387/464]

234

Thus :: 'ANIK QAR·ŠA'ΓIY KUVR· *anig qaršāyi kōr* “Look at him spanning the cloth (or other).” 0

QURŠA'Γ *qursāy* “Girding oneself with a belt (*at-tanaṭṭuq bi-l-minṭaqa*).” QURŠ'Γ *qursāy* “A coil (*ṭurra*) of woven wool that is wound around a tent (*wahwa minṭaqa al-xibā*).” It is called: 'AW· QURŠA'ΓY *āw qursāyi*. *qursāy*

QIŠLA'Γ *qišlāy* “Winter quarters (*mištāt*).” Proverb: 'VZ KVZ 'YR QIŠLA'Γ *ōz kōz* *īr (?) qišlāy* 0 “If a man does his own job and does not entrust it to someone else, he is like one who takes as his lot the winter quarters that are on the sunny side of the mountains (*mašraqa al-jibāl*), for that side keeps green longer and has less snow in the winter.” [Lit. “One's own eye is (like) winter quarters on the sunny side of the mountain” (?).] 0 MA'N· QIŠ·LA'Γ *mān qišlāy* Name of a place in the country of the Oγuz. 0 *qišlāy*
P
N

QUŠLA'Γ *qušlāy* “Bird grounds (*maṭīra*).” It is a place where birds abound and are hunted. 0 *qušlāy*

QRQA'Γ *qirqāy* “Barren desert (*mart*).” It is a desert (*mafāza*)¹ that has no water and no vegetation. 0 *qirqāy*

QUL·SIF 'AR· *qulsiy ār* “A slavish (*yušbihu xulquhu xulq al-'abīd*) man.” *qulsiy*

NIŽDA'Γ *niždāy* “Whetstone (*mašḥaḍ*).” With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. *niždāy*

Q

BATRAQ *batraq* “A lance (*miṭrada*) topped with a piece of silk, which marks the champion on the day of battle.” 0 *batraq*

BUJΓ'Q *bučyāq* “One of the four quarters of the earth (*quṭr al-arḍ*).” :: YJR· BUJΓA'· QIY *yēr bučyāqi*. *bučyāq*

BUJΓA'Q *bučyāq* “Corner (*zāwiya*),” and the like. 0

BUJĠA'Q **buċġāq** "Skin from a camel's shanks (*jild akāri' al-juzur*)," used to make sandals. 0

BUXSUQ **boxsuq** "Manacles (*γull*)." 0 BUĠSUQ **boγsuq** is a variant of the same **boxsuq** word due to the alternation of *xā'* and *γayn* as in Arabic *xatir* ~ *γadir* ("treacherous"). 0 **boγsuq** D

"One who is crippled and lame (*a'raj a'sam*)" is called: 'AX'SAQ' BUX'SAQ' **axsaq** **boxsaq** **boxsaq**, pleonastically.

BADRUQ' **badruq** A man's name. 0 **badruq** N

BARJUQ **barċuq** A city built by Afrāsiyāb. He imprisoned therein Bīzan son of Nebuchadnezzar. 0 **barċuq** N

BURJAQ' **burċaq** "Beans (*lūbiyā'*)." 0 **burċaq**

BURJAQ **burċaq** "Beads of sweat (*ħabbāt al-'araq*)." Hence :: TAR BUR'JAQ'LAN'DIY **tār burċaqlandi** "The sweat came out in beads (*taħabbaba*)." 0

BUZLUQ **buzluq** "Icehouse (*majmada*)." 0 **buzluq**

BAS'RUQ **basruq** "What keeps anything weighted down (*tiqāl kull šay'*)." Proverb: **basruq**

[I. 388/466]

235

YIYR' BAS'RUQY TA'Ġ BUḌUVN' BAS'RUQY BA'K yēr **basruqi tāy boḏūn basruqi bēg** 0 P
 "The underpinnings (*awtād*) of earth, what keep it weighted down (*tiqāl*), are the mountains; similarly, what keep people weighted down are emirs." This means that the stability of the earth depends on the mountains, and similarly the stability of men depends on rulers who restrain them. 0

BAŠNAQ [sic] 'AR' **baštaq ār** "An unarmed (*ħāsir*) man (or other)." 0 **baštaq**

BAŠMAQ **bašmaq** "Shoe (*mik'ab*)." Oγuz dialect. 0 **bašmaq** D

BUĠMAQ **boγmaq** "Button of a shirt (*zirr al-qamiš*)." 0 BUĠMAQ **boγmaq** "A **boγmaq** necklace (*at-tiqšār wahwa qilāda*. . .) of gold or other material, studded with jewels and pearls and worn by brides." 0

BAL'JIQ' **balċiq** "Mud (*wahl*)." Oγuz dialect. **balċiq** D

BUL'ĠA'Q' **bulyāq** "Panic (*ħazāhiz*) which befalls a people at the appearance of an enemy." 0 BUL'ĠA'Q' **bulyāq** A man's name. Verse: **bulyāq** N

BUL'ĠA'Q' 'UKUŠ BUL'SA' QAJAN BILKINK' YITA'R' V
 YANK'ŠAQ' TALIM' SAY'RAB' 'ANY TAM'ĠAQ' QATA'R'
bulyāq üküš bolsa qačan bilgin yitār
yañsaq tälim sayrap ani tamγaq qatār

“When there is much disorder (*fitan*) among people your intellect goes astray and is not led to the right path; and when there is much vain talk the palate stiffens from dryness of the mouth.” [This is coined] to advise continence in speech.

TUB·RA'Q' toprāq “Earth or soil (<i>turāb</i>).”		toprāq
TAB·LUVQ' toplūq “Cracks (<i>šūqāq</i>) in the ground.” 0		toplūq
TUT·GA'Q' tutγāq “A detachment (<i>jarīda</i>) that sallies forth at night to capture enemy skirmishers and spies.” 0		tutγāq
TAR·TUQ tartuq Name of a city in Yaγma. 0		tartuq N
TAR·GA'Q' taryāq “Comb (<i>mušt</i>).” 0		taryāq
TUR·LA'Q' turlāq “Emaciated (<i>naḥīf</i>),” of an animal. And if a person grows up weakly (<i>šubba</i> . . . <i>bi-d-ḏa'f</i>) he is called: TUR·LA'Q' turlāq . 0		turlāq
TARMA'Q' tarmāq “Claw (<i>mixlab</i>).” A certain kind of plant is called: QAR·Γ A'Q' tarmāq TAR·MA'QY qaryāq tarmāqi . ¹ 0		tarmāq
TUZ·LUQ' tuzluq “Salt container (<i>mimlaḥa</i>).” 0		tuzluq
TUΓ·RA'Q' toγrāq “A type of willow (<i>al-γarab</i> ² <i>wahwa šajar al-hamad</i> [?]).” 0		toγrāq
TIΓRA'Q' 'AR' tiγrāq ār “A sturdy (<i>jald</i>) man.”		Verse: tiγrāq
'UΓRA'Q' 'ARIY TIΓRA'Q	oγrāq āri tiγrāq	V
YYMY 'ANIK 'UΓL'Q	yēmi anig oγlāq	
SUVTY 'AZ' SAΓRA'Q	sūti üzā sayrāq	
YYRY TQY 'AΓLA'Q	yēri taqi aγlāq	

“The tribe³ of Oγrāq are sturdy, their food is kids, there is ever a cup over

[I. 390/468]

236

their koumiss, though their land is bare withal.” He is describing them as generous and brave. 0

TUΓ·SA'Q' **tuγsāq** “Widow (*armala*).” This is usually used in the paired expression: **tuγsāq**
TUVL· TUΓ·SA'Q' **tūl tuγsāq**. 0

235 1. Clauson (ED, 550) suggests **qarya tarmāqi** “crow’s foot.”

2. MS. *γarb*. According to Lane (p. 2242) *γarab* is generally held to be the willow, *salix Babylonica*; *γarb* is a different tree, from which pitch is extracted, and this might relate it to *hāmid* which can mean “black and stinking (of a fruit)”; but *hamad* is unattested. Perhaps the balsam poplar; see ED, 472.

3. MS. *qatīla*, read *qabīla*.

TAW'RA'Q' **tawrāq** "Speed (*sur'a*)." Hence :: TAW'RA'QIN KAL **tawrāqin kāl** "Come quickly." It may be used as an adjective; thus :: TAW'RA'Q' 'YŠJY **tawrāq išči** "A fast (*musri*) worker." **tawrāq**

TUQ'LUQ' **toqluq** "Satiety (*šiba'*)." 0 **toqluq**

TUQ'LUQ' **toqluq** "Baldness, of a man; hornlessness, of an animal (*jamam* [defined])."

TALΓUVQ' **talγūq** "A peg (*watid*) that is inserted in the handle of a spade or a pickaxe in order to fasten the blade to it." 0 **talγūq**

TUM'ŠUQ' **tumšūq** "Bird's beak (*al-minqār li-ṭ-ṭayr*)." 0 **tumšūq**

TAM'ΓA'Q' **tamγāq** "Throat, larynx (*ḥalq, ḥanjara*)." 0 **tamγāq**

JAX'ŠA'Q' **čaxšāq** "Stony ground on mountain peaks (*ar-raḍrād fī qulal al-jibāl*)." **čaxšāq**
 Proverb: JAX'ŠA'Q' 'UZA' 'UT' BUL'MA'S' JAQ'RAQ' BILA' 'UWUT' BUL'MA'S' **čaxšāq üzä ot** P
bolmās čaqlaq bilä uwut bolmās 0 "There is no grass on stony mountain ground, there is no
 shame with a scabby-headed man." 0

JAX'SA'Q' **čaxšāq** "Dried apricots or raisins (*faliq al-mišmiš wa-z-zabīb*)." Qarluq dia- D
 lect. 0

JA'R JARMAQ **čār čarmaq** "Children (*ad-darādiq wa-l-aṭfāl*)." One word follows **čarmaq**
 closely on the other [i.e. a pleonasm]. A variant is: JAMR'Q **čamraq**. 0 **čamraq** D

JΓRUQ YIYR' **čiyruq yēr** "Ground that is trampled down hard (*murakkala šulba*)." **čiyruq**

JAQ'MA'Q' **čaqmāq** "The fire-stick (*zand*) used to strike a fire." It is a simple noun and **čaqmāq**
 also a verbal noun [i.e. "striking a fire"], just as one says [in Arabic] *ḥamd*¹ ("praise, praising") G
 from *ḥamidtu*² ("I praised") or *jamd*³ ("ice, freezing") from *jamada*⁴ *l-mā'* ("the water froze");
 they are both simple nouns and verbal nouns. 0

JAL'BAQ' **čalpaq** "Dirt, filth (*qaḍar, wasax*)." 0 JAL'BAQ' 'IYŠ' **čalpaq iš** "A con- **čalpaq**
 fused (*muxtalit*) affair." 0

JUMΓUQ' **čumγuq** "A white-footed crow (*al-a'šam min al-γirbān*)." The Oγuz leave off **čumγuq**
 the *γayn* and say: JUMQ' **čumuq**. They do the same for every quadrilateral word having *γayn* or **(čumuq**
kāf [preconsonantally]). D

"A slanderous (*nammām, muxranbaq*) man" is called: JAM'ΓUQ' 'AR' **čamγuq är**. 0 **čamγuq**

- 236
1. MS. *jamd*.
 2. MS. *jamidat*.
 3. MS. *jamida*.
 4. MS. *jamd*. These emendations follow EP and Tercüme I, 469.

- BAŠĠA'Q' **sapḡāq** [Waist] "What is above the hips (*mā fawq al-warikayn*)."⁵ **sapḡāq**
- SAB'LIQ' **sapliq** "Anything that is to be made into the hilt (*miqbaḍ*) of a sword or knife, or the handle (*niṣāb*) of a thing" is: SAB'LIQ' **sapliq** **sapliq**
- [I. 391/470] **237**
- "One who squanders his wealth (*man yubaḍdiru mālahu*)."⁵ is called: SAJ'GA'Q' KIŠIY **sačḡāq**
sačḡāq kiši. 0
- SIJ'GA'Q' **sičḡāq** "One who moves his bowels frequently (*ya'tarihi l-ḡā'iṭ kaṭīran*)."⁵ **sičḡāq**
This is an exception to the rule, according to which the *qāf* in this word should be *nūn*, since that **G**
is how to form adjectives indicating habitual action. For example: 'UZ'GA'N 'AT' **ozḡān** at "A
horse which continually runs ahead (*sabbāq*)."⁵ 0 :: 'UL 'IYŠ QIL'GA'N 'L ol **īš qilḡān ol** "He
is one who works much (*kaṭīr al-'amal*)."⁵ 0
- SUS'Γ'Q' **susḡāq** "Anything used to ladle (*yugrafu bihi*) water, or other." Dialect of **susḡāq**
Qarluq, Qifčāq, and all nomadic peoples. 0 **D**
- SUΓ'DA'Q' **soyḡāq** A people who have settled in Balāsāḡyūn. They are from Soyḡ which **soyḡāq**
is between Bukhara and Samarqand, but their dress and manner is that of Turks. 0 **N**
- SAΓ'RA'Q' **sayḡāq** "Drinking cup (*al-qa'b wa-l-ka's allaḍī yuṣrabu fihi*)."⁵ 0 Proverb **sayḡāq**
[cf. 216 *tergi*]: SA'WIN' SAΓ'RA'Q' QA' TAKIYR' **sāwin sayḡāqqa tāḡīr** 0 "By (gracious) **P**
speech one attains the cup (of emirs in their drinking)" – meaning that one is honored thereby. 0
- SIR'MA'Q' **sirmāq** "Pack-saddle cloth (*barḍa'a*) for asses." 0 **sirmāq**
- SUΓ'NA'Q' **suḡnāq** A city of the Oḡuz. 0 **suḡnāq N**
- SAΓ'LIQ' **sayliq** "Ewe (*na'ja*)."¹ Its root-meaning is "milch (*ḡalūb*)."⁵ **sayliq**
- SUW'LUQ' **suwluq** "Towel (*mindīl*)."⁵ 0 **suwluq**
- SAQ'LIQ' **saqliq** "Alertness (*al-yaqāza fi l-umūr*)."⁵ 0 **saqliq**
- SUQ'LUQ' **suqluq** "Greediness (*ḡirṣ, jašā'a*)" for food, or other. 0 **suqluq**
- QAB'GA'Q' **qapḡāq** "Quiver cover (*'ifāṣ* [defined])."⁵ 0 **qapḡāq**
- QA?JAQ' **qatčāq** "The place where channels of a river come together (*al-mawḍi' allaḍī*
yatanāṭahu l-miyāh min as-sawā'id)."⁵ 0 **qatčāq**

5. See ED, 786; G. Clauson, "The Turkish-Khotanese Vocabulary Re-edited," *Islām Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi* V.1-4 (1973), pp. 37-45, line 184.

QADRQ **qadraq** “Windings and folds of mountains (*ma’āṭif al-jibāl wa-maḥāniḥā*).” Thus :: QAT QADRAQ **qat qadraq** “A winding and fold (*ma’ṭaf wa-maḥniya*).” 0 **qadraq**

QUD·RUQ· **quдруқ** The generic word for all “tails (*aḍnāb*).” :: QUVY· QUD·RUQIY **quдруқ** **qōy quдруқи** “The fatty tail (*alya*) of sheep.” 0 ‘AT· QUD·RUQIY **at quдруқи** “A horse’s tail (*danab*).” Verse:

QUD·RUQ· QATIF TUK·DUMIZ	quдруқ qatıy tügdümüz	V
TANK·RIYK· ‘ÜKUŞ· ‘ÜK·DUMIZ	tānriğ üküş ögdümüz	
KAM·ŞIB· ‘ATIF TAK·DIMIZ	kāmsip atıy tēgdimiz	
‘ALDAB· YANA’ QAJ·TIMIZ·	aldap yana qaçtimiz	

[I. 393/472]

238

“We tied the horses’ tails securely; we praised God Most High greatly (meaning the cry *allāhu akbar* among the heathen ranks), we attacked them and drove the horses, then feigned flight (so that they would come after us and we might round on them and rout them).” 0 QUŞ QUD·RUQY **quş quдруқи** “Bird’s tail.” Proverb: TUQUM· BUZUB· QUD·RUQ·TA’ BIJAK SIYMA’ **toqum yüzüp quдруқта biçäk sīma** 0 “After you skin the horse do not break the knife on its tail.” This is like the Arabic saying: *şawwā axūka ḥattā idā anḍaja rammada* (“Your brother roasted the meat so much that when it was done he put it in the ashes”). P

QUD·RQ **quдруқ** “Anal aperture (by allusion) (*yuknā bihi ‘an al-faqḥa*).” Thus :: QUD·RUQY ‘TK’N KŞIY **quдруқи ötgān kişi** “A much-farting (*nabbāj al-faqḥa*) person.” 0

QAR·SA’Q· **qarsāq** “The fennec or corsac fox (*fanak*).” **qarsāq**

QAR·LUQ **qarluq** A tribe of the Turks. They are nomads, not Oğuz, but they are also Turkmān. 0 **qarluq N**

QUR·LUQ **qorluq** “A skin (*şann*) for keeping koumiss.” 0 **qorluq**

QARN’Q **qarnāq** A city of the Oğuz. **qarnāq N**

QARNA’Q· ‘AR· **qarnāq är** “A large-bellied (*‘azīm al-baṭn*) man.” 0

QIRNA’Q **qirnāq** “(Slave-)girl (*jāriya*).” Dialect of Yabāqu, Qāy, Čöml, Basmil, Oğuz, Yemāk, Qifčāq. 0 **qirnāq D**

KUTY QZLA’Q **kōti qizlāq** “A red-tailed bird (*al-ḥummara min aṭ-ṭayr wahwa aḥmar aḍ-danab*).” 0 **qizlāq**

QIS·RA’Q· **qisrāq** “Young mare (*ramaka fatiyya*)”; or, according to the Oğuz, “any mare (*ar-ramaka kā’inan mā kānat*).” Proverb: QIYZ· BIR·LA’ KURAŞMA’ QIS·RA’Q BIRLA’ YARIŞMA’ **qiz birlä küräşmä qisrāq birlä yarişma** 0 “Do not wrestle a virgin (for she is strong and will bring you down), and do not race against a young mare (for she is stronger and more impetuous than an older horse (*faras*) and so will beat you).” This is one of the proverbs of the Khāqāniyya which pertain to the wedding night of Sultan Mas‘ūd, when she tripped him with her foot and brought him down. 0 **qisrāq D P**

QIS'MA'Q' **qismāq** "Lasso (*wahaq*)."⁰

QUŠ'LUQ **qušluq** "Forenoon (*ḍahwa*)."⁰ Oʻyuz dialect. **qušluq** D

QIŠ'LIQ **qišliq** **qišliq**

[I. 394/474]

239

"Winter house (*bayt šitwī*); something made for the winter (*šay' u'idda li-š-šitā*)."⁰

QUI'ŠA'Q NA'NK' **qoʻyšaʻq nān** "Something feeble and weak (*fīhi futūr wa-wahn*)."⁰ **qoʻyšaʻq**

QIF'JA'Q' **qifčāq** A tribe of the Turks. ⁰ **qifčāq** N

QIF'JA'Q' **qifčāq** Name of a place near Kāšyar.

QUL'BA'Q' **qulbāq** Name of an ascete of the Turks who used to frequent the mountains **qulbāq** N of Balāsāyūn. They say that he used to write with his hand on hard black stone: TANK'RİY QULIY QUL'BA'Q' **tānri quli qulbāq** meaning "God's slave Qulbāq," and the writing would show forth on it in white; and the same on white stone, where the writing would show forth in black. Traces of it are found to this day. ⁰

QALTUQ **qaltuq** "Horn of the wild ox [i.e. yak] (*qarn baqar al-wahš*)."⁰ It is perforated and used to drink koumiss, etc. **qaltuq**

QULTIQ **qolitiq** "Armpit (*ibiṭ*)."⁰ **qolitiq**

QLTQ **qiltiq** "Dandruff, scurf on the head (*ibriyya ar-ra's wa-ḥazāzatuhu*)."⁰ **qiltiq**

QAMΓA'Q' **qamγāq** "Panic grass (*tumām*)."⁰ **qamγāq**

QUM'LA'Q' **qumlāq** [Hops] A plant similar to bindweed (*lablāb*) which grows in the **qumlāq** Qifčāq country. They prepare a drink from it mixed with honey. When this plant is brought on board ship the sea becomes so agitated that the passengers nearly drown. ⁰

QAN'JIQ' **qančiq** "Bitch (*kalba*)."⁰ To curse out a woman one likens her to this and calls her: FYNJIQ [sic] **qančiq**. **qančiq**

MUN'JUQ' **mončūq** "Bead, trinket (*kull xaraza min al-ḥulī*)."⁰ MUN'JUQ' **mončūq** **mončūq** "Anything that is hung to a horse's neck, such as gems, lions' paws, or amulets (*tamā'im*)."⁰

MANJUQ' **mančūq** "Anything that is hung (*yu'allāqu*) on a saddle, such as a provisions **mančūq** bag or nose bag (*ḥaqība, mixlāt*)."⁰

MUNΓA'N KIŠIY' **munγāq kiši** "A loquacious (*tarṭār*) person."⁰ **munγāq**

QIS'MA'Q' **qismāq** "The two broad straps on either side of the stirrup (*sayray ar-rikāb al-'arīḍayn yakūnu r-rikāb baynahumā*)."⁰ **qismāq**

K

- BUR·JAK **bürčäk** “Forelock (*nāṣiya*), of a man; hair of the forelock or mane or tail (*sabība*), of a horse.” 0 **bürčäk**
- BİTRİK **bitrik** “Clitoris (*baḡr al-mar’a*).” 0 **bitrik**
- BİTRK **bitrik** “Pistachio (*fustuq*).” Arḡu dialect. 0 D
- BİSTK **bistäk** “Cotton that is carded and ready to be spun (*qaṭ’a quṭn mandūf mu’add li-l-ḡazl*).” Čigil dialect. 0 **bistäk**
D
- BSTK **bistäk** “Wick (*fatīla*).” Arḡu dialect. D
- BUK·SAK **böksäg** “Woman’s bosom (*tarība al-mar’a*).” BUK·SAK· **böksäg** “Upper part of the chest (*naḡr*).” 0 **böksäg**
- TUT·SUK KIŞY **tütsüg kişi** “A quarrelsome (*muṣāḡin*) person.” 0 **tütsüg**
[I. 396/476] 240
- TḤJK **taxčäk (?)** A type of Ṣinī silk. 0 **taxčäk ?**
- TURBK· **törpig** “Adz or file (*safan*).” They also say: TURBKUV **törpigü**. 0 **törpig**
- TARLIK· **tärlik** “The saddle felt (*mirṣaḡa*) which is put under the saddlecloth.” 0 **tärlik**
- TUR·LUK **türlüg** An expression for “the different types (*anwā’*)” of a thing. Thus :: QAJ·TURLK NA·NK· **qač türlüg nāḡ** “Different kinds (*aṣnāf*) of a thing.” 0 :: QAJ TUR·LUK·SUVZ·’AY·DIM **qač türlüg sōz aydim** “I said all sorts of things (*qultu anwā’an min al-kalām*).” 0 **türlüg**
- TUR·MA·K· **türmāk** “Rolled bread (*zumāward*).” 0 **türmāk**
- TIRNA·K **ternāk** “An assembly of the people who agree on a course of action (*miḡfal al-qawm ijtama’ū t-tadbīr*).” 0 **ternāk**
- TUŞ·LK ’UVDIY **tüslük öđi** “Time to halt for a rest (*waqt at-ta’rīs*).” 0 **tüslük**
- TAKRAK· **tägräk** “Rim (*ḡitār*)” of anything. Thus :: QUḌUF TAK·RAKIY **quḍuy tägräki** “Rim of a well.” 0 **tägräk**
- TUK·LUK· **täglük** “Blind (*ḡarīr*).” Thus :: TUK·LUK· KUZLK **täglük közlüg** “A blind man.” 0 **täglük**
- TAW·LUK· **täwlüg** “Deceiver (*muḡtāl, xaddā’*).” 0 **täwlüg**
- JAK·RAK· **čäkräk** “A single layered gown (*qabā’ ṭāq*) of wool, worn by slaves.” 0 **čäkräk**

- “A weak-sighted person (*axfaš*)” is called: KUVZIY JAR·LIK *kōzi čärlig*. čärlig
- JALBAK *čälpäk* “Blariness of the eye (*γamaš al-‘ayn*).” 0 čälpäk
- JIL·DAK *čildäg* “A sore (*qarḥ*) that appears on the upper chest of a horse.” It flows with pus and afterwards must be cauterized. 0 čildäg
- SUR·TUK ‘IŠL’R· *sürtük ešlär* “Lesbian (*al-mar’a al-mašḥūqa wa-s-sāḥiqa kaḍālīka*).” Anything “rubbed (*insaḥaqa*)” is called: SUR·TUK *sürtük*. 0 sürtük
- SAD·RAK¹ BUVZ· *sädräk böz* “Loosely-woven (*muhalhal an-nasj*) cloth.” 0 SAD·RAK QABUḠ *sädräk qapuy* “A grated or latticed door (*as-sanjūra wahwa bāb mušabbak*).” 0 sädräk
- SUR·JUK *sörčük* “Evening conversation (*samar*).” The Oγuz have *fathā* on the *jīm* and say: SUR·JAK *sörčäk*. 0 sörčük
sörčäk D
- SALJUK *sälčük* Name of the grandfather of the present Sultans. He was called: SAL·JUK SUV BA·ŠIY *sälčük sü bāši*. 0 sälčük N
- SIKRIK *sekrik* “Any place in the mountains that is crossed by jumping (*kull mawḍi‘ fi l-jabal yu‘baru ‘anhā bi-l-waṭb*).” 0 sekrik
- SUKRUK *sökrük* “Female organ (*matā‘ al-mar’a*).” 0 sökrük
- KUBRUK *köprüg* “Bridge (*qanṭara*).” 0 köprüg
- KUT·LUK· *kötlük* A word of abuse meaning “You effeminate one! (*yā muxannaṭ*).” Its real meaning is “You catamite! (*yā man ‘umila bihi ‘amal qawm lūt*).” 0 kötlük
- TUM·RUK² *tümrüg* “Tambourine (*duff*).” Oγuz dialect. 0 tümrüg D
- KUB·JUK· *köpčük* “Saddle cushion (*mīṭara*).” Oγuz dialect. 0 köpčük D
- KIR·BIK *kirpik* “Eyelash (*al-hudb fi jafn al-‘ayn*).” 0 kirpik
- [I. 398/478] 241
- KAR·TUK *kärtük* “A notch (*ḥazz*) in wood.” :: KARTUK KAM·RUK *kärtük kämrük* “Notches and furrows (*ḥuzūz wa-axādid*).” 0 KARTIK *kärtik* “A notch (*ḥazz*) cut in wood to keep tally of bread and the like.” kärtük
kärtik
- KURŠA·K *küršäk* Name of a food. It is made by boiling millet kernels in water or milk, then butter is put on it, and it is eaten. 0 küršäk

240 1. Dot of D by later hand (?).
2. Second U changed from A (?).

