A Grammar of Chagatay

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to

Elizabeth

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

[Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān]

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Introduction

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

0.1. Present status

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

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

0.2. Relevance

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

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

0.3. Availability

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

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

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

0.4. Chagatay Literacy

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

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

As can be expected in a region dominated by Islam, most of the surviving written records are works of religious literature. Treatises on Islamic topics and manuals to teach the essential duties of the believer. Most prominent among these are Islām's *Muʿīnu'l murīd*, the first known Central Asian Turkish manual for dervish novices, Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān's *Risāla-i Maʿārif*, a handbook designed for the subjects of the Mongolian prince's conceptual Uzbek Islamic Empire, *Risāla-i Vālidīya*, a treatise by Muḥammad Zahīru'ddīn Bābur on the emulation of the Prophet Muḥammad. Dervish literature is also widely represented. By way of examples the works of Gadāʿī, Luṭfī, Shāh Mashrab, and, from the early period, poets in Sayf-i Sarāyī's anthology can be mentioned. In court literature the lyrical *nāma* genre, a sequel of masnavīs interlaced with ghazals, was developed. At least four of such works have come down to us. Among them the *Dahnāma* of Yūsuf Amīrī excels both in intricacy of style and sophistication of content. The so-called contest poems (*munāẓara*) have also a few fine representatives, such as Yūsuf Amīrī's *The Bhang and the Wine*, Yaqīnī's contest of the *Arrow and the Bow*, and Aḥmadī's *A Contest of the String Instruments*. Ghazals, verses of lyrical-panegyric inspiration on religious or secular themes, collected in *Dīvāns* are numerous. The collections of Mīr Alīsher Navāʾī, Husayn Bayqara, Ẓahīru'd-dīn Bābur, and, for its less sophisticated but informative content, Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān should be mentioned among the many. Qaṣīdas, panegyric poems dedicated to the Supreme Being, to a patron or extolling the beauty of nature, occur mostly as integral part of other genres. Less frequently they are unattached in a collective works. Of the former Yūsuf Amīrī's *qaṣīda* to the Timurid Baysunghur, of the latter Shaybanī Khān's *Bahru'l-hudā* are typical examples. Epic poetry mostly deal with legends known from Persian literature. Mīr Alīsher Navāʾī's *Khamsa*, a set of five epics produced in emulation (naẓīra) of Niẓāmī's set of five epics is among the highlights of Chagatay literature. Memoirs and chronicles, for example Ẓahīru'd-dīn Bābur's Memoirs (*Bābur-nāma*),Muḥamad Sālih'schronicle of Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān (*Shaybani-nāma*), Abū'l-ǧāzī Bahādur Khān's histories (*Shajara-i turk* and *Shajara-i Tarākima*) and many others are important sources of history and cultural heritage of Central Asia. We also have works on the lexicon (*farhang*) and grammar of the Chagatay languague of which Mirza Mehdi Khan's *Sanglaḥ*, a grammar and vocabulary of the Turkish language in Persian is the most famous.

0.5. Status of Research in Chagatay

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Primary sources for this book come from all layers of the language from different historical periods. The popular tone is represented by legends and didactic works (e.g., *The Story of Ibrāhīm*, *Baraq-nāma*, *Muqaddimatu 's-ṣalāt*), by dervish literature (e.g., the *Ḥikmats* of Aḥmad Yasavī and Ḫālis), learned narrative prose by treatises, chronicles and memoirs (e.g., Yazdī's *Zafarnāma*, Shaybānī Khān's *Risāla-i Ma'ārif*, Muḥamad Sāliḥ's *Šaybānī-nāma*, Muḥammad Zahīru'd-dīn Bābur's *Bābur-nāma*, Navā'ī's *Muḥākamatu'l-luğatain*), learned poetry by *dīvāns* of religious or secular inspiration (such as the poems of Luṭfī, Gada'ī, Muḥammad Shaybānī Khan, Muḥammad Zahīru'd-dīn Bābur, Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, Mir 'Alīšēr Navā'ī,) court literature by romantic epics (e.g, Quṭb's *Ḫusrav u Šīrīn*, Nava'ī's *Ḫamsa*), lyrical genres (Khujandī's *Laṭāfat-nāma*, Amīrī's *Dah nāma*, Khorazmī's *Muḥabbat-nāma*), satirical works (e.g., Aḥmadī's *Contest of the String Instruments*, Amīrī's *Bang-u Čağïr*), grammar and lexicography (e.g., Muḥammad Mahdī Khān's *Sanglāḫ*, Ṭali' Īmānī's *Badā'i' al-luğat*), translation literature (Navā'ī's *Nasā'imu'l-maḥabbat*). Preference was given to Sayf-i Sarāyī's works for lexical precision and grammatical correctness[1], Shaybānī Khān's *Dīvān* for its rich vocabulary, and Amīrī's *Dah nāma*, a disciplined, well-written and erudite work, which I consider above and beyond others, the best representative of high style Chagatay poetry.

[1] In translating Sa'dī's Gulistān he made only one mistake reading *barq-i cahān* (53v:l1) as *barq-i 'ālam*.

Abbreviations[2]

AC	Aḥmadī, *Contest of the String Instruments*
'AtḤ	*'Atabatu'l-ḥaqā'iq* MS
AY	Aḥmad Yasavī, *Dīvān-i Ḥikmat*
Bābur	Beveridge, *Baburnāma*
BC	*Bang-u Čağïr* MS
BH	Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān, *Bahru'l-hudā*
BN	Aḥmad, *Baraq-nāma*
Brock.	Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*
Ccum	Gronbech, *Codex Cumanicus*
CPD	*Chagatay-Persian Dictionary*
Dastūrn.	*Dastūrnāma* MS
DN	Amīrī, *Dahnāma* MS
Eckm. Gr.	Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*
FK	Navā'ī, *Favā'idu'l-kibār*
GD	Gadā'ī, *Dīvān*
Hac.	Hacieminoğlu, *Kutb'un Husrev u Şirin'i*
ḤBD	Husayn Bayqara, *Dīvān*
Ḫ	Ḫāliṣ, *Story of Ibrāhīm*
IM	Toparlı, *Iršādu'l-mulūk*
Kāšğ.	Mahmūd Kāšğarī, *Dīvān luğat at-turk*
KBV	*Kitāb Baytarat al-Vāziḥ*
LN	*Laṭāfat-nāma*
MA	*Muqaddimatu'l-adab*
Mab.L	Ross, E. Denison, *The Mabâni'l-Lughat*
MM	Islām, *Mu'ınu'l-murīd*
MLU	*Modern Literary Uzbek*
MN	Khwarazmi, *Muḥabbat-nāma*
MQ	Navā'ī, *Maḥbūbu'l-qulūb*
MS	*Muqaddimatu's-ṣalāt*
MUGr	*Modern Uygur Grammar*
N	Navā'ī, Mīr 'alī Shēr
N Dict.	Фазилов, Э. И. *Алишер Навоий асарлари тилининг изоҳли луғати.*
N FK	Navā'ī, *Favā'idu'l-kibār*
NF	*Nahcu'l-farādis* MS
NM	Eraslan *Navā'ī, Nasā'imu'l-maḥabba*
NTM	Bodrogligeti, *Nisāb-i Turki, Manchester*
PdC	Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turk-oriental*
Quṭb	Quṭb, *Ḫusräv u Šīrīn*

[2] Data in Bibliography

Rabğ.	Rabğūzī, *Qiṣaṣu'l-anbiyā*
RB	Bābur Shāh, *Risāla-i Validīya*
RM	Shaybanī Khān, *Risāla-i Maʿārif*
Sayf	Sayf-i Sarāyī, *Gulistān bi't-turkī*
Sang.	Clauson, *Sanglaḫ*
ShD	Shaybānī Khān, *Dīvān*
Shayb.V	Vámbéry, *Die Scheïbaniade*
Steingass	Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*
Vámb. Čsp.	Vámbéry, *Čagataische Sprachstudien*
Zaj.	Zajaczkowski, *Najstarsza wersja turecka Ḫusrāv u Šīrīn Quṭba. III, Slownik*
Zam.	Yüce Nūr, *Zamaḫšarī, Muqaddimatu'l-adab*
Zenker	*Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch*
ZN	Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma* (MS)

The Arabic-Persian Alphabet

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

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

Numbers

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

1. Orthography

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

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

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

2. Phonology

2.1. Vowels

Chagatay has nine short and five long vowels. The short vowels are: a, ä, e, ï, i, o, ö, u, ü two of which [o and ö] are of limited distribution.[3] The long vowels are ā, ī, ū [in Arabic and Persian words] and ē and ō [in Persian words[4]].

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

[3] They do not occur in suffixes and case endings.

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

2.1.1. Classification of Vowels

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

The velar [back] vowels are:	**a, ï, o, u**	**ā, ō, ū**
The palatal [front] vowels are:	**ä, e, i, ö, ü**	**ē, ī**
The labial [rounded] vowels are:	**o, ö, u, ü**	**ū, ō**
The illabial [unrounded] vowels are:	**a, ä, e, ï, i**	**ī, ē, ā**
The open vowels are:	**a, ä**	**ā**
The medial vowels are:	**e, o, ö**	**ē, ō**
The close vowels are:	**ï, i, u, ü**	**ū, ī**

2.1.2. The Distribution of Vowels

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

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

2.1.3. Vowel Harmony

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

[5] Or one's fortune.

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

2.1.3.1. Palato-alveolar Harmony

The palato-alveolar harmony requires that a word contain either palatal or velar vowels. Derivative and possessive suffixes, the sign of the plural and inflectional endings must comply with this rule. It has to be noted, however, that the Arabic orthography does not directly reveal the nature of vowels in suffixes. [There are no special characters for back or front vowels. An *alif* can represent an **a** or **ä**, a *waw* can stand for an **u, ü, o**, or **ö**, and a *yod* for an **ï** or **i**]. Only the consonants **ğ, q** and **g, k** in the suffix can give us a hint as to whether a vowel is palato-alveolar or velar. E.g., **cihān-da** 'in this world', **ev-dä** 'in the house', **sözlä-mäk** 'to speak', **angla-maq** 'to understand', **tüš-tüng** 'you fell', **bağla-dï** 'he tied', **kit-gäli** 'since I left', **qïl-ğan-lar** 'those who made', **kel-gän-lär** 'those who came'.

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

2.1.3.2. Labial-illabial Harmony

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

There are suffixes that do not comply with the labial-illabial harmony. E.g., the third person singular and plural of the definite past tense: **sordï** 'he asked', **kördi** 'he saw', **kördilär** 'they saw', **urdïlar** 'they beat'; the accusative marker **-nï/-ni**: **gulnï** 'rose' (accusative), **ölümni** 'death' (accusative); the ablative case marker **-dïn/-din**: **quldïn** 'from the servant', **tütündin** 'from the smoke'; the third person possessive suffix. singular and plural: **uyqusï** 'his dream', **künläri** 'his days'.

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

2.2. Consonants

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

2.2.1. Classification of Consonants

The Chagatay consonants are divided into

stops:	**p t k q b d g ‘**
spirants:	**f s š ḫ h v z ž ğ**
affricates:	**č c**
liquids:	**r l ɬ**
nasals:	**m n ŋ**
semivowels:	**ụ y**

2.2.2. Distribution of Consonants

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

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

3. Morphology

3.1. Nouns

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

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

Simple nouns	**tağ** 'mountain'
	suw 'water'
	san 'number'
	elig 'hand'
	temür 'iron'
Derivative nouns	**sevünč** 'joy' [< **sevün-** 'to rejoice']
	tiriglik 'life' [< **tirig** 'alive']
	temürči 'blacksmith' [**temür** 'iron']
	baqïš 'glance' [**baq-** 'to look]
Compound nouns	**ṣāḥibqirān** 'lord of the happy constellation'
	čatabačča 'a Mongolian girl'
	gulčaḫra 'a rose-cheeked beauty'
Hyphenated nouns	**el-ulus** 'people'
	kečä-kündüz 'night and day'
	rusul-anbiyālar '[all] the prophets'
	ḥadīṣ-naṣṣ 'scripture'
	oğul-qïz 'children'

3.1.1. Number

Singular and plural are no exclusive categories. A noun in the singular may refer to more than one objects [e.g., **on altun** 'ten gold coins'; **köp yalğan** 'many lies']. Less frequently, a noun in the plural may refer to a single object [**avliyā** 'saint', **ḥazratlarï** 'His Majesty']. A formal distinction between singular and plural is made by Turkish, or less frequently, by Arabic devices.There is no special marker for the singular.

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

> **Uzun tün qalmağa allïngda ğamlar, yaruğay ʿayš ičindä ṣubḥ-damlar.** (DN248v:7) 'Sorrows should not stay through long nights in your presence, mornings should shine on you while you are still in revelry.'

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

> **Ğamïmnï ol camāʿat kim yedilär, ṭarïqingdin manga andaq dedilär.** (DN254r:3) 'Those people who felt sorry for me, spoke thus about your practices.'

3.1.1.1. Turkish Plural

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

3.1.1.2. Arabic Plural

Arabic plural forms occur as individual lexical entries not as part of a paradigm. Often the Turkish **-lar/-lär** is attached to them. E.g., **maʿānī** 'meanings', **maḫlūqāt** 'creatures', **anbiyālar** 'prophets', **malāʾikalar** 'angels', **hayvānātlar** 'animals', **arkānlar** 'tenets'.

3.1.2. Status

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

3.1.2.1. The Suffix -ē: Nouns in Particular Status

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

3.1.2.1.1 Subject

> **Farāğat rūdïdïn tegdi sadāyē, bašārat kökidin yetti navāyē.** (DN249r:4) 'From the river of leisure there came a voice. From the roots of good tidings there came a tune.'
>
> **Agar salsam nazarnï köz yašïna, ne bolğay qatrāē daryā qašïna?** (DN250v:7) 'Suppose I cast a glance at the tears: What is the value of a single tear drop against [the waters of] a river?'
>
> **Bäyiktin sāya körgüzür humāyē ki tā davlat tapar andïn gadāyē.** (DN258v:10) 'From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.'

3.1.2.1.2. Nominal Predicate

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

3.1.2.1.3. Predicate Complement

> **Manga yoq tur figārē sendin özgä, sanga yoq tur nigārē mendin özgä.** (DN253v:5) 'I do not have a sore wound, except you, you do not have a sweetheart, except me.'
>
> **Anga ol šiʿr ara kim qaldï maḥzūn, radīfē bar edi, maqbūl va mavzūn.** (DN258r:9) 'In that poem [the tone of] which remained somber she had a cowalker, pleasant and friendly.'

3.1.2.1.4. Direct Object

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

> **Bitidim ṣafḥaē men cān tilidin, qïlïban ʿarż hicrān muškilidin.** (DN243r:10) 'I wrote a page [dictated by] the tongue of the soul. It reported of the hardships of separation.'
>
> **Ču qoysang ol ḫarāb allïda gāmē, bitigni tēz tegür bizdin salāmē.** (DN246v5) 'When you put your foot in front of that ruin [> when you come to the presence of that wretched person] give him the letter right away and convey my greetings.'
>
> **Taṣavvur manṭiqin čon qïldï taṣdïq, bitidi nāmaē luṭf ilä taʿlïq.** (DN246v:1) 'When she confirmed the logic of imagination, she wrote a letter in fine taʿliq script.'

Bitidim nāmaē ʿunvānï iḫlāṣ, bayānïmnï maʿānīğa etip ḫāṣṣ. (DN256r:1) 'I composed a letter, its title was *Sincerity*. I applied my message specifically to the meaning [of this word].'

3.1.2.1.5. Adverbial of Time

Köngül bir sāʿatē ārām tapdï, ki dildār ağzïdïn ol kām taptï. (DN242v:10) 'The heart found rest for a moment when it obtained gratification from the mouth of the beloved.'

3.1.2.2. The Suffix -ī: Nouns in Relative Status

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

Sanga ol zamzama bēḫwāst ermiš, har āhangī ki qïldïng rāst ermiš. (DN247v:3) 'For you that chant may have sounded spontaneous: Any tune that you produced was correct.'

Farāvān dard-i dil körgüzüp anda, qïlïp <u>šarḥī</u> kim ol sïğmas gumānda. (DN243r:11) 'It presented plenty of complaints at that time. He gave a description that did not leave place for doubts.'

<u>İttiṣalī</u> ki erür bēmāniʿ, bu maḥall ruḥqa bolğay vāqiʿ. (RB6r:12) 'Then the soul, now unhindered, will find itself in union with God.'

3.1.2.3. Definite Status

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

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

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

Yaši daryā bigin <u>har yanï</u> barïp, ičidin ʿumr ačïğïnï čïqarïp. (DN246v:9) 'His tears, like a big river [that burst its banks], ran in all directions bringing forth from his heart the bitterness life.'

Har kim ṭamaʿnï <u>bir yanï</u> qoysa, karīm dağï baḫīl anga bir körünür. (Sayf156r:7) 'To him who puts expectation aside, the generous and the greedy will look alike.'

3.1.2.3.2. Definite Status Indicated by Articles

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

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

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

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

Ču qoysang ol ḫarāb allïda gāmē, bitigni tēz tegür, bizdin salāmē. (DN246v:5) 'When you come to the presence of that wretched person[6] give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from us.'

Taʾammul qïldï ersä nukta ṣarfïn, qïlïp zīr-u zabar ol ḥarf ḥarfïn. (DN251v:11) 'When she contemplated how the points were expressed, she turned the characters upside down one by one.'[7]

3.1.2.3.3. Definite Status Indicated by the Cardinal Number bir

In this use **bir** occurs in the function of an indefinite article. E.g.,

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

3.1.3. Gender

In Chagatay there is no grammatical gender. Among Arabic elements of the lexicon masculine and feminine forms could appear which may be recognized in Arabic structures. Natural gender may be expressed by lexical means. E.g., **er** 'male', **tiši** 'female'; **oğlan** 'boy', **qïz** 'girl'; **ayğïr** 'stallion', **qïsraq** 'mare'.

3.1.4. Nominal Inflection

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

3.1.4.1. Bases

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

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[6] Lit., 'when you put your foot in front of that ruin'

[7] I.e., putting kasra's and fatha's where they belonged

3.1.4.1.1. Primary Bases

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

3.1.4.1.1.1. Simple nouns

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

suw + dan	'from water'
ev + dä	'in the house'
orun + ï > ornï	'his place'
kent + gäčä	'as far as the town'

3.1.4.1.1.2. Derivative Nouns

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

tiriglik + ni	'life [accusative]'
parvardagār + ğa	'for the Nourisher'
qarabaš + dan	'from the servant'
almabaš + lar	'ducks'

3.1.4.1.2. Secondary Bases

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

[Samarqand va Ḫurāsān] + da (RM1v:7) 'in Samarqand and Khorasan'

[dunyā va āḫirat] + ta (RM7r:1) 'in this world and the next'

[kečä va kündüz] + ni (RM8r:6) '[he mentions] night and day'

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

[mušk ilä ʿanbar] + ï (Sayf182r:4) 'its musk and ambergris'

Ki kördüm men anïng [nāz u ʿitāb] + ï + n (DN243r:8) 'Because I anticipate [< I have experienced] her caprice and chiding.'

Bu beš türlük maḫlūqāt Bar Ḫudānïng [ẕikr u tasbīḥ] + i + ğa mašğūl tururlar. (RM28r:1) 'These five kinds of beings have been mentioning and praising the Ever-existing God.'

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

[Kafš keymäk va ayaq basmäk] + dä taqï ong bilän ibtidā qïlmaqnï sevär. (RM11v:5-7) '[God] is also [best] pleased when one first puts on one's right shoe and takes one's first step with one's right foot.'

3.1.4.2. Case Forms

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

3.1.4.2.1. The Nominative Case

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

Bir faqīr bir körklü maqāmğa yetti. (Sayf73v:5) 'A poor man reached a beautiful position.'

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

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

Dilbarïm zulfi tün yüzi kün dur. (Sayf115v:12) 'The hair of my beloved is the night,[8] her face [is] the sun.[9]'

Dägül erlik ağïzğa yumruq urmaq. (Sayf78r:1) 'Bravery is not to deliver a blow upon [someone's] mouth.'

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

Kim etip tur ačïğ ağunï tiryāk, tiläp tur kōknār ičindä aflāk. (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into elixir, was looking for heaven inside the poppy-head.[10]

Kim ay burcïda yulduznï tapïp tur, tikänni gul sağïnïp oḫšatïp tur. (DN257r:10) 'He who has found a star in the house of the Moon, has considered the thorn [to be] a rose and made himself to caress it.'

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

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

[9] The beloved's face shines like the sun, or is the sun itself.

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

[11] Numeratives in numerative phrases occur only in the singular.

Bulardan hēč biri turup iki rakʿat namāz qïlmas. (Sayf53r:11) 'None of these [people] gets up and performs a two-rakʿat prayer of gratitude.'
yeti uluğ baš sarïmsaq (KBV67v:5) 'three large bulbs of garlic'
bir parča kāğizpāra (RM8v:1) 'one piece of paper'

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

(1) Adverbial of place:
Čīn diyārï bitildi bu nāma. (MS17r:3) 'This copy was written in the land of China.'
Bil Buhārā muvalladï nasabïm, ham Hurāsān ʿilm-i muktasabïm (MS17r:2) 'Know that Bukhara was the place where my lineage originated from and Khorasan where I obtained my education.'

(2) Adverbial of time:
Munga mašğūlluq etgil barï vaqt: Ḥayf ğaflatta ötär akṣarī vaqt. (RB8r:1) 'Be occupied with this [thought] always. It is a pity when most of one's time [on earth] passes in unawareness [of Him].'
Bolma bir lahza bu ištin ğāfil: Bolur āsān bara bara muškil. (RB5v:6) 'Do not let yourself be distracted for even a moment. [Remember,] what is difficult will gradually become easy.'
Hamagī-i dil anïng mašğūlï bu mahall bolğay va ol maqbūlï. (RB5v:10) 'At this point his [< the believer's] entire heart is occupied with Him and his heart is accepted by God.'
Kečä ṭāʿat bilän uyğaq bolğïl kim kündüz sanga barmaq va kelmäk uzun uzaq turur dunyānïng išigä. (RM34r:9) 'Remain awake at night and occupy yourself with act of obedience [to God] since during the day you are too busy with wordly things...'

(3) Adverbial of manner:
Bolğay ol nayʿ atïnï deridä, qalmağay ol nafs ḥadīṣi yäridä. (RB5v:7) 'This is how His name should be pronounced[, and then] the suggestions of the Carnal Soul will be completely eliminated.'
Bolğay aqvāl u kalāmïng bu ṣifat könglüngä baʿiṣ-i nūrānīyat. (RB3r:8) 'If your utterances are of this nature, they will illuminate your heart.'

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

Közin yašïn aqurdï bardï maktab. (Ḫ78v:3) 'He was [still] weeping when he arrived at the school.'
Ay ṣabā barsang Samarqand kelibän nä eltgä sen, furqat va hicrān otïndïn elä yükläp kätgä sen. (ShD126r:6-7) 'O, Zephyr, if you go to Samarqand what will you bring when you return? From the fire of loneliness and separation you load up and be on your way.'

3.1.4.2.2. The Vocative Case

Nouns in vocative use are marked by the interjections **ay, ayā,** or **yā**. The Persian vocative marker **-yā**, [after a vowel], **-a** [after a consonant] affixed to mostly Arabic and Persian words is also used. A noun may also occur in vocative role without vocative markers. Vocative forms are restricted in syntactic use. They mostly serve as apostrophies and cannot fill in for other parts of the sentence. E.g.,
Ay Muṣallī, kälip ṭahārat qïl! (MS2v:5) 'O Worshipper, come and perform the ablution!'
Baš üzä mašḥ qïlmaq, ay ʿĀqil! (MS4v:4) 'To rub the head, O Wise one!'
Qïlma isrāf, ayā Šarīf-i zamān. (MS7v:2) 'Do not be wasteful, O Noble one!'
Köp ögüt bermägil manga, ay yār! (Sayf114r:3) 'Do not give much advice to me, O Friend!'
Ay Šabānī bulbul-i šorïda sen. (ShD94v:1) 'O Shabānī, You are a confused nightingale.'
Ay direğā bu zamānda körmädim bir ahl-i dil! (ShD95v:12) 'Alas! I have not seen in this time another person of heart.'[12]
ʿAql ḥayrān dur bu qudratlarda bilgil ʿāqilā (BH 3r:8) 'The intellect is puzzled by these powers, be aware of that, O Wise One!'
Šabānīyā sanga Ḥaqq nuṣratï azaldïn dur: Ravāc-i sunnat va šarʿ-i payambarī mīraṣ. (ShD27r:3-4) '[Remember,] O Shabānī, the victory of the Truth has been assigned to you since eternity without beginning. [Your task is] to assert the *Sunna* and to enforce the *Sharīʿa*, your inheritance from the Prophet.'
Kardgārā qadirā bu nafs-i dūndïn saqlağïl. Firʿaūn dek ğarq etibän tašlağïl anï kanār. (ShD32r:10-11). 'O [God], Creator and Omnipotent! Protect us from the base Carnal Soul. Drown him as you drowned Pharoah and cast [his body] ashore.'[13]

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[12] *Ahl-i dil* 'a person of heart' comprises such qualites as generosity, bravery, faithfulness etc.
[13] Qur. 10,90-92. [MA, Cf. fn. 1153].

3.1.4.2.3. Accusative Case

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

3.1.4.2.3.1. Direct Objects Marked by -nï/-ni

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

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

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

Barïp men tā tišing fikridä özdin, salïp men siḥr ara gavharnï közdin. (DN257r:8) 'In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that, as if being under a spell, I have disregarded pearls.'

Issï tammūz künlärindä bir kün äylä ïssï edi kim boğaznï qurutup ağïznï qaynatur edi. (Sayf121v:11-12) 'One day in the hot days of July it was so hot that [the heat] dried the throat and made the mouth boil.'

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

Camālïmdïn oquğay ol raqamnï, ki avval bašïna qoyğay qadamnï. (DN241v:7) 'Only the person who first puts a foot upon his head [in perfect submission] will decipher the numbers from my beauty.'

Kemäči ravān ol yipni yigitning elindän üzdi dağï ketti. (Sayf 101v:1) 'The boatsman suddenly yanked the rope from the hand of that youth and went away.'

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

Qïlïban mušknï ol ʿanbarïn meng, cihān ičrä qara tofraq bilän teng (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris-scented beauty spot reduced [the value of] the musk to [that of] ordinary clay in the [entire] world.'

Kim etip tur ačïğ ağunï tiryāk, tiläp tur kōknār ičindä aflāk. (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into elixir was looking for heaven inside the poppy-head.'

Köngülni qoymay ol ruḫsār ḫālī, dimāğïna salïp savdā ḫiyālï. (DN256v:1) 'Those cheeks [of the Beloved] do not leave the heart empty. They put the phantoms of madness into its brain.'[14]

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

Mavlāna Yaʿqūb Čarḫīning risālasïda tahaccudnï on ikki rakʿat buyurup tur. (RM17v:6-7) 'Mavlana Yaʿqūb Čarḫī in his treatise ordered that the night prayer should be twelve rakʿats.'

Men ol kün kim ğamïng sāzïnï tüzdüm, seni dedim köngülni cāndïn üzdüm. (DN244v:8) 'The day I tuned [my] saz [to play] the sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I tore the heart out of [my] life.'