- KAZLIK **käzlik** "A small knife (*sikkīn šaγīr*) which a woman keeps with her fastened to her robe." **käzlik**
- KUZLUK **közlük** "Something woven from horse tails and put on the eye if it is bleared or dazzled." 0 **közlük**
- KUS·RUK· TUŠA'Γ **kösruk tušāγ** "Shackle for the forelegs of a horse (*šikāl yaday al-faras*)."
kösruk
- KWRIK **käwrik** "A thorny tree (*al-'arfaj min aš-šajar*)."
0 **käwrik**
- KUWRUK· **küwriug** "Kettledrum (*al-kūs wa-t-ṭabl alladī yuḍrabu bihi*)."
0 **küwriug**
- KAW·RAK NA'NK **käwřäk nāñ** "Any pliant shrub (*kull šay' xirw min aš-šajar*)," such as the castor oil plant, etc. 0 **käwřäk**
- KAW·ŠAK NA'NK· **käwřäk nāñ** "Anything soft and pliant (*fīhi līn wa-futūr*)," such as a thin garment, etc. **käwřäk**
- KUWŠAK 'AT· **köwřäk ät** "Tender (*fīhi raxāwa*) meat." KUWŠAK 'AT·MA'K **köwřäk ätmäk** "Bread made from fine-yeasted dough (*'ajīnuhu min xamīr ḥasan*)."
0 **köwřäk**
- KUW·LÜK· **küwlük** "A clay pellet (*bunduqa min aṭ-ṭīn*)," which may be shot before or after drying. 0 **küwlük**
- KAK·LIK· **käklik** "Partridge (*qabj*)."¹ 0 **käklik**
- KAKMAK 'AR· **käkmäk är** "A man hardened by troubles (*ḥārasathu l-umūr wa-qāsā l-miḥan fa-štadda fīhi*)."
Its root is: KK **käk** meaning "Hardship (*miḥna*)."
Adjectives of this sort are exceptions to the rule, according to which this word should be: KAK·MA'N· ***käkmän**. 0 **käkmäk** G
- KAM·DUK SUNKUVK· **kämdük sünük** "A bone stripped of the flesh (*al-'urāq min al-'izām*)."
kämdük
- KUNJUK· **könčük** "Opening at the collar (*jayb*)."
The Oγuz have *fatḥa* on the *jīm* and say: KUNAJAK· **könčäk**. 0 **könčük** D
- KAN·JA'K **känčäk** A tribe of the Turks. **känčäk** N
- KAN·J'K SANKIR **känčäk säñir** Name of a city near Ṭarāz. It is a frontier of Qifčāq. 0 N
- KANDUK **kändük** "A vat-shaped container for flour, etc. (*kandūj* [defined])."
Känčäk dialect. 0 **kändük** D

KUN·LUK **künlük** “A daily matter (*amr muyāwama*).” 0 KUNLK YIM **künlük yem** **künlük**
 “Daily bread (*rizq*).” However, this [expression] is rarely used. 0

MAR·DAK· **märdäk** “Young of the bear (*walad ad-dubb*).” :: ’DIF MAR·DAKY **adiy** **märdäk**
märdäki “Bear cub (*daysam*).” Some of the Turks call “a suckling pig (*xinnawş*)”: TUNKUZ **D**
 MAR·DAKY **toñuz märdäki**. 0

[I. 399/480]

242

MALDAK NA·NK **mäldäk nāñ** “Anything felted (*mutalabbad*),” such as the depilated **mäldäk**
 pudendum.

L

BJΓIL **bičyil** “Cracks (*şuqāq*)” in the hand or foot;¹ also cracks in the gound. 0 **bičyil**

BAS·BAL **basbal** “A single coil of spun thread (*jadba min γazl*).” 0 **basbal**

YAS·MIL· **basmil** A tribe of the Turks. 0 **basmil N**

“A quadruped with a white head (*ibyađđa ra’suhu*)” is called: BAŞΓIL YLQY **başyil** **başyil**
yilqi. 0

BTMUL **bitmül** “Long pepper (*ad-dār fulful*).” 0 **bitmül**

BUŞKA·L **böşgāl** “Flat bread (*ar-ruqāqa min al-xubz*).” Khāqāniyya dialect. 0 **böşgāl D**

BUΓ·RL **boγrul** “A bulge (*amt*)” in a full bag, a milk-skin,² and the like. 0 **boγrul**

BUΓRUL QUVY **boγrul qōy** “A white-throated (*ibyađđa ḥalquhu*) sheep.”

BUKTAL ’AR· **büktäl är** “A middle-sized (*rab’a*) man.” 0 :: BUKTAL ’AT· **büktäl at** **büktäl**
 “A blat-backed (*adakk*) horse.” 0

BUKRUL· ’AT· **bögrül at** “A horse white in the flanks (*axşaf*).” Also a sheep with white **bögrül**
 spots (*aşkal*), etc. 0

BND·L **bandāl** (?) *al-karb* [defined as] Something which comes out of a tree in the **bandāl** ?
 shape of a shoulderblade, and which boys take and burn, then beat its coals, at night. They call
 it: ’UVT· BNDA·L **öt bandāl**. This is in polo [sic].

TAR·ΓIL YIL·QIY **taryil yilqi** “Any animal that has white and black stripes on its back **taryil**
 (*fī zahrihi xuṭūṭ biđ wa-sūd*),” such as “a speckled one (*namış*)” is: TAR·ΓIL **taryil**. This adject-
 ive may modify all animals except horses. 0

242 1. MS. *rajul*, read *rijl*.

2. MS. *ṭabb*, correct to *waṭb*; cf. 232 *boγruy*.

TUḠRIL' *toyril* A bird of prey. He kills a thousand geese and eats one. The man's name: TUḠ'RIL *toyril* is after this. 0 *toyril* N

TFRL *toyril* "Gut-wurst (*am'ā'*) stuffed with meat and spices." Kāncāk dialect. 0 D

JAŠKA'L *čäškäl* "Earthenware, broken pots (*xazaf*,³ *burma a'sār*)." Kāncāk dialect. 0 *čäškäl* D

SANKIL [sic] *säpgil* "A freckle (*kalafa*) which appears on the face." 0 *säpgil*

SAR'SA'L *sarsäl* "Weasel (*dalaq*)." It is a small animal resembling the sable (*sammūr*). 0 *sarsäl*

QAR'TA'L 'AT' *qartäl ät* "Meat in which are whiteness and redness (*mujazza'*)." QAR-TA'L QUVY *qartäl qōy* "A spotted (*arqaṭ*) sheep." 0 *qartäl*

QIR'ḠIL 'AR' *qiryil är* "A grey-haired (*kahl*) man." 0 *qiryil*

QIZ'ḠUL 'AT' *qizyil at* "A horse between ash and grey (*bayn al-aṭḥal wa-l-ašhab*)." *qizyil*

M

BAJ'KAM' *bäčkäm* "A badge (*sawm*) in the form of a piece of silk or the tail *bäčkäm*

[I. 401/483]

243

of a wild ox (*yak*), which marks the warrior during battle." The Oḡuz call it: BAR'JAM' *bärčäm*. *bärčäm* D Verse:

BAJ'KAM' 'URUB' 'AT'LAQA'	<i>bäčkäm urup atlaqa</i>	V
'UY'ḠUR'DAQIY TAT'LAQA'	<i>uyyurdaqi tatlaqa</i>	
'UḠ'RIY YAWUZ' 'IT'LAQA'	<i>oḡri yawuz itlaqa</i>	
QUŠ'LAR' KIBIY 'UJ'TUMIZ'	<i>qušlar kepi učtimiz</i>	

"We put badges on the horses; we headed for the Uighur dogs (meaning 'people') [lit.: towards the Tats among the Uighur; toward the hidden evil dogs;] we flew (toward them) like birds (until we fell upon them)." 0

BAJ'KUM *bäčküm* "Hall of a house (*saqīfa al-bayt*)." 0 *bäčküm*

BAD'RAM' *badram* "Joy and laughter among the people (*as-surūr wa-d-ḍahika bayn al-qawm*)." The ground, when it has blossomed forth with flowers, is called: BAD'RAM' YIYR' *badram yēr* meaning "Pleasant ground (*arḍ nazīha*)." I do not know the origin of this word, since I have heard it from the lips of Persians. However the Oḡuz call a "festival day (*yawm al-īd*)": BAY'RAM' *bayram*, since it is a day of joy and pleasure. The *ḍāl* has been changed to *yā'* according to their custom. From this point of view the word must be pure Turkic (*luḡa maḥḍa*). 0 *badram* (bayram) D

:: 'UL YUMUŠ-QA' BIR-TAM BAR-DIY ol yumušqa birtäm bardi "He went off on the mission whole-heartedly and for a long time (*munqaṭi'an ṭawīlan*), as if he did not intend to come back." 0 **birtäm**

BAΓ-RAM QUM bayram qum "Sand dune (*raml 'ālīj jubayl*)."¹ A certain sandy tract (*raml*) between Kāšyar and Yärkänd is called: BAΓRAM QUVMIY bayram qūmi. 0 **bayram**
N

BUXSUM buxsum "Millet beer (*mizr* [defined])." 0 **buxsam**

TUM-RUM YIΓA'J tomrum yiγāč "A piece of wood that is cut (*maqṭū'*)," such as a shoemaker's last (*'ālat al-iskāf*), and the like. 0 **tomrum**

TUŠ-RUM tüšrüm "A ball of spun thread (*kull daḡāja min al-γazl*)."² Arγu dialect. 0 **tüšrüm** D

ZUNKM züngüm A type of Šinī brocade. 0 **züngüm**

SID-RIM sidrim "Strap (*qidd*)." Oγuz dialect. 0 :: SID-RIM 'IYŠLIIΓ 'AR sidrim **sidrim** D
išliγ är "A man who completes a job and leaves nothing over for someone else." 0

SAR-QIM³ sarqim "Hoarfrost (*šaqī'*)." 0 **sarqim**

KUTRUM kötrüm "Bench (*dukkān*) on which one sits." 0 **kötrüm**

KUJRM köčrüm "Panic (*faza'a*)." It is when villagers flee into the city. 0 **köčrüm**

KD-RIM 'AT kädrim ät "Skinned (*mastūx*) flesh." 0 **kädrim**

[I. 402/485]

244

KAS-TAM kästäm "A feast (*ḡiyāfa*) which one prepares for drinkers who come to him without formal arrangements." 0 **kästäm**

Words Having Two Letters the Same

R

TAR-TAR¹ tartar (*turtur* ?) A bird like the turtledove (*qurri*). **tartar**

:: TAWY 'AM-KY JURJUR tewe ämgi čurčur [lit. "the camel's teat čurčur"] Onomatopoeic for the fall of milk into the milking dish. 0 **čurčur**

243 1. MS. *ḡabīl*.

2. MS. *daḡāja min al-'azl*.

3. Second *sukūn* (') changed from U (?).

244 1. *Sukūns* (') changed from U (first one is unclear).

:: QARIN QURQUR 'TY qarın qurqur etti "The belly growled (*taqarqara*)."
qurqur

K

SUKSUK süksük "Tamarisk (*yaḏā*)."
süksük

M

SUM'LIM TAT' somlim tat "A Persian who does not know any Turkic." Anyone who does not know Turkic is called: SUM'LIM somlim. 0 somlim

KUR'KUM kürküüm "Saffron (*za'farān*)."
This word agrees with Arabic, since the Arabs too call it *kurkum*.
Verse: kürküüm

BAK'LAR 'TIN 'AR'ΓURUB'	beglär atin arıyurup	V
QADΓUV 'ANY TUR'ΓURUB'	qaḏıyü ani turıyurup	
MANKZIY YUZIY SAR'ΓARIB'	mänzi yüzi sarıyarip	
KUR'KUM 'ANKAR' TURTULUVR'	kürküüm anar türtülür	

Eulogizing Afrāsiyāb: "The emirs have jaded their horses, and grief has emaciated them; their faces [have turned yellow] as though smeared with saffron." 0

Chapter: *fa'ālil*, in its various vocalizations

J

SARA'ΓUJ sarāıyüç "A woman's veil (*ximār al-mar'a*)."
sarāıyüç

R

SIPA'QUR sipāıur "Nosebag (*mixlāt*)."
Its root is: SİB' AQURY sip aıuri meaning "Manger of a foal in its second year (*mi'laf at-tanı min al-xayl*)."
sipāıur

Z

QULA'ϕ(W)UZ² qulāıuz "Guide (*dalīl*)."
The *bā'* is an alternant of *vāv*. Proverb [cf. 214 *čuwıya*]: QALIN QA'Z QULA'VUZ SUVZ BULM'S' qalın qāz qulāvuzsüz bolmās 0 "A flock of geese do not fly without a guide."
This is coined to advise someone to follow one who is better guided³ than himself.
D P

Q

JİJA'LAQ⁴ čičāıaq "The little finger (*xinşir*)."
0
čičāıaq

2. B altered to W by later hand.

3. MS. *ahḏā*, read *ahḏā*.

4. *Sukūn* (') changed from U; originally JJ'LUQ (?).

JİJA'MUQ	çiçāmuq	"The ring finger (<i>binşir</i>)." This is a little-known word. ⁵	0	çiçāmuq
SULA'MUQ	solāmuq	"A left-handed (<i>a'sar</i>) man."	0	solāmuq
QAR'JUQ	qarāčuq	A name for al-Fārāb. It is one of the cities ⁶ of the Oγuz.	0	qarāčuq N
QAR'MUQ	qarāmuq	"Corn cockle (<i>zuwān aṭ-ṭa'ām</i>)." 0		qarāmuq
[I. 404/487]				245
QAMIYJA'Q	qamičāq	"Tadpole (<i>du'mūş</i>)." 0		qamičāq
K				
TUN'RIK YIYR	tünārig yēr	"Any dark (<i>muḫlim</i>) place." Also "the grave (<i>qabr</i>)" is called: TUN'RIK tünārig. :: 'AR TUN'RIK·K' KIRDY är tünārigkā kirdi "The man entered the grave." 0		tünārig
JUM'RUK KŞY	čömārük kişi	"A blear-eyed (<i>a'maş</i>) man." 0		čömārük
XUJVNA'K [sic]	čüčünāk (?)	"A melon which is sweet-smelling and streaked (<i>ḥadaja</i> [defined])." 0		čüčünāk ?
BAJ'NAK	bäčānāk	A tribe of the Turks dwelling near Rum. BAJ'NK	bäčānāk	bäčānāk
the Oγuz; BJAN'K	bäčānāk	is a variant.	0	N

Chapter: *fa'al'al*, second and fourth radicals vowelless; *fa'allū*

J

TAFIL'ΓUVJ tawilγüč "Jujube (*ṭabarxün*)."¹

tawilγüč

D

BUΓUR'DA' SAJ buγurda sač "Curly (*ja'd*) hair."

buγurda

S

Jİ?AXSY činaxsi (?) An embroidered Şinī silk.

činaxsi ?

5. *qalla mā yu'rafu*, last word changed to *ya'rifu* by later hand.

6. MS. *ism bilād*, read *min bilād*, or (Tercüme I, 487n.) *ism balda min bilād*.

245 1. MS. *ṭayarxün*.

Γ

TABUZ·ΓUV NA'NK tapuzγu nāṅ "Riddle (*alγūza*)." 0 tapuzγu

TUTUR·ΓUV NA'NK tutuzγu nāṅ "Something to be recommended (*ḥaqquhu an yū'aza fihi*)." 0 tutuzγu

SIBIZ·ΓU sibizγu "Flute (*mizmār*)." sibizγu

SIRIJ·ΓA' siričγa "Glass (*zujāj*)." 0 siričγa

SAIRIJ·ΓA' saričγa "Locust (*jarād*)." An indolent (*raxw*) man is likened to it and called: SAIRIJ·ΓA' 'AR' saričγa är. 0 saričγa

QUBUR·ΓA' qoburγa "Owl (*al-hāma min aṭ-ṭayr*)." qoburγa

Q

TRRQUV [sic] YIYR' tatirqu (?) yēr "Ground with sparse vegetation (*nabtuḥā γayr multaff*)." 0 tatirqu ?

TATIR·ΓA' tatirqa "A white tanned skin (*qaḍam* [defined])." 0 tatirqa

TAWILQUV tawilqu A variant of: TAWIL·ΓUVJ' tawilγūč meaning "jube (*ṭabar-xūn*)." 0 tawilqu D

'AWIL·QUV awilqu Type of plane tree (*šajar al-qarm*). It has red berries, the juice of which is added to the gravy of Tutmāč. Its bark is used as a medicine for ophthalmia. It is also used to dye clothing. 0 awilqu

TUQUR·QA' toqurqa "The spigot (*šunbūr*) on vats or ablution vessels." 0 TUQUR·QA' toqurqa Name of a place in the summer pastures of Kāšγar. N

SAQAIRQUV saqirqu "Tick (*qurād*)." 0 saqirqu

QASIR·QUV qasirqu "Whirlwind (*i'šār*)." 0

K

TUŠR·KUV tüšürgü "The outlet (*fūha*) of water into a canal; the place where the run-off from a mill pours (*mafray*) into another stream; etc." 0 tüšürgü

JAKUR·KA² čäkürgä "Locust (*jarād*)," in Oγuz dialect; "locust before it can fly (*qabl an yaṭīra*)," in Turk dialect. Crowded households and armies are likened to them, thus: JUKURK' TAK SUV čäkürgä täg sü "An army as thick as locusts." 0 čäkürgä D

2. First A changed from U (?).

SUBUR·KUV	süpürgü	“Broom (<i>miknasa</i>).”	0	süpürgü
KTUR·KUV	kötürgü	“Conveyance (<i>minqala</i>).”	0	kötürgü
KASUR·KUV	käsürgü	“Leather bag (<i>jirāb</i>).”	0	käsürgü
KUSUR·KA’	kösürgä	“A type of rat (<i>naw’ min al-jirdan</i>).” ³	0	kösürgä
DUNUŠKA’	dünüšgä	“Hoary cress (<i>qunābarī</i>).”	Känčäk dialect. 0	dünüšgä D
[I. 406/490]				246
KIMIŠ·KA’	kimišgä	“An embroidered Kāšyar felt.”		kimišgä
M				
TAKIRMA’ NA’NK	tagirmä nān	“Anything round (<i>mudawwar</i>),”	such as a flat-bread, a hand-mill, or a dirham. 0	tagirmä
SAKIR·MA’	säkirmä	Name of a small town on the Khotan road.	0	säkirmä N
QUTUR·MA’ BUR·K	quturma bōrk	“A cap that has two wings (<i>janāḥān</i>), ¹	in front and in back.” 0	quturma
KUJUR·MA’ ’UJUQ’	köčürmä očaḡ	“A stove or fireplace which is portable (<i>yunqalu</i>)	from place to place.”	köčürmä
KUJUR·MA’ ’UYUN	köčürmä oyun	The game called “Fourteen.”	You draw four lines on the ground to make the fortress, and ten more for the gates; then you play, using hazelnuts, or the like. 0	

Those with Quiescent Second Radical and Vowelled Third Radical

T

MINDATUV mindatu “Silken canopy (? *qazzīna*).”² mindatu

J

QUL·NAJIY QIS·RA’Q’ qulnači qisrāḡ “A mare that is about to foal (*‘aqūq*).” qulnači

Γ

QAR·NAΓUV ’AR’ qarnayu ār “A potbellied (*baḡīn*) man.” 0 qarnayu

3. MS. *jirdān*.

246 1. MS. *janāḥā*.

2. Cf. 247 *mandiri* and 264 *mundaru*; ED, 768.

- SAΓ·NAΓUV *saɣnaɣu* “A dried gourd (*qar‘ yābis*).” 0 *saɣnaɣu*
- QUN·DIΓUV *qondiɣu* “Polishing stone (*midwas*).” 0 *qondiɣu*
- QAM·JIYΓUV *qamčīɣu* “A pustule (*baṭra*) that appears on the lips or fingers, with much pain, and with itching and fever.” *qamčīɣu*

K

- TUR·BIKUV *törpigü* “Adz (*safan*)” with which to smooth wood. 0 *törpigü*
- TAM·RAKUV *tämragü* “Tetter (skin disease) (*qūbā*).” 0 *tämragü*
- SUK·NAKUV *sögnägi* “A pustule (*baṭra*) that appears between the nail and the skin.” 0 *sögnägi*
- KAR·ŠAKUV 'AT *käršägi at* “A horse with sores on his withers (*bihi dabar bi-minsa- jihi*).” *käršägi*

M

- BUL·ΓAMA' *bulyama* “Gruel (*'aṣīda*) that is unsweetened and unbuttered.” 0 *bulyama*
- JUQRAMA' YUL' *čoqrama yul* “An abundantly-flowing (*fawwāra ɣazīra³ al-mā*)” *čoqrama*
spring.”

N

- BUL·ΓUN' *bulyuna* A shrub (*šajar*) which is red, pliant, and shaped like tamarisk (*ṭarfā*). *bulyunā*
Camels feed on it. MALΓUN' *malɣuna* is a variant. *malɣuna* D

Chapter: *fu'lulī*N⁴

- BULDUNY *bulduni* (?) Name of a thick mixture of sour and fresh milk (*raṭiyya*) which *bulduni* ?
has grapes or raisins thrown in and is eaten. Kānčāk dialect. D

R

- SUNDIRIY *sondiri* (?) “Sea (*baḥr*).” Proverb: 'Š·YA·K 'AYUR· BAŠIM BUL·SA' *sondiri* ?
SUNDURIY DA' SUVF· 'IJ·KA·Y· MAN *āšyāk ayur bašim bolsa sondurida sūw ičgāy mān* 0 P
“The ass says, ‘My head must be sound so I may drink sea water.’ ” This is coined for one who
wishes a long life in order to

3. MS. *ɣarīza*.

4. Cf. ED, 335; error for T? therefore *bulduṭi*?

gain his hopes.

MAN·DIRIY **mandiri** – Čigil dialect – name of the room (*majlis*) where the bride and groom are brought together at night and people shower them with coins (*niṣār*). **mandiri** D

L

BUSTALY **bustuli** A name for “mountain spinach (*sarmaq*)” which is eaten. **bustuli**

N

KUZKNY **közkäni** (?) “A type of beetle which flies about at night with a buzzing sound (*quṭrub* [defined]).” **közkäni** ?