Qatïngda qand özini elgä satïp, unutup özini sözünggä qatïp. (DN250r:8) 'In your presence the sugar sells itself to people.[15] Not aware of its own essence, it mixes with your words.'

3.1.4.2.3.2. Direct Objects Marked by -n

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

Tili ačïq sözin šakargä qatïp, közi taʿrïz oqïn cān[ïm]ğa atïp. (DN243r:1) 'Her tongue dipped her bitter words into sugar. Her eyes shot the arrow of reproach into my soul.'

Gulāb ïdï ki kelsä yüz čevürmä. Anïng ol ḫidmatïn yüzigä urma. (DN244r:5) 'When the scent of rose water wafts toward you, do not turn your face away. Do not refuse[16] its services.'

Dušman säni körübän äygü ʿamal ičindä, daʿvā qušun tuta almas qurup bahāna ağïn. (Sayf63v:3) 'The enemy noticing that you are carrying out a good deed, is not able to capture the bird of claim even if he sets the trap of opportunity.'[17]

Labïm nuqlïn alur bolsang ağïzğa, čïqarğïl baštïn ol mayning ḫumārïn. (DN254v:3) 'If you take the sweetmeat of my lips into your mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of wine.'[18]

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[14] Into its innermost part.
[15] It becomes a commody so low in price that everyone can afford to buy it.
[16] Lit., throw back into its face
[17] As a Muslim you are protected from your enemies while you are engaged in doing good deeds. Even the Soultaker Angel (*Qābiẓu'l-arvāḥ*) is frustrated when he comes to pick up your soul. He may even complain to God or return without carrying out his mission.
[18] The Beloved and all others {*mā sivâ*} are mutually exclusive entities.

Qalam til učïnï ʿanbarğa bulğap, eligi muškнï kāğidğa čolğap. (DN255r:11) 'Dipping the point of the pen into ambergris, her hands wrote on the [white] paper with fragrant black ink.'

Bu risālada aytïlğanning barïsïn qïla alsa nūrun ʿalâ nūrin.[19] (RM8v:9-10). 'If he could learn all [the Arabic passages] cited in this treatise, that would be the best.'

Ketür aqča kemägä kir, yoq esä tašqarï oltur, on ärning quvvatïn qoyğïl bir erning aqčasïn keltür. (Sayf100r:8-9) 'Bring the money and climb into the boat, or else sit outside [on the shore]. Leave the force of ten persons, bring the money of one.'

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

Duʿā vaqtïn taẓarruʿnïng elini kötärip tangrïdan raḥmat tilär sän. (Sayf93v:6) 'In the time of prayer you raise your hands in supplication and ask God for alms.'

3.1.4.2.3.3. Direct Object Marked by zero

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

Tilädi kāğid va čon boldï mavcūd, qalam tilini etti ʿanbar ālūd. (DN252v:8) 'He asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was there, he covered the tip of the pen with ambergris.'

Sözüngni ešitip, ay cān ḥayātï, čïqarmay qand Hindustān nabātï. (DN256v:4) 'Having heard your words[20], O, Life of the Soul, the plant of Hindustan stopped producing sugar.'

Ču kördi nāmanï mihr etti iḫsās, qatïšturdï eli qunduz ara ās. (DN258r:4) 'When that sun saw the letter, she anticipated [what its message was]: Her hand added the white of the ermine['s fur] to the dark color of the beaver.'

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

Bitidim nāmaē ʿunvānï iḫlāṣ, bayānïmnï maʿānïğa etip ḫāṣṣ. (DN256r:1) 'I have composed a letter, its title is perfect sincerity. I have formulated my message specifically to fit the sense of this [title].'

[19] Ar. 'light upon light' Cf. the interjection *nūrun ʿalâ nūrin* in RM 8v:10. See also Uzbek нур ало нур 'better than that'.

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

Ču qoysang ol ḫarāb allïda gāmē, bitigni tēz tegür, bizdin salāmē. (DN246v:5) 'When you come to the presence of that wretched person give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from us.'

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

Vafāsïzlïq ḫaṭṭïnï tartma köp bitimäs čon firišta ol gunāhïm. (DN257v:10) 'Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful, because the angel does not record that transgression of mine.'

3.1.4.2.3.4. Direct Object Marked by -tï/-ti

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

Tengri taʿālâ alarğa marḥamat qïlïp ol hikmattï mansūḫ qïldï (RM31r:8-9) 'God the Most High had mercy upon them, abrogated that decree [and sent down the following verse].'

Yoqtï bar etmäkkä yätti qudratïng. (BN90v:9) 'Your power sufficed to make the nonexistent existing.'

Munung dek šafqattï hēč kimgä qïlmam. (Ḫ81v:3) 'I do not show such kindness to anyone else.'

Ol daraḫttï bēḫ bunyādï bilän keskän babam. (Ḫ81r:6) 'Father, you have cut this tree [of lineage] at its very roots.'

3.1.4.2.3.5. Accusative Case Used with Passive Verbs

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

Basa Yūnus Ḫānning uluğ qïzïnï ṭalāq salïp singlining qïzïnï alğanda bu baytnï aytïp yibärildi. (ShD121v:9) 'Then divorcing the elder daughter of Yunus Khan and marrying the daughter of his younger sister, the following distich was recited [> I recited the following distich].'

Ol ki Šayṭānnï aytïldï nafsnï aytïldï ḫavāṭir ol bolur. (RM3v:1) 'What has been referred to [above] as [the evil effects of] Satan and the Carnal Soul is what is really meant by [the term] thoughts about other than God' [> 'what I said above about...'].

Ol sababdïn bu risālanï Turkï [tili] bilän Muḥammad Tīmūr Bahādur üčün aytïldï. (RM2r:3-6) 'For that reason this treatise was composed in the Turki language for Muhammad Tīmūr Bahādur' [> 'I composed this treatise...'].

3.1.4.2.3.6. Accusative -nï/-ni, or -n in Dative Function

The endings **-nï/-ni** and **-n** may indicate the dative case in analogy of Persian *-rā* which in classical Persian was used to mark the dative case. E.g.,

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

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

Va muhlat ber alarnï az bučuq, yaʿnī ölgünčä kim alarnï sazā va cazāsïğa yetkürür Biz. (RM35v:7-8) 'And grant them some time, that is, until the hour of their death, and then We will give them an appropriate punishment and retribution.'

Gar bağišlar sen meni fazlïng bilä niʿma'ṣ-ṣavāb. (BH6v:3) 'If, by manifesting Your boundless grace, you forgive me, that is the best reward.'

3.1.4.2.3.7. Verbs Governing the Accusative Case

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

de-	'to call/name s.one s.thing; to choose'
ilin-	'to preserve'
oḫša-	'to resemble'
sağïn-	'to think about'
talaš-	'to fight for'
taʾammul qïl-	'to contemplate'
tilä-	'to desire'
tüš kör-	'to dream of'
yïğ-	'to collect'

E.g.,

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

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

[21] This distich refers to the process of achieving affinity with the beloved by constantly mentioning her name as described in Babur's *Risāla-i vālidīya*.

Taʾammul qïldï ersä nukta ṣarfïn, qïlïp zīr-u zabar ol ḥarf ḥarfïn. (DN251v:11) 'When she contemplated how the subtle points were expressed, she turned the characters upside down one by one.'[22]

Mäning nāmūs u nāmïmnï talašqïn, alif teg kelgin va elgä ulašqïn. (DN260r:9) 'Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].'

Sen unutup maḥabbat pešalarnï, sağïnïp qandağï andešalarnï. (DN257r:4) 'You have forgotten the lovers, thinking about the concerns of old days.'

Tegär mü kirpükümdin cānïna oq? Balānï tüš körär mü közi yā yoq? (DN252r:7) 'Do arrows from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or not?'

3.1.4.2.4. Genitive Case

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

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

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

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

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

Közümning qiblasï anïng camālï, dağï ʿumrumnïng raʾs-mālï anïng viṣālï edi. (Sayf124v:10-11) 'Her beauty was the qibla of my eyes and union with her was the capital of my life.'

Nāgah yucūdïnïng ayağï acal balčïqïna battï. (Sayf125r:2). 'The feet of her existence suddenly sank into the mud of death.'[23]

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

[22] She put kasra's and fatha's where they belonged.

[23] I.e., He suddenly passed away.

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

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

Payğambarnï yaši boldï ravāna (Ḫ82r:2) '(All the while) the Prophet's tears poured forth.'

Payambar oğlïnï qolïnï tuttï. (Ḫ76v:4) 'The Prophet took his son by the hand.'

Ham babamnï ārzū bāğïnda bitkän mēvasï. (81r:5) '[I am] also the fruit grown in the garden of my father's desire.'

Alïp keldim, dedi Haqqnï salāmï. (Ḫ73v:9) 'He said: I bring the greetings of the Lord.'

Ğarq bolğan ʿišqnï daryāsïğa. (BN85r:6) 'He was drowned in the ocean of love.'

Bu sözimnï āḫiri dur. (BN89r:1) 'This is my final word'.

3.1.4.2.5.3. The Genitive Case Marked by -n

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

Qarïndašïngïznïng ölgänin ḫabarïnï ešitip siz kim bu türlüg iẓṭirāb qïlur siz? (RM20v:7-9) 'Is it perchance because you have just heard news of your brother's death that you are so upset?'

ʿIšq üčün Ḥaqq bandasïn atïn qoyup tur avliyā. (BH12r:3) 'Because of their love God's servants have been named saints.'

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

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

Bu qaṣīda sāniʿung ṣunʿïn ʿacāʾib körsätür. (BH18v:7) 'This *qaṣīda* reveals the astonishing artistry of the Maker.'

Kündüzüng ruḫsārïnï kün birlä qïldï bā ṣafā. (BH4r:9) 'Who, with the sun, made the cheeks of the day bright?'

Kim qïlïp tur yulduzung āyïnasïn gītïnamā? (BN9r:9) 'Who made the mirrors of the stars bright enough to reflect the universe?'

3.1.4.2.5.5. The Genitive Case is not Marked

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

Ağač körkï yemiš ärning karam dur. (Sayf94r:11) 'The beauty of a tree is the fruit, that of a man is [his] generosity.'

Karam eli, yaqïn bil, kim qavī bāzūdan artuq dur. (Sayf81r:13). "A generous hand[24], know full well, is superior to a strong arm.'

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

Alā ay ḫusn u nāz u šēva kānï, tiriglik čašmasārïning ravānï. (DN249v:10) 'Hark ye, O Mine of Beauty, Amorous Glances, and Coquetry, the Bountiously Flowing River of the Source of Life!'

Nāvukï paykānïdïn yār ačtï könglüm gulšanïn lālazār bağrïm qanïdïn rang alur alud emäs. (ShD64v:10-11) 'With the points of her arrows my friend has taken possession[25] of the garden of my heart. The tulip patch is not stained red, it takes its color from the blood of my heart.'

3.1.4.2.5.6. The Genitive Case Used Alone

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

Biling awnï kim tutsa bolur aning, raʾiyyat vazīr beg käräk sultāning (MM190v:8) 'Know that the game animal belongs to the person who catches it, be he a common citizen, a vazīr, a beg or a sultan.'

3.1.4.2.5. Dative Case

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

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

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

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

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[24] Lit., 'the hand of generosity'

[25] Turkish *ač-* for Arabic *fataḥa* 2. 'to occupy a city or a fort'

Sän on altunnï alğïl dağï bir özgä yergä barğïl. (Sayf111v:10-ll). '[Now] you take the ten dinars and go elsewhere.'
Vaʿdağa yettim qïlïp män bandalik. (BN90r:2) 'I have fulfilled my promise by proving myself a good servant.'
Baqtïm kim nafasïm otï yaš ağačqa aṣar qïlmas. (Sayf55r:3). 'I saw that the fire of my breath had no effect on wet wood.'
Ne bolsa käy dağï äygü ʿamal qïl, šaqāvatnï saʿādatkä badal qïl. (Sayf51r:12) 'Put on whatever you have and do good deeds. Trade misery for happiness.'
Sän ol dägül mi sän kim atam säni firanč qaydïndan on altunğa satïn aldï? (Sayf68v:11) 'Aren't you the one whom my father bailed out from Frank captivity for ten dinars.'
Tağāful daftarïn ačmaq ne, yaʿnï? Salïp ot evgä va qačmaq ne, yaʿnï? (DN244v:1) 'To open the book of feigned carelessness, what is it good for? To set the house on fire and [then] run away, what is it good for?'
Tili ačïq sözin šakargä qatïp, közi taʿrīz oqïn cān[ïm]ğa atïp. (DN243r:2) 'Her tongue dipped her bitter words into sugar. Her eyes hurled the arrows of allusions into [my] soul.'
Yengillik qïldïm ersä [gar cafā]nï, sen ağïr almağïl könglünggä anï. (DN247r:8) 'If I was off-handed in inflicting cruelty [upon you], do not take it too much to [your] heart.'
Biling kim ʿāšiq-i ṣādiq bu tün yastuqğa yastanmas, köngül kim ʿišqğa yüzlänsä bu dunyā köyïn äylänmäs.(ShD65r:11-12) 'Know that tonight the true lover does not rest on pillows. The heart that turns to passionate love, does not roam the streets of this world.[26]'

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

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

Könglümä salğïl mening yā Rabb qanāʿat rāḥatï. (BH18r:6) 'O Lord, send into my heart the peace of contentment.'
Közümä ol otdan čäkkil kim tavarlar közinä čäkär sän. (Sayf 147r:10) 'Apply to my eyes from the ointment that you apply to the eyes of cattle.'
Ay Šabānī boldï muškafšān damïng, har sözüng bir ʿālama ʿaṭṭār emiš. (ShD71v:9-10) 'O, Shabān, your breath scatters musk all around. Every single word of yours is a perfumer for the entire world.'

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

Qaddïng alifïn dardïna tegti Šabānī cān ara, sen ay ṭabīb emgänmägil ʿišq dardïnïng darmānï yoq. (ShD75r:9-10) 'In [his] soul Shabānī has come down in the pain caused by the alif-like body of yours. [Listen] you, doctor, do not exert yourself, there is no remedy for the pain of love.'
Ol ikisin luṭf qïlğïl, dardïma sen sen davā. (BH2v:5) 'Grant your grace to both, for you are the remedy for my pain.'

3.1.4.2.5.3. Dative Case with bar

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

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

3.1.4.2.5.4. Dative to Express the Agent

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

Qalmas andēša-i ğayrï ol dam, unutulğay sanga maḥbūb atï ham. (RB7r:3) 'Then no concern for anything other than Him remains. Even the name of the Beloved is forgotten.'[27]

3.1.4.2.5.5. Dative Case with Arabic Participles

3.1.4.2.5.5.1. With intransitive verbs.

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

Ṭālib er tiligä maẓkūr durur. Vālidiyya bilä mašhūr durur. (RB 2r:9) 'The tongue of the seekers [of the Truth] speaks about [his book]. It is known as the Spiritual Guide.'
Ušbular munda ki marqūm durur, ẓavq ilä barčağa maʿlūm durur. (RB9v:7) 'Everything that has been recorded here will be obvious[28] to everyone of perception.'
Yigit öz quvvatïna mağrūr edi. (Sayf101r:5) 'The youth was very proud of his strength.'

3.1.4.2.5.5.2. With transitive verbs.

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

[27] I.e., you will forget...
[28] Will be known by...

Qābil elgä sözini maqbūl et, ʿāmil elgä özini maʿmūl et. (RB 11r:3) 'Make its words accepted by those who are willing to learn them. Make its precepts acted upon by those who are willing to put them into practice.'
Har yaman qavlnï özdin dūr et, tilingä bir nemäni mazkūr et. (RB3r:7) 'Strenuously avoid all evil utterances. Take upon your tongue only one thing [--God's words].'

3.1.4.2.5.6. Verbs Governing the Dative Case

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

bulğa-	'to dip into'
čolğa-	'to write on s.th.'
čolğaš-	'to move painfully, writhe, twist and turn'
ḫāṣṣ bol-	'to become the owner of'
ḫū qïl-	'to get used to'
ïnan-	'to believe'
ïsïn-	'to devote oneself to, to work assiduously on'
kir-	'to enter, get s.where'
kiril-	'to enter' [without one's volition]
körün-	'to be reflected'
qal-	'to remain for s.o.'
qat-	'to mix with'
rağbat et-	'to desire to do s.th.'
raḥm et-	'to have mercy on'
sal-	'to put or cast s.th. s.where'
sat-	'to sell s.th. for; give in exchange of s.th.'
sïğ-	'to fit in'
tol-	'to fill' [intransitive]
tolğan-	'to wreathe, coil'
tüz-	'to establish oneself according to s.th.'
tüzät-	'to speed s.one on his way'
učra-	'to meet'
ulan-	'to reach one's destination'
uy-	'to obey'
uyul-	'to be applied to'
üzül-	'to separate from'
yaraš-	'to be fitting, becoming'
yavut-	'to let s.th. come near'
yet-	'to fall to s.one's share; to respond; to arrive'
yïbar-	'to send, direct s.where'

E.g.,

Qalam til učïnï ʿanbarğa bulğap, eligi muškni kāğidğa čolğap. (DN255r:11) 'The pen dipped the tip of its tongue into ambergris. His hand, writhing [like a snake] spread musk over the paper.'[29]
Zamānē ḫarf ʿilminä ïsïndï, iči küydi, valē qorqup qïsïndï. (DN 258r:6) 'For a while she was busy with the science of the letters. She was filled with enthusiasm but, being afraid, she restrained herself.'
Hamēša uyqusïzlïqqa qïlïp ḫū, tüšidä kirmäyin ʿumrïda uyqu. (DN253r:8) 'He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.'
Qatïngda qand özini elgä satïp, unutup özini sözünggä qatïp. (DN250r:8) 'In your presence the sugar sells itself to the people. Not aware of its own essence, it mixes with your words.'
Barï ay ḫirmānïn bir cavğa satqan, elig tartïp ayağïnï uzatqan. (DN2477:3) 'He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.'
Šakar ornïna ḫanzal kim berip tur? Yaman söz yahšïğa kim yïbarïp tur? (DN248v:2) 'Who has ever given wild gourd in return for sugar? Who has ever sent bad words in response to good ones?'
Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān ṣuḥbat yarağïn qïl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him that we desire to come. Prepare for the meeting because we will be there in no time.'
El-ulus rasmïna köküngni tüzgin, bu ḫāric nağmadïn könglüngni üzgin. (DN260v:3) 'Throw out your roots in the ways of the community[30]; separate your heart from this discordant melody.'
Bu davlat nūrï köründi közümgä, ki gardūn muštarï boldï sözümgä. (DN270v:4) 'The splendor of this empire was reflected in my eyes: the celestial sphere was the customer of my words.'
Bu ṣifatlar birlä közlärgä tolup. (Sayf6v:4) 'With these qualities it fills [> delights] the eyes.'
Ne kim čïqsa tilidin cān talašur, ačïq söz tatlïğ ağïzğa yarašur. (DN243r:6) 'Whatever comes from her tongue, sends one into agony. Bitter words become the sweet lips.'[31]
Ötär köp čašmadïn ṣayyād-i mağbūn, ki tā māhī kirär elinä bir kün. (DN253v:8) 'The foolish fisherman passes through many rivers until one day he catches a fish.'[32]

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[29] I.e., Dipping the point of the pen into ambergris, her hands wrote on the paper with fragrant black ink.'
[30] Establish yourself
[31] Lit., mouth
[32] Lit., a fish comes into his hands

Cihānï yaruğay cānï tirilgäy, tiriglär sanïna atï kirilgäy. (DN 251v:7) 'May his world light up, may his soul come to life, and may his name enter the list of those who are alive.'
Taniğa čolğašïp zaḥmat cunūn teg, qoya berip özin ranc ičrä nūn teg. (DN245v:9) 'The pain turns and twists inside his body like a fit of madness. Pain made him look [curled] like the letter *nūn*.'
Qalamlardïn durust ermäs rivāyat, ki sïğmas tillärigä ol ḥikāyat. (DN248v:4) 'It is not right for pens to produce a narrative [about this], because the story does not fit into their tongues.'
Könglüngä hēč taʿalluq qalmas, ğayr-i iḫlāṣ ilä qulluq qalmas. (RB8r:13) 'There will remain no attachment [to other than God[33]] in your heart. There will remain no servitude other than intimacy [with Him].'
Ravān etti ṣabānï nāma birlän, tüzätti yolğa türtüp ḫāma birlän. (DN252v:10) 'She sent off the Morning Wind together with the letter. She impelled it on its way prodding it on with the pen.'

3.1.4.2.5.8. Adjectives Governing the Dative Case

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

ḫursand	'pleased, satisfied'
lāʾiq	'worthy of, deserving s.g.'
lāzim	'in the need of'
oḫšaš	'resembling'
muḥtāc	'in the need of s.th.'
mulāzim	'needed' [> 'being a close attendant']
munāsib	'proper, suitable'
musaḫḫar	'subdued, conquered'
muštāq	'desiring s.th., longing for s.th.'
sazāvār	'worthy of'
yaraša	'appropriate'

E.g.,

Ayağïnğa qoyuban bašïnï qand, labïngdïn suyï bir <u>sormaqqa</u> ḫursand. (DN256r:10) 'The sugar places its head upon your feet [in submission] glad to request water from your lips.'
Hamēša sāya teg <u>küngä</u> mulāzim bolup erišmäki <u>boynïna</u> lāzim. (DM258v:1) 'She is always in attendance to the sun, like a shadow. It is vital that it shine upon her shoulders [all the time].'

[33] I.e., *mā sivāʾllāh*

Firāqïnda kečär har kečä yel teg, tanïm <u>bēlïmgä</u> oḫšaš boldï qïl teg. (DN259v:9) 'Separated from me he strolls like a breeze every night. He became [thin] like a hair, resembling my body and my waist.'[34]

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

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

Banafša boynïn egdi gulgä qaršï; ačïp ʿabhar közin <u>sünbülgä</u> qarsï. (Sayf3v:5) 'The violate bowed to the rose; the jasmine opened its eyes to the hyacinth.'

3.1.4.2.6. Locative Case

The locative case is the adverbial form of place and time. It is marked with the suffix **-da/-dä** [after vowels or voiced consonants], or **-ta/-tä** [after voiceless consonants].

3.1.4.2.6.1. Locative Case Marked by -da/-dä

After vowels or voiced consonants the locative case marker has a voiced consonant. E.g.,

Kirištim söz bezärgä ḫāma teg tund <u>išimdä</u> sarzanïšdïn bolmayïn kund. (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to decorate the words fast like the pen so that her reproaches will not make me tardy in my work.'
Yašunup gul yüzüngdin <u>bāğlarda</u>, qačïp lāla čïqïban <u>tağlarda</u>. (DN243v:9) 'The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.'[35]
<u>Köngüldä</u> ʿišqïng otï saldï bulğaq, yana dāğ üstinä sen qoymağïl dāğ. (DN244r:8) 'It was the fire of passionate love for you that cast confusion into [my] heart. Now do not press the branding iron upon a wound caused by a branding iron.'
Bang ešitkäč bu söz <u>könglindä</u> tökülüp özidin töngülüp dedi. (BC336r:11) 'As *bhang* listened, the meaning of these words trickled into his heart and, losing control over himself, he said.'
Čağïr tedi meni sen sorma ay bal, ki el <u>ağzïda</u> tüštüm bang elindin. (BC337r:7) 'The wine replied, do not even ask about me, O, Honey, my situation is quite hopeless because, thanks to *Bang*, I have become the talk of the town.'

[34] The ideal shape of the Beloved was one with a waist as thin as a hair. Cf. *beli qïl* (Sayf117v:12).
[35] Mountains [*tağlar*] symbolize wilderness as opposed to gardens [*bāğlar*).

Köp vaqt sözdä äygü yaman tüšär. (Sayf107r:1) 'Many times good and bad occur in (one's) words.'
Ol kišigä aydï kim barğïl ol ikki ʿavratnï munda ündägil. (NF 195r:2) 'He said to that person: Invite here those two women.'
Karam körgüz ʿazīmat markabïn sür, özüngni har nečük et anda yetkür. (DN249v:5) 'Be gracious and drive on your mount and in whatever way get yourself there.'

3.1.4.2.6.2. Locative Case Marked by -ta/-tä

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

Yaman ʿādat tabīʿatta otursa, ol andan kitmäyisär ölmäyinčä. (Sayf79r:7) 'If a bad habit becomes deep-seated in one's nature, it will not leave, until he dies.'
Bu ḥālatta ne külmäk yeri durur kim küldüng? (Sayf33v:2) 'In this situation what reason is there for laughing given the fact that that you laughed.'

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

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

3.1.4.2.6.3. Locative Case Marked After Possessive Suffixes

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

3.1.4.2.6.3.1. With a connective [pronominal] **-n-**

Alnïnda ne bolsa yegäy ağzïnda ne kelsä degäy. (Sayf80v:5) 'He eats whatever is in front of him, he says whatever comes to his mind.'[36]
Ne dur ḥālï anïng ğam laškarïnda, yanï ağrïr mu miḥnat bistarïnda? (DN252v:6) 'What is his condition in the army of sorrow? Is his side hurting in the sick-bed of misery?'
ʿAlâ'ṣ-ṣabāḥ turup bašïmdan taḫfïfa bälimdän šaddïm šešip beš altun bilän ol muğannï nazarïnda qoydum. (Sayf60v:7-8) 'In the morning I got up, removed my cap from my head and the belt from my waist and put them in front of that singer.'

[36] Lit., comes into his mouth

3.1.4.2.6.3.2. Without a connective **-n-**

Cavābïda dedi ol qaši ḥācib, kim anda parda ačmaq bar munasib. (DN258v:8) 'In answer said that intimate friend whose eyebrow is the chamberlain: "It is now appropriate to open the curtain."'
Er pašïmān bolup, yïğlap, Ḥażrat-i Rasūl, ʿalaihi's-salām, maclisidä keldi. (RM24r:5-6) 'The man was regretful, wept and came to the presence of the Noble Messenger, peace be upon him.'
Va camāʿat bilän oquğan bir namāzniṅg ṣavābïn yana bir pillasïda qoyğay. (RM29r:1-2) 'And in the other pan He will place the reward for a prayer performed in congregation.'

3.1.4.2.6.4. Verbs Governing the Locative Case

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

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

E.g.,

Murïd kirsä mascid yā hānqāhda ol burun sağ aḍaq qat, čïqar bolsa sol. (MM194v:11) 'Disciple, when you enter a mosque or a monastery, step in with your right foot, and, as you leave, step out with your left.'
Hameša uyqusïzlïqqa qïlïp ḫū, tüšidä kirmäyin ʿumrïda uyqu. (DN253r:8) 'He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.'

Tilädi allïda tïnmay ṣabānï, bitigni berdi va tēz etti anï. (DN 246v:3) 'He summoned the Morning Breeze to his presence at once, gave it the letter and sent it fast on its way.'
Čaman ṣaḫnïda töküng mēvalarnï, tering sāqī közidin šēvalarnï. (DN268r:7) 'Pour fruits [of all kinds] upon the plate of the meadow and collect amorous glances from the cupbearer's eyes.'
Öz vaṭanïndan čïqïčaq pēšakār ḥāṣil etär qanda erïssä diram. (Sayf98v:7) 'If a craftsman leaves his homeland, he will earn money no matter where he lands.'
Qayda barsam Ḫizir Babam boldï hamrāh. (AY58r:1) 'Wherever I went, Ḫizir Baba was my companion.'
Ruḫ u zulfung sözi gulšanda barïp, qararïp gul valē sunbul qïzarïp. (DN237v:5) 'The word about your cheeks and your tresses reached the flower garden: The rose turned black and the hyacinth became red.'