Chapter: *fu'lundī*, in its various vocalizations

D

SUBURN·DIY **süpründi** “Sweepings (*qumāma*).” 0 **süpründi**

SAR·QIN·DIY SUVW_ **sarqindi sūw** “Drip water (*al-quṭār min al-mā*).” 0 **sarqindi**

QUJ·ṬUN·DIY **qučyundi** “Onion (*başal*).” Čigil dialect. **qučyundi** D

End of Quadrilateral Chapters

Chapters of Quinquiliterals

Chapter: *fa'al'al*, in its various vocalizations

J

SUQAR·LAJ BUR·K **soqarlač börk** “A tall (*ṭawīla*) cap.” 0 **soqarlač**

QAFUR·MA'J¹ **qayurmāč** “Fried wheat (*ḥinṭa maqliyya*).” 0 QAWURMA'J **qawur- qayurmāč**
māč – with thin *fā'* – is a variant. **qawurmāč**

D

YUUR·ṬUVJ· **yoçuryūč** “Pastry roller (*miṭmala*),” for flattening noodle dough, etc. 0 **yoçuryūč**

R

J̄AIGIL·WA'R· 'UQY čiyilwār oqi “Short arrows (*ḥusbāna* [defined]).” Verse: čiyilwār

'UTRV TURIUB· YAΓDIY [sic] 'ANKAR KIYŠ 'UQY J̄AIGILWA'R· V
'AY·DIM 'ASIG QILUV 'AMAS· SAN TAQIY YALWA'R·
utru turip yaγdim aṅar kēš oqi čiyilwār
aydim asiγ qilγu āmās sän taqi yalwār

Describing the enemy: “When he confronted me I rained down on him short arrows from the quiver, then said, ‘Your flattery and cries for mercy will not help you now.’ ” 0

Γ

:: SAMUR·TUΓ· 'IYŠ samurtuγ iš “A confused, inextricable (*mux̄aliṭ lā yudrā maxra-juhu*) affair.” 0 samurtuγ

QURUT·LUG KIŠY qurutluγ kiši “One who has dried curds (*ḏū aqīṭ*).” 0 This is like the Arabic expression: *rajuḷ tāmīr wa-lābin* (“a man be-dated and be-milked”), meaning: *ḏū tamr wa-laban* (“who has dates and milk”). 0 qurutluγ

:: TATIR·LIG YIYR· tatirliγ yēr “Smooth hard (*ḏāt jadad wa-ṣalāba*) ground.” tatirliγ

:: QATIR·LIG 'AR· qatirliγ ār “A man with a mule (*ḏū baγl*).” 0 qatirliγ

:: BASAR·LIG TA'Γ basarliγ tāγ “A mountain overgrown with garlic (*ḏū tūm*).” basarliγ

BAΓIR·LIG 'AR· baγirliγ ār “A man who submits to no one (*lā yanqādu li-aḥad*).” This is like the Arabic expression: *innā la-naḥnu a'zam akbādan min al-ibil* (“Indeed we are bigger-livered than camels”). 0 baγirliγ

:: JAΓIR·LIG 'AR· čaγirliγ ār “A man who has juice (*ḏū 'ašīr*).” 0 čaγirliγ

[I. 409/494]

248

SUGUR·LUG TA'Γ suγurluγ tāγ “A mountain overrun with weasels (*ḏū wabr*).” suγurluγ

:: SIΓIRLIG 'AR· siγirliγ ār “A man who has cattle (*ḏū baqar*).” 0 siγirliγ

TAWAR·LIG 'AR· tawarliγ ār “A man of wealth (*ḏū māḷ*).” 0 tawarliγ

JAWA'R·LIG YIYR· čawārliγ yēr “Ground that has kindling (*ḏāt ḏarm*).” 0 čawārliγ

BAQIRLIG baqirliγ Name of a place near Balāsāyūn. 0 BAQIR·LIG TA'Γ baqirliγ baqirliγ
tāγ “A mountain having copper (*ḏū nuḥās*).” 0 N

TAMIṼR·LUG 'AT tamurluγ ät “Flesh which has veins and sinews (*ḏū 'urūq wa-a'ṣāb*).” 0 tamurluγ

:: QUBZLIΓ KIŠY qopuzluγ kiši “One who has a lute (*ḏū 'ūd wa-mizhar*).” 0 qopuzluγ

- QUTUZLUĠ 'AR' qotuzluġ är "A man who owns a wild ox (*yak*) (*ṣāḥib baqar al-waḥš*)."
 SAĠIZLIĠ 'AR' sayizliġ är "One who has chewing gum (*dū 'ilk yumḍayru*)."
 LIĠ YĠR' sayizliġ yēr "Ground having pure clay (*dāt ṭīna ḥurra*)."
 SAQIZLIĠ TVN saqizliġ tōn "A garment with something viscous stuck to it (*fīhi ta'alluq al-luzūjāt*)."
 QAMIŠ'LIĠ YIYR' qamišliġ yēr "A canebrake or reed-bed (*maqšaba*)."
 TABUĠ'LUĠ 'AR' tapuyluġ är "A man of inveterate service (*dū xidma qadīma*)."
 QABUĠ'LUĠ 'AW' qapuyluġ äw "A house with a door (*dū bāb*)."
 TATIĠ'LIĠ NA'NK tatiyliġ nāṅ "Something tasty (*ladīd*)."
 LIĠ tātīyliġ. Its root-form is: TA'TI'Ġ'LIĠ tātīyliġ.
 TUTUĠ'LUĠ YIYR' tutuyluġ yēr "A land haunted by jinn who injure anyone that passes through (*majanna* [defined])."
 TIDIĠ'LIĠ NA'NK tiḍiyliġ nāṅ "Something to which access is prevented (*mamnū' 'an al-wuṣūl ilayhi*)."
 :: QIDIĠ'LIĠ BUR'K' qiḍiyliġ börk "A cap with a brim sewn on (*dāt ḥitār muxayyat*)."
 QUḌUĠ'LUĠ 'AW' quḍuyluġ äw "A house with a well (*bi'r*)."
 TARIĠ'LA'Ġ tariylāy "A sown field (*mazra'a*)."
 TURUĠ'LA'Ġ YĠR turuylāy yēr "Place of residence (*mawḍi' al-iqāma*)."
 TARIĠ'LIĠ YIYR tariyliġ yēr "Land that is seeded (*dāt zar'*)"; also, "granary (*hurī*)."
 SARIĠ'LF 'AR' sariyliġ ar "A bilious (*mamrūr*) man."
 QURUĠ'LUĠ YA' quruyluġ ya "A strung (*muwattar*) bow."
 BUSUĠ'LUĠ YAĠY busuyluġ yaġi "The enemy in ambush (*dū l-kamīn*)."
 QABIQ'LIĠ QIYZ' qapaqliġ qīz "A virgin (*'adrā*)."
 QAIT'VIQ'LI'Ġ¹ 'AR' qatiqliġ är "A man who is a mongrel or half-breed (*hajīn*)"; also, "one who has a condiment with which to season his food (*lahu idām yu'tadamu bihi*)."
 BARAQ'LIĠ KIŠY baraqliġ kiši "A man who has a shaggy dog (*dū kalb ahlab*)."

248 1. Final *sukūn* (◌) changed from U (originally QITUQLUĠ?).

JARUQLUḤ 'AR' čaruqluy är "A man with sandals (*muḥtaḍī*)." JARUQLIḤ čaruqluy čaruqluy
A clan of Oγuz. 0 N

QARAQ'LIF' qaraqliḡ "Any animal which has an eyeball (*lahu muqla*)." :: QARAQ'-SIYZ' TAK KUḠIR'VR'² qaraqsiḡ tæg körür "He blinks (*yataγāmazu*) in battle, etc., as though he does not recognize³" qaraqliḡ

[I. 411/497]

249

the combatants and their outfits."

QASUQLUḤ 'AR' qasuqluy är "A man who has a skin of koumiss (*lahu rāwiya al-āmiṣ*)." 0 qasuqluy

QUSIQ'LIḤ 'AR' qusiqliḡ är "A man who has hazels (*ḍū jillawz*)." 0 qusiqliḡ

:: BAŠAQ'LIḤ SUNKV bašaqliḡ sünḡi "A pointed (*ḍāt sinān*) spear." Also, an arrow if it has an arrowhead (*ḍū naṣl*). 0 bašaqliḡ

:: TAŠAQ'LIḤ 'AR' tašaqliḡ är "A man with testicles (*ḍū xuṣya*)." 0 tašaqliḡ

QAŠUQLUḤ 'AY'Q qašuqluy ayāq "A bowl with a spoon (*ḍāt mil'aqa*)." qašuqluy

BUQUQ'LUḤ 'AR' boquqluy är "A man with goiter (*ḍū ḥawṣala*)." 0 boquqluy

TAQUQLUḤ 'AR' taquqluy är "A man who has chickens (*ḍū dajāj*)." Oγuz dialect. taquqluy
D

SUQAQ'LIḤ TA'Ḥ suqaqliḡ tāγ "A mountain overrun with antelope (*ḍū 'ufr min az-zibā*)." 0 suqaqliḡ

BALIQLIḤ 'UKUZ baliqliḡ ögüz "A river with fish (*ḍū samak*)." Also, land that has mud (*fihā waḥl*), in Arγu dialect. 0 baliqliḡ
D

:: QULA'Q'LIḤ NA'NK qulāqliḡ nāḡ "A thing with an ear (*ḍū uḍun*)." 0 qulāqliḡ

QUNUQLUḤ 'AW qonuqluy äw "A house with guests (*ḍū aḍyāf*)." 0 qonuqluy

TURUM'LUḤ 'AR' torumluy är "A man who has a newborn camel (*lahu ibn maxād*)." 0 torumluy

QURUMLUḤ TA'Ḥ qorumluy tāγ "A rocky (*ḍū janādil*) mountain." 0 qorumluy

TULUM'LUḤ 'AR' tulumluy är "An armed man (*mudajjaj*)." Verse: tulumluy

2. First *sukūn* (') changed from U.

3. *lā yadrī*; corrected, below the line, to *lā yarā*, "does not see" (later hand).

'UNKDUN NALK YALWARMADINK QAJ QATA' BIR·DINK TAW'R
 TULUMLUḠ BULUB·QATIN·DINK QA'NIK 'AMDY YIYR·SUWA'R
 öñdün nälük yalwarmadıñ qaç qata berdiñ tawār
 tulumluḡ bolup qatindiñ qānig amdi yēr suwār

V

“Why did you not beg mercy before you paid the tax several times? Now that you are armed you are stubborn. (Go back to paying the tax; if not,) your blood will water the ground.” 0

TABAN·LIḠ TAWAY tabanliḡ tewe “A camel with hooves (*dāt al-xuff*).” 0 tabanliḡ

TUBUN·LUḠ TARIḠ topunluḡ tariḡ “A corn stalk with knobs (*al-burr dū l-ku'-bura*).” 0 topunluḡ

:: BUDUNLUḠ BUQUNLUḠ KIŞY bodunluḡ boqunluḡ kişi “One who has kinsmen (*dū raḥṭ wa-'ašīra*).” 0 bodunluḡ
 boqunluḡ

:: BAQANLIḠ QADIŞ· baqanliḡ qaḍiḡ “A strap with a ring (*dū ḥalqa*).” 0 baqanliḡ

BADUK QARINLIḠ 'AR· bādük qarınliḡ är “A potbellied (*baṭīn*) man.” 0 qarınliḡ

QURUN·LUḠ 'AW· qurunluḡ äw “A house blackened with soot (*muswadd min ad-duxān al-mutarākim*).” 0 qurunluḡ

SAGIN·LIḠ 'AR· sayinliḡ är “A man who has milch-ewes (*dū ḥalā'ib*).” 0 sayinliḡ

:: SUḠUNLUḠ TA'Ḡ· soḡunluḡ tāḡ “A mountain overgrown with wild onions (*dū 'unṣul*).” 0 soḡunluḡ

:: SAMAN·LIḠ 'AR· samanliḡ är “A man who has straw (*dū tibn*).” 0 samanliḡ

QAIḠUNLUḠ 'AR· qayunluḡ är “A man who has a melon (*dū baṭṭīx*).” 0 qayunluḡ

QUQUN·LUḠ 'UVT qoqunluḡ öt “A fire with sparks (*dāt šarara*).” 0 qoqunluḡ

[I. 413/500]

250

QULUNLUḠ QIS·RA'Q qulunluḡ qisrāq “A mare with her foal following her (*mutliya qulunluḡ* [defined]).”

The principle is that : LIḠ·liḡ added to these nouns denotes the owner (*ṣāḥib*) of the object named; or else the passive participle (*maf'ūl*), which then takes on a variety of nuances that cannot be known in advance; 0 or again, it may indicate nouns of place. The first of these usages is illustrated in the phrase: BADUK QARINLIḠ 'AR· bādük qarınliḡ är meaning “a potbellied (*baṭīn*) man, one who possesses a large belly (*dū baṭn 'aṣīm*)”; also in: SAMNLIḠ 'AR· samanliḡ är meaning “a man who owns some straw (*dū tibn*).” The second is illustrated in the phrase: SARIḠLIḠ 'AR· sariḡliḡ är meaning “A bilious (*mamrūr*) man”; 0 also in: QURQLUḠ YA' quruqluḡ ya meaning “a strung (*muwattar*) bow.” The third is illustrated in the phrase: TARIḠLA'Ḡ tariḡlāḡ for “sown field (*mazra'a*)”; and in: TURḠL'Ḡ turuḡlāḡ for “place of residence (*mawḍi' al-iqāma*).”

G

Know that most of the words in the quinquiliteral chapter are compounds made from simple trilateral roots.

The suffix with *ḡayn* has a different connotation from that with *qāf*. The *ḡayn*¹ is used as I have just shown. The *qāf*² is only used for locations (*talzamu l-amākin*). Example :: TARIḠ-LIḠ 'AW *tariḡliḡ äw* means "a house having corn (*ḡū ḡinṭa*)," 0 but: TARIḠ-LIḠ [sic] *tariḡliḡ* is "a granary (*ḡuri*)." 0 QURḠ-LUḠ YA' *quruḡluḡ ya* is "a strung (*muwattar*) bow," 0 and QURḠ-LUḠ [sic] *quruḡluḡ* is "a bowcase (*miqwas*)." 0 This is what obliged me to mention several of them, so that they might be known.

In writing the word you may separate the *lām* and *ḡayn* as long as they are not part of the basic noun. For example, in the phrase: BALIḠ-LIḠ 'UKUZ *baliḡliḡ öḡüz* you may separate the: BALIḠ *baliḡ* from the: LIḠ *liḡ*. 0 [Another examples:] BARAḠ-LIḠ 'AR' *baraḡ liḡ är* "a man who has a shaggy dog (*ḡū l-kalb al-ahlab*)." However, the system employed in this book (? *ḡāḡihi l-jiha*) is better, since it serves for conciseness, both in the patterning (*mizān*) and in the transcription (*kitba*).

Q

BURNDUQ *burunduq* "Halter or nose-rope (*zimām*)." 0 *burunduq*

BASINJAQ 'AR' *basinḡaq är* "An oppressed (*mustaḡ'af*) man." 0 *basinḡaq*

SÄIḠIR-JIQ *siḡirḡiq* "Starling (*ṭayḡūj*)." 0 *siḡirḡiq*

QABIR-JA'Q³ *quburḡāq* "A wooden case (*tābūt*)." It is usually used to mean "coffin *quburḡāq* (*tābūt al-mayyit*)." 0

QUḌUR-JUQ *qoḡurḡuq* [Doll] (*al-kīd* [?])⁴ They are figures (*tamāṭīl*) which little *qoḡurḡuq* girls make⁵ to play with, in the shape of people. 0

QARINJAQ *qarinḡaq* "Ant (*naml*)." Oḡuz dialect. *qarinḡaq D*

[I. 415/501] 251

They also say: QARIN-JA' *qarinḡa* [608]. 0

?ḠRJAQ *baḡirḡaq* "Pack-saddle (*akāf*) for asses." *baḡirḡaq*

250 1. MS. *qāf*.

2. MS. *ḡayn*.

3. Altered from QUBURJA'Q.

4. Possibly to be read *al-libd* ("felt") or, perhaps, *al-lu'ab* ("dolls").

5. MS. *tatḡduḡ*, read *tattaxiḡduḡ*.

TULAR·SUQ ¹	tolarsuq (?) “Heel (<i>‘aqib</i>),” usually of an animal.	0	tolarsuq ?
BAĠIR·SAQ KIŠY	bayirsaq kiši “A compassionate, kindly (<i>‘aṭūf ḥaḥfi</i>) person.”	0	bayirsaq
BAĠIRSUQ	bayirsuq “Intestines (<i>mi‘ā</i>).”	0	bayirsuq
BAĠIR·DAQ	bayirdaq “A woman’s bodice (<i>šudra al-mar’a</i>).”	0	bayirdaq
QURUĠ·SAQ	quruysaq “Stomach (<i>ma‘ida</i>).” “A bird’s gizzard (<i>qāniša aṭ-ṭayr</i>)” is also		quruysaq
called: QURUĠ·SA’Q	quruysāq.	0	
BUTURĠA’Q	buturyāq [Burr] “A thorn (<i>šawk</i>) shaped like a pistachio, with hooks		buturyāq
	that catch on clothing, etc.”	0	
TABUZ·ĠUQ	tapuzyuq “Riddle (<i>alγūza</i>).”	0	tapuzyuq
TUBUL·ĠA’Q	topulyāq “Sedge (<i>su‘d</i>).”		topulyāq
TUBLĠA’Q	topulyāq “Colic (<i>qūlanj</i>).”	0	topulyāq
SIDIR·ĠA’Q	sidiryāq “Cloven hoof (<i>zīlf</i>).”	0	sidiryāq
QUDR·ĠA’Q	qudurāq “One of the two tails of a gown (<i>aḥad ḍaylay al-qabā’ xalfan</i>).”		qudurāq
0			
QADIZ·ĠA’Q	qadizyāq “A blister (<i>majl</i>) on the hand, from working.”	0	qadizyāq
BADIJ·LIQ YĠA’J	badičliq yiyāč “A piece of wood to make into a vine trellis (<i>‘ariš</i>		badičliq
<i>al-karm</i>).”		0	
J [?] AJLAQ	čanačliq “Awkwardness, effeminacy (<i>xurq, taxnīṭ</i>).”	0	čanačliq
BAĠIR·LAQ	bayirraq “Sandgrouse (<i>qaṭāt</i>).”		bayirraq
TAWAR·LUQ	tawarluq “Pantry (<i>xizāna</i>).”	0	tawarluq
TURUQ·LUQ	turuqluq “Emaciation (<i>huzāl</i>).”	0	turuqluq
TARIĠ·LIQ	tariyliq “Granary (<i>hurī</i>).”		tariyliq
JUBULMAQ	čubulmaq (?) “Dried apple (<i>faliq at-tuffāḥ</i>).”	Utluq ² dialect.	čubulmaq ?
		0	D
JUMUŠLUQ	čomušluq “Privy (<i>kanīf</i>).”		čomušluq
JARUQLUQ	čaruqluq “A strip of leather to be made into sandals (<i>u’idda . . . li-l-ḥidā</i>).”		čaruqluq
0			

251 1. First *sukūn*([·]) changed from U; originally TLURSUQ.

2. Spelled ’TLIQ – see 62, n. 1.

TANUQLUQ tanuqluq	“Testimony (<i>ṣahāda</i>).” 0	tanuqluq
TUḠA’Q·LIQ tuḡāqliq	“A piece of wood to be made into a strainer (<i>fidām</i>).” 0	tuḡāqliq
SATIḠLIQ NA’NK satiqliq nāḡ	“Something ready for sale (<i>mu’add li-l-bay’</i>).” 0	satiqliq
SARIḠLIQ ³ sariqliq	“Yellowness (<i>ṣufra</i>)” of things. 0	sariqliq
SIRUQLUQ· YIḠA’J· siruqluq yiyāč	“A piece of wood to be made into a tent pole (<i>ṣaqb</i>).” 0	siruqluq
SUḠIQLIQ NA’NK soḡiqliq nāḡ	“Anything prepared for the cold (<i>mu’add li-l-burūda</i>).” 0	soḡiqliq
QBAQLQ qabaqliq	“A squash patch (<i>manbit al-qar’</i>).” 0	qabaqliq
QAḌAŠ·LIQ ³ qaḍašliq	“Brotherhood, kinship (<i>uxuwwa, qarāba</i>).” 0	qaḍašliq
QURUḠ·LUQ quruḡluq	“Dryness (<i>jafāf</i>)” of a thing. 0	quruḡluq
QRUḠLQ quruḡluq	“Bowcase (<i>miqwas</i>).” Thus :: KYŠ QRUḠLUQ kēš quruḡluq “Quiver and bowcase.”	
QAŠIQLIḠQ· MUNKUZ· qašuqluq münüz	“A horn to be made into a spoon (<i>mil’aqa</i>).” 0	qašuqluq
SARAN·LIQ saranliq	“Miserliness (<i>buxl</i>).”	Verse: saranliq
	NAKIN TUTAR BAK·LAYUV ’UVZY Y?MA’S SARANLIQIN· SIḠ·TAYUV ³ ’ALTUN· YIḠ·R ³ nāgin tutar bāklāyü özi yēmās saranliqin siḡtayu altun yiyār	V
Describing human nature:		
[I. 416/504]		252
“Man hoards up his wealth and holds on to it tightly, crying over it out of miserliness, while he piles up gold; then he leaves it to someone else!” 0		
[He holds tight to his wealth and does not eat Crying because of miserliness, he piles up gold.]		
QAIḠUNLUQ qaḡunluq	“Melon patch (<i>mabṭaxa</i>).” 0	qaḡunluq

QUNQLUQ 'AV' qonuqluq äv "Guest house (*bayt ad-diyāfa*)." 0 qonuqluq

TAFUZMQ 'AR' taγuzmaq är "A short and stout (*b uḥtur qaṣīr*) man." There is also a taγuzmaq variant with qāf [i.e. taquzmaq]. Also for other things. 0 (taquzmaq

MUFUZ'FAQ muγuzyaq "A fly (*dubāb*) that resembles the bee (*naḥl*)." Arγu dialect. muγuzyaq

This suffix has five usages: (1) To form a noun in the meaning of a verbal noun (*maṣdar*). Example: U'ULUFLUQ uluyluq "Deeming oneself great (*kibriyā'*)," derived from : 'ULFA'D'-TIY ulyāḍti meaning "he became great (*kabura*)"; :: QURUFLUQ quruyluq "Dryness (*jafāf*)," derived from: QURINDIY NA'NK qurindi nān meaning "the thing dried (*jaffa*)." (2) To form a noun denoting that one thing has been prepared (*mu'add*), or is in store (*muddaxar*), for something else. Example: SURUQ'LUQ YIΓA'J siruqluq yiyāč "a piece of wood prepared to be made into a tent pole (*mu'add li-yuttaxada minhu ṣ-ṣaqb*)"; :: TUQA'Q'LIQ [sic] YIΓA'J toyāqliq yiyāč "A piece of wood in store to be made a strainer." (3) To form a noun denoting the place where something grows. Example: QABAFLIQ [sic] qabaqliq "squash patch (*manbit al-qar'*)"; 0 QAFUNLUQ qaγunluq "melon patch." (4) To form a simple noun, unconnected with these other meanings. Example: BAΓIR'LAQ baγirilaq "sandgrouse (*qaṭāt*)"; SIFIRJUQ siyirčūq "starling (*ṭayhūj*)." This is a guide to form words which are not enumerated. They follow the explanation given here. If you regard the matter from this point of view you will find nothing that deviates from the rule. (5) to form a verbal noun (*maṣdar*). Example: TURUQ'LUQ turuqluq "Emaciation (*huzāl*)."

K

KIRIT'LK kiritlik "Lock (*γalaq*)." KRIT'LK QABUΓ kiritlig qapuy "A locked (*muγ-laq*) door." kiritlik kiritlig

KUZAT'LIK NA'NK közätlig nān "Something preserved (*maḥfūz*)." 0 közätlig

JUKUT'LUK' čökütlik "Shortness of stature (*qaṣr al-juṭṭa*)." 0 čökütlik

SUKUT'LUK' sögütlik "Willow orchard (*manbat ṣajar al-xilāf*)," with the hard kāf. The owner (*ṣāḥibuhu*) would be with the thin kāf [sögütlik]. 0 sögütlik (sögütlik)

KUZJ'LUK'

[I. 418/506]

253

TITIK küzäčlik titig "Clay to be made into a pot (*bastūqa*)." The owner would be with the thin kāf [küzäčlig]. 0 küzäčlik (küzäčlig)

TAMURLK tämürlük "The place where iron ore is smelted (*al-mawḍi' alladī yuḍābu fihi ḥijāra al-ḥadīd wa-yuxallaṣu minhā l-ḥadīd*)." The owner would be with the thin kāf [tämürlük]. 0 tämürlük (tämürlük)

KMURLK kömürlük "A tree, or a place, for charcoal (*ṣajar al-faḥm wa-mawḍi' al-faḥm*)." The owner would be with the thin kāf [kömürlük]. 0 kömürlük (kömürlük)

TABIZ'LIK *tāpizlik* "Envy (*ḥasad*)." Thus :: 'NIK TBZLIKY KIM·KA' TAL·QA'R' *tāpizlik*
 anig *tāpizliki kimkā talqār* "To whom does his envy do harm?" 0

TTIZLIK *titizlik* "Bitterness (*'afūṣa*)," as with the taste of myrobalan. *titizlik*

BUŠINJAK *būšinčāk* "A cluster of grapes (*'unqūd al-'inab*)." Känčāk dialect. 0 *būšinčāk* D

TKIRMAK *tāgirmāk* "Camel litter (*hawdaj*)." The Oğuz sometimes call it: 'UKUR·
 MAK *ügürmāk*. *tāgirmāk*
 (ügürmāk
 D)

ŠAKIRTUK' *šäkirtük* "Pistachio (*fustuq*)." 0 *šäkirtük*

KABAZLK *kābāzlik* "Cotton field (*maqṭana*)." To describe the person you say: KBAZ-
 LK 'AR' *kābāzlig är* meaning "A man who has cotton (*dū quṭn*)." 0 *kābāzlik*
kābāzlig

BAĐIZ'LIK 'AW *bādizlig äw* "An ornamented (*muzaxraf*) house." 0 *bādizlig*

KIĐIZ'LIK YUVNK *kiđizlik yūñ* "Wool prepared for making felt (*libd*)." The owner
 would be with the thin *kāf* [*kiđizlig*]. 0 *kiđizlik*
 (*kiđizlig*)

TAKUZLK *tögüzlük* "A horse's having a blaze (*kawn al-faras aḡarr*)." Proverb: 'AT'
 TAKUZLKY 'ĀY· BUL·M'S at *tögüzlüki äy bolmās* 0 "The horse's blaze is not (a substitute
 for) the moon." This is coined when one wishes something small to take the place of something
 big. 0 *tögüzlük*
 P

SAMIZ'LIK *sämizlik* "Fatness (*siman*)." 0 *sämizlik*

KUWAZ'LIK *küwāzlik* "Insolence (*baṭar*)." Verse: *küwāzlik*

'ŠTIB· 'TA' 'NA'NK NIK SAWLARNY QADIR·MA' *V*
 NANK· QUB· BULUB· KUWAZ'LIK QILNB· YAN' QUTURMA'
eštīp ata anāñnig sawlarini qadirma
nāñ qut bulup küwāzlik qilnīp yana quturma

"When you hear the words of your parents do not turn (their words against them); when you find
 wealth and fortune¹ (do not boast) nor let insolence seize hold of you and do not overstep your
 limit." 0

JAJAKLK *čečäklik* Name for "a place where flowers grow (*mawḍi' yanbut fihi z-zahr*)." *čečäklik*
 0

KABAKLK *kāpāklik* "The place where bran is made (*al-mawḍi' allađi yuj'alu fihi n-*
nuxāla)." The owner would be with the thin *kāf* [*kāpāklig*]. *kāpāklik*
 (*kāpāklig*)

TUWAK·LIK **tüwäklik** “A branch that is to be made into a blowgun (*mā kāna min al-ğuşn mu‘add li-yuttaxađa minhu marmā l-banādiq*)” **tüwäklik**

[I. 419/508]

254

bi-n-nafas) for shooting at small birds.”