3.1.4.2.7. Ablative Case

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

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

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

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

r kitgäy āftāb māhdïn, ḥukm birlä ḫazrat-i Allāhdïn. (BN 91r:3) 'At the Almighty's command light will depart from the sun and the moon.'
Yašunup gul yüzüngdin bāğlarda, qačïp lāla čïqïban tağlarda. (DN243v:9) 'The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.'[37]
Ne boldï gōy agar arz etti ḥālïn, dedi sargaštalikdin öz malālïn? (DN244v:2) 'What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?'

[37] See footnote to 3.1.4.2.6.1.

Bu kündän song bu išdin tavba etkil. (Sayf139r:2) 'From this day on repent [and avoid] this practice.'
Agar könglüng manga küysä, ʿacab yoq, ki körüp taš erigäy riqqatïmdïn. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: The stone melts from having pity on me.'
Sačïngda šāna ḥayrān muškilidin, balālarğa ilinip öz tilidin. (DN244r:1) 'In your hair the comb is amazed at the difficulties it faces. Because of its own tongue it becomes entangled in troubles.'
Boyung sarvï ki nang yer suḫbatïmdïn, egilgäy ʿāqibat tüz niyyatïmdïn. (DN245r:4) 'The [straight] cypress of your body scorns to be in my company but it bows down at the end when it realizes the straightforwardness of my intent.'
Kelip tur bāğda guldïn ačïlmaq, yarašmas til tikän teg tïz qïlmaq. (DN246r:6) 'It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming[, however,] to make one's tongue sharp like thorn.'
Bu ʿādat ḫwaš yïğačlar šēvasïdïn, ki taš atsang berürlär mēvasïdïn. (DN247v:8) 'This observation was made on the nature of fruit trees: If you throw stones [at them] they give you some of their fruit.'
Umēdim Tengridin ol dur ki gah gāh, yaruğay közlärim yüzüngdin, ay māh! (DN251r:6) 'My hope from God is that now and then my eyes shine with joy beholding your face, O, Moon!'
Ne boldï gōy agar arz etti ḥālïn, dedi sargaštalikdin öz malālïn? (DN244v:2) 'What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?'

3.1.4.2.7.2. The Ablative Case Marked by -tïn/-tin

Qašïmğa yetti ol yār-i ḥaqīqī, bolup rangï yügürmäktin ʿaqīqī. (DN255r:4) 'That true friend came to my presence, its face turned red from running.'
Könglini camʿ etär ottïn bu kiši, bolmağay anïng ilä dōzaḫ iši. (RB4r:7) 'God will spare his heart [the fear of] Hellfire. Hell will no longer be a concern for him.'
Labïm nuqlïn alur bolsang ağïzğa, čïqarğïl baštïn ol maynïng ḫumārïn. (DN254v:3) 'If you take the sweet-meat of my lips in the mouth, drive out of your head the intoxication caused by wine.'
Lēk bolğay bašariyattïn, bil, köngligä yupqa ḥicābï ḥāṣil. (RB 6r:10) 'Yet, because of [the weakness of] human nature, one's heart can become covered with a thin veil.'

Baštïn kečip qara qan ičip qan yašïm sačïp, tapman köngül tilägini vā-ḥasratā köngül. (Sayf182v:9) 'I risk my head, I drink black blood[38], I sprinkle blood-colored tears: [yet] I cannot obtain the desire of my heart, O Heart, What a pity!'

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

Atasï ol ṣadaf dur kim bahālï cavharï bolğay, ṣadafdan ayrïlur bolsa tapar cavhar ağïr qïmat. (Sayf98r:10) 'Her father is [like] a shell that hides a valuable pearl. That pearl obtains a great value [only] when it is separated from the shell.'

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

Tiläsäng maʿrifat nūrïn körärgä, ičing ḫālī keräk bolsa yemäktän (Sayf62r:7-8) 'If you wish to see the light of knowledge, your stomach must be empty of food.'

3.1.4.2.7.5. The Ablative Case After 3d Singular Possessive Suffixes

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

3.1.4.2.7.5.1. With a connective [pronominal] **-n-**

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

Ol qadar ketti kim bularnïng naẓarïndan ğāʾib boldï. (Sayf 51v:10) 'He walked so far that he disappeared from their sights.'

Ay ṣabā keltür Samarqand dilbarïndïn muškbōy:ʿĀšiq-i dilḫastanïng cānïğa ol taʾṣīr etär. (ShD46r:9) 'O, Morning Breeze bring us the fragrance of musk from the Heart-ravisher of Samarqand. It has a [beneficial] effect on the soul of the lover with an aching heart.'

Takabbur iḍi buyruqïndïn yïğar. (MM180r7) 'Pride diverts one from [obeying] the commands of God.'

3.1.4.2.7.5.2. Without a connective [pronominal] **-n-**

Kečär cānïdïn avval suda ğavvāṣ, ki tā aḫar bolur bir durrgä ol ḫāṣṣ. (DN253v:7) 'First the diver risks his life in the water so that he could later be the exclusive owner of one [single] pearl.'

Saʿādat maykabïdïn mužda berip, bašāratlïq ḫabarlarnï yïbarïp. (DN259r:3) 'Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, good tidings sent the news [about its being on the way].'

[38] I.e., I suffer a lot

Kelmädi uyqu közümgä ol moğūl hacrānïdïn. Nātavān könglümnüng ārzūsï bu kün bïdār dur. (ShD44v:9) 'Sleep eludes my eyes because of the absense of that Mogul child. Today the desire of my helpless heart is wide awake.'

3.1.4.2.7.6. Verbs Governing the Ablative Case

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

ayrïl-	'to be separated from'
ävür-	'to turn away from, to ignore'
čïq-	'to leave'
čïqar-	'to remove from'
de-	'to tell about'
fārïğ bol-	'to be through, to be done'
ḫalāṣ tap-	'to be rescued from'
kеč-	'to pass by, to give up'
kesil-	'to separate from'
kir-	'to enter through'
kör-	'to experience s.th from s.o.'
körün-	'to appear from'
mužda ber-	'to bring good news (about)'
öt-	'to pass through; to renounce'
qayt-	'to return from'
qorq-	'to fear'
qutqar-	'to save'
qutul-	'to escape'
sačra-	'to jump up'
saqïn-	'to beware of'
yïğïl-	'to abstain from'
tamannā körgüz-	'to expect [s.th. from]'
yulun-	'to escape'
yüz evür-	'to turn away from, decline to do'
üz-	'to separate from'
üzül-	'to be separated from'

E.g.,

Sābiqu'l-anʿām quldïn ne ḫaṭā kördi, ʿacab! (Sayf29v:5) 'I wonder what impropriety did the former patron experience from the servant?'

Alardïn öttüm oğlumdïn ötär män, hamēša ummatïmdïn köz tutar män. (Ḫ75v:4) 'I gave them up, I will give up my son. I constantly keep my eyes on my community.'

Netük men ävüräyin öz ğamïmdïn, ki pūlād erigäy otluğ damïmdïn. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sorrow[39] since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'
Ötär köp čašmadïn ṣayyād-i mağbūn, ki tā māhī kirär elinä bir kün (DN253v:8) 'The dull fisherman[40] passes through many rivers until one day he catches a fish.'
El-ulus rasmïna köküngni tüzgin bu ḫāric nağmadïn könglüngni üzgin. (DN260v:3) 'Throw out your roots[41] in the ways of the community; separate[42] your heart form this discordant melody.'

3.1.4.2.7.7. The Ablative Case with Postpositions [See 3.2.1.3.]
Bu kündin song bu išdin tavba etkil. (Sayf139r:1) 'From this day on repent [and avoid] this practice.'
Andïn bärü kim aldï ušol dilrubā köngül, küydi cafāda körmädi hargiz vafā köngül. (Abdu'l Macīd in Sayf182v:5) 'Since that same heart-ravisher [Beauty] took [my] heart [with cunning and ruse] the heart suffered arrogance and cruel treatment and did not ever experience fairness.'

3.1.4.2.7.8. The Ablative Case to Express the Superlative Degree
With an adjective in the positive degree the ablative case is used to express the superlative [or absolute] degree of adjectives. E.g.,
Barčadïn yaḫšï (MS2r:5) 'the best of all'
Qatïmda martabang barčadan ʿala. (Sayf121r:10) 'In my eyes your rank is the highest of all.'
Maclisda oturmaslar illā barčadan yuqarï. (Sayf151r:13, P *bartar az hama*) 'In an assembly they do not sit but higher than anyone else.'

3.1.4.2.7.9. The Ablative Case to Express the Comparative Degree
The adjective can be in the positive or in the comparative form with **-raq/-räk**. The comparative suffix, however, in such cases, is adverbial and indicates a small degree of increase or decrease as in modern Uzbek.
Tā ṣanavbar sāya teg salğay ayaqïng altïda, cilva qïlğïl bāğ ičindä sarvdïn čālākräk. (ShD89r:3-4) 'Until the spruce throwns itself like a shadow at your feet, may you show off in the garden more agil than the cypress.'

[39] I.e., how could I shake it off
[40] I.e., the one whose catch got away
[41] I.e., establish yourself according to...
[42] Lit., rend away

3.1.4.2.8. Instrumental Case
Rare in Chagatay. It is gradually replaced by the postpositions **bilä, bilän, birlä, birlän.** It is formed by **-n** [after a vowel] and **-un/-ün** or **-ïn/-in** after a consonant. The existig forms are mostly adverbs: **baš töbän** 'head first', **yüzüqoyun** 'face down', **arqan** 'on the back'. Sporadically the suffix **-la** occurs as formant of the insturmental case.

3.1.4.2.8.1. The Instrumental Case Formed by -un/-ün, -ïn/-in, or -n
E.g.,
Musībat yā igdin ünün ïğlamaq. (MM183v:17) 'To cry aloud because of misery or sickness.'
Nätägliksizin rāst ïnandïm anga. (MM178r:11) 'I believed in him directly without [asking for] signs.'
Munun tutsa bolur ḫidāyat quši. (MM180r:10) 'By this you can catch the bird of guidance.'
Ham arqan yaturup qoyup ot qurïn. (MM188r:17) 'Also, lay him on he back and pour ambers on him.'
Zuhr vaqtin uyumaq ḫattâ ol zamān ičindä ḫalqnï āzār qïlmağay sän. (Sayf20v:2) '[The best service you, the king, can render is] sleeping at noon because at that time you do not hurt [your] subjects.'
Ol biligsiz kündüzün kim šamʿ-i kāfūrī yaqar lācaram yağï čirāğïning ravān bolur tamām. (Sayf21v:11-12) 'That ignorant one who by day burns his camphorated candle, will for sure waste the oil of his lamp.'
Sol ayağ üzrä olturup tüzün, qiblağa rāst barmaqïngnï sun. (MS13r:5) 'Sit [on the ground] on your haunches with your left leg flat [under you] and point the toes of your right foot toward the Qibla.'

3.1.4.2.8.2. The Instrumental Case formed by -la
There are only a few examples which already have become part of the lexicon as adverbs. E.g.,
Bu kün ḫuldē yasa saʿy et yüz alvān ki tangla keltürür ḥūrïnï rizvān. (DN262r:2) 'Today exert yourself and ornate in hundred ways a place of eternal bliss, because tomorrow the custodian of paradise will deliver you one of his virgins.'
Šayʾ lillāh šakkarīn erningdin, ay kān-i namak, kim nabāt-i Miṣridin ming qatla artuq tur tuzï. (GD223,3) 'Can you spare God from your sugar-sweet lips, O Mine of Elegance! The salt of them is a thousand times sweeter than the refined sugar of Egypt.'

Bir aytqannï yana aytma mukarrar, ki ḥalvānï dağï bir qurla yerlär. (Sayf108v:12) 'Do not repeat what you have already said once on the ground that even sweetmeat people serve only once.'
Tämür tökkän biläk ming qurla yaḫšï ol eldän kim kögüsdä beggä qaršï. (Sayf49v:7) 'A fist that pounds on iron is a hundred times better than an arm which is on the chest facing the Beg [and ready to serve].'

3.1.4.2.9. Privative Case

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

Tālīʿsïz ṣayyād tängizdä balïq tuta bilmäs, dağï açalsïz balïq qurï yerdä ölmäs. (Sayf94v:10-11) 'A fisherman without luck cannot catch fish in the sea; a fish the final hour of which has not arrived, will not die on dry land.'
Heč iš bu kalimasïz muʿtabar emäs. (RM4r:5) 'No undertaking is valid without these words.'
Har kim bang-i namāz maḥallïda sözlägäy, anga ḫavf turur kim īmānsïz ʿālamdïn barğay. (RM15v:6-8) 'It is to be feared that anyone who talks during the call to prayer will depart this world without [the security that his] faith [would otherwise provide for him in the Hereafter].'
İnābatsïz ärgä irādat yoq ol: irādat yoq ol ʿišq bilä kälmäsäng. (MM198v:7) 'Submission is not granted to him who has not repented. Submission is impossible if you do not come with Love.'

Note: The expanded form in **-sïzïn/-sizin** makes adverbs: **ansïzïn** 'suddenly', **cānsïzïn** 'without a soul.' E.g.,

Camād cānsïzïn ol ne išgä yarar? (MM197v:4) 'Without life [the body] is like minerals: What can it accomplish?'
Nätäglik ravā yoq, nätäg ermäs ol: nätägliksizin rāst ïnandïm, anga. (MM178r:11) 'No similitude can be coined for Him, for He is unlike anything else. Say, I have come to believe in Him directly [as He is] without similitudes.'

3.1.4.2.10. Equative Case

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

3.1.4.2.10.1. Equative Case Marked with -ča/-čä

E.g.,

Män yarağïmča dast u pā urdum. (MS4r:1) 'I have done my utmost.'[43]
Nečä lazzat esä mayl anča bolur, mayl lazzātnï tapğanča bolur. (RB6v:12) 'The more pleasure [one receives], the greater will be one's desire [for Him]: One's desire is in [direct] proportion to the pleasure one receives.'
Äšnā ič sarï taš bēgāna, bu ravišča raviš olmas yana. (RB6r:6) 'The Friend [invited] in, the stranger [kept out]: There is no better [principle of] behavior than this.'
Bu šakk tüssä rakʿat sanïnča ötür. (MM184v:1) 'If such a doubt occurs, perform the prayer according to the number of rakʿats [you are sure that you have performed].'
Bu ikki qavlča. (MM185r:6c) 'According to these two instructions.'

3.1.4.2.10.1.1. After the 3d person singular possessive suffix

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

3.1.4.2.10.1.1.1. Without pronominal **-n-**

Tün ortasïdan sunnat vaqtïča anïng vaqtï turur. (RM17v:2-3) 'The time for the vitr prayer is between midnight and the time for the sunna rakʿats of the mandatory prayers.'
Qïlïčtïn qïl učïča yoq anga vahm, yavutmas özigä ḫwad oqdïn vahm. (DN245v:10) 'He has no fear of the sword, not even as much as the tip of a hair. He is not impressed even by the flying arrow.'
Pas Tengri taʿālā ol kišigä kim namāznï beš vaqt Kaʿbağa yüzlänip namāz oqusa, bu beš tağnïng ağïrlïğïča ṣavāb berür. (RM 26v:2-4) 'Consequently, if a person, with his face toward the Kaʿba, says the prayers at the five designated times, God, the Most High will grant him as much recompense as the weight of those five mountains.'

3.1.4.2.10.1.1.2. With pronominal **-n-**

İnqitāʿïnča yenä mayl artar, maylča munqaṭiʿ olmaqlïq bar. (BH 10r:2) 'The more you are separated [from other than God], the more will [your] desire [for God] increase. You are separated

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

[from other than God] in the measure that your desire [for God] has increased.'
ᶜ**Arab tilinčä** (KBV5v:1) 'in Arabic'

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

In a few instances the suffix **-layïn/-läyin** marks the equative case. E.g.,

Ärdäm ärning davlatï dur bil yaqïn, kim tükänmäs māl erür matlablayïn. (Sayf140r:6) 'Skill is a blessing for a man, know full well. It is an inexhaustible wealth like a hidden treasure.'

3.1.4.2.11. Comparative Case

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

Tavaqquᶜ körgüzüp išidä taḥsïn, erip su teg havā otïna taskïn. (DN261r:10) 'Expectation showed approbation in his performance, as he, like water, extinguished the fire of passion.'
Manga berdi ki nacī dek ačïlğïn, qarasïn közläringgä surma qïlğïn. (DN261v:2) 'He gave it to me [and said] "Open like the ark of Noah [after it touched land] and apply earth, as antimony, to your eyes.'
Ki davlat tüšläringni qïldï taᶜbïr, malāmat köz yašïng teg boldï bir bir. (DN261v:3) 'Because good turn of fortune interpreted your dreams and blame dissipated one by one like your tears.'
Tilägän teg sanga yüz qoydï maqṣūd tiläkläringni bir bir berdi maᶜbūd. (DN262r:1) 'The object of your desire turned toward you exactly as you had desired; God granted your wishes one by one.'
Özüngni tā yïraq saldïng nazar teg, közüm dur su ičindä nīlūfar teg. (DN262v:1) 'Since you cast yourself far as [swiftly] as [you cast] a glance, my eyes float in water like waterlilies.'
Camālïng šuhratï har yanï ketip, parī teg ḥūrlar učmaqqa yetip. (DN262v:4) 'The fame of your beauty spread in all directions. Virgin-like fairies reached the gardens of paradise.'
Čïqardï sarv ara qumrï ṣağïrïn, samandar teg tüzüp otluq nafīrin. (DN266r:9) 'Among the cypress [branches] the ringdove sounded its laments playing her fiery flute in the mode the salamander does [running desperately in a ring of fire].'
Köngül kim tarta dur ğam mātamïnï, qalam teg bašïdïn alğil qarasïn. (DN264r:2) 'When the heart keeps wearing the livery of sorrow, remove melancholy from its head the way you remove ink from the tip of the pen.'

Muḥammad Ḫwāca beg ol kim ᶜAlī teg üküš cavlān qïlur maydān ičindä. (MN295r:2) 'Muḥammad Ḫwaja Beg is he, who like ᶜAlī, displays his skills quite often on the battle field.'

3.1.4.2.12. Terminative Case

Nouns with the case ending **-ğača/-gäčä**, mostly with verbs of motion, state or process express a point of time or place up to which an action or a condition lasted. [Rare in Chagatay but quite frequent in modern Uzbek]: **qiyāmatğača** 'until the day of resurrection', **yarïm küngäčä** 'until the day of resurrection.'

E.g.,

Yol yürüp kečä ṣubḥ čağïğača yettilär šaharning qïrğağïğača. Navai, Eckmann p. 202) 'They travelled at night and by morning time they went as far as the borders of the town.'
Men öz atamdïn taqï atam ata atasïndïn payğambarğača (RM 6r:1) 'I [have heard] from my father, who [heard it] from his father's father [and so on] all the way back to the Prophet...'
Tün yarutusïğača uyğaq bolup namāz qïlğïl. (RM30v:6) 'Remain awake to the midpoint of the night and pray [during that period].'
Yā Sïnni bölüp har rakᶜatda oquğay āḫirïğača. (RM18r:2-3) 'One should divide up the Yā Sīn [sura], reading one section with each rak'at until one has read the whole sura through to the end.'

3.1.4.3. Inflection for Possession

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

3.1.4.3.1. Possessive suffixes

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

3.1.4.3.1.1. Short Possessive Suffixes

Singular			
1st Person	**-m**	**atam**	'my father'
2d Person	**-ng**	**atang**	'your father'
3d Person	**-sï/-si**	**atasï**	'his father'
Plural			
1st Person	**-mïz/-miz**	**atamïz**	'our father'
2d Person	**-ngïz/-ngiz**	**atangïz**	'your father'
3d Person	**-larï/-lärï**[44]	**atalarï**	'their father'

[44] The 3d person singular *-sï/-si* may occur instead of *-larï/-lärï*.

3.1.4.3.1.2. Expanded Possessive Suffixes

Singular			
1st Person	**-ïm/-im -um/-üm**	**közüm**	'my eye'
2d Person	**-ïng/-ing -ung/-üng**	**közüng**	'your eye'
3d Person	**-ï/-i**	**közi**	'his eye'
Plural			
1st Person	**-ïmïz/-imiz -umïz/-ümiz**[45]	**közümiz**	'our eye'
2d Person	**-ïngïz/-ingiz -ungïz/-üngiz**[46]	**közüngiz**	'your eye'
3d Person	**-larï/-läri**[47]	**közläri**	'their eye'

3.1.4.3.2. Case Forms of Possessed Nouns

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

Ğamïmdïn gar desä ičimdäki dāğ, bulut teg yïğlağay ün tartïban dāğ. (DN256v:10) 'If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'

Ol ṣanamnïng elgidin altun piyala ičgäli. Cān quši cān kōyïgä ʿAnqā bigin parvāz qïl. (ShD91r:8-9) 'To drink from the golden cup from the hands of that Idol, Bird of my Life, take off and fly [steadily] like the Phoenix toward the Street of Life.'

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

3.1.4.3.3. Nouns with First and Second Person Singular Possessive Suffixes

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

Singular		
Nominative	**atam**	**atang**
Accusative	**atamnï**	**atangnï**
Genitive	**atamnïng**	**atangnïng**
Dative	**atamğa**	**atangğa**
	atama	**atanga**
Locative	**atamda**	**atangda**
Ablative	**atamdan**	**atangdan**
Equative	**atamča**	**atangča**
Comparative	**atamteg**	**atangteg**
Terminative	**atamğača**	**atangğača**

[45] Rare variant **-umuz/-ümüz**
[46] Rare variant **-unguz/-üngüz**
[47] The 3d person singular **-ï/-i** may occur instead of **-larï/-läri.**

Plural		
Nominative	**atalarïm**	**atalarïng**
Accusative	**atalarïmnï**	**atalarïngnï**
Genitive	**atalarïmnïng**	**atalarïngnïng**
Dative	**atalarïmğa**	**atalarïngğa**
	atalarïma	**atalarïnga**
Locative	**atalarïmda**	**atalarïngda**
Ablative	**atalarïmdan**	**atalarïngdan**
Equative	**atalarïmča**	**atalarïngča**
Comparative	**atalarïmteg**	**atalarïngteg**
Terminative	**atalarïmğača**	**atalarïngğača**

E.g.,

Atama ayttïm, bulardan hēč biri turup ikki rakʿat namāz qïlmas. (Sayf153r:10) 'I said to my father, none of these [people] gets up and peforms a two-rakʿat prayer.'

Ol oglan egāč yağrïnïma ağïr qamčï indürdï.(Sayf45r:3) 'When I was young, with a whip he delivered a heavy blow upon my shoulder.'

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

3.1.4.3.4. Nouns with Third Person Singular Possessive Suffixes

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

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	**atasï**	**atalarï**
Accusative	**atasïnï**	**atalarïnï**
	atasïn	**atalarïn**
Genitive	**atasïnïng**	**atalarïnïng**
Dative	**atasïğa**	**atalarïğa**
	atasïna	**atalarïna**
Locative	**atasïda**	**atalarïda**
Ablative	**atasïdan**	**atalarïdan**
Equative	**atasïča**	**atalarïča**
Comparative	**atasïteg**	**atalarïteg**
Terminative	**atasïğača**	**atalarïğača**

E.g.,

Camālïngdïn munavvar qïl közümnį ešitmä el sözin ešit sözümni. (DN257r:2) 'Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.'

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

Duʿā vaqtïn taẓarruʿnïng elini kötärip Tangrïdan raḥmat tilär sän. (ShD93v:6) 'When you pray you raise your supplicating hands and ask blessings form God.'

3.1.4.3.4.1. Without a Pronominal **-n-**

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

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

Ičindä ʿišq otïdïn bar mu sözï, tilär ağzïmnï heč ol tangrōzī? (DN252r:11) 'Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love? Does this pauper long for my lips?'

Ötär könglidä har dam bir dilāray, tilär közi ki körsä bir yangï ay. (DN254r:7) 'Every moment a beloved comes to his mind. His eyes wish to behold a new moon [among them].'

Dedi, sizdin näčük aldïn yoray män? Ḫudanï aldïda ʿāṣī bolur män. (Ḫ76v:10) 'He said, "How can I, then, walk ahead of you? I will be a sinner in the sight of God."'

3.1.4.3.4.2. With a Pronominal **-n-**

Less frequent. The dative **-ğa/-gä** often loses its consonant. E.g.,

Adīb er madḥïna mağrūr bolma. (Sayf166r:3) 'Do not fall for[48] a panegyrist's praise.'

Anïng ḥukmïna rāẓī bolup tašvīšimiz ketti. (Sayf157v:9) 'We were pleased with his decision and our differences were gone.'

Iʿtimādē nä qïlur sen bu falaknïng mihrinä: Ay vafādār qïl vafā ḥusn va kamālïng barïda. (ShD13v:2) 'Do not rely for a moment upon the love of the sky. O Faithful One, be faithful while you have beauty and perfection.'

Muḥtasib manʿ etmägil maʿšūq köyïndïn har zamān. Köz yašï bāda otïndïn har zaman ğamnākī dur. (ShD49v:7-8) 'Inspector, do not keep me away from the street of the Beloved all the time. Tears that the fire of love brings to the eyes are saddening all the time.'

[48] Lit. Do not be proud of...

3.1.4.4. Persian Inflectional Elements

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

3.1.4.4.1. The Izafat Marker -i/-ī

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

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

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

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

Erür sän navnihāl-i tāza ū tar. (Ḫ76v:6) 'You are like a young tree, fresh and green.'

Äšitti cumla aṣḥāb-ī payambar, kelištilär barïsï cumla yaksar. (Ḫ81v:9) 'All of the Prophet's closest companions heard [what had happened] and at once came [to see him].'

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

Note: Compound Izafat structures are rare in Chagatay.

3.1.4.4.2. The Vocative Marker -ā

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

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

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

Köngül bīmār boldï cānïm afgār. Tabībā kečmägil bu ḫastalardïn. (ShD122r:4) 'The heart has become sick, my soul is wounded. O, Doctor, do not pass by these patients.'
ʿAql ḥayrān dur bu qudratlarda bilgil ʿāqilā. (BH3r:11) 'The intellect is perplexed at the powers [that created them], know this well, O Man of Intellect!'
Keltürür ušbu maḥall istīlā sanga Sulṭān-i maḥabbat, Yārā (RB 7r:4) 'At that moment the King of Love, O Friend, will grant you your destination!'
Dedilär, al-vidāʿ, ay ham-nišīnlär, ki körmäk emdi yoq, ay pākdīnlär. (Ḫ79r:11) '(Then Ibrāhīm) continued, Farewell, O Classmates! We will not meet again. O Adherents of the Pure Faith!'