BTIK·LIK· N'NK **bitiglik nāñ** “Something suitable to be written upon (*mu‘add li-yuktaba ‘alayhi*).” The owner would be with the thin *kāf* [**bitiglik**]. 0 **bitiglik (bitiglik)**

KADUKLK KIDIZ· **kädüklük kiđiz** “Felt which has been prepared for making a raincoat (*mimřar*).” The owner would be with the thin *kāf* [**kädüklüg**]. **kädüklük (kädüklüg)**

:: 'YŠLIF KUDKLIK 'AR· **ĩšliγ köđüglüg är** “A man who has toil and trouble (*đū řuγl wa-‘amal*).” One does not say: KUDKLIK **köđüglüg** alone. **köđüglüg**

TIRAIKLIK **teräklik** “A poplar orchard (*manbit al-řawr*).” The owner would be with the thin *kāf* [**teräklig**]. 0 **teräklik (teräklig)**

:: BUV NA'NK· 'UL BIZK' KARAKLK **bu nāñ ol bizkä kāräklig** “This is something that is necessary (*yanbayi*) for us.” 0 **kāräklig**

BAŠIK·LIK 'URA'UT **beşiklig urāγut** “A woman who has (a baby and) a cradle (*đāt rađi' wa-mahd*).” 0 **beşiklig**

TUŠAK·LIK BAR·JIN **töšäklük barčin** “Brocade (or other) to be made into bedding (*firāř*).” The owner would be with the thin *kāf* – I mean the owner of the bedding [**töšäklüg**]. 0 **töšäklük (töšäklüg)**

:: KUŠIK·LIK· YZR· **köşiklig yēr** “A shaded (*muřallal*) place.” **köşiklig**

TIKIKLK TUVN **tikiglig tōn** “A sewn (*muxayyař*) garment.” 0 **tikiglig**

TUKKLIK TARIĠ **töküklüg tariγ** “Poured (*mařbüb*)¹ wheat,” or other. **töküklüg**

:: KVJ·LK BİLAK·LIK KŠY **küčlüg biläklüg kiři** “A person with a strong arm (*qawi đū sā'id*).” 0 **biläklüg**

“One who is knowing, intelligent, and wise (*‘ālim ‘āqil řakīm*)” is called: BLIKLK KŠY **biliglig kiři**.

BALIK·LK KBA'Z **biliklik kábāz** “A piece of cotton to be made into a wick (*quřna mu‘adda li-l-fatīla*).” 0 **biliklik**

KULUK·LK 'AR· **kölüklüg är** “A man who has a beast of burden (*lahu řamūla wa-řahr*).” 0 **kölüklüg**

KULIKLIK YYR' köliklig yēr "A shaded (*muḏallal*) place." 0

köliklig

BURN'JUK bürinčük "A woman's veil (*ximār al-mar'a*)."

bürinčük

BILIN'JAK' NA'NK bilinčäk nāḅ The name for "anything stolen (*masrūq*) which is later found in the hands of the stealer or of someone else." Thus :: BILIN'JAK' B'ŠIL'DY bilinčäk bildi "He recognized² the stolen article in the hands of the stealer." 0

bilinčäk

TARINJAK tärinčäk "A thin cloak (*rayṭa*)."³ Oğuz dialect.

tärinčäk D

This suffix has five usages:

G

(1) To form a noun denoting the place where something grows. Example: SUKUT'LUK sögütlik "willow orchard (*manbit al-xilāf*)."⁴ Or denoting the place where something is put. Example: KABAK'LIK kapaklik "A place for bran (*mawḏi' an-nuxāla*)."

(2) To form a noun denoting that something has been prepared (*udduxira*) to be made into the thing mentioned. Example: TUŠAK'LIK BAR'JIN' tōšaklik barčīn

[I. 421/511]

255

"brocade prepared for making bedding"; :: BUV YFA'J 'UL QABU'QA' TIRAK'LIK bu yiḡāč ol qapuyqa tiräklik "This is a piece of wood that is to be made into the bar of a gate (*mu'add li-lizāz al-bāb*)."⁵ 0

(3) To form a noun denoting abstract verbal nouns (*bi-ma'nā l-mašdar fī ṭ-ṭabāyi'*). 0 Example: KUWAZLK küwäzlik "insolence (*baṭar*)"; YKITLIK yigitlik "youth (*šabāb*)."

If the word falls in one of these three categories it has the strong, genuine *kāf*, no other, in all dialects.

(4) To form a noun denoting the owner of the thing named. Example: BILAK'LIK 'AR' biläklik är "A strong-armed (*ḏū sā'id qawī*) man"; :: BITK'LIK 'AR' bitiglig är "A man who has an amulet (*ḏū ruq'a*)."⁶ This corresponds to the Arabic pattern in: *rajul tāmīr wa-lābin* ("a man be-dated and be-milked)."⁷ 0

(5) To form a noun denoting the passive participle. Example :: BLIK KIŠY 'ARA' 'ULK'LK 'UL bilig kiši ara ülüglüg ol "Intelligence is divided (*maqsūm*) among people"; 0 :: TUŠAK'LIK TUŠA'K tōšaklig tōšäk "bedding that is spread out (*mafrūš*)."⁸ 0

If it is in one of these two categories it has the thin *kāf*, no other.

All these words are composed of simple trilateral nouns plus the suffix, with the hard or thin *kāf*, in this chapter, or with the *qāf* in the last section, with the meanings that I have mentioned.

2. 'arifa wa-wajida; perhaps wajada "He found," thus buldi.

As for quadrilaterals and quinquilaterals, etc., beyond the simple stem, in the sound pattern, one adds the *lām* and *qāf* to those roots of the *qāf* or *išbā'* variety, but *kāf* to those roots of the *kāf* or *rikka* variety, in all of the five meanings. This rule holds in all cases, without any exception in any of the dialects.

Chapter: *fa'allān*,¹ second radical vowelless, third unvowelless

J

BAL'IQ'JIN **baliqč̄in** Name of a white bird which hunts fish and is called "heron (*mālik al-ḥaz̄in*)." **baliqč̄in**

D

JUFUR'DA'N **čuyurdān** **čuyurdān**
[I. 423/512] **256**

"water-bank or cliff (*juruf*)."

Z¹

QURΓŽIYN **qoruyž̄in** "Lead (*usruf*)," with *zāy* between the two points of articulation. **qoruyž̄in**
The Oğuz drop several letters and say: QUŠUVN' **qušūn**. (**qušūn D**)

S

BUDUR'SIYN **budurs̄in** "Quail (*salwā*)."
Verse: **budurs̄in**

'UZUM MANIK BUDUR'SIYN' **özüm mänig budurs̄in** V
'UVTIY 'ANIK JAQ'LANUVR **ōti anig čaqlanūr**

0 Describing his love: "My soul is (like) a quail (*summānā*), tossing and turning over the fire of (love for) him." 0

Γ²

TWIŠΓ'N **tawišyān** "Rabbit (*arnab*)."
0 TWIŠΓ'N YLY **tawišyān yili** One of the **tawišyān**
twelve years in Turkic. 0

TAWUŠΓ'N 'UKUZ' **tawišyān ögüz** Name of a river which flows by the city of Uč. 0 N

255 1. MS. *fa'lalān*.

256 1. MS. R.

2. MS. ' (*ayn*).

:: BUV 'IT' 'UL KIŠIY K' JABIT'ΓA'N bu it ol kišikā čapityān “This is a dog which always attacks (*abadan yaḥmilu 'alā*) a person (to bite him).” JABIT'ΓA'N 'AR' čapityān är “One who strikes necks (*ḍarrāb li-l-a'nāq*),” in Uighur dialect. 0 čapityān D

:: BUV 'AT' 'UL QUD'RUQ SABIT'ΓA'N bu at ol quḍruq sapityān “This is a horse which always moves (*abadan yuḥarriku*) its tail.” Also of a dog who wags (*tabaṣbaṣa*) his tail when he wants some bread or when he sees his people and fawns on them. 0 sapityān

QAḌIT'ΓA'N 'AR' qaḍityān är “A man who obeys no one (*lā yanqādu li-aḥad*).” The same for an animal that is refractory (*ḥarūn*). 0 qaḍityān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TALIM TARIḪ TARIT'ΓA'N bu är ol tālim tariḫ tarityān “This is a man who often has his fields sown (*kaṭīran mā ya'muru bi-z-zirā'a*).” 0 tarityān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TALIM 'UZUM' QURIT'ΓA'N bu är ol tālim üzüm qurityān “This is a man who often dries (*kaṭīran mā yujaffifu*) grapes (or other).” 0 qurityān

:: BUV 'AT' 'UL TALIM TUB'RA'Q' TUZIT'ΓA'N bu at ol tālim topraq tozityān “This is a horse that often raises dust (*kaṭīran mā yuhayyiju l-ḡubār wa-yuṭīruhā*).” tozityān

:: BUV 'UT' 'UL QARIN' BUḂŠUT'ΓA'N bu ot ol qarın bošutyān “This is a medicine which relaxes (*yushilu*) the bowels.” The same for anything that often weakens something strong by loosening (*yuhīnu quwwa aš-šay' bi-l-ḥall*). 0 bošutyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'AWINK' TALIM TAWA'R' TAŠIT'ΓA'N bu är ol äwiñä tālim tawār tašityān “This is a man who often has goods conveyed (*naql*) to his house (or other).” 0 tašityān

:: BUV 'UVT' 'UL 'AŠYJ TAŠIT'ΓA'N bu öt ol ešič tašityān “This is a fire that makes the kettle overflow (*mufawwira*).” 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'L 'ATIN QAŠIT'ΓA'N bu är ol ätin qašityān “This is a man who often has his body scratched (*ḥakk*).” 0 qašityān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL MANY TUVT'JIY QAQIT'ΓA'N bu är ol mäni tütči qaqityān qaqityān

[I. 424/515]

257

“This is a man who always rouses my anger and annoyance (*abadan yūqi'uni fi l-ḡaḍab wa-ḍ-ḍajar*).” 0

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'ATIN TALIM QALIT'ΓA'N bu är ol atin tālim qalityān “This is a man who always makes his horse jump (*yuwaṭṭibu*).” 0 qalityān

:: BUV KUN 'UL KUVZ QAMAT'ΓA'N bu kün ol kōz qamatyān “This is a sun which is dazzling (*muḥayyira*) to the eye.” 0 qamatyān

:: 'UḒUL' MANIY 'AWK' QUMIT'ΓA'N 'L oḡul mäni äwkä qomityān ol “My son makes me long (*mušawwiq*) for home (or other) always.” 0 qomityān

:: BUV 'UT' 'UL BURUN' QANAT'ΓA'N bu ot ol burun qanatγān “This is a medicine which always makes the nose bleed (*mura*“if”).” qanatγān

:: 'UK'DIY 'UL 'ARIK QANIT'ΓA'N ögdi ol ärig qanitγān “Praise ever gladdens (*mu-hizza abad^{an}*) a man.” 0 qanitγān

:: BUV KIŠY 'UL SUVZ BATUR'ΓA'N bu kiši ol sōz baturγān “This is a man who is in the habit of keeping a secret (*min* ‘*adatihī kitmān al-kalām*), etc.’” 0 baturγān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'AŠ' TATUR'ΓA'N bu är ol aš taturγān “This is a man who habitually feeds (*min* ‘*adatihī idāqa aṭ-ṭa'ām*) (guests, or others).” Verse [cf. 306 qatar-]; taturγān

'AR'DIY 'AŠIN TATUR'ΓA'N
YAWLAQ YAΓIΓ QAJUR'ΓA'N
'UΓRAQ SUVSIN QAY'TAR'ΓA'N
BAS'TIY 'ULM 'AX'TARUV

ärdi ašin taturγān
yawlaq yayıγ qačurγān
oγraq süsin qaytarγān
basti ölüm axtaru

V

Eulogizing a man: “He was a feeder (*miṭ'ām*) of guests, a repeller of enemies, one who used to drive back the army of Oγraq (by his firmness), till death brought him down.” 0

TUBR'ΓA'N YYR' topurγān yēr “Soft bare ground from which the dust rises when it is trod (*layna, baṭna* [defined]).” 0 topurγān

SUBUZ'ΓA'N [sic] suburγān “Sepulchral vault (*nāwūs*); tombs of the infidels (*maqābir al-kafara*).” Proverb: SUBUZ'ΓA'N DA' 'AV' BULM'S TUBR'ΓA'N DA' 'AW BULM'S suburγānda äv bolmās topurγānda aw bolmās “There is no house (for the living) in old tombs (*maqābir qadīma*); (similarly) game does not inhabit bare ground (*baṭina*)” – it only frequents places where there are water and vegetation. 0 suburγān P

QABAR'ΓA'N qaparyān “A pustule (*baṭra*) that appears on the body, with itching and fever.” qaparyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'KUŠ QATUR'ΓA'N bu är ol üküš qaturγān “This is a man who is very jovial (*kaṭir ač-ḍahk wa-s-surūr wa-l-faxr*).” qaturγān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TA'ŠIΓ YYR' DAN QUBUR'ΓA'N bu är ol tāšiy yērdän qopurγān qopurγān “This is a man who quarries (*qallā'*) rocks from the earth.” Also of other things.

::

[I. 426/517]

258

BUV 'AR' 'UL 'AJIΓ TUDUR'ΓA'N bu är ol äčiy tođurγān “This is a man who fills (*mušabbī'*) the hungry always.” Its root-form is: TUD'ΓUR'ΓA'N tođurγān. tođurγān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL SIDRIM' SIDIR'ΓA'N bu är ol sidrim sidiryān “This is a man who is always cutting strips of leather from a hide and peeling off the hair (*yattaxidu l-qidd wa-yaqud-duhu min al-jild wa-yaqšuru 'anhu š-ša'r*).” The same for anyone who is characterized by peeling (*qašr*) something. 0 sidiryān

:: BUV 'AL·B· 'UL YAḠIYNY QAY·TAR·GA'N¹ bu alp ol yaḡini qatarḡān “This is a warrior who always drives back the enemy batallion (*yaruddu l-xamīs abadan*).” 0 qatarḡān

:: BUV 'AR· 'UL QUNUQ·NIY QAJUR·GA'N bu är ol qonuqni qačuryān “This is a man who always drives away (*tarrād naffār*) guests (or other).” qačuryān

:: BUV 'AR· 'UL KŠIYK'(Y)² QJUR·GA'N bu är ol kišikā qičuryān “This is a man who, when he sees someone alighting at his place, always becomes ill-mannered and condescending (*yasū'u xuluquhu wa-yubayyimu min nafsihi l-kibr wa-l-faxr dā'imān*).” qičuryān

:: BUV 'AR· 'UL 'ARAN BUY·NIN QAḌIRĠ'N bu är ol ärān boynin qaḍirḡān “This is a man who always bends (*yalwī*) men's necks.” 0 qaḍirḡān

:: BUV 'UVT 'UL 'IŠYJ TAŠUR·GA'N bu ot ol ešič tašuryān “This is a fire that makes the kettle overflow (*mufawwira*).” The same for a torrent that always causes the cistern to overflow and disperse (*afāḍa mā' al-ḥawḍ wa-hazamahu abadan*). 0 tašuryān

QAQUR·GA'N [sic] qaḡuryān A bread that is kneaded with butter and cooked in the oven. 0 qaḡuryān

:: BUV BILA'ZUK 'UL BILAK QAWUR·GA'N bu bilāzük ol biläk qawuryān “This is a bracelet that always squeezes (*yačḡaḡtu*) the wrist.” 0 qawuryān

:: BUV 'UḠUL· 'UL BURUNYIY TĀMUR·GA'N bu oḡul ol burni tomuryān “This is a boy whose nose is always bleeding (*yar'ufu*).” 0 tomuryān

SAGIZ·GA'N saḡizḡān “Magpie (*'aq'aq*).” 0 saḡizḡān

QUḌUZ·FUVN· quduzḡun “Crupper of the saddle (*tafar as-sarj*).” 0 quduzḡun

:: BUV 'AR· 'UL KIŠY BRLA' TUTJY TURUŠ·GA'N bu är ol kiši birlā tutčei turušḡān “This is a man who always opposes (*yuqāwimu*) people.” 0 turušḡān

:: 'ULA'R 'IKY TAWA'R· SATIŠ·GA'N 'ALIŠ·GA'N LA'R 'UL olār ekki tawār satišḡān ališḡānlār ol “The two of them are always selling and buying (*yatabāya'āni . . wa-yaštariyāni*) merchandise.” Another way of saying this is: SATIŠ·GA'N TAWIŠ·GA'N satišḡān tawišḡān, from the verbs: SAṬIY *satti* meaning “he sold (*bā'a*)” and: TAW·DIY *tawdi* (*tāwdi* ?) meaning “he disposed (of merchandise) (*tašarrafa*).” 0 satišḡān

[I. 427/519]

259

:: 'UL KIŠY BIRLA' BAQIŠ·GA'N 'UL· ol kiši birlā baqišḡān ol “He customarily regards people with glances (*min 'ādatihi abadan yunāziru l-insān bi-l-liḡāz*).” 0 baqišḡān

258 1. Y· added by a later hand.

2. Y (or NY) written below K' (thus: kišini).

:: 'UL 'AR' 'UL YAWLA'Q TUQUŞ'FA'N ol ār ol yawlāq toquşyān “He is a man who is warlike and belligerent (*min 'ādātihi l-ḥarb wahwa miḥrāb wa-mis'ar*).” toquşyān

SUWUS'FA'N sowuşyān “Tapeworm (*şafar*)” – it is a snake in the belly. sowuşyān

BIJIL'FA'N biçil'yān “Cracks (*şuqāq*),” in the hands or feet, or in the ground. 0 biçil'yān

KUVK' TUBUL'FA'N kōk topulyān “Mountain swallow (*sumām*).” This is the name of a bird which is said to have steel in its feathers and to bore through (*yadrību . . . fa-yanfudu*) mountain peaks to the other side. I was told this by someone to whom I am beholden for some favors. 0 :: BUV 'AR' 'UL JARIK' TUBUL'FA'N bu ār ol çārig topulyān “This is a man who breaks (*hattāk*) the battle line.” Its root-meaning is in the expression: TAMUR TUBL'DY tāmür topuldi “He bore through the iron with force (*taqaba l-ḥadīd bi-šidda wa-şalāba*).” 0 topulyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL KŞIY BRLA' TUTJY QATIL'FA'N QARIL'FA'N bu ār ol kişi birlā tutçi qatilyān qarilyān “This is a man who meddles in people’s affairs (*mixlaṭ mizyal*).” 0 qatilyān qarilyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'L SINKIRIY QURUL'FA'N bu ār ol sinjiri qurulyān “This is a man who always has muscle cramp (*ya'tarihi t-tašannuj*).” qurulyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'L YAŦIYDIN QUTUL'FA'N bu ār ol yayīdin qutulyān “This is a man who always escapes (*abadan yanjū*) from the enemy (or other).” 0 qutulyān

:: BUV NA'NK 'UL QABUŦ'DA' QABUL'FA'N [sic]¹ bu nān ol qapuyda qawulyān qawulyān “This is a thing which always gets squeezed (*yanḍayīṭu*) in the door (or other).” 0

:: BUV QUZIY 'UL SAŦ'LIQ BRLA' QUŞUL'FA'N bu qozi ol sayliq birlā qoşulyān qoşulyān “This is a lamb that is always joined (*yuqārinu*) to the ewe.” The same for other things.

:: BUV SUVF 'UL TAWRA'Q SUŦUL'FA'N bu sūw ol tawrāq suyulyān “This is water which always sinks into the ground quickly (*sari'an mā yaŷūru abadan*).” The same for a spring whose water dries up quickly (*sari'a al-ŷu'ūr*). 0 suyulyān

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TALIM QAQIL'FA'N SUQUL'FA'N bu ār ol tālim qaqilyān soqulyān qaqilyān soqulyān “This is a man who gets buffeted by men’s fists (*ḍalūl bi-ajmā' ar-rijāl mulakkad*).”²

Q

TUTUR'QA'N tuturqān “Rice (*uruz*).” 0 tuturqān

[I. 429/521]

260

TAŞIR'QA'N KUVZLUK taşirqān kōzlug “A boggle-eyed man (*jāḥiṣ*).” 0 taşirqān

259 1. B changed from T (?).

2. MS. *mulkadd*.

SIQIR'AQ'N siqirqān "A type of rat (*naw' min al-jirdān*)."

siqirqān

K

:: BUV 'AR' SUVKA' BTILK'N 'UL bu är sükä bitilgān ol "This is a man who is always reenlisting (*yuktabu smuhu*) in the army." 0

bitilgān

:: BUVLA'R BUVDUN 'UL TUTJY TIRL'K'N bulār bōdun ol tutči terilgān "These are people who always meet together or agree in a matter (*abadan'yajtami'ūna fī amr*)."

terilgān

:: BUV BU'RA' 'L YUK KUTURKA'N bu bu'ra ol yūk kötürgān "This is a camel stallion that carries (*hammāl*) loads (or other)."

kötürgān

:: BUV BA'K 'UL YA'ZUQ' KAJURKA'N bu bēg ol yazuq kächürgān "This is an emir who forgives (*şafūh*) offenses." 0

kächürgān

:: BV 'R 'L TLM 'IYŞ KAJURKA'N bu är ol tälīm iş kächürgān "This is a man who is skilled and decisive in affairs (*huwwul qullab faşşāl xuṭṭa*)."

Another way of saying this is: 'AWUR'KA'N TAWUR'KA'N äwürgān täwürgān.

Verse:

YAFY 'UVTIN 'UJURKA'N
TUVY'DUN 'ANY KUJURK'N
'IŞLAR 'UZUB KAJURK'N
TKDY 'UQY 'ULDURUV

yayı ötīn öcürgān
tōydun ani köcürgān
işlar üzüp kächürgān
tägdi oqi öldürü

V

Recounting the virtues of the dead man: "He was one who put out the fire of battle-foes,¹ one who drove them from their camp, but a decisive business-man withal (*faşşāl xuṭṭa*); then a deadly arrow of fate struck him down."

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TALIM 'UQ JAWURK'N bu är ol tälīm oq čäwürgān "This is a man who tests (*naqqār*) arrows" – this is done by turning them on one's nail.

čäwürgān

KUSUR'KA'N kösürgān "A type of mole (*naw' min al-xuld*)."

kösürgān

TUŞUR'KUVN tüşürgün "Goat's-thorn (*şajar al-kaṭīrā*)."

In one variant [cf. 222 tüşgün]. 0

tüşürgün

D

KUWRK'N köwürgān "Wild onion (*unşul* [defined])."

The Oğuz call it: KUMUR- KA'N kömürgān. 0

köwürgān

kömürgān

D

TAMURK'N tämürgān "Arrowhead (*naşl as-sahm*)."

Oğuz dialect.

tämürgān

D

:: BUV 'AR' 'L 'IYŞIF 'ADA'QA' TAKUR'K'N bu är ol işiy adāqqa tägürgān "This is a man who always brings an affair to its end (*yuballıyu l-amr āxirahu*)."

tägürgān

:: BUV 'AT' 'UL KULAR·K'N **bu at ol kölārgān** “This is a horse whose belly always swells and who lies down flat (*yantafixu baṭnuhu² wa-yanbaṭīhu*).” 0 **kölārgān**

[I. 430/523]

261

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL SUVTUK·SUMUR·KA'N' **bu ār ol sūtūg sūmūrgān** “This is a man who gulps down (*'abbā'*) milk (or other).” 0 **sūmūrgān**

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL TAKMA' YIYR·DIN TUTJY SURUL·K'N **bu ār ol tāgmā yērdin tutči sūrūlgān** “This is a man who is driven out (*mudaffa'*) from every place.” 0 **sūrūlgān**

:: BUV NA'NK' 'UL·KARIL·KA'N' **bu nān ol kārilgān** “This is something that is always stretched out (*yamtaddu*),” such as a stretched skin, or clouds stretched over the mountain tops. 0 :: BUV 'AR' 'UL TALIM KARIL·K'N **bu ār ol tālim kārilgān** “This is a man who is always yawning and stretching (*ya'tarihi t-tu'abā' wa-t-tamaṭṭī*).” 0 **kārilgān**

:: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'ADKUV SA'WIN TIRIL·KA'N' **bu ār ol ādgū sāwin tirilgān** “This is a man who will always live with a good reputation (*ya'īšu fī ḥusn šīt wa-tanā'*).” 0 **tirilgān**

:: BUV NA'NK' 'UL BIYR·BIYR·K' TARIL·KA'N' [sic] **bu nān ol bīr bīrkā tizilgān** “This is something which is always arranged part to part (*yantaṣimu ba'ḍuhu ba'ḍan*).” 0 **tizilgān**

:: BUV YIB' 'UL KASIL·KA'N' **bu yip ol kāsilgān** “This is a string which always snaps (*yanqaṭī'u*).” 0 **kāsilgān**

:: BUV TUKUVN 'UL SAŠIL·K'AN **bu tūgūn ol sāšilgān** “This is a knot which always comes loose (*tanḥallu*).” **sāšilgān**

:: BUV YB' 'UL TUKUL·K'N **bu yip ol tūgūlgān** “This is a thread that always gets knotted (*mun'aqid*).” :: BUV 'AR' 'UL TUT·JIY QA'ŠIY KUVZIY TUKUL·K'N **bu ār ol tutči qāši kōzi tūgūlgān** “This is a man who always wrinkles (*munzawī*) his brow (because of his meanness).” 0 **tūgūlgān**

This suffix (lit. chapter) – both (the section) with *ḡayn* and with *kāf* – has five usages. 0 G

(1) To indicate continuity or habituality of the action. Example: BUV 'TUL 'UL BUR·NY YUMUR·GA'N' [sic] **bu oḡul ol burni tomurḡān** “This is a boy whose nose is always bleeding (*dā'imān ya'tarihi r-ru'āf*)”; 0 :: BUV 'AR' 'UL 'ADKUV SA'WIN TIRIL·K'N **bu ār ol ādgū sāwin tirilgān** “This is a man who will always enjoy a good reputation (*dā'imān ya'īšu fī šīt ḥasan*).”

(2) To form a transitive adjectival indicating continuity of the action. Example: BUV 'AR' 'UL TUVNIN QURITGA'N **bu ār ol tōnin quritḡān** “This is a man who often dries (*kaṭīr at-tajfīf*) his clothes”; 0 :: BUV 'AR' 'UL SUVWUḤ SUMUR·KA'N' **bu ār ol sūwuy sūmūrgān**

[I. 432/525]

262

“This is a man who gulps down (*‘abbā’*) water (or other).”

The simple nouns in this section have the hard *kāf*; all of the adjectivals have the thin *kāf*.