3.1.4.4.3. The Prosodic Expletives -a, -ā

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

Bir biringä kibr u tazvīr yana bağlar ḫasidā. (BH17v:10) 'It combines pride and fraud and behaves in the manner of the envious.'
Bu sanga mīrāṣ qïlïp tur qalmağïl sen ʿacabā. (BH18r:3) 'Your father [in turn] made them your inheritance. Do not be astonished [to learn this].'
Bir künigä ikki ay tutar rōza, aranï üzmäyin ki har rōz-a. (MS16r:5) '[As penitence] he must fast one day after another without missing a day for a total of two months for every [single] day [that he omitted or violated his fast.]'
ʿİlm u ḥikmat birlä sen raḥmatnï bergil naṣībā. (BH18r:5) 'Give me as my share knowledge, wisdom, and [your] mercy.'
Bir mu'aṣṣir yaratïp tur bilgil ušbu tavḥīdā. (BH19r:1) 'He created an effective formula, and that, mark well, is the *tavḥīd* [i.e., the words "There is no god but God"].'

3.1.4.4.4. The Relative -ī

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

İttiṣālī ki erür bēmāniʿ, bu maḥall rūḥqa bolğay vāqiʿ. (RB 6r:12). 'Then the soul, now unhindered, will find itself in union with God.'
Har bahārī kim kelür bar dur ḫazānï käynidä. (BH15v:9) 'Every spring that comes has an autumn in its wake.'

Hātunī kim yitürsä ʿiddatnï (MS8v:1) '[It is obligatory for] a woman whose period ceases [earlier than is usual for her, so that there is no possibility that it will resume] if he seeks happiness.'
Ol karimī kim tutulğan aynï berür incilā. (BH17r:3) 'He is the Generous One who bestows brightness upon the moon after it has been in eclipse.'

3.1.4.4.5. The Suffix -rā in Dative Function

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

Ay karīmā luṭf qïl sargašta-i āvārarā. (BH18v:2) 'O Generous One, have mercy on me, [your] desperate and roaming [servant].'
Luṭf qïl iḥsān-i tavfīq bu faqīr bēčārarā. (BH18r:11) 'Grant me, [your] poor and destitute [servant], the grace of your assistance.'
Közüm yaši bigin tofraqqa tüštüm. Hudārā salmağïl meni naẓardïn. (ShD122r:11-12) 'I fell down into the dust like my tears. For God's [mercy] do not take your eyes off me.'

3.1.4.4.6. The Indefinite Suffix -ē

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

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

Atasï qïlğan üčün taklīfē qïldï anïng astïğa ta'līfē. (RB2r:8) 'Because his father proposed that he do so, he wrote a book and dedicated it to him.'
Hamagī-yi dil anï dōst tutar, bilgä sen bu söz ara farqē bar. (RB 9r:1) 'With all his heart he will be in love with Him; But [realize that] there is a difference between these utterances.'
ʿĀqil kišining iši ermäs, ki ʿāqil könglini har kimgä bermäs, magar bir telbä yanglïğ bēqarārē, parēšānē parēšān rōzgārē. (DN 239v:7) 'This very thing is not the doing of a wise person, because the wise one does not give his heart to anyone, except the one who is restless like a fool, distraught and distressed.'

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

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

Bitigidä ta'ammul qïldïm ersä, bitigi teg damē ačïldïm ersä... (DN 242v:11) 'When I deliberated her letter, when I, like her letter, opened for a moment...'

3.1.5. Formation of Nouns

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

3.1.5.1. Formation by Suffixes

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

3.1.5.1.1. The Suffix -ča/-čä

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

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

3.1.5.1.2. The Suffix -čaq/-čäk

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

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

3.1.5.1.3. The Suffix -či/-či

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

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

3.1.5.1.4. The Suffix -čïl/-čil

It indicates association of some kind with the base word.

tüšänčil 'eagle' (PdC234)
ağčïl 'whitish' (PdC252)
sïčančïl 'common buzzard' (PdC365)
balïqčïl 'common heron' (Desturn. 56,3)

3.1.5.1.5. The Suffix -čïn/-čin

It forms, mostly, diminutives.

öpčin 'coat of mail' (Babur161r:8)
qalčaqčïn 'wild goat' (Zam. 406a)
bïldïrčïn 'quail' (AḤ36a:14)
orčïn 'district' (Babur25r:5)
toqurčïn 'a board game' (AḤ65a:11)

3.1.5.1.6. The Suffix -čuq/-čük

It forms diminutives, names of tools, adjectives.

bulğančuq 'dark, foggy' (PdC177)
ağarčuq 'chess, or nard' (AḤ16v:2)
qaburčuq 'box' (AḤ68r:19)
tağarčuq 'sack, bag' (AḤ64v:11)
bäbäčük 'pupil of the eye' (AḤ195,3)
munčuq 'glass beads' (Sayf158v:2)
čağančuq 'small falcon' (AḤ105,3)

3.1.5.1.7. The Suffix -daš/-däš

It expresses a companion or a mate.

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

3.1.5.1.8. The Suffix -laq/-läk

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

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

3.1.5.1.9. The Suffix -layïn/-läyin

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

bülbülläyin 'like a nightingale' (Jes.103,13)
arslanlayïn 'like a lion' (AḤ18,8)
qumlayïn 'like sand' (Ilm. 498,8)
šuturlayïn 'like a camel' (Jes.47,6)

3.1.5.1.10. The Suffix -lï/-li

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

biligli 'learning, knowing' (Sayf170v:5)
käligli 'ready to come' ('AḤ39,13)
baqïğlï 'looking' ('AḤ31,6)
oquğlï 'reading' (MM197r:3)
čïqïğlï 'leaving' (MM197r:4)
ḫōr qïlïğlï 'humiliating' (MM144v:4)
yürügli 'passing, walking' (MM179v:3)
yazuqlï 'sinful' (Sayf50r:4)
bahālï 'valuable' (Sayf98r:9)
yüräkli 'brave' (AḤ93a:17)
ärkli 'mighty' (Sayf176r:7)
küčli 'strong' (Sayf156r:11)

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

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

köp mallï 'rich' (Sayf59r:2)
ač közli 'greedy' (Sayf141r:5)
künäš yüzli (Sayf124v:12) 'sun-faced'
ḫamza yüräkli 'lion-hearted' (Sayf7r:5)
ağïr bahālï 'precious' (Sayf105r:10)
fïtna yüzli 'malicious' (Sayf9v:4)
qamar yüzli (Sayf61v:4) 'moon-faced'

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

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

atlïğ 'named, called' (İM5v:3)
biliglig 'wise' (Qutb Zaj. 32)
bitiglig 'written' (MM197v:12)
bahalïğ 'valuable' (MM182v:)
borcluğ 'insolvent' (MM190 v:4)
mängizlig 'similar' (RM3r:1)
ṣifatlïğ 'of [a certain] quality' (MM181v:2)
šubhalig 'doubtful' (MM196r:6)
takabburlüg 'proud' MM180r:6)
vafālïğ 'faithful' (MM180r:11)

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

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

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

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

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

ağirlïq 'weight' (RM26v:4)
arïğlïq 'purity' (MM180r:18)
ašlïq 'crop' (MM192r:6)
bandalïq 'a person's service to God' (RM25r:1)
bašlamaqlïq 'a beginning' (182r:2)
baylïq 'greatness' (Sayf150v:11)
bēadablük 'improper conduct' (MM194v:2)
bētābllïq 'weakness' (RM33v:7)
činlïq 'truthfulness' (RM4v:1)
ḫabībllük 'love of God' (MM199v:5)
kāhillïq 'negligence' (RM41v:4)
muqīmluq 'the legal status of a resident' (MM187r:16)
namāzlïq 'prayer carpet' (MM180v:6)
netäglik 'similitude' (MM178r:11)
pāklïq 'purity' (RM20r:10)
oğurluq 'theft' (RM34v:9)
qabūlluq 'acceptance' (MM196r:14)
qulluq 'service' (RM18v:1)
rāstlïq 'truthfulness' (RM4v:1)
šādmānlïq 'happiness' (RM20r:9)
tiriglik 'life' (DN249v:10)
uluğluq 'height' (MM184v:5)
uyalïq 'brotherhood' (MM201v:2)
uzaqlïq 'probation period' (MM102v:10b)
yaqïnlïq 'intercourse' (MM186v:12)
yawuzluq 'wickedness' (MM182v:6)
ḫudāylïq 'lordship' (RM13v:7)
parēšānlïq 'misery, distraction' (DN252r:5)
kišisizlïq 'loneliness' (DN252v:7)
könilik 'truthfulness' (Sayf25v:9)

3.1.5.1.13. The Suffix -m

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

barïm 'wanderer' (MM187r:11)
bolum 'stability, firmness' (PdC178)
igrim 'whirpool' (PdC122)
bilim 'knowledge' (Babur170r:9)
atïm 'distance of an arrow shot' (Babur151r:9)
küčüm 'strong' (NTM13r:11)

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

3.1.5.1.14. The Suffix -ma/-mä

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

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

3.1.5.1.15. The Suffix -mač/-mäč

Rare. It occurs mostly in names of food items.

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

3.1.5.1.15. The Suffix -maq/-mäk

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

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

sïrmaq 'donkey saddle' (Kāšğ. Brock. 180)
tävmäk 'hammer' (AḤ40v:10)
yašmaq 'women's veil' (PdC527)
qaymaq 'cream' (Sayf78r:2)
toqmaq 'mallet' (NTM13r:6)
soqmaq 'a narrow street' (NTM13r:3)
kimäk 'clay' (NTM4r:9)
etmäk 'bread' (NTM10r:2)
bilmäk 'awareness' (MM186v:7)
yemäk 'food' (MM194v:6)
qasmaq 'thick broth, gravy' (PdC405)
türmäk 'sweet dish' (Kāšğ. Brock. 225)
yarmaq 'money' (NTM4v:5)

3.1.5.1.16. The Suffix -man/-män

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

čäkmän 'mantle, cloak' (Sayf186v, A5,6,)
tegirmän 'mill' (NTM9v:10)
köčmän 'nomad' (PdC464)
čüčümän 'rather sweet' (Babur285r:13)

3.1.5.1.17. The Suffix -mïšï/-miši

The derivatives are nouns, abstract and concrete.

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

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

Diminutive formants used with names of colors.

qïzïmtul 'reddish' (Mab. 87,17)
yašïmtul 'greenish' (Mab. 87,17)
qaramtul 'blackish' (NF 191)
sarïmtul 'yellowish' (Sang. 332v:27)
ağïmtul 'whitish' (Sang. 44r:20)

3.1.5.1.18. The Suffix -n, -an

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

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

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

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

3.1.5.1.20. The Suffix -ng

The derivatives are adjectives and nouns.

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

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

3.1.5.1.21. The Suffix -raq/-räk

It is added to adjectives to change [increase or decrease] a little the quality it indicates. It is also the grammatical marker of the comparative degree of adjectives [see3.3.2.1.2.2.].

asaḥḥraq 'the most correct' (MM184v:1)
ašağaraq 'a little below' (KBV13v:2)
azraq 'a little' (KBV19v:21)
ʿazïzräk 'more precious' (MM177r:1)
ädizräk 'higher' (ʿAtḤ26,23)
bašqaraq 'aside, apart' (Babur 113r:13)
qavïraq 'more important' (MM185v:3)
qïsqaraq 'a short summary' (KBV11r:21)
yaḫšïraq 'better' (KBV19v:3)
yägräk 'best' (MM191r:16)

3.1.5.1.21. The Suffix -saq/-säk

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

aqsaq 'lame' (NTM9r:5)
sarïmsaq 'garlic' (PdC226)
tirsäk 'elbow' (MM180v:13)
bağïrsaq 'intestine' (LA60)
yüksäk 'high' (MA23,6)
qursaq 'stomach' (MA232,7)

3.1.5.1.22. The Suffix -sï/-si

tütsi 'smoke' (PdC222)
artuqsï 'more than usual' (Sayf26r:2)
ayruqsï 'different' (Sang. 57v:4)
yansï 'side' (MA167,2)

3.1.5.1.23. The Suffix -sïz/-siz

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

tügsiz 'hairless' (KBV20v:15)
balsïz 'without honey' (KBV20r:6)
saʿādatsïz 'unhappy' (Sayf143r:9)
sağïssïz 'countless' (Sayf3r:4)
sansïz 'immense' (Sayf3r:4)

šakksïz 'doubtless' (Sayf99r:11)
qanatsïz 'wingless' (Sayf173v:1)
banīsïz 'without a builder' (MM178r:12)
ḥicābsïz 'evident [< without a veil'] (MM178r:8)
ḫatnasïz 'uncircumcized' (MM191r:13)
inābatsïz 'unrepented' (MM198v:7)
ʿilmsiz 'without knowledge'(MM186r:1)
nišānsïz 'without a sign' (MM192v:14)
qarïğsïz 'shoreless' (MM179r:3)
ḫacatsïz 'having his wish unfulfilled' (IM2v:3)
tübsüz 'bottomless' (MM179r:3)

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

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

3.1.5.1.24. The Suffix -sïzïn/-sizin

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

suwsïzïn 'without water' (KBV20v:17)
cānsïzïn 'without life' (MM197v:4)
nätägliksizin 'without similitudes' (Sayf178r:11)
niyyatsïzïn 'without having declared one's intention' (MM186v:6)
otrušsuzun 'without performing the internal sitting' (MM187v:5)
qirā'atsïzïn 'without the recitation from the Qur'ān' (MM185r:10)
qulavuzsuzun 'without a guide' (MM193v:17)
yönsüzün 'in disregard of one of the alternatives [i.e., turning one's left or right cheek to the ground]' (MM194r:16)
zarūratsïzïn 'without being compelled' (MM186r:14)