(3) To form an adjectival with the meaning of the passive participle. Example: BUV 'AR' 'UL QAQIL'GA'N SUQUL'GA'N **bu är ol qaqilyān soqulyān** “This is a man who is frequently pushed and shoved (*katīran mā yudfa'u wa-yudallu*); :: BUV 'AR' 'UL YIYR'DIN YIYR'K' SURUL'KA'N **bu är ol yērdin yērkä sürülgān** “This is a man who is driven (*mudaffa'*) from place to place.” 0

(4) To form an adjectival of an unwilling action. Example: BUV KIŠY 'UL SUVZUK 'UNIT'GA'N' **bu kiši ol sōzüg unityān** “This is a man who always forgets (*dā'imān yansā*) words”; :: BUV TUKUVN 'UL SAŠIL'K'N **bu tügün ol säšilgān** “This is a knot which always comes loose (*tanḥallu dā'imān*).”

(5) To form simple nouns, with none of the above meanings. Example: KAWUR'KA'N' **köwürgān** “Wild onion (*‘unšil*)”; TAWUŠ'GA'N' **tawišyān** “Rabbit (*arnab*).”

The Oğuz, and all nomadic peoples from Rüm up to Šīn, elide the *ḡayn* or *kāf* which is the sign of the continuity of the action, for the sake of lightness. D

There is no distinction in speech between masculine and feminine adjectivals. Gender is known only from the context.

None of the adjectival forms or of the rules which I have explained is confined to this chapter. Rather, each rule holds for all the verbs in each book, including those with four or more radicals. You will soon become acquainted with them, God willing.

Chapter: *fa'lalāl*,¹ second radical unvowelled, in its various vocalizations

J

SUN'DILA'J' **sondilāč** “Bullfinch (*ša'wa*).” Proverb: SUNDILA'J' 'IYŠIY 'RM'S **sondilāč**
'UR'T'KUVN' ?TM'K **sondilāč iši ärmās örtgün täpmāk** “It is not the finch's job to thresh hay.” P
0 This is coined about a weak man

[I. 433/526]

263

who wishes to do the job of a strong man but cannot. 0

QAR'GILA'J' **qaryilāč** “Swallow (*waṭwāṭ*).” QAR'LİFAJ **qarliyač** is a variant, by **qaryilāč**
metathesis. qarliyač D

Γ

QAR'ΓALIF qar'yaliy Name of a fortress near Țarāz. Its root-form is: QAR'ΓA'LIF qar'yaliy
qar'yaliy. N

Q

TAMΓALQ tam'yaliq "A small ewer (*ibrīq ṣayīr*)." 0 TAMΓALIQ tam'yaliq "A small table, reserved for one man (*mā'ida ṣayīra yaxuṣṣu bihā r-rajul*)." Its root is: TAMΓA'LIF tam'yaliy meaning "stamped (*dū ṭ-ṭābi*)." The reason is that the king used to stamp with a seal his ewer and his private table, and they would contain enough wine and food for one man. Later every small ewer and every small table were called: TAMΓALIQ tam'yaliq meaning "a table prepared to be stamped with a seal (*mā'ida mu'adda li-yūḍa'a 'alayhā l-xātam*)" in order to prevent other than the king from eating thereon. It would be correct to say that the *ḡayn*¹ was changed to *qāf* because of the closeness of their points of articulation.

SRMJUQ sarmačuy "A type of noodles (*naw' aṭriyya*)." The dough is cut up into small pieces the size of chickpeas; it is fed to sick persons, and the like, in a broth. 0 sarmačuy

SAR'MUSAQ sarmusaq "Garlic (*tūm*)." SAMURSAQ samurdaq is a variant, by metathesis. 0 sarmusaq-samurdaq D

QUR'ΓULUQ qur'yuluq "Lightheadedness (*ṭayṣ, nazaq*)." ² qur'yuluq

QIZ'LA'MUQ qizlāmuq "Measles, or a similar eruption (*al-ḥaṣba wa-butūr miṭluhā*)." qizlāmuq

QAŠ'ΓALAQ qašyalaq A type of water bird, smaller than the duck. Verse: qašyalaq

TNKDA' BL' KURSA' MINY 'UR'DAK 'AT'R' V
QALW' KRUB' QAŠ'ΓALAQIY SUWQA' BAT'R
taṇda bilā körsä mini ördäk öṭār
qalwa köriip qašyalaqi suwqa batār

Describing his hunting of birds: "When the duck sees me in those mornings³ [it quacks; when the qašyalaq sees me with] a headless arrow this bird dives into the water."

BAL'KULK NA'NK bālgülüḡ nāṅ "Something evident (*bādī zāhir*)." Proverb: BULDA'JIY BUZA'ΓUV 'UKUVZ: 'ARA' BAL'KUVLUK boldāči buzāḡu öküz ara bālgülüḡ 0 "A calf that is expected to become a bull is evident among the bulls." 0 This is coined about a strong and clever lad from whom every virtue is expected. 0 bālgülüḡ P

263 1. MS. *qāf*.

2. MS. *az-zaq*, read *an-nazaq*; cf. 13:9.

3. MS. *ḡudar* ("ponds"), read *ḡudā* (pl. of *ḡudwa*, "dawn, morning"); cf. 131:2.

KUZKUNAK: **közkünäk** A bird which resembles the sacer falcon and the lizard [sic] **közkünäk** and lives on wind (*ṭā'ir yuṣbiḥu ṣ-ṣaqr wa-l-'aṣāya wa-yataballāḡu bi-r-rīḥ*).

[I. 434/528]

264

N

“Inlaws (*al-aḥmā' wa-l-aṣḥār*)” are called: **QADIN QAD'NA'ṬUN qaḍin qaḍnāḡun, qaḍnāḡun** pleonastically.

Another type.

SAN'DUVA'J **sanduvāč** “Nightingale (*'andalīb*).”Verse [= 523 **sanduvāč**]: **sanduvāč**

SAN'DA'1 QAČR SUNDILA'J
MAN'DA' TINAR QAR'ṬILA'J
TAT'LIUṬ 'UTAR SAN'DUVA'J
'RKAK TŠLY JARŠVR [sic]

sāndā qačar sondilāč
māndā tinar qarṭilāč
tatliṡ ötar sanduvāč
ärkāk tiši učrušür

V

Describing the Quarrel of Summer and Winter; Summer says to Winter: “The bullfinch flees from you, the swallow (*xuṭṭāf*) rests in me, the nightingale sweetly sings his songs, male and female couple” – that is to say, in summer.

R

MUNDARUV mundaru “A silken bridal canopy (*al-ḥajala min al-ḥarīr*).” 0**mundaru**

End of Quinquiliteral Chapters

Chapters of Sextiliterals

Chapter: *fa'al'alal*, in its various vocalizations

K

TIZIL'DURUK tizildürük “Copper coins placed on the tip of a shoe (*fulūs ru'ūs al-xuff*).” 0

tizil-dürük

KUZUL'DURUK közüldürük “Something woven from horse tails and put on the eye if it is bleared or dazed.” A variant of: **KUZLUK közlük**. 0

közül-dürük

JANIŠTURK čäništürük “A berry (*ḥaml ṣajar*) similar to the hazelnut, white and red, that ripens at the beginning of summer and is eaten.” 0

(közlük D)
čäništürük

KUMUL'DURK **kömüldürük** “The breast-girth on a saddle (*al-labab fi s-sarj*).” **kömül-
dürük**

Q

SAQAL'DURQ' **saqalduruq** Name for “the thread woven from silk which is attached to caps in order to fasten the cap underneath the chin so it does not fall off.” 0 **saqal-
duruq**

QALLDURUQ' **qalalduruq** A man's name. **qalalduruq
N**

Chapter of Septiliterals

ZAR'FUN'JMUVD **zaryunčmūd** “A type of basil (*sinjilāt*).” It is what is called in Per- **zaryunč-
sian palang mušk.** **mūd**

End of the Book of Nouns of Sound Words

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate

Book of Verbs

Chapter of Biliterals

B

:: QUL TANKRIY KA' TAB'DIY **qul täñrikä tapdi** “The slave (worshipper) worshipped **tap-
(‘abada) God Most High.”**

::

[II. 3/3] **265**

'UL XA'N'QA' TAB'DIY **ol xānqa tapdi** “He served (*xadama*) the king (or other).”

:: 'UL NA'NK'NIY TAB'DIY **ol nāñni tapdi** “He found (*wajada*) the thing (which was lost).” **TABA'R TAB'MA'Q tapār tapmāq.** 0

:: 'UL QULIN' TAB'DIY **ol qulin täpdi** “He kicked (*rakala . . . bi-rijl*) the slave.” **täp-
TABA'R' TAB'M'K täpār tapmāk.**

:: 'AR' SUWDA' JAB'DIY **ar suwda čapdi** “The man swam (*sabaħa*) in the water.” **čap-**

:: 'UL 'AT'NIY JIBIQ' BIR'LA' JAB'DIY **ol atni čipiq birlä čapdi** “He struck the horse lightly (*čaraba . . . xafifan*) with a stick.”

:: JUMAQ TAT' BUY'NIN JAB'DIY **čomaq tat boynin čapdi** “The Muslim struck (*čaraba*) the neck of the unbeliever.” Uighur dialect. 0 **D**

:: 'AR· 'AWIN· JAB·DIY är äwin čapdi "The man plastered his house with fresh mud (*laṭaxa . . . bi-ṭīn ḥurr*)."
JABA'R· JAB·M'Q čapār čapmāq.

:: YYJY YKNA' SAB·DIY yīči yignā sapdi "The tailor threaded (*daxxala . . . s-silk fi*) the needle." sap-

:: 'UL QUŠ QANTIN· SAB·DIY ol quš qanatin sapdi "He bound (*wašala*) the bird's wing." The same for anything defective which one mends or binds (*jabara, wašala*). SABA'R SAB·MA'Q sapār sapmāq. 0

:: 'AR· TUVN QAB·DIY är tōn qapdi "The man stole (*xalasa*) the garment (or other)." qap-
:: 'UḤLA'NIḤ YIYL· QAB·DIY oylāniḥ yēl qapdi "The baby suffered a stroke (*ašāba . . . sa'fa*) from the jinn." QABA'R QAB·MA'Q qapār qapmāq. Also used of a breeze that flutters (*habba bi-*) a garment, or the like.

:: 'AR· YUQA'RUV QUB·DIY är yoqāru qopdi "The man rose from his place (*qāma . . . min makānihi*)."
:: TUBIY QUB·DIY tüpi qopdi "The wind blew up (*habbat*)."
:: QUŠ QUB·DIY quš qopdi "The bird (or other) rose upward (*nahaḍa*)."
QUBA'R QUB·M'Q qopār qopmāq. qop-

J

:: 'AR· 'AT· BIJ·DIY är ät bičdi "The man cut (*qaṭa'a*) the meat (or other)." BIJA'R BJMA'Q bičār bičmāq. bič-

:: MAN YBA'R SAJ·TIM män yipār sačtim "I scattered (*naṭartu*) musk (or other)."
:: 'UL 'AWKA' SUVW SAJ·DIY ol äwkā sūw sačdi "He sprinkled (*rašša*) water in the house (or other)."
SAJA'R SAJ·M'Q sačār sačmāq. sač-

:: 'AR· SIJ·DY är sičdi "The man defecated (*taḡawwaṭa*)."
SIJ'R SIJMA'Q sičār sičmāq. The same for other [animals]. 0 sič-

:: 'AR· QAJ·DIY är qačdi "The man (or other) fled (*haraba*)."
QJ'R QJM'Q qačār qačmāq. 0 qač-

:: 'UL MINY QUJ·DIY ol mini qučdi "He embraced (*'ānaqa*) me."
QUJA'R QUJMA'Q qučār qučmāq. 0 quč-

[II. 5/5]

266

:: 'ĀY· KUVN KAJ·TY äy kūn kächti "The month and the day have passed (*maḍā*)."
:: 'AR· SUVW KAJ·TY är sūw kächti "The man crossed (*'ābara*) the water (or other)."
:: 'AR· KAJ·TY är kächti "The man passed (*maḍā*), i.e. died (*māta*)."
KAJ'R· KAJ·M'K kächār kächmāk. 0 käch-

:: SUV KUJ·TIY sü köčti "The troops (or other) set out (*raḥila*)."
KUJA'R KUJM'K köčār köčmāk. 0 köč-

With regard to hard letters, it is preferable to change the *dāl* of the preterite into *tā'*, for the sake of euphony. The hard letters are: the hard *bā'*,¹ the hard *jīm*, *qāf*, the hard *kāf*. With

G

the exception of these letters, the correct pronunciation of the preterite is with *dāl* [see 281-2 G].

Verse:

TUNLA' BLA' KUJA'LIM	tünlä bilä köčälim	V
YAMAR' SUWIN KAJ'LIM	yamar suwin käčälim	
TARNKUVK' SUWIN 'IJA'LM ²	tärñük suwin ičälim	
YUWTA' YAGY 'UWLSUVN	yuwya yayi uwulsün	

“We’ll set out (*nartañilu*) at night; we’ll cross the Yamar water — (it is a river); we’ll drink seepage water; so that the enemy, swerving from us, will crumble in our hand.”

R

:: 'UL 'AWKA' BAR'DIY ol äwkä bardi “He went (*dahaba*) to the house (or other).” **bar-**
BARIYR' BAR'MA'Q barir barmäq. 0

:: 'UL YANJUQ 'AIZIY BUR'DIY ol yančuq azyi bürdi “He drew together (*zawā*) the **bür-**
mouth of the bag.” The same for anything that resembles this, such as the waistband of trousers,
etc. BURA'R' BURMA'K bürrär bürmäk.

:: YIBA'R' BUR'DIY yipär burdi “The musk fragrance spread (*fāḥat*).” The same for **bur-**
any sweet fragrance that spreads out (*taḍawwa'a*). :: SUVW' BUR'DIY sūw burdi “The steam (or
other) rose up (*irtafa'a*).” BURA'R' BURMA'Q burär burmāq. 0

:: 'AR' YUQA'RUV TUR'DIY är yoqāru turdi “The man (or other) stood up (*qāma*).” **tur-**
:: TUM'N TUR'DIY tumän turdi “The mist rose (*hāja*).” TURUR' TUR'MA'Q turur turmāq.

TURUR' turur. This is an aorist verb, with no preterite or infinitive. It means **(turur)**

[II. 6/7] **267**

“is” (*huwa*). For example: :: 'UL TA'Š TURUR' ol tāš turur “It is a stone (*annahu ḥajarun*
huwa).” :: 'UL QUŠ TURUR' ol quš turur “It is a bird.” This is a copula (*šila*) in speech. It is **G**
similar to Arabic *yanbaḥī* (“it is necessary”) in not having a preterite or infinitive. 0

:: 'UL BITIK TUR'DIY ol bitig türdi “He rolled up (*ṭawā*) the book (or other).” **tür-**
TURA'R' TUR'MA'K türär türmāk. 0

:: 'UL SAR'DIY ol särdi “He was patient (*šabara*) about something.” SARA'R' SAR'-
MA'K särär särmāk. 0 **sär-**

:: 'UL 'AT' SUR'DIY ol at sürdi “He drove (*sāqa*) the horses (or other).” **sür-**

266 1. MS. *yā*'.

2. Later hand, in margin: 'IJA'LIM.

:: 'AR' 'ITIF' SUR'DIY är itiy sürdi "The man drove away (*tarada*) the dog (or other)." SURA'R SUR'MA'K *sürär sürmāk*. Also when an emir banishes someone (*ajlā*) from the country you say: SUR'DIY *sürdi*. 0

:: XA'N SUVSIN' QUR'DIY xān sūsin qurdi "The (emir or) king mustered (*jama'a*) his army." :: X'N JUVA'J' QUR'DIY xān čuvāč qurdi "The king unfurled (*halla, našara*) the royal pavillion."¹ QURA'R' QUR'MA'Q *qurār qurmāq*. **qur-**

:: 'AR' YIYRIK QIR'DIY är yērig qirdi "The man scraped (*qašara*) the ground (or other)." QIRA'R' QIR'MA'Q *qirār qirmāq*. 0 **qir-**

:: 'AR' YA' QUR'DIY ar ya qurdi "The man strung (*wattara*) the bow." QURA'R' QUR'MA'Q *qurār qurmāq*. 0 **qur-**

:: 'AR' YIB' KAR'DIY är yip kārđi "The man stretched (*madda*) the rope (or other)." **kār-**
 :: BAK YUVL KAR'DIY beg yōl kārđi "The emir² stretched (*madda*) the road." This means that he has men stationed in look-outs so that no one can pass without his knowledge. 0 This is done from fear of the enemy.

:: 'IT' KARDIY it kārđi "The dog barked (*nabaḥa*)." Qarluq dialect. KARA'R' KAR'MA'K *kārār karmāk*. **D**

:: 'L MNY KRDIY ol māni kōrđi "He saw (*ra'a*) me." KUR'R KURM'K *kōrār kōrmāk*. **kör-**
 Proverb [=506 yūz]: YUVZKA' KUR'MA' 'AR'DAM TILA' yūzka kōrmā ārdām tilā 0 "Look not³ at the face (and its pale color, but) look for virtue and breeding (in a man)." **P**

:: 'UL 'AWK' KIR'DIY ol āwkā kirdi "He entered (*daxala*) the house (or other)." KIRUR KIR'MA'K *kirūr kirmāk*. **kir-**

Z

:: 'AR' TUM'LIF'DIN BAZ'DIY är tumliydin bāzđi "The man shivered (*irta'ada*) from the cold (or other)." BAZA'R' BAZ'MA'K *bāzār bāzmāk*. **bāz-**

[II. 8/8] **268**

:: 'UL 'AW' BUZ'DIY ol āw bozđi "He tore down (*hadama*) the house (or other)." BUZA'R' BUZMA'Q *bozār bozmāq*. 0 **boz-**

:: KAYIK TAZ'DIY kāyik tāzđi "The wild animal (or other) fled (*farra*)." TAZ'R' TAZMA'K *tāzār tāzmāk*. 0 **tāz-**

267 1. "the royal pavillion" added in margin by later hand.

2. MS. *ar-rajul al-amīr*.

3. MS. *lā yunzar*, read *lā tanzur*.

:: BAK 'IYLIN TUZDIY **beg** ēlin **tüzdi** “The emir organized (*sawwā*) the realm or province.” :: 'UL YIYRIK' TUZDIY ol yērig **tüzdi** “He levelled (*sawwā*) the ground (or other).” TUZ'R TUIZMA'K **tüzār tüzṁāk**. 0 tüz-

:: 'UL YINJUUV TIZDIY ol yinčü **tizdi** “He strung (*naḏama*) pearls.” Also for stringing together (*naḏama*) words :: 'UL SUVZ TIZDIY ol sōz **tizdi**. TIZA'R TIZMA'K **tizār tizmāk**. 0 tiz-

:: YAḠIR'LIḠ 'AT' JIḶDIY yayirliḡ at **čizdi** “The galled horse sank down (*inxafaḏa*)”¹ when someone wished to mount it, in order to protect its back. Any galled animal will do this when someone wishes to place a load on it. JIḶA'R JIḶMA'Q **čizār čizmāq**. With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. čiz-

:: 'URA'ḠUT YIB' JUḶDIY urāyut yip **čöždi** “The woman stretched (*jadabat*) the yarn.” The same for anything that can be lengthened by stretching, such as rope or sheep gut. JUḶ'R' JUḶMA'K **čözār čözmāk**. With *zāy* between the two points of articulation. 0 čöz-

:: 'UL SUVW SUḶDIY [sic] ol sūw **süzdi** “He strained (*šaffā*) the water (or other).” SUZA'R' SUZMA'K **süzār süzṁāk**. 0 süz-

:: YAḠ SIZ'DIY yāy sizdi “The butter (or other) melted (*dāba*).” :: KUVN SUZ'DIY **kūn sizdi** “The first rays of the sun appeared (*badā qarn aš-šams*).” :: SUKAL SIZ'DIY **sökāl sizdi** “The sick man became thin (*indaqqa, taḏā'ala*).” SIZA'R' SIZ'MA'Q **sizār sizmāq**. 0 siz-

:: 'AR' 'ARIQ QAZDIY **är ariq qazdi** “The man dug out (*ḥafara*) the canal (or other).” :: 'AT' QAZDIY at **qazdi** “The horse was restive and dug (*ḥafara*) at the ground with his forefeet.” QAZA'R' QAZ'MA'Q **qazār qazmāq**. qaz-

:: 'UL YIYRIK KAZ'DIY ol yērig **kāzdi** “He toured the country (*naqqaba l-arḏ wa-ḏāfa fīhā*).” KAZA'R' KAZMA'K **kazār kāzmāk**. kāz-

S

:: 'ANY BUR'T' BAS'DIY ani bürt **basdi** “The nightmare pressed (*jaṭama*) upon him.” **bas-**
:: BAK 'IYL BAS'DIY **beg** ēl **basdi** “The emir subjected and organized (*qahara, sawwā*) the realm or province,”

[II. 10/10]

269

as though he “pressed (*jaṭama*)” upon it. :: BAKNIY YAḠY BAS'DIY **begni yaḡi basdi** “The enemy (or other) made a night attack (*bayyata*) on the emir.” :: 'AR' QIYZIḠ BAS'DIY **är qiziy basdi** “The man mounted (*tasannama*) the girl.” :: 'IT' KAYIK'NIY BAS'DIY **it kāyikni basdi** “The dog felled (*axaḏa . . . fa-šara'a*) the game.” BASA'R' BAS'MA'Q **basār basmāq**. 0

:: 'AR' QULIN BUS'DIY ar **qulin bösdī** “The man beat his slave severely (*ḏaraba . . . mubālīyan fīhi*).” BUSA'R' BUS'MA'K **bösār bösmāk**. 0 bö-

:: BAK YAĠIYQA' BUS'DIY **beg yaġıqa busdi** "The emir lay in ambush (*daxala fi kamīn*) for the enemy." BUSA'R' BUS'MA'Q **busār busmāq.** 0 bus-

:: 'AR' QUS'DIY **är qusdi** "The man (or other) vomited (*qā'a*)." QUSA'R' QUS'MA'Q **qusār qusmāq.** Also :: BUḌUḠ QUS'DIY **boḍuḡ qusdi** "The dye faded (*naşala*)." 0 qus-

:: QABUḠ 'NIK 'ḌA'QIN QIS'DIY **qapuḡ anig aḍāqin qisdi** "The door squeezed (*ḍaḡaḡa*) (the man's) foot." Also for anything that squeezes a thing. QISA'R' QIS'MA'Q **qisār qismāq.** qis-

:: 'UL 'ANIK TUVN'LUQIN QIS'DY **ol anig tönluqin qisdi** "He cut down his clothing allowance (*naqaşa min ijrā'ihī l-marsūm li-t-ḡawb*)." The same for anything of which the allowance is cut off (*muni'a min marsūmihi*).

:: 'UL YIḠA'J KAS'DY **ol yiyāč kāsdi** "He cut (*qaḡa'a*) the wood (or other)." KASA'R' KS'MA'K **kāsār kāsmāk.** Proverb: 'UY'ḠUR YḠA'J 'UZUḠN' KAS' TAMUR QIS'ḠA' KAS' **uyḡur yiyāč uzūn kās tāmiur qisḡa kās** 0 "[Uighur!] when you cut wood cut it long and when you cut iron cut it short" – since iron can be lengthened. They [the Uighur] have a public crier who cries out every day and teaches wise sayings.¹ 0 käs-
P

:: 'UL 'ANDIN KUS'DIY **ol andin küsdi** "He was offended with him (*'ataba 'alayhi wa-a'raḍa 'anhu*)." KUSA'R' KUS'MA'K **kūsār küsmāk.** Oḡuz dialect. küś-
D

Ş

:: MAN BUV 'IYŞDIN BUŞ'DUM **män bu işdin buşdum** "I was annoyed (*ḍajirtu*) at this business." BUŞMA'Z MAN BUŞMA'Q **buşmāz män, buşmāq.** Proverb: BUŞMASA'R² BUVZ QUŞ TUTA'R' 'YW'MASA'R² 'URVNK QUŞ TUTA'R' **buşmasa bōz quş tutār, ēwmäsä ürün quş tutār** 0 "One who does not get annoyed will catch the white falcon; one who does not hurry will catch the best falcon."³ buş-
P

[II. 11/12]

270

This is coined to advise someone to act patiently in order to reach his goal. 0

:: 'AŞAJ' BIŞ'DIY **eşič bişdi** "The pot (of soup) was done cooking (*adrakat al-qidr wa-ḡubixat al-maraqa*)." :: Y'MIŞ BIŞ'DIY **yēmiş bişdi** "The fruit ripened (*naḍijat*)." :: 'AR' QMIZ BIŞ'DIY **är qimiz bişdi** "The man stirred the koumiss so that it reached the proper consistency (*ḡarraka . . . li-yudrika*). BIŞMA'Z BIŞMA'Q **bişmāz bişmāq.** biş-

:: 'ŞIJ TAŞ'DIY **eşič taşdi** "The pot boiled over (*fārat . . . wa-fāḍat*)." Also :: SUVF TAŞ'DIY **sūw taşdi** "The water (of a river or a vessel) overflowed (*fāḍa*)." TAŞA'R' TAŞMA'Q **taşār taşmāq.** 0 taş-

269 1. MS. *ḡukm* (vowel marks by later hand), read *ḡukam*.

2. R added later; there is a red circle above S.

3. **Bōz** means "gray"; "white falcon" should refer to **ürün quş** as at 166:17. (But cf. 53 aq at "gray horse.")

:: 'UL MANK' TUŠDIY ol maṇa tušdi "He confronted (*laqiya* . . . *wa-ra'ā*) me." tuš-
TUŠA'R TUŠMA'Q' tušār tušmāq.

:: 'AR' 'AṬIN' TUŠDIY är attin tüšdi "The man got off (*nazala*) the horse." :: 'AR'
TA'M'DIN TUŠDIY är tām̄din tüšdi "The man fell (*saqaṭa*) from the wall." Also for falling from
a horse, or of anything that falls from a place. TUŠA'R TUŠMA'K tušār tüšmāk.

Verse [=336 *kāwil*]:

TAK'RA' 'ALIB' [sic] 'AK'RALIM	tāgrā awip āgrālim	V
'ATIN TUŠB' YUK'RA'LIM	attin tüšüp yūgrālim	
'ARS'LAN LAYUV KUK'RALIM	arslanlayu kökrālim	
KUVJY 'ANIN KAWLSUVN	kūčī anin kāwilsūn	

"We'll surround the enemy; we'll get down from our horses and advance on foot; we'll roar like
lions; that the enemy's strength become weak thereby." Proverb: 'IYWAK ŠINKA'K SUVTK'
TUŠUVR' ēwāk siṇāk sūt̄kā tüšūr 0 "The hasty gnat falls in the milk," and dies. This is coined
to advise someone to stop acting hastily. 0 P

:: 'AR' 'AṬIN KIŠAN SAŠDIY¹ är attin kišan sāšdi "The man loosened (*ḥalla*) the
shackle from his horse." The same for anything that you loosen from its bond. SAŠ'R SAŠMA'K
sāšār sāšmāk. 0 sāš-

:: 'UL QUVY'QA' 'AJ'KUV QUŠDIY ol qōyqa āčkü qošdi "He joined (*qarana*) the goat
to the sheep." Also for anything that you join to something else. 0 :: 'UL YIYR' QUŠDIY
ol yir qošdi "He composed (*naḏama*) the poem." QUŠA'R' QUŠMA'Q' qošār qošmāq. qoš-

Γ

:: 'UL 'AR'NY BUḤDIY ol ärni boḏdi boḏ-

[II. 13/14] 271

"He strangled (*xanaqa*) the man (or other)." BUḤA'R BUḤM'Q boḏār boḏmāq. 0

:: KUVN TUḤDIY kūn tuḏdi "The sun rose (*ṭala'at*)." :: 'UḤUL TUḤDIY oḡul tuḏdi
"The child was born (*wulida*)." Proverb: MUVŠ' 'UḤLY MUYA'VU TUḤA'R' mūš oḡli muyāvu
tuḏār "The kitten miaows like its mother" [lit. "The kitten is born miaowing"]. This is coined
about a boy who takes after his father. TUḤA'R TUḤMA'Q tuḏār tuḏmāq. P

:: 'UQ¹ BŠAQIN TA'Š TIḤDIY oq bašaqin tāš tiḏdi "The stone blunted (*kallala*,
aḏhabat ḥidda) the arrowhead (when it struck it)." TIḤA'R' TIḤMA'Q tiḏār tiḏmāq. 0 tiḏ-

270 1. Entire word by later hand in margin.

271 1. 'UQ added in red (original hand).

:: 'UL TURKA'K JIΓ'DIY ol turgāk čiydi "He tied up (*šadda*) the bundle (or other)." čiy-
 JIΓA'R JIΓM'Q čiyār čiymāq. 0

:: 'AR· QUVY· SAΓ'DIY är qōy saγdi "The man milked (*ħalaba*) the sheep (or other)." saγ-
 SAΓA'R SAΓM'Q saγar sāmāq.

:: 'UL QUVY· DAN QURUT· SAΓ'DIY² ol qōydan qurut surydi "He made dried curds
 (*ittaxada . . . laqit*) from the sheep[*'s milk*]." SUΓA'R SUΓ'MA'Q suryār surymāq. Its root is:
 SUΓUR·DIY³ suryurdi [309].

:: BUV SUVZ KUNKUL·KA' SIΓ'DIY bu sōz könülkä siydi "These words touched
 (*naja'a . . . f*) the heart." siy-

:: 'UVN· QA'B·QA' SIΓ'DIY ün qāpqa siydi "The flour fit (*wasā'a*) into the container."
 The same for anything. SIΓA'R· SIΓM'Q siyār siymāq.

W

:: 'UL 'ATIK SIYŠ·QA' TAWDIY ol ätig sīšqa täwdi "He arranged (*naẓama*) the meat on
 the spit (or other)." TAW'R TWM'K täwār täwmāk. täw-

:: 'UL MANY SAW'DIY ol māni säwdi "He loved (*aħabba*) me." SAW'R SAWM'K säw-
 säwār säwmāk. Proverb [=521 *tayyān*]: TAY·ΓA'N· YUKUR·KAŃI⁴ TIL·KUV SAWM'S· tayyān
 yūgrūkin tilkü säwmās "The fox loves not the swift-running hound" – since it will catch him. This
 is coined about one who is outstanding among his fellows, while they envy and despise him. 0 P

:: 'IT· KAYIK·NY QUWDIY it käyikni qowdi "The dog chased (*ṭarada*) the game." The
 same for anyone who chases something qow-

[II. 14/16] 272

or runs in its tracks (*ṭarada . . . wa-ya'dū fī aṭar*). QAWA'R· QAW'MA'Q qowār qowmāq. 0

:: 'AR· SUVZUK· KAW'DIY ar sōzüg käwdi "The man stammered (*talajlaja . . . fī
 kalām*)." Its root-meaning is in the phrase: TAN·JUVNIY KAW'DIY tančūni käwdi "He chewed
 on the morsel (in his mouth) without swallowing (*lāka . . . wa-lam yabtali*)." KAWA'R· KAW-
 MA'K käwār käwmāk. käw-

Q

:: 'UL MANKA' BAQ'DIY ol maṅa baqdi "He looked (*naẓara*) at me." BAQA'R
 BAQMA'Q baqār baqmāq. 0 baq-

-
2. A changed from U.
 3. U's changed from (or to?) A.
 4. *Tašdīd* (∼) by later hand.

:: 'UL 'AḌA'QIN' BUQDIY ol aḏāqin boqdi “He drew in his foot after it had been stretched out (*ḏamma ilā nafsīhi* . . . *ba'da mā kāna mabsūtān*),” BUQA'R BUQM'Q boqār boq-māq. 0 boq-

:: 'UL QA'B'QA' 'UVN' TIQ'DIY ol qāpqa ūn tiqdi “He pressed (*šadda*) the flour into the container.” The same for anything that is forced into a vessel by kicking or pressing (*udxila* . . . *bi-šidda rakl wa-ḏayf*). Hence, “grapes that are densely clustered (*mutarākim al-ḥabbāt*)” are called: TIQ'MA' 'UZUM' tiqma üzüm. tiq-

:: 'AR' BURUN'DUQ BUT'LUVQA' TAQ'DIY är burunduq butluqa taqdi “[The man] tied (*šadda*) the camel's nose-rope to the nose-plug,”¹ Oryuz dialect. Also for tying a string to something. TAQA'R TAQM'Q taqār taqmāq. taq-
D

:: 'UL SUVZUK' 'ANIK QULA'QA' JAQ'DIY ol sōzüg anig qulāqqa čaqdi “He drummed (*ballaḡa*) the words into his ear. Oryuz dialect. :: 'UL 'IKY KŠIY 'ARA' JAQ'DIY ol ekki kiši ara čaqdi “He incited enmity (*aḡrā*) between the two men. :: 'UL JAQ'M'Q JAQDIY ol čaqmāq čaqdi “He struck (*qadaḡa*) the firestick.” JAQA'R' JAQM'Q čaqār čaqmāq. The latter is both a verbal noun and a simple noun. 0 čaq-
D

:: QUŠ JUQDIY quš čoqdi “The bird swooped down (*inqaḏḏa*),” JUQA'R' JUQM'Q čoqār čoqmāq. Verse: čoq-

'ARAN' QAMUḠ' 'AR'TADIY NA'NK LAR' 'UDV V
TAWA'R' KRUB 'USN [sic] LAYUV 'AS' KA' JUQA'R
ärān qamuḡ artadi nāñlār uḏu
tawār körüp üsläyü äškä čoqār

“Men's morals became corrupted when they coveted property; when they saw wealth they swooped down upon it, just as the vulture swoops down when it sees prey.” 0

[II 16/17] 273

:: 'AR' 'AWDIN JIQ'TY är äwdin čiqti “The man went out (*xaraja*) of the house (or other)” Proverb [=495 kūč]: KUVJ' 'AL'DIYN KIR' SA' TURUV TUNK'LUK TAN' JIQA'R' kūč eldīn kirsä törü tüñluktän čiqār “When violence comes in from the courtyard, law and justice go out the window.” 0 čiq-
P

:: MAN' 'ANY 'WK' SUQ'DUM' män ani äwkä suqđum “I made him enter (*adxaltu*) the house.” Also of anything that you forcefully insert (*adxalta* . . . *bi-šidda*) into something else, as an ax head into its shaft. Also :: 'AR' TUVZ SUQ'DIY är tōz soqdi “The man crushed (*daqqa*) the salt (or other).” :: QUŠ' MANK' SUQ'DIY quš män soqdi “The bird pecked at (*laqaḡa*) the grain.” :: 'ANIY YILA'N SUQDIY ani yilān soqdi “The snake bit (*ladaḡat*) him.” Oryuz dialect. SUQA'R' SUQM'Q soqār soqmāq. suq-
soq-
D

272 1. MS. *al-wars* (?), perhaps in error for *al-xašāš*; cf. 216 *butlu*.

:: 'UL 'UZUM SIQ'DIY ol üzüm siqdi “He pressed (*aşara*) the grapes (or other).”
SIQ'DIY SIQM'Q siqdi siqmāq. 0 siq-

K

:: 'UL MANIY KURUB' BUK'DIY ol māni körüp бүкди “When he saw me he skulked
(*lati'a bi-l-arḍ wa-nxafada mutakammīn*an).” :: 'UL 'AŞ DİN BUK'DIY ol aşdin бүкди “He was
filled to nausea (*şabi'a . . . ḥattā sa'ima wa-bašima*) with food.” Also :: 'UL TAW'RQA' BUK'DIY
ol tawārqa бүкди “He was fed up with or had his fill of (*imtala'a 'aynuhu*) property (or other).”
BUKA'R BUK'M'K бүкär бүкмāk. 0 бүк-

:: 'UL SUVWUḤ' BUK'DIY ol sūwuy bögdi “He stopped up the water with a dam (*qarā*
. . . *wa-jama'a . . . bi-sikr ittaxada lahu*.)” Also :: BAK' SUVSIN BUK'DIY beg sūsin bögdi “The
emir mustered (*jama'a*) his troops.” BUKA'R' BUK'MA'K bögär bögmāk. Know that an army,
because of its great volume, is always likened to water; thus :: SUVF 'AQTIY sūw aqti “The water
flowed,” and: SUV 'AQ'TIY sü aqti “The army flowed.” 0 bög-

:: 'UḤLA'N SUVW TUK'DIY oylān sūw tökdi “The boy poured (*arāqa*) the water.”
Proverb: 'UḤLA'N SUVF TUKA'R' 'ULUḤ' YA'NIY SINUVR' oylān sūw tökär, uluy yāni sinūr
0 “The boy pours the water and the old man (slips on it tök-
P

[II. 17/19]

274

and) breaks his shin.” This is coined about a wrong which the young commit and of which the old
suffer the consequences. 0

:: 'UL 'AWKA' TAK'DIY ol äwkä tägdi “He reached (*balaya*) the house (or other).”
TAKYR TAKMA'K tägär tägmāk. Proverb: 'IYWAK 'AWKA' TAKMA'S' ewäk äwkä tägmās “The
hasty man does not reach home” — since by hurrying he jades his riding animal and is left without
a mount. This is coined to advise someone to act slowly. Verse: täg-
P

'ATḤALIR' 'UQ'NIY 'AZA'Q' atyalir oqni azāq V
TAKMADIY BUV SA'W 'UŞA'Q' tägmädi bu sāv uşāq

“This slander did not reach me, though this temptress wishes to shoot at me an arrow from an
unknown source.”

[She means to shoot an arrow, stray;
This word, slander, did not reach.]

:: 'AR' TUKUVN TUKDIY är tügün tügdi “The man tied (*aqada*) the knot (or other).”
TUKA'R' TUK'M'K tügär tügmāk. Proverb: TILIN' TUK'MIŞ'NIY TYŞIN' YAZMA'S' tilin
tügmīşni tişin yazmās 0 “What is tied with the tongue cannot be untied with the teeth.” This
is coined to advise someone to keep his word. 0 tüg-
P

:: 'AR' TUVN' TIK'DIY är tön tikdi “The man sewed (*xāṭa*) the garment.” :: 'ATIḤ
YILA'N TIK'TIY atiy yilān tikti “The snake stung (*lasa'at*) the horse (or other).” 0 Also of a
scorpion. :: 'AR' YİFA'J' TIK'DIY är yiṭāč tikdi “The man planted (*yarasa*) the tree.” The same
for anything that one sets upright (*naşaba qā'im*an). TIKA'R' TIK'M'K tikär tikmāk. Proverb: tik-

TIK·M'KIN·J' 'UNM'S TILA'MAKIN·J' BULMA'S' tikmāginčā önmās tilāmāginčā bulmās “As long as (the tree) is not planted it will not grow, as long as (the goal) is not sought it will not be found.” This is coined to advise someone to make an effort. 0 P

:: 'UL BITIK JAK·DIY ol bitig čäkdi “He pointed (*naqaṭa*) the book.” :: 'UL 'ATIN JAK·DIY ol atin čäkdi “He bled (*faṣada*)

[II. 19/21]

'*irq*) the horse.” JAK'R JAKM'K čäkār čäkṁāk. 0

:: 'UL BAK·KA' JUK·DIY ol begkā čökdi “He kneeled (*jaṭā*) before the emir (or other).” :: TAWAY JUK·DIY tewe čökdi “The camel kneeled (*baraka*).” :: TAMUR SUWDA' JUK·DIY tämür suwda čökdi “The iron sank (*rasaba*) in the water (or other).” JUKA'R' JUK·M'K čökār čökṁāk. 275

:: 'UL TARKA'K' BA'ṬIN JAK·DIY ol türgāk bāyin čigdi “He tied (*šadda*) the bond of the package (or other).” JK'R JKM'K čigār čigṁāk. 275

:: 'UL YAM'Ṭ SOK·TY ol yamāy sökti “He tore out (*naqaḍa*) the patch (from the garment).” :: 'UL 'AWIN' SUKTIY ol äwin sökti “He took down (*naqaḍa*) his tent or his building.”¹ :: 'UL BAK·KA' SUK·TIY ol begkā sökti “He kneeled (*jaṭā*) before the emir (or other).” Hence :: SUKA' 'ULTUR' sökā oltur “Sit kneeling,” SUK'R SUKM'K sökār sökṁāk.

:: 'AR' 'URA'ṬUT·NIY SIK·TY är urāyutni sikti “The man copulated with (*jāma'a*) the woman.” SIK'R SIKM'K sikār sikṁāk. sik-

L

:: 'UL YAR·MA'Q' BUL·DY ol yarmāq buldi “He found (*wajada*) the dirhem (or other).” BULVR' BULMA'Q bulūr bulmāq. bul-

:: 'UL BILIK BILDIY ol bilig bildi “He knew (*arafa*) understanding, knowledge, or wisdom.” Also for other things. BILYR' BIL·MA'K bilir bilmāk. bil-

The people of Arṣu say: BILUVR' bilūr with *ḍamma* after the *lām*; others do not agree with them in this. 0 D

:: 'AR' TA·M' TAL·DIY är tām tāldi “The man bore through (*taqaba*) the wall (or other).” :: 'UL 'UṬ·LA'QIṬ SAṬ·LIQA' TALIDIY ol oylāqiy sayliqqa tāldi “He joined the kid to a milch-ewe to suckle it (*ḍamma* . . . *li-tarḍa'a*).” This is done when the she-goat has little milk or else dies, and the kid, or lamb, is left uncared for. TALIA'YR.² TALIA·MA'K tālār tālmāk. 0 tä-

275 1. “or his building” added above line (original copyist), *wa-bināhu*, perhaps to be read *wabanāhu* “And (re-)constructed it.”

2. A and *alif* (') crossed out and Y added by later hand (i.e., originally TAL'R, altered to TALYR' tālir).

:: 'AR· TUBIQ'NIY 'AD'RIY BILA' TULDY **är topiqni adri bilä taldi** “[The man] struck (*daraba*) the ball with a forked stick.” This is a type of game of the Turks. When one of the players wishes to have the first play he strikes in this way, the first play going to the one who is most skillfull at it. **tal-**

[II. 20/23]

276

Also in the game of tipcat (striking one stick with another to make it fly – *darb al-qāl wa-l-qula*), you say: TAL'DIY taldi. TALA'R TLM'Q talar talmāq. 0

:: 'AR· YARIN'DA'Q· TILDIY **är yarindāq tildi** “The man cut (*qadda*) a strap (from the hide).” The same for anything that one cleaves lengthwise (*šaqqā ḡūlan*). TILA'R· TIL'MA'K tilār tilmāk. 0 **til-**

:: 'UL 'ANY JAL'DY **ol ani čaldi** “He struck him down (*šara'a*).” :: 'UL SUVZUK MANIK QULA'QA' JAL'DIY **ol söziüg mänig qulāqqa čaldi** “He shouted the words in my ear (*samma'a*).” Proverb: JAQ'SA' TUT'NUVR· JAL'SA' BILNUVR· **čaqsā tutnūr čalsa bilnūr** 0 **čal-**
 “When (the firestick) is struck (the fire) takes hold, when (the words) are made heard (*usmi'a*) (the purpose) is known.” :: TUVNUI' TA'Š' 'UVZA' JAL'DIY **tönuy tās üzä čaldi** “(The fuller) beat (*daraba*) the garment on the rock.” Verse: **P**

'IḤTIM TVTB· QUḌIY JALDIY	itim tütup qoḏi čaldi	V
'ANIK TVSIN QIRA' YUL'DY	anig tūsin qira yuldi	
BAŠIN 'ALIB· QUḌIY SAL'DIY	bašin alip qoḏi saldi	
BUḤUZ 'ALIB· TUKAL BUḤDIY	boḡuz ilip tükäl boḡdi	

Describing a dog: “He [lit. My dog] caught (the wolf) and brought it down (*šara'a*); he plucked out its hair; he [took its head and] cast it behind him, then bit its throat and strangled it.” JAQ'R JAQM'Q [sic; cf. 272 *čaqq-*] **čalār čalmāq.** 0

:: 'UL MANK' TUVNIN SAL'DIY **ol maḡa tōnin saldi** “He waved (*lama'a*) to me with his garment.” :: 'UL MANK' KIŠY DA' 'LTUN SAL'DIY **ol maḡa kišidā altun saldi** “He paid me gold, drawn on a person (*axraja lī 'alā insān dahaban*).” :: SUVW YIḠA'JIF SALDY **sūw yiyāčiy saldi** “The water cast up (*lafaza*)¹ the wood (or other).” SALA'R· SALM'Q **salār salmāq.** Also used of a man who signals (*awma'a*) with his hands from a distance. **sal-**

:: 'AR· KIYḌIN· QAL'DIY **är kēḏin qaldi** “The man remained (*baqiya*) behind.” :: 'UL 'UYUVN· DA' QAL'DIY **ol oyūnda qaldi** “He was left behind (*turika*)² in the contest.” The same for anything that remains (*baqiya*) or is left (*turika*). Proverb [=542 *törü*]: 'IYL QAL'DIY TRUV QAL'MA'S' **ēl qaldi törü qalmās** 0 **qal-**
 “The realm has been left behind, but custom cannot be left behind.” This is coined to advise someone to act according to custom. **P**

276 1. MS. *laqaḡa*; altered from *lafaza* by later hand.
 2. MS. *taraka*.

QAḶLIYR· QALIMA'Q qalīr qalmāq.

:: 'UL MANDIN· NA'NK· QUL'DY ol māndin nāñ qoldi "He asked (*sa'ala*) me for the thing." QULUVR QULM'Q qolūr qolmāq. 0 qol-

:: 'AR· 'YŠ QILDIY är iš qildi "The man acted (*'amila*)." :: 'AR· QIYZIḶ QIL'DIY är qīziy qildi "The man copulated with (*jāma'a*) the girl." The word is used by allusion for copulation. For this reason the Oγuz avoid it; instead of saying: QILDIY qildi for "He did (*'amila š-šay*)," they say: 'IYṬIY ētti which means "He did well (*ašlaḥa*)." For example :: 'AR· YU-KUNJ 'IYṬIY är yūkünē ētti "He performed (*ašlaḥa*) the prayer"; the Turks say: QILDIY qildi. QILUVR QIL'MA'Q qilūr qilmāq. D

:: 'AR· 'AWK' KAL'DIY är äwkä kaldi "The man came (*atā*) to the house (or other)." KALIYR· KALMA'K kālīr kalmāk. Proverb: BIYR· QAR'ḶA' BIR'L' QIŠ KAL'MA'S' bīr qarya birlā qiš kalmās 0 "Winter does not come with one crow." This is coined to advise a person to act slowly until his friends arrive to help him. 0 käl-P

:: 'AR· KUL'DIY är küldi "The man (or other) laughed (*ḍaḥika*)." KULA'R KUL-MA'K külār külmāk. Verse [=77 ädgü]: kül-

KULSA' KIŠIY 'AT'MA' 'ANKAR· 'UR'TAR· KULA'
BAQIL 'ANKAR· 'ADKUVLUKUN· 'AḶ'ZIN· KULA'

külsä kiši atma anar örtär kül-ä
baqqil anar ädgülükün ayzin külä V

"When you see a person smiling (*yatabassamu*) at you, don't pour hot ashes on his face (i.e., don't put him to shame), but regard him also with a smile (*tabassum*)." The sense is: repay kindness with kindness.

M

:: SUVW TAM'DIY sūw tamdi "The water (or other) dripped (*qaṭara*)." TAM'R TAMĀ'Q tamār tammāq. tam-

:: 'UḶLA'N SUWDA' JUM'DIY oylān suwda čomdi "The boy dived (*γāša*) in the water." JUMA'R JUĀ'Q čomār čommāq. čom-

:: 'UR'DAK SUWQA' JUM'DIY ördäk suwqa čomdi "The duck dived deeply (*γāša . . . γawšan mubālīγan fīhi*) in the water." JUMA'R JUĀ'K čomār čömmāk. čöm-

The infinitive of the latter is with *kāf*, of the former with *qāf*, in order that the difference between the two verbs be recognized. 0

:: 'UL 'ANY QAM'DIY ol ani qamdi "He beat him to death (*ḍaraba fa-aṭxana wa-awbaqa*)." QUAMA'R·¹ QUAMĀ'Q¹ qamār qammāq. qam-

:: SUVV· QUMDIY *sūw qomdi*

qom-

[II 23/27]

278

“The water was wavy (*māja*).” QUM’R· QUḾA’Q *qomār qommāq*. 0

:: ’UL ’ULK’NY KUM’DIY *ol ölügni kömdi* “He buried (*dafana*) the dead one (or other).” KUM’R KUM’K *kömār kömmāk*. Also :: KUVZMA’N KUM’DIY *közmän kömdi* “He baked the bread in the hot ashes (*ittaxada l-xubz fi l-malla*).”

köm-

N

:: QUVY· BAN’DY *qōy bandi* “The sheep were bound (*rubīṭa*).” The same for anything that is tied up (*šudda bi-wiṭāq*). BA’NIR BANM’Q *bānir banmāq*. The *nūn* is an alternant of *lām* [i.e. *bal-*].

ban-

:: KUVK TUN’DIY *kōk tundi* “The sky was overcast (*ḡāmat*).” :: QABUḒ TUNDIY *qapuy tundi* “The door was blocked (*insadda*).” Similarly, when a pass is blocked by snow, one says: ’R’T TUN’DIY *art tundi*. TUNVR’ *tunūr* – also, in the aorist :: TUNA’R *tunār* – TUN-MA’Q *tunmāq*. The *naṣb* form in such verbs [i.e. the aorist with *ā*] is the manner of the Oḡuz and Qifčāq. 0

tun-

D

:: YAḒMUR TINDY *yaymur tindi* “The rain stopped (*aqla’a*).” :: ’AR’ ’LUḒ TIN’DIY *ār uluy tindi* “The man sighed (*tanaffasa . . . aṣ-ṣu’dā*).” :: ’ARUQ’ TIN’DIY *aruq tindi* “The weary one rested (*istarāḥa*).” TINA’R TIN’M’Q *tinār tinmāq*.

tin-

The Oḡuz, when they forbid someone from speaking, say: TIN’MA’ *tinma*. This is an inverted expression (*maqlūb*). It means, “Don’t be quiet (*lā taskut*).” The Turks say: TIN’ *tin* meaning: “Be quiet (*uskut*)”; when they say: TINMA’ *tinma* the meaning is: “Don’t be quiet (*lā taskut*).” The Oḡuz here are in error.

D

:: ’UL ’AR’ XYL BILA’ SAN’DIY *ol är xayl¹ bilä sandi* “That man was reckoned (*udda*) among the class of *xayl* [i.e. horses].” The same for anyone who is reckoned with something. SA’NUR’ SAN’MA’Q’ *sanūr sanmāq*. Proverb [=46 *anuq*]: BA’RIḒ’ ’UTRUV TUT’SA’ YUVQA’ SAN’MA’S’ *bāriḡ utru tutsa yōqqa sanmās* 0 “If one offers what is available (to the guest, then hospitality) is not [reckoned] as nought.” 0

san-

P

:: ’UL MANK’ ’AT’M’K SUN’DY *ol maṇa ätmāk sundi* “He offered (*nāwala*) me bread (or other).” SUNA’R SUNMA’Q *sunār sunmāq*.

sun-

:: YIḒA’J’ SIN’DIY *yiyāč sindi* “The piece of wood (or other) broke (*inkasara*).” :: SUV SIN’DIY *sū sindi* “The army was routed (*inhazama*).” SINUVR’ SIN’M’Q *sinūr sinmāq*. Also: SINA’R’ *sinār*. 0

sin-

278 1. Most likely the Arabic word was substituted by a mechanical error for *at* or *yond*.

[II. 24/29]

279

:: 'UΓ'RIY TAWA'R QUN'DIY oγri tawār qundi “The thief stole (*salaba*) the property.” qun-
Verse:

KIJK BULUB· YA'ΓINY YIR·KUV 'AMA'S· V
'ADKAR·MADIB· QUD·SA' 'ANY 'IYL·NIY QUN'R·
kiçig bolup yāγini yergü ämäs
ädgärmädip qodsa ani ēlni qunār

“One must not scorn one’s enemy, though he be small, for if one pays him no heed, and he is left alone, he will steal the realm from you.” QUN'R· QUNM'Q qunār qunmāq.

:: YΓIA'J KUNDIY yiγāç köndi “The piece of wood (or other) was straight (*istaqāma*).” köñ-
:: 'UΓ'RIY KUN'DIY oγri köndi “The thief confessed (*aqarra*) (his thievery).” Also of any person
who denies having a certain property and who then confesses to it. :: 'AR· YUVL·QA' KUN'DIY
är yōlqa köndi “The man started out (*šaxaša ilā . . . wa-rakiba*) on the journey.” :: 'UTUNK
KUN'DIY otuñ köndi “The firewood burned (*iḥtaraqa*).” This is an Arγu word – they change D
yā' to nūn according to rule [cf. 533 köy-]. :: TUSUVN· 'AT· KUN'DIY tosūn at köndi “The
unruly horse was broken in or ‘straightened’ (*irtāḍa, istaqāma*).” The same for anything that is
straightened. KUN'R· KUNM'K köñār könmāk. 0

:: 'AR· TULUM· MAN'DIY är tulum mandi “The man girded on (*labisa*) the weapon.” man-
:: 'AR· A'UT·MA'K¹ SIR·KA'KA' MAN'DIY är ötmāk sirkākä mandi “[The man] dipped the
bread in vinegar to season it (*šabaγa . . . wa-'tadama*).” The same for dipping anything to season
it. MANA'R· MAN'M'Q manār manmāq. 0

:: QARIY 'AR· MUN'DIY qari är mundi “The dotard (or other) ranted (*hadā*).” MU- mun-
NA'R· MUN'M'Q munār munmāq. 0

:: 'AR· 'ĀT· MUN'DIY är āt mündi “The man mounted (*rakiba*) the horse (or other).” mün-
MUNA'R· MUN'M'K münār münmāk.

Grammatical Rules and Inflections, the Explanation of Adjectivals, G
and the Application of Rules

I assert the following – and aid is with God!

The verbal system is based on the preterite and the imperative. 0

I have asserted that it turns on the preterite since if the first consonant of the word in the preterite

[II. 26/31]

has *fatḥ* (A) then the aorist and infinitive will follow it in having *naşb* (A) with their first consonant. The same if it has *rafʿ* (U) or *xafʿ* (I). 0 Example :: BAR'DIY **bardi** "He went"; the *bā'* takes *fatḥ* (A) in the preterite, and so the aorist is: BARIR' **barir** also with *fatḥ* of the *bā'*; and in [the infinitive]: BAR'MA'Q' **barmāq** the *bā'* again has *fatḥ*, as before. With *rafʿ* (U) :: TUR'DIY **turdi** "He stood"; the *tā'* takes *rafʿ* in the preterite, and so it will in the aorist: TURUR' **turur** with *ḍamm* (U) of the *tā'*; and in the infinitive: TUR'MA'Q' **turmāq** with *rafʿ* of the *tā'*. With *kasr* (I) :: YIN'JUV TIZ'DIY **yinčü tizdi** "He strung the pearls"; the *tā'* takes *kasr*, and so in the aorist: TIZA'R' **tizār** with *kasr* of the *tā'*; and in the infinitive: TIZ'MA'K **tizmāk** also with *kasr* of the *tā'*.

The structure of this language is not like that of Arabic where the preterite differs from the aorist. Thus, in the first-stem form of the verb "to sit" you say *qa'ada*, with the *qāf* taking *naşb* (a); then you say *yaq'udu*, with the *qāf* unvowelled, in the aorist; and you say *qu'ūdān*, with the *qāf* taking *ḍamm* (u), in the infinitive. Similarly of the verb "to rain": *maṭara*,¹ with *fatḥ* of the *mīm* in the preterite; *yamṭuru*, the *mīm* unvowelled; *muṭūrān*, with *ḍamm* of the *mīm*. You have *naşb* in the preterite, *ḍamm* in the infinitive, and no vowel in the aorist. An example of the derived-stem forms is the verb "to honor": *'akrama*, the *hamza* taking *fatḥ* in the preterite; *yukrimu*, the *yā'* taking *ḍamm* in the aorist; *'ikrāmān*, the *hamza* taking *kasr* in the infinitive. Another example: *'istaṭfara* ("to ask for pardon") – the *alif* takes *kasr*; *nastaṭfiru*; *istiṭfārān*.

[I. 27/32]

281

The preterite in all the verbs differs from the aorist and the infinitive. But Turkic is not like that. Rather, it is perfectly regular, in the biliteral, triliteral, quadriliteral and quinquiliteral chapters, and in what exceeds them. There is agreement among the preterite, the aorist, and the infinitive.
0

The second aspect is that doubling occurs only in the preterite, not in the aorist or in the infinitive [see 414 G]. 0

Third, the active participle is based on the preterite in the dialect of Oğuz, Qifčāq, Yemāk, Yaṗma, the people of Arṗu, and the nomadic people from Suvārīn¹ to Bāčānāk. Example :: BAR'DIY **bardi** "He went"; 0 BAR'DAJIY **bardači** "One who goes"; a *jīm* is inserted between the *dāl*, which is the preterite marker, and the *yā'*. 0 :: TUR'DIY **turdi** "He stood"; TUR'DAJIY **turdači** "One who stands"; a *jim* is inserted between the *dāl* and the *yā'* which are the two preterite markers. All the verbal chapters follow this pattern.

D

The imperative. We assert that the active participle is based on the imperative in most of the Turkic dialects, Čigil, etc. [see below, 290ff.]. 0 And the letters of meaning (i.e., suffixes) that occur with verbs for various purposes are affixed only to the imperative, as we shall explain, God willing.

D

280 1. MS. *maṭarān* (vocalization by later hand).

281 1. Originally Suvārāyn, *kasra* added below the *rā'* by a later hand.

Know that the preterite is fixed with *dāl* and *yā'* in all verbs, with the sole exception that the *dāl* changes to *tā'* if associated with hard letters, because of the force of the point of articulation [i.e., assimilation]. 0 The hard letters in this language are four: hard *pā'*, *tā'*, hard *čīm*, and hard *kāf*. Example of *pā'* :: TAB'TIY **tāpti**

[II. 28/32]

282

“He kicked with his foot.” Example of *tā'* :: TUTIY **tutti** “He took.” Example of hard *jīm* :: QAJ'TIY **qačti** “He fled.” Example of hard *kāf* :: TAWAY JUK'TIY **tewe čökti** “The camel kneeled.” Also *qāf* may be counted in this group following hard *kāf*; example :: 'UL MANK' BAQ'TIY **ol maṅa baqti** “He looked at me.” The *dāl* becomes *tā'* solely due to the hardness of the points of articulation of these letters, as we have explained. Their root-form is *dāl*, but the pronunciation with *tā'* is more elegant when joined to these letters. This is the rule for all verbs, simple and compound, in each book.

The aorist is fixed with *rā'* in each book, in all verbs. If the last consonant of the stem is *rā'* then there are two *rā'*s, repeated, one belonging to the stem, the other being the aorist marker. 0 The *rā'* of the aorist in this language is like the [prefixes] *alif*, *tā'*, *nūn* and *yā'* in Arabic as aorist markers. 0 If there is no *rā'* in the stem of the word, then one *rā'* occurs which is the aorist marker. This rule is best observed in the preterite and the imperative. If *rā'* occurs before the *dāl* of the preterite, then it occurs [there is no difficulty]; and in the imperative the *dāl* and *yā'* which are the two preterite markers drop, leaving *rā'*, unvowelled. This *rā'* then belongs to the stem, and in the aorist one must add to it a different *rā'* as the aorist marker. If, on the other hand, there is no *rā'* in the preterite and the imperative, then the aorist *rā'* is added to it [simply]. 0 Example :: BAR'DIY **bardi** “He went”; there is a *rā'* before the *dāl*;

[II. 30/34]

283

:: BAR' **bar** is the imperative, the *rā'* remains fixed while the preterite markers drop, so in this case the *rā'* belongs to the stem; the aorist then is: 'UL BARIYR' **ol barir** “He goes”; the aorist *rā'* is added, resulting in two *rā'*s, one belonging to the stem, the other being the aorist marker. :: 'UL TUR'DIY **ol turdi** “He stood”; imperative: TUR' **tur** “Stand”; aorist: 'UL YUQA'RUV TURUR' **ol yoqāru turur** “He stands up” — there are now two *rā'*s in the word, one belonging to the stem, the other being the aorist marker. The Oğuz drop one of these two *rā'*s in most aorist verbs, for lightness, and pronounce only one *rā'*, as in the imperative; this is not proper and not according to rule [see below, 300-301]. As for verbs in which there is no *rā'* — such as: KAL'DIY **kāldi** “He came,” imperative: KAL' **kāl**, aorist: KALIR' **kālır**; or: KUL'DIY 'AR' **küldi är** “The man laughed,” aorist: KUL'AR' **külär** — a *rā'* is added in the aorist which is not in the stem. 0 The Oğuz agree with the Turks in this type of verb, in which there is no *rā'*, and do not drop this *rā'*. This is a general rule, holding good for trilateral and quadrilateral verbs, and what exceeds them.

D

D

Know that the verbal patterns of [the dialects of] the Turks resemble those of the dialects of the Arabs. They are: *fa'la*¹ for the preterite; *fa'il*² for the aorist; and *fa'lāl* for the infinitive. Example :: BAR'DIY **bardi** “He went”; this is like the pattern in 'aqrā (pl. of 'aqir “wounded”) and ḥalqā (pl. of ḥaliq “shaven”). ::

- 283 1. *-ā* here is *alif maqṣūra*, written in Arabic with *yā'*.
2. MS. *fa'ala* (vowels by later hand).

[II. 31/36]

BARIR· **barir** “He goes”; this is like *namir* (“leopard”), *rajil* (“on foot”), *bakir*¹ *fi ḥājatihi* (“rising early to meet his needs”). 0 BAR·MA’Q **barmāq** — this is like *al-qarqāf* (“wine”), *al-xalxāl* (“ankle bracelet”). All the verbal patterns of this language are like this, both simple and compound. 0

The biliteral may be considered trilateral in pronunciation by virtue of *išbā’*. Example :: BAR·DIY **bardi** “He went”; :: BA’R·DIY **bārdi** is permitted. :: TUR·DIY **turdi** “He stood”; :: TUVR·DIY **türdi** is permitted. This is allowed, however, only in the preterite, not in the aorist or the infinitive. 0 This is similar to the permitted insertion of *madd* and *līn* letters in simple nouns without being part of the root. Example :: YĀΓA’J_ *yiyāč* “Wood”; its root-form is: YĪΓA’J_ [sic] *yiyāč*. :: TANUVQ· **tanūq** “Witness”; its root-form is: TANUQ· **tanuq**. However, the more correct and more elegant form of both nouns and verbs is what is shorter in pronunciation and firmer in enunciation. 0

The infinitive has one form for all verbs. This is to add to the stem *mīm alif* and *qāf* for words containing a *qāf* or *ḡayn* or which have *išbā’* in pronunciation; 0 or *kāf* instead of *qāf* for words which contain *kāf* or which have *rikka* or else *imāla* to the three vowels. 0 Example of those with *qāf* :: ’UL YA’ QUR·DIY **ol ya qurdi** “He strung the bow”; QURA’R· QUR·MA’Q **qurār qurmāq** — the infinitive has *qāf* because the word has *qāf*. Example of those with *ḡayn* :: ’UL SUVT· SAΓ·DIY **ol sūt saydi** “He drew milk”; SAΓA’R SAΓMA’Q **sayār saymāq** — the infinitive has *qāf* because the word has *ḡayn*. 0 Example of those with *išbā’*

[II. 32/38]

285

:: ’AR· BAR·DIY **ār bardi** “The man went”; BARIR· BAR·MA’Q **barir barmāq**. TUR·DIY **turdi** “He stood”; TURUR· TUR·MA’Q **turur turmāq** — since the word has *išbā’*, the infinitive has *qāf*. 0 Example of those with *kāf* :: KAL·DIY **kāldi** “He came”; KALIR· KAL· MA’K· **kāilir kālmāk** — the infinitive has *kāf* because the word has *kāf*. The same is true for the thin *kāf* instead of the hard one, thus :: ’UL MANIY ’UK·DIY **ol māni ōgdi** “He praised me”; ’UKA’R· ’UK·MA’K **ōgār ōgmāk** — even though the main part [of the word] has thin *kāf*, the infinitive still has hard *kāf* as in sound words [i.e. those with hard *kāf* in the root]. 0 Example of those with *rikka* :: ’AR· TALIM· SAR·DIY **ār tālim sārdi** “The man was very patient”; SARAR· SAR·MA’K **sārār sarmāk** — since the word has *rikka*, the infinitive has *kāf*. Note that the corresponding word with *išbā’* has its infinitive with *qāf*, thus :: BAK ’ANY SAR·DIY **beg ani sardi** “The emir scolded him”; SARAR· SAR·MA’K [sic] **sarar sarmāq**. 0 :: ’AR· BITIK· TUR·DIY **ār bitig türdi** “The man rolled up the book (or other)”; TURUR· TUR·MA’K **türür türmāk**. :: ’UL YAR·MA’Q **tirdiy ol yarmāq terdi** “He gathered the dirhams”; TIRAR· TIR·MA’K **terār termāk**. :: ’AT· SUR·DIY **at sürdi** “He drove the horses”; SURAR· SUR·MA’K **sürār sürmāk** — the infinitive [in these cases] has *kāf* for the reasons I have indicated. This is a general rule, holding good for all the chapters in each book, both simple and compound, without exception. The scope of *qāf* and *kāf* may be understood from the examples given, so study them! These are the sum of the principles concerning infinitives. 0

containing *qāf*, *ḡayn* or *išbā'*; or *kāf* otherwise, as in the above examples; 0 or else *ḡayn* and *yā'*, constructed to the thing referred to. The stem is what remains fixed in the imperative. :: 'UL BARIḡ BAR·DIY ol bariḡ bardi "He went a direct going." 0 :: 'NIKA 'IYŠ· QILḡIY BAL·KUVLK anig iš qilḡi balḡülüḡ "His doing the deed is evident." 0 :: SUKAL· TINIḡIY 'ARTAQ sōkāl tiniyi artaq "The breathing of the sick man is bad" – this derives from the phrase: 'AR· 'ULḡ TIN·DIY ār uluy tindi meaning "The man sighed." 0 :: MANIK YURIQIM· NATAK mānig yoriqim nātāḡ "How is my conduct?" :: SANIK YURIQING NATAK sānig yoriqinḡ nātāḡ "How is your conduct?" :: 'ANIK YURIQY NATAK anig yoriqi nātāḡ "How is his conduct?" This type is an infinitive construct. Its root is the word: YURIYDIY yorīdi meaning "He travelled." There is no *qāf* in this verb. The *ḡayn* occurs only in [words whose] infinitives are with *qāf*. The rule for this type of verb, from which infinitives may be derived, is best observed in the stem, which is the part of the word remaining in the imperative when the preterite markers *dāl* and *yā'* drop off. 0 The *kāf* occurs in words which cannot take *qāf* in this meaning. :: 'NIK YAR·MA'Q· TIYRI·KIY KUVR· anig yarmāḡ tēriḡi kōr "Look at his gathering dirhams." Proverb [= 19G, 293G]: TA'Z· KALIKY BUR·K·JYKA' tāz kāliḡi bōrkēikā "The coming of the bald man to the hatter

P

[II. 35/41]

287

(is inevitable, to buy from him something to cover his baldness)." This is coined about a person who flees from someone he cannot escape. 0 The root of this verb is: KAL·DIY kāldi "He came"; when it is changed from this meaning the infinitival *kāf* is inserted, as you see. 0 The *qāf* does not occur in place of *ḡayn* if the infinitive is in this meaning and this degree, but only after this degree, in a place where *ḡayn* hardly ever occurs; namely, between the *dāl* and *yā'* which are the preterite markers, producing a sound infinitive construct. 0 The *kāf* occurs in a similar place according to the above explanation. Example :: BAR·DIY bardi "He went"; an infinitive is formed from this as follows: 'NIK BAR·DUQY BARMA·DUQY BIYR· anig barduqi· barmāduqi bīr "His going or not going are equal." 0 :: TURDIY turdi "He stood"; an infinitive is formed from this as follows: MANIK TURDUQUM· TURMA·DUQUM· BIYR· mānig turduqum turmāduqum bīr "My standing or not standing are equal." The *ḡayn* cannot occur in this type, since one may not say: TUR·DUQIY [sic] *turduyi in place of: TUR·DUQIY turduqi to mean "his standing"; nor may one say: MANIK BARDUQUM· BARMA·DUQUM· [sic] mānig barduyum barmāduyum to mean "my going [or not going]." The *ḡayn* does not occur in this type. But the *kāf* does, thus :: 'NIK KALDUKY KALMA·DUKIY BIYR anig kāldūki kalmāduki bīr "His coming or not coming are one." 0 :: SANIK KUR·DUKNK· KUR·MADUKNK BIYR· sānig kōrdükünḡ kōrmādükünḡ bīr "Your seeing or not seeing are one." I do not mention this type of infinitive either among the nouns or the verbs [in the course of the book], since whoever grasps these rules may easily derive them himself from the various dialects. This rule holds good for all kinds of verbs, sound, weak, doubled, and so on, both simple

[II. 36/43]

288

and compound.

[II. 34/39]

286

There is another type of infinitive that occurs in construct with the agent at the time he performs the act, and acts like a noun. The rule is to add after the stem *qāf* and *yā'* for words

The imperative of this chapter consists of two consonants, and for that reason we have named it “biliteral.” Thus :: BAR· **bar** “Go.” :: KAL· **käl** “Come.” This is the root. When the object of the imperative is singular, most of the Turks add to the stem *γayn* and *lām* in words having *qāf* or *išbā'*; *qāf* and *lām* in words ending in *γayn*; 0 or *kāf* and *lām* in words having *kāf* or *imāla* or *rikka*. In this case the imperative goes over from the biliteral to the quadriliteral class, or from trilateral to quinquiliteral, or from quadriliteral to sextiliteral. 0 Example :: BAR·ΓIL **barγil** “Go”; :: TUR·ΓIL· **turyil** “Stand”; these are *išbā'* words, so the suffix is *γayn* *lām*. Those with final *γayn* :: TA·Γ·QA· 'AF·QIL· **tāyqa ayqil** “Climb the mountain”; :: SUVT·SAΓ·QIL **sūt sayqil** “Draw milk”; these end with *γayn*, so the suffix has *qāf*. 0 Those with *kāf* :: 'AWKA·(KIRKIL **āwkā kirgil** “Enter the house”; :: YARMA·Q· TIR·KIL· **yarmāq tergil** “Gather dirhams”; the suffix has *kāf* because of what I mentioned above, and has caused the word to go over from biliteral to the quadriliteral class. 0 Triliteral :: YUK· KUTUR **yük kötür** “Lift the load”; TA·M· 'UTUR **tām ötür** “Pierce the wall”; the imperative [forms may be] :: KUTR·KIL· 'UTR·KIL· **kötürgil, ötürgil**; they have gone over from the trilateral to the quinquiliteral class. Quadriliteral :: 'AT· SUWFAR **at suwγar** “Water the horse”; :: MNY·'UDΓUR **māni ođγur** “Waken me”; the imperative [forms may be] :: 'UDΓUR·ΓIL SUWFAR·ΓIL **ođγuryil, suwγaryil** — the imperative has gone over from the quadriliteral to the sextiliteral class. This type of imperative is permitted only if the person addressed is singular; if it is dual or plural, the above does not apply.

[II. 37/44]

289

The imperative for the dual and plural is according to one pattern, and there is no difference between masculine and feminine. Thus :: BAR· **bar** “Go (singular)”; BARIYNKL·R· 'KIY·KUV **bariñlār ekigü** “Go (dual)”; the plural is :: BARIYNK·LA·R QAMUΓ· **bariñlār qamury**. 0

If the person addressed is honored because of age or rank, the Turks address him with the plural form, thus :: BARINK· **bariñ** “Go (singular)” — its root-meaning being “Go (plural).” The Oγuz and Qifčāq say: BAR· **bar** “Go (sg.)” and: BARINK **bariñ** “Go (pl.)”; the plural marker: LA·R· -lār drops and is replaced by *zāy* plus nasal *kāf*, for the singular, if it is desired to show honor and favor to the person addressed — this is in their dialect a “plural of the plural,” used as an address for the singular; as in the verse:

'AWLAB MANY QUYMNKIZ	awlap māni qoymañiz
'AYIQ 'YB· QYMANKIZ	ayiq ayip qiymañiz
'AQAR KUZUM 'UŞ TANKIZ	aqar közum oş täñiz
TAKRA' YURA' QUŞ 'UJA·R·	tägrä yörä quş uçar

D

V

“When you hunt me¹ do not leave me behind; do not go back on your promise; sea-water flows from my eye (comparing tears to sea-water because of their saltiness); birds fly round about (the streams of my eye).” 0 This type is permitted only for the second person. It does not occur in the first or third persons imperative, since the nasal *kāf* can only be imagined with a second person imperative. In the words: BAR·DINK **bardiñ** “You went” and: KALDINK **käldiñ** “You came,” this [letter] expresses a second person verb, not an imperative. Therefore it cannot drop without a trace in the [imperative form]: BARINK **bariñ** “Go.”

289 1. MS. *šaddatni*, read *šidtimi*.

The *dāl* which is the preterite marker always takes *kasr* (I), in the first, second and third persons. Example :: BAR·DIM· **bardim** “I went” – the *dāl* takes *kasr*. :: BAR·DINK· **bardın** “You went” –

[II. 39/46] ◁

290

the same. :: BAR·DIY· **bardi** “He went.” The *dāl* takes *kasr* in all cases. *Mīm* is the first person marker in: BAR·DIM· **bardim** “I went.” Nasal *kāf* is the second person marker in: BAR·DINK· **bardın** “You went.” *Yā'* is the third person marker in: BAR·DIY· **bardi** “He went.” For the second person singular of one who is honored, the Turks say: BAR·DINKIZ· **bardınız** “You went (singular)”; the *zāy* plus nasal *kāf* is, in its root-meaning, used for the plural, and the Oğuz do use it for the second person plural, thus: BAR·DINKIZ· **bardınız** “You went (plural).” The Oğuz here observe the rule; but the Turks have beauty of expression, and retain the distinction between superior and inferior. In all of the above cases the *dāl* has *kasr*, as I have explained. This is the rule for all verbs in each book, in the language of all the Turks.

D

The active participle, of this chapter and of all the chapters, has five forms expressing various nuances. 0 There is divergence [among the dialects] solely with regard to the form of the participle which expresses that the action simply proceeds from the agent; but there is agreement with regard to the other deverbial adjectivals (i.e. participles). All classes of the Turks use them in the same way, along with the various meanings which they express.

1) The diverging form. :: BAR·DAJIY· **bardači** “One who goes”; TUR·DAJIY· **turdači** “One who stands.” This participle is based on the preterite. A *jīm* is inserted between the *dāl* and *yā'* which are the two preterite markers, in the dialect of Oğuz, Qifčāq, Yağma, Oyrāq, Suvārīn and Bāčānāk as far as Rūs. This is according to rule, since *dāl* is a letter that serves as a preterite marker,

D

[II. 40/48]

291

while *yā'* alludes to the third person, in the word: BAR·DIY· **bardi** “He went.” Note that this [*yā'*] drops in the second person: BAR·DINK· **bardın** “You went,” and also in the first person: BAR·DIM· **bardim** “I went.” The *dāl*, however, does not drop but retains its position in all cases where the verb is preterite. In: BAR·DAJY· **bardači** [on the other hand] it is known that the *jīm* and *yā'* are agency markers. This is not the same *yā'* [therefore] which marked the third person in the preterite. This being so, it must be based on the “relative” or “descriptive” noun, as in: 'AT·JY· **ātči** “Butcher (meat-man),” 'AT·MAK·JY· **ātmākči** “Baker (bread-man).” All groups of the Turks agree in adding *jīm* and *yā'* to nouns in order to form the descriptive nouns of occupation. Example :: TARİF· **tariγ** “Tillage,” :: TARİF·JY· **tariγči** “Tiller”; :: 'ATUK· **ätük** “Boot,” 'ATUK·JY· **ätükči** “Bootmaker.” 0 As for: BAR·DAJIY· **bardači** “One who goes,” TUR·DAJIY· **turdači** “One who stands,” these also are descriptive nouns (adjectivals), but derived from verbs; whereas the former are derived from nouns. It is fitting that their rules be based on a single principle. This rule does not change for words with *qāf* or *kāf* or *išbā'*, etc. 0

In the dialects of Čigil, Kāšγar, Balāsāγun, Arγu, Barsγān and Uighur, as far as Upper Šīn, the participle in this meaning is based on the imperative. Instead of the preterite marker *dāl* there occurs *γayn*, in words with *qāf* or *γayn* or *išbā'*, or thin *kāf* elsewhere.

D

[II. 41/49]

292

In either case the *jīm* and *yā'* are fixed. Example. In the imperative :: BAR·bar “Go”; then “One who goes” is: BAR·FUVJIY *baryūci* in this dialect. :: TUR·tur “Stand,” :: TUR·FUVJIY *turyūci* “One who stands.” Those with *qāf* :: YA·QUR·FUVJIY *ya quryūci* “One who strings the bow”; :: TAWA·R QAB·FUVJY *tawār qapyūci* “One who steals goods.” 0 Those with *ḡayn* :: 'AT·SUWΓAR·FUVJIY *at suwḡaryūci* “One who waters horses”; MANIY 'UD·FUVRJY¹ *māni oḡyuryūci* “One who wakens me.” In the biliteral chapter, this *ḡayn* becomes *qāf* with words having *ḡayn*, thus :: TA·Γ·QA·'AΓ·QUVJIY *tāḡqa aḡqūci* “One who climbs mountains”; :: QUVY·SAΓ·QUVJY *qōy saḡqūci* “One who milks [sheep].” The *ḡayn* becomes *qāf* because two guttural letters of the same genus are joined, resulting in heaviness² of pronunciation, and so one of them changes to *qāf* in order to remove the heaviness. The same holds true in the imperative when the last letter of the word is *ḡayn* – it [the *ḡayn* of the imperative suffix] changes to *qāf*, thus :: TA·Γ·QA·'AΓ·QIL *tāḡqa aḡqil* “Climb the mountain”; SUVT·SAΓ·QIL *sūt saḡqil* “Draw milk.” In those with *kāf*, there occurs thin *kāf* in place of the preterite marker *dāl*, thus :: KUL·KUVJY 'AR·*kūlgūci* *ār* “A man who laughs”; :: 'AWKA·KIR·KUVJIY *āwkā kirgūci* “One who enters the house.” Those with *imāla* :: YAR·MA·Q TIYR·KUVJIY *yarmāq tērgūci* “One who gathers dirhams”; 'AT·SUR·KUVJY *at sūrgūci* “A horse-driver.”

The Oḡuz, and those I mentioned with them, observe the rule, their speech being based on the first method; with regard to the latter type, however, the Oḡuz, etc., sometimes agree with the Turks of the Čigil, etc., so that the divergence disappears. Thus

D

[II.43/51]

293

the Oḡuz say: YURIF·JY *yoriḡci* for “The mediator between the bride’s and groom’s inlaws”; they do not say: YURYDAJY **yorīdaḡci*. And they say: TARIΓ·JY *tariḡci* for “Tiller,” and not: TARIYDAJIY **tarīdaḡci*. This holds true for all dialects. 0 Since they base these descriptive nouns on the imperative, and since the imperative ends in an unvoiced consonant, they cannot simply attach the two agency markers *jīm* and *yā'*, and say something like: BARUJY **baruḡci* for “One who goes,” or: TURUJIY **туруci* for “One who stands,” since the *rā'* has a vowel in such cases and so departs from the structure of the imperative. Therefore they insert *ḡayn* in words with *qāf* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* otherwise, thus keeping the imperative fixed with an unvoiced final consonant. It is clear then that these adjectivals are based on the imperative in the dialects of these groups. Furthermore, *ḡayn* and *kāf* are more appropriate to be inserted in adjectivals than other letters would be for this meaning, because they also occur in the infinitive constructs; thus :: 'ANIK TURUΓY NATAK *anig turuḡi nātāḡ* “How is his standing?” :: TA·Z·KALIKIY BUR·K·JIYKA·*tāz kāligi bōrkēikā* “The coming of the bald man is to the hatter.”

(P)

[In Arabic] the participle may be expressed by the infinitive, as in *rajuḡun nawmūn* for *nā'imūn* (“a sleeping man”), or *ṣawmūn* for *ṣā'imūn* (“fasting”); or as in the words of the Exalted: *qul a-ra'aytum in aṣbaḡa mā'ukum ḡawran* for *ḡā'iran* (Q.67:30 “Say: ‘What think you? If in the morning your water should have vanished into the earth . . .’”).

292

1. Sic, altered from 'UDΓVJY; and in margin, by later hand: 'UDΓVRΓVJY.
2. MS. *yqul*, read *yaḡqulu*.

This is the adjectival for which there is divergence among the [dialectal] groups, in all chapters.

2) The participle which expresses duration or frequent occurrence of the action. This type is based on the imperative, with agreement among these [dialectal] groups, in all chapters. To the imperative is added *ḡayn alif nūn* in words having *qāf* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of *ḡayn* in those with *kāf* or *imāla*. 0 Example. In the imperative :: BAR' **bar** "Go"; to characterize a person as frequently performing this action, you say: 'UL 'AR' 'UL 'AW'KA' BAR'ḤA'N' ol **ār ol āwkā baryān**

[II. 44/53]

294

"He is a man who goes frequently to the house." :: 'UL 'AR' 'UL 'IYŠLA'R'QA' TUR'ḤA'N' ol **ār ol išlārqa turḡān** "He is a man who often undertakes affairs." Verse:

TURḤA'N 'ULḤ 'IŠ'LAQA'	turḡān uluḡ išlaqa	V
TIRKY 'URUB 'AŠ'LAQA'	terḡi urup ašlaqa	
TUMLUḤ QADIR QIŠ'LAQA'	tumluy qadir qišlaqa	
QUḌTY 'ARIK' 'UM'DURUV	qoḍti ārig umduru	

Eulogizing a man: "He was one who often undertook great affairs; (a feeder,) one who frequently spread the table [for feasts]; during the bitter cold of winter; he left men wishing (for his goodness and piety)." 0 Those with *kāf* :: KULKA'N 'AR **kūlgān ār** "A laughing man"; the imperative is: KUL' **kūl** "Laugh," and these letters are added to the imperative in this meaning.

Now since it is permitted to insert *ḡayn* and *kāf* in this adjectival, which indicates frequency of action, then it is even more suitable in the phrases: BAR'ḤUVJIIY KAL'KUḠVJIIY¹ **baryūci, kālgūci** which mean [simply] "One who goes, One who comes," because the less frequent is based upon the more frequent; this should be known! This form is like the forms *fa''āl²* or *mif'āl* in Arabic, as in *innahu la-šarrāb bi-anqu'* ("he is a constant drinker of swamp-water"), or *ḡallā' anjud* ("a climber of highlands"), or *miḡ'ām* ("a feeder"), or *miḡ'ān* ("a spear-thrower"). These express frequent performance of the action.

3) The participle which expresses that one is desirous of undertaking an action, prior to his actually performing it. It is not based on the imperative [directly]. After the stem one adds *ḡayn sīn alif qāf* in words having *qāf*, *ḡayn* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of the medial *ḡayn* and final *qāf* in words with *kāf* or *rikka*. The letter which in the imperative is unvowelled now takes *kasr* (I).

[II. 46/55]

295

Example :: BAR' **bar** "Go"; to describe one who desires to go, you say: 'UL 'AWK' BARIḤ'SA'Q 'UL ol **āwkā bariysāq ol** "He is desirous of going to the house." :: TUR' MUN'DA' **tur munda**

294 1. Original U crossed out, another placed directly above K by later hand.
2. MS. *fi''al*.

“Stay here”; to express this idea you say: 'UL MUN'DA' TURUḤ'SA'Q 'UL ol munda turuysāq ol “He is desirous of staying here.” Those with *kāf* :: 'UL BARUV KALIK'SA'K 'AR'DIY ol bārū kāligsāk ārdi “He was intent on, or desirous of, coming here.” :: 'UL 'AW'K' KIRK'SA'K 'UL ol āwkā kirigsāk ol “He is desirous of entering the house.” 0 Those with *imāla* :: 'UL TAWA'R' TIRIK'SA'K 'UL ol tawar terigsāk ol “He is desirous of gathering money.” Memorize the rules!

This [suffix] is also found on nouns to describe a man with this meaning. Thus :: 'UL 'AR' 'UL TAWAR'SA'Q ol ār ol tawarsāq “He is a man who desires money.” :: BUV 'URA'TUT' 'UL 'AR'SA'K' bu urā'yut ol ārsāk “This is a woman who desires men.” However, the *ḡayn* or *kāf* do not occur with nouns.

4) The participle which expresses either that one ought to have performed the action which did not appear but is mentioned (? *kāna min ḡaqqihi an yaf'ala l-fi'l al-kāmin al-muxbir 'anhu*), or that one intends to perform it. This type is based on the imperative. That is, the imperative remains fixed, with its final consonant unvowelled, and to it one adds *ḡayn lām qāf* in words having *qāf* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of the medial *ḡayn* and the final *qāf* [otherwise]. Example :: BAR' bar “Go”; to express that one ought to go, you say: 'UL BAR'TULUQ 'AR'DIY ol baryuluq ārdi “He should have gone,” or else, “He intended to.” :: 'UL MUNDA' TUR'TULUQ 'AR'DIY ol munda turyuluq ārdi “He ought, or intends, to stay here.”

[II. 47/56]

296

Some of the *Oyuz* replace the *lām* by *šm*, thus :: 'UL MUNDA' BARIḤ'SAQ' [sic] 'AR'DIY ol munda turuysaq ārdi “He should have stayed here.” :: 'UL MUNDIN BARIḤ'SAQ' TAKUL ol mundin bariysaq tągül “He is not going to go from here.”

D

This type of adjectival makes quinqueliterals from biliterals, sextiliterals [from triliterals], and septiliterals from quadriliterals. All of this will appear in its proper place, God willing.

5) The participle which expresses that one has in mind the performance of the action. This is close to the first type [sic; the preceding type?] in which the agent intends to perform the action. This type is not based on the imperative; rather, the last letter of the word is vowelled with *kasr* (I), while the first letter of the suffix is unvowelled, in all chapters. Example :: BAR' bar “Go”; one adds to the stem *ḡayn lām yā'* in words with *qāf* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of *ḡayn* in words with *kāf* or *rikka*; thus :: MAN SANK' BARIḤ'LY MAN' män saḡa bariyli män “I have in mind going to you.” :: 'UL MUNDA' TURUḤ'LIY 'UL ol munda turuḡli ol “He¹ has in mind staying here.” Those with *kāf* :: 'UL MANKA' KALIKLIY TURUR ol maḡa kāligli turur “He intends and has in mind coming to me.” [With *imāla*] :: 'UL MANK' TAWA'R' BIRIK'LY 'UL ol maḡa tawār berigli ol “He is going to give me the goods.”

This type of adjectival is based on the infinitive construct, but with *lām* and *yā'* added to it so that it becomes an adjectival; since, as we have explained [286], when *ḡayn* or *kāf* is added to the stem and the unvowelled [final stem-] consonant is vowelled, then it is an infinitive construct, indicating²

296 1. MS. *annī*, read *annahu*.

2. MS. *yubnā*, read *yunbi'u* with EP.

the present performance of the action; as :: 'ANIK BARIŪY KUR' **anig bariyi kör** "Look at his going"; :: 'NIK KALIKY KUVR **anig kälgi kör** "Look at his coming." Since this is an infinitive, it becomes an adjectival through the addition of *lām yā'*, as I have explained.

There is complete agreement with regard to this type of adjectival among all the classes of Turks.

These are the five types of adjectivals, with their respective meanings, for all verbs.

The passive participle is formed in a single way in all chapters, namely by adding *mīm šīn* to the imperative. Thus :: YA' QUR **ya qur** "String the bow"; passive participle: QUR·MIŠ YA' **qurmiš ya** "A strung bow." :: QAZ·MIŠ 'ARIQ' **qazmiš ariq** "A canal that has been dug out." The stem remains fixed, and these two letters are added to it. This is for transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs may also take *mīm šīn* to form a preterite; thus :: 'AW·KA' BAR·MIŠ **äwkä barmiš** "He went to the house, but I did not observe it"; :: 'UL MANKA' KAL·MIŠ **ol maña kälmiš** "He came to me, but I did not know of it." In these examples the *mīm* and *šīn* are in place of the preterite markers *dāl* and *yā'* in: BAR·DIY **bardi** "He went" and: KAL·DIY **kälđi** "He came." The difference between these two forms is that *dāl yā'* on preterite verbs indicate¹ that the action occurred in the presence of the speaker. The action was verified by its occurrence in his presence. For example, if someone says: BAR·DIY **bardi** the meaning is, "He went, and I saw him go with my own eyes." *Mīm šīn*, on the other hand, indicate that the action occurred in the absence of the speaker. Thus :: 'UL BAR·MIŠ **ol barmiš** "He went, but I did not see him go"; :: 'UL KAL·MIŠ **ol kälmiš** "He came, but I did not see him." This is a general rule

holding good for all preterite verbs, whether intransitive or not. There is no difference between words with *qāf* or *išbā'* and those with *kāf* or *rikka*, nor between masculine and feminine, as the examples show. The *mīm šīn* in the phrases: BAR·MIŠ KIŠIY **barmiš kiši** "The man who went," and: KAL·MŠ 'AR' **kälmiš är** "The man who came" make the verb into an adjectival. The *dāl yā'* do not have this function in: BAR·DIY KAL·DIY **bardi, kälđi**.

Inflection. Most of the dialectal groups – Yaγma, Tuxsi, Čigil, Arγu, and Uighur as far as Şin – agree with regard to the preterite that it is fixed with *dāl* and *yā'*; thus :: BAR·DIY **bardi** "He went." The Oγuz, however, and some of Qifčāq and Suvārīn,¹ differ in that they replace *yā'* by *qāf* in words having *qāf*, *γayn* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of *qāf* in words having *kāf* or *rikka*. In this dialect, plural and singular have one form with no difference between them. With *qāf* :: YA' QUR·DUQ **ya qurduq** "He strung the bow"; :: MAN YA' QUR·DUQ **mān ya qurduq** "I strung the bow"; :: BIZ' YA' QUR·DUQ **biz ya qurduq** "We strung the bow." With *γayn* :: 'UL SUVT'

D

297 1. MS. *yubnā*, read *tunbi'āni*.

298 1. MS. *suvārayn*.

SAF'DIY [sic] ol sūt sayduq "He drew milk"; :: 'ULA'R TA'Γ'QA' 'AΓDUQ: olār tāγqa ayduq "They climbed the mountain"; first person :: BIZ' 'AΓDUQ: biz ayduq "We climbed." With *ışbā'* :: 'UL 'ANIY 'UR'DUQ' ol ani urduq "He struck him"; :: MAN MUNDA' TUR'DUQ mən munda turduq "I stayed here." With *kāf* :: 'UL KAL'DUK' ol kældük "He came"; :: BIZ' KAL-DUK biz kældük "We came"; :: 'ULA'R' 'AWK' KIR'DUK' olār äwkä kirdük

[II. 51/61]

299

"They entered the house." With *imāla* :: MAN 'ANKAR TAWA'R BIYR'DUK mən anar tawār bērdük "I gave him the money"; :: MAN YARMA'Q' TIYR'DUK mən yarmāq tērdük "I gathered the dirhams." As you see, there is no difference here between plural and singular. Most of the Oγuz use this *qāf* instead of *mīm* in the first person for the form: BAR'DIM bardim "I went" [i.e., the Oγuz say barduq instead]; the plural and singular have the same form. But they agree with the genuine Turks in the third person; they do not say: BAR'DUQ KAL'DIY [sic] barduq kældük to mean "He went, He came."

The imperative is the same in all the dialects.

Negative. :: BAR'MA'DIM barmādim "I did not go"; KAL'M'DIM kalmādim "I did not come." There is agreement with regard to this among all the dialects in the first person. Negative of the third person: BAR'MA'DUQ barmāduq "He did not go, as far as I have heard or suppose"; KAL'M'DUK kalmādük "He has not yet come, as far as I know." This type of negation corresponds to what we have just shown with regard to the assertion: BAR'MIŞ barmiş meaning "He went, but I did not observe him or witness his going"; KAL'MIŞ kalmiş "He came, but I did not see him come." When the negative is constructed with *qāf* in words having *qāf* or *ışbā'*, etc., or with *kāf* otherwise, then it has this connotation, in all verbs. If however you wish to assert the negative, then you say: BAR'MA'DIY barmādi meaning "He definitely did not go"; KAL'MA'DIY kalmādi "He definitely did not come." As for the Oγuz, they denote assertion by saying: BAR'DUQ barduq "He went"; KALDUK' kældük "He came." The *qāf* or *kāf* is in place of the *yā'* of the third person or the *mīm* of the first person in the negative form of the Turk [dialect; thus]: BAR'MA'DUQ barmāduq "He did not go";

D

[II. 52/63]

300

KAL'MA'DUK kalmādük "He did not come." It is used as a marker of assertion [in Oγuz dialect]. This is a general rule, holding good for all verbs without exception. 0

The infinitive used for emphasis comes before the verb, the reverse of the rule in Arabic. :: 'UL BAR'MA'Q' BAR'DIY ol barmāq bardi "He went a going"¹ – the infinitive is placed before the main verb; :: 'UL KAL'MA'K' KAL'DIY ol kalmāk kaldi "He came a coming" – the infinitive is placed before the preterite [i.e., before the main verb]. 0

Verbal inflection :: BAR'DIY bardi "He went"; BARIYR' barir "He goes"; BAR'MA'Q barmāq "Going, to go"; imperative: BAR' bar "Go (singular)"; plural: BARIYNK'LA'R' bariñlār

300 1. *dahāban dahaba*; Kāşyarī reverses the correct Arabic order to point up the Turkic syntax.

“Go (plural).” The addition of *lām alif rā’* in the imperative of the second person plural is a rule of the Turks; they [i.e., the Oğuz – see 289 above] use nasal *kāf* for the second person plural, just as the Turks use it to address an individual who is honored, thus :: BARIYNK’ *barīṅ* “Go (plural).”

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The prohibitive (negative imperative) is formed in a single way, namely by adding *mīm* *alif* to the imperative form in all dialects. Example :: BAR·MA’ *barma* “Don’t go”; TUR·MA’ *turma* “Don’t stand”; plural: BAR·MA’NK·LA’R *barmāṅlār* “Don’t go (pl.)”; TUR·MA’NK·LA’R *turmāṅlār* “Don’t stand (pl.)” Third person :: ’UL·² BAR·MA’SUVN’ *ol barmāsūn* “May he not go”; KAL·M’SUVN’ *kālmāsūn* “May he not come.”

The assertive [of the foregoing] :: BAR·SUVN’ *barsūn* “May he go”; KAL·SUVN’ *kālsūn* “May he come.” You add *sīn vāv nūn* to the second person imperative to form the third person, in all dialects.

[Aorist.] First person :: BARIYR’ MAN *barīr mān* “I go.” The Oğuz drop one of the *rā’s* in the aorist; they keep the *rā’* of the stem and discard the aorist *rā’*. Thus :: MAN BARN *mān* *baran* “I go,” MAN TURN *mān turan* “I stand.” But if there is no *rā’* in the stem,

D

[II. 54/65]

301

then they insert the aorist *rā’*. Thus :: MAN KALIRA’N *mān kālirān* “I come” – there is no *rā’* in the word: KAL·DIY *kāldi* “He came”; MAN·KULARAN’ *mān küllārān* “I laugh” – there is no *rā’* in the word: KUL·DIY *küldi* “He laughed.” Also, they change the *mīm* into *alif* – that is, the one that comes after the verb, in the phrase: MAN BARIYR’ MAN’ *mān barīr mān* “I go”; they say: MAN YA’ QURARAN’¹ *mān ya quran* “I string the bow,” while the Turks say: QURAR·MAN *qurar mān* “I string,” with two *rā’s*, one belonging to the root and the other the aorist marker, and with: MAN *mān* afterwards. This is according to rule; what the Oğuz do is not according to rule, but is for lightness.

Negation :: ’UL BAR·MA’S’ *ol barmās* “He does not go”; MAN BARMA’S’ MAN’ *mān barmās mān* “I do not go.” There is no divergence from this among the dialectal groups. The rule for negation of aorist verbs is to add to the imperative form *mīm alif sīn*, whether in the first or third person. In the plural you add to these verbs the particle: LA’R’ *-lār*. Example :: ’ULA’R’ BAR·MA’S’ LA’R’ *olār barmās lār* “They do not go”; BUVLA’R BARMA’S’ LA’R’ *bulār barmās lār* “These do not go”; BIZ BARMA’S’ MIZ *biz barmās miz* “We do not go.”

If you wish to say that one will do something in the future, then you add to the imperative form *ḡayn alif yā’* in words with *qāf* or *išbā’*, or *kāf* otherwise, or else *qāf* in words with *ḡayn*. Thus :: ’UL YA’ QUR·ḤA’Y’ *ol ya qurḡāy* “He will string the bow”; :: ’UL SUVT’ SA·Ḥ·QA’Y’ *ol sūt sāḡqāy* “He will draw milk”; :: ’UL ’AWKA’ BAR·ḤA’Y’ *ol āwkā barḡāy* “He will go home”; :: ’UL MANK’ KAL·KA’Y’ *ol maṅā kalgāy*

2. *Sukūn* (·) altered from U by later hand.

[II. 55/66]

302

“He will come to me”; :: 'UL YAR·MA'Q' TIYR·KA'Y' **ol yarmāq tērgāy** “He will gather dirhams (or other).” This is the general rule, holding for all verbs in every chapter, to express this meaning.
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To express that the agent is on the point of performing the action, or has almost done it, you add to the imperative form *ḡayn alif lām rā'* in words with *qāf* or *išbā'*, or *qāf* in words ending in *ḡayn*, or *kāf* otherwise. This is the same for all dialects. Example :: MAN BAR·ΓA'LIR· MAN **mān baryālir mān** “I am on the point of going”; :: MAN TUR·ΓA'LIR· MAN **mān turyālir mān** “I am about to stand”; 0 :: 'UL YA' QUR·ΓA'LIR· **ol ya quryālir** “He is on the point of stringing the bow and has almost done it”; :: 'UL TA'Γ·QA' 'AΓ·QA'LIR· **ol tāyqa ayqālir** “He is on the point of climbing the mountain and has almost climbed it.” With *kāf* :: 'UL 'AWKA' KIR·KA'LIR· **ol āwkā kirgālir** “He is about to enter the house, he has nearly entered”; :: 'UL YAR·MA'Q' TIYR·KA'LIR· **ol yarmāq tērgālir** “He has almost gathered the dirhams, he is about to do it.” This is a general rule, holding good for all verbs.

Nouns of time, place and instrument are formed by adding to the stem *ḡayn* and *vāv* in words with *qāf* or *išbā'*, or *kāf* in place of *ḡayn* in words with *kāf* or *imāla* or *rikka*. This occurs in the dialect of Čigil, Yaḡma, Tuxsi, Arḡu, and Uighur as far as Upper Šin. In the dialects of Oḡuz, Qifčāq, Bāčānāk and Bulḡār, to form such nouns, one adds to the imperative form

D

[II. 56/67]

303

šin and *yā'*.¹ Example. Noun of time [and place] :: BUV YA' QUR·ΓUR 'UΓUR· 'AR·MA'S· **bu ya quryu uyur ārmās** “This is not the time for stringing the bow.” :: BUV TUR·ΓUV YIYR· 'AR·MA'S **bu turyu yēr ārmās** “This is not the place to stay.” In Oḡuz :: BUV YA' QURA'SIY 'UΓUR· TAKUL· **bu ya qurāsi uyur tāgūl** “This is not the time for stringing the bow.” :: BUV TURA'SIY YIYR· TAKUL **bu turāsi yēr tāgūl** “This is not the place to stay.” And :: BUV TA'Γ 'AΓ·QUV 'AR·MA'S· **bu tāy ayqu (uyur?) ārmās** “This is not the time to climb the mountain” – I have already pointed out [cf. 292, 301] that when the last letter of the word is *ḡayn* you join to it *qāf* [instead of *ḡayn*] for such suffixes; the last sentence is an example of this. In Oḡuz dialect :: BUV TA'Γ· 'AΓA'SIY U'UΓR TKUL· **bu tāy ayāsi uyur tāgūl** “This is not the time to climb the mountain.” Along with this [suffix] you also mention the word for “time” or “place,” namely: 'UΓUR· **uyur** “Hour (*sā'a*),” YIYR· **yēr** “Place.” 0 Those with *kāf* :: BUV 'AW·KA' KIR·KUV 'UVD· 'UL **bu āwkā kirgū ōḡ ol** “This is the time to enter the house.” :: 'UL BIZ·KA' KAL·KUV BUL·DIY **ol bizkā kalgū boldi** “The time of his coming to us has arrived.” The Oḡuz say: 'UL BIZ·KA' KALASIY BUL·DIY **ol bizkā kālāsi boldi** with the same meaning. This type of verbal acts like a noun in that it can be constructed [with personal pronouns]. Thus :: SANIK BAR·ΓUVNK· QAJA'N· **sānig baryūn qačān** “When is your going?” The Oḡuz say for this: SANIK BARA'SINK· QAJA'N· **sānig barāsiḡ qačān**. 0 :: MANIK BAR·ΓUVM·² YAQ·TIY **mānig baryūm yaqti** “My going is near”; :: 'ANIK· BAR·ΓUVSIY **anig baryūsi**. The Oḡuz say: MANIK BARA'SIM· **mānig barāsim** for “My going.” The *šin yā'* are according to their rule for this type of noun. In their dialect there is no distinction [in this form] between words with *qāf* and those with *kāf*, etc.;

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303 1. MS. *šin* and *vāv* and *yā'*.
2. M· added by later hand.

in the dialect of the others there is a distinction among words with *γayn*, *qāf* or *kāf*. Nouns of instrument of every category act like [simple] nouns though they derive from verbs. 0 Example :: YIYKUV NA'NK' *yēgü nāñ* "Something from which to eat; a plate." :: 'URΓUV *uryu* "Something used to beat with." 0 :: YΓIA'J BIJ'ΓUV *yiγāč bičγu* "An ax with which to cut wood (or other)." :: SUR'ΓUV *soryu* "Cupping glass"; this is derived from the expression: 'AMIG SUR'DIY *āmig sordi* "It sucked at the udder (or other)." This type of noun distinguishes among *γayn*, *qāf* and *kāf* as in the foregoing, in the dialects of these groups,¹ but not in Oγuz. The rule is the same as the preceding. As for Oγuz, they form nouns of instrument with *sīn* and *yā'* in all verbs; thus :: YIΓA'J BIJA'SIY NA'NK' *yiγāč bičāsi nāñ* "Something with which to cut wood"; :: YIYKA'SIY [sic] NA'NK' *yeyāsi (?) nāñ* "Something [from which] to eat." 0

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These principles and rules that I have indicated are not confined to this chapter alone. They apply to trilaterals, quadrilaterals, quinquilaterals and sextilaterals, as a general rule with no exception at all, in each book and in the manner described. Therefore you must grasp the principles and rules at this point, since in this chapter I have been repetitive and long-winded, and elsewhere I will not be so expansive, but refer [here]. This is the alchemy² of the principles of the dialects. I have spent many notebooks on their account. Once you have memorized these principles you may deduce the rest on your own accord; so, as long as you are assiduous in learning them, you will not be troubled by any word that you may hear from a Turk, even if you do not know its root. Understand!

End of the Biliteral Chapters

304 1. MS. *ṭabaqa*, read *ṭabaqāt*.
2. MS. *kīmā*, read *kīmiyā'*.