3.1.5.1.25. The Suffix -suq/-sük

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

3.1.5.1.26. The Suffix -š

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

baqïš 'glance' (Sayf127r:11)
biliš 'friend, acquaintance' (Sayf128v:6)
bitiš 'growth' (Sayf14v:7)
čapqulaš 'hand-to-hand combat' (NTM15v:7)
keliš 'coming' (Sayf114v:3)
külüš 'smile' (Qutb, Zaj., 107)
oqšaš 'alike, similar' (CCum 178)
otruš 'sitting position in the ritual prayer' (MM185r:6a)
öpüš 'kiss' (Sayf129r:6)
saqïš 'thought, idea' (Sayf73v:1)
söküš 'abuse' (CCum.223)
toquš 'fight' (MM182v:2)
tutuš 'always' (MM198r:15)
uquš 'understanding' (MM196r:17)
uruš 'war' (NTM4r:3)
üküš 'much, many' (MM179r:10)
ülüš 'part, portion' (MM189v:8)
üwüš 'wet' (MM182r:14)
yaraš 'peace' (NTM4r:3)

3.1.5.1.27. The Suffix -ši/-ši [-šu/-šü]
qaršï 'the opposite side' (Sayf3v:5)
qïšlayïšï 'winter quarters' (PdC449)
qonğšï 'neighbor' (Sayf82v:12)
yaḫšï [< **yaq-** 'to please, appeal to'] 'good' (Sayf45v:7)

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

3.1.5.1.28. The Suffix -t, -ut/-üt
In most cases the derivative indicates the result of the action of the base verb.
alğut 'tribute, requisition' (PdC32)
ört 'flame' (PdC52)
art 'narrow muntain pass' (PdC11)
ögüt 'advice' (Qutb121)
qurut 'dried milk curd' (NTM10r:11)
uyat 'shame' (NTM15r:10)
yanut 'answer' (Qutb67)
uwut 'shame' (MM182v:11)

3.1.5.1.29. The Suffix -z
It forms names of objects that occur in pairs. Also, it creates abstract nouns from verbs. Some of these abstract nouns are also used as adjectives.
ağïz 'mouth' (Sayfv:12)
boğaz 'throught'(MM191r:5)
boğuz 'throat' (Sang. 136v:12)
ikiz 'twins' (MA129)
keyiz 'felt' (Quṭb Hac., 4533)
kičigäz 'small' (KBV11v:6)
mängiz 'face' (MM188r:18)
müngüz 'horn' (NTM12v:9)
omuz 'shoulder' (PdC81)
öz 'self' (MM179v:6)
sämiz 'fat' (Sayf10v:6)
söz 'word' (Sayf43r:4)
tiz 'knee' (MM180v:18)
uz 'skillful' (Sayf105v:2)
yätiz 'perfectly correct' (MM191r:13)

3.1.5.1.30. The Suffix -vul, -avul
Mongolian suffix applied to Turkish bases.
yangavul 'flanker' (ML p.24)
qaravul 'guard' (ML p.24)
čapavul 'raid' (Sang. 271v:15)
yortavul 'raider' (Sang. 342v:8)
yasavul 'executive officer' (NTM5:6)
čïndavul 'rear guard' (NTM14v:8)
sözavul 'herald' (ML p.24)

3.1.5.1.31. The Suffix -sa/-sä
engsä 'nape' (KBV6v:1)
umsa 'hope' (KB66v:10)
böksä 'waist' (PdC173)
ölüksä 'corpse' (Sang.86v:7)
yälpisä 'fan' (MA97,8)

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

3.1.5.2.1. The Prefix ham-
It indicates coexistence, joint agents, people sharing the same view.
hamāvāz 'speaking in the same tone' (DN262r:)
hamdam 'companion' (Sayf119v:9)
hamdōst 'partner' (DN259v:2)
hamdard 'partner in sorrow' (NIV148)
hamnafas 'confidant' (GD91:2)
hamnišīn 'companion' (GD111:4)
hamrūh 'an intimate friend' (GD49:2)
hamzabān 'of the same language' (NIV149)
hamsāya 'neighbor' (ShD135r:1))
hamrāh 'fellow traveller' (ShD42r:1)
hamrāz 'close friend' (ShD103v:8)
hamṣuḥbat 'friend, companion' (ShD124r:13)

3.1.5.2.2. The Prefix sar-
It indicates top quality, highest rank, first position.
sarāb 'fountainhead' (MM196r:11)
sarāğāz 'prelude' (NIII54)
sarancām 'conclusion' (ShD86r:2)
sarbāz 'soldier' (Sayf45v:9)
sarḫwaš 'drunk' (Sayf55r:13)
sarfitna 'ringleader' (GD37:1)
sarmāya 'capital' (ShD170v:12)
sarmast 'very drunk' (ShD145v:2)
sarvaqt 'bed' (Sayf12v:10)
sarvar 'preeminent' (MM176v:14)
sarmanzil 'the first station' (GD76:5)

3.1.5.2.3.The Prefix šāh-, šah
It indicates, excellence of kind, superiority in quality or rank, uniqueness.
šāhbāz 'royal falcon' (ShD128r:3)
šāhpar 'the longest feather in a bird's wing' (NIII517)
šāhbait 'the royal distich of a ghazal' (NIII544)
šāhrāh 'main road' (ShD81v:9)
šāhsuvār 'an excellent horseman' (ShD26v:12)

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

3.1.5.3.1. Determinative Compounds
In compounds of this type one element, mostly the first, determines [specifies, describes] the other. The derivative includes the thing referred to. It is within the semantic boundary of the word. E.g.,
čašmasār 'fountain' (DN 249v:10)
dastgāh 'seat' (DN 257v:6)
gulbarg 'rose-leaf'(DN 270r:6)
šabnam 'dew' (GD41:3)
ābrōy n. 'honor, dignitiy' (DN253r:10)

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

3.1.5.3.2.1. The first element is a noun, the second, and adjective. E.g.,
dilḫasta 'a broken-hearted person' (GD18,6
diltang n. 'someone with a sad heart' (DN270r:5)
ḫāṭirparēšān n. 'one who is distressed in mind' (Ḫ81v:10)

3.1.5.3.2.2. Both elements are nouns. E.g.,
maḫabbapēša 'one whose profession is caring love' (DN257r:4)
ʿanbarsar n. 'ambergrishead' (DN262v:11)
gulandām n. 'a slender, delicate person' (DN 269r:11)
gulrang n. 'rose-colored' (GD110-5)
gulʿizār n. 'rose-cheeked' (GD110:27:4)
gulruḫsār 'rose-faced' (GD173:4)
māhpaykar n.'[a beloved] whose face is like the moon' (258r:5)
sarvqāmat n. '[a beloved] straight like a cypress' (DN249v11)
sarvqadd n. 'cypress-bodied [beloved]' (Ḫ77v:4)
šabrang n.'a dark bay horse [of the color of the night]' (DN270r:5)
šakarlab n.'sweet-tongued' (Ḫ78v:3)

3.1.5.3.2.3. The first element is an adjective, the second, a noun. E.g.,
pākdīn n. 'adherent of the pure faith' (Ḫ79r:11)
parēšānrōzgār n. 'one who is afflicted with troubles' (DN270r:5)
ṣafmašrab n. 'innocent' [< he whose drink is pure'] (DN258r:7)
ṣābitqadam n. 'steadfast' ['he who walks firmly'] (GD192:4)
tangrōzī n. 'a person whose subsistence, allotted by Providence is scanty' (DN 252r:11)
farḫunda-sūr 'one whose company is auspicious' (DN262r:10)
farḫunda-maqdam 'one whose arrival is auspicious' (DN248v:9)

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

3.2. Postpositions

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

3.2.1. Primary Postpositions

3.2.1.1. With the Nominative Case

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

3.2.1.1.1. The Postposition ara 'into, with'

Ču aldï nāmanï elin uzatïp, alurda mušk ara ṣandalnï q (DN251v:9) 'When she took the lette reaching for it with hand, she added sandal fragrance to the scent of musk.'
Kim alïp tur ağïzğa gōk terin, bilip tur ḫusn ara šakarnï š (DN 257v: 2) 'He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mouth appreciate in beauty the sweetness of sugar.'[53]
Ču kördi nāmanï mihr etti iḫsās, qatïšturdï eli qunduz ar (DN258r:4) 'When that sun set eyes on the letter, she anticip [what its message was]. Her hand added the white of the ermi fur] to the gray color of the beaver.'

3.2.1.1.2. The postposition bigin 'like'

Közüm yaši bigin tofraqqa tüštüm, Ḫudārā salmağïl meni na dïn. (ShD122r:10-11) 'Like the tears of my eyes I dropped the dust. For God's sake, do not cast me away from your sight.'
Ki, nargisgä ol köz salğučï dur, tili sūsan bigin söz salğučï (DN254r:4) 'The tongue of the person who has cast a glance a jasmine will speak like the water lily.'[54]

[53] Allusion to the Sufi tenet: *Balā qaḍğu yutğu sazā bolğuğa. Tālim tatğu ačïğ maza bulğuğa.* 199r:14) 'You must bear affliction and misery [just as you must bear the bitterness of medici that you may be worthy [of His Love].You will have to taste much bitterness to find a tasty m
[54] I.e., it will be silent.

Yaši daryā bigin har yanï barïp, ičidin ʿumr ačïğïnï čïqarïp. (DN 246v:9) 'His tears like a big river [that burst its banks] ran in all directions bringing forth from his inside the bitterness of life.'

3.2.1.1.3. The postposition bilä, bilän 'with, together with'

Labïng tuttum ki bermäs iḫtiyārī, köngülni asrağïl til bilä bārī. (DN244v:3) 'I understand[55] that your lips do not grant any options. Sooth the heart at least with words.'[56]
Qïlïban muškni ol ʿanbarïn meng, cihān ičrä qara tofraq bilän teng. (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris-scented mole reduced [the value of] the musk to [that of] common clay in the [entire] world.'
Dedi, "Ol bēnavā bulbul ne ištä, ki boldï ğam bilän cānï sirišta. (DN252r:4) 'What happened to that destitute nightingale that his life was molded with sorrow.'
Bäsländing anïng süti bilä dağï ulğaydïng mänim qatïmda. (Sayf 15v:5) 'You were nourished with her milk, and grew up in my presence.'

3.2.1.1.4. The Postposition birlä, birlän 'with, together with'

Bitidi nāma altun suyï birlän, vafā u mihr, rasm u ḫūyï birlän. (DN259r:2) 'She wrote a letter with golden ink, with faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.'
Manga körgüzmäsün Tengri ḫwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlä bir bolğay zalālïm. (DN242r:7) 'May God never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with common dust.'
Havā birlän havas rāyïna barğan, zalālat makr va alïndïn qarar-ğan. (DN239v:8) 'With expectation he follows the judgment of passion. [His face] is turning black[57] as a result of tricks and ruses of aberration.'
Ušol damda yätištilär ikävlän, kirip bardï atasï birlä oğlan. (Ḫ 77r:1) 'Soon they arrived. Father and son entered [by the gate].'

3.2.1.1.5. The Postposition dek 'exactly like'

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

[55] Definite past tense indicates the result of a past action [see3.6.4.3.].
[56] Lit., with the tongue
[57] Sign of disgrace.

Kim qaẓā yätkändä nādān dek bolurlar aẓkiyā. (BH16r:3) 'For when the Divine Decree manifests itself, the wise will be ignorant.'
ʿİlm erür kündüz va cāhil dur qaranğu kečä dek. (BH20r:3) 'Knowledge is [like] daylight, ignorance, like the dark of night.'
Kim zumurrad dek emäs har nečä sabz olğay giyā. (BH15r:9) 'Just as grass will never be equal to emerald although it, too, is green.'[58]
Ṣubḥ-i ʿālam dek munavvar ham künäš dek bāṣafā. (BH18v:8). 'It illuminates the word like the dawn. [It is] also serene and pure like the sun.'
Qïzïl gul dek yüzüngüz zaʿfarān dek ačïlğanda bolup dur sän ḫazān dek. (Ḫ78v:5) 'Your face like red rose now is like saffron. In the season of blooming you are like autumn.'
Va tağlar rēg-i ravān dek bolğay, yaʿnī ušaq qumlar dek. (RM 36r-10-36v1) 'When the mountains will become like shifting sand, that is fine grains of sand...'
Šafaq dek köz yašïdïn bādapaymāy, tanïdïn körgüzüp har kün yängi ay. (DN259r:9). 'A wine-drinker consuming his tears red like the color of thedawn. [The One] who, through his body, shows the new moon every day.'

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

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

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

Qïlïban mušknï ol ʿanbarīn meng, cihān ičrä qara tofraq bilän teng. (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris-scented beauty spot reduced the [the value of the] musk to [that of the] common clay in the [entire] world.'
Kim bu gulšan ičrä taptï bulbul-i ṭabʿim navā. (BH22r:4) 'When in this garden the nightingale--my inspiration--hit upon a melody.'
Har biri ičrä fikr qïlğay mïz. (MS3r:5) 'We will consider each one.'
Salïp šahr ičrä ʿišq āvāzasïnï, ačïp yüzigä ğam darvāzasïnï. (DB 240r:1) 'He spreads the rumor about [his] love all over the town. He opens the gate of sorrow before his face.'[59]

[58] Lit., no matter how green it is

Sening kōyungdïn, ay körk ičrä bāğïm, bašïm gar barsa barmağay ayağïm (DN244v:5) 'From your quarter, O, My Flowergarden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.'
Yüzüng ḫālï salïp ot ičrä filfil, fusūn qïlmaqqa ačïp lablarïng til. (DN244r:3) 'The mole of your face sprinkles pepper upon the fire and your lips open the tongue to perform magic'

3.2.1.1.7. The Postpositions ilä, ilän 'with, together with; and'

Šarʿ ilä ẓāhiri ārāsta dur, ğayrdïn bāṭini pērāsta dur. (RB9v:3) '[Join the group of those] whose behavior is governed by the Law and whose heart is cleansed from other [than God].'
Husn ilä ḫalq ara fasāna durur, kim ki körsä anï dēvāna durur. (RB6v:3) 'For his beauty he is a legend among the people. Whoever beholds him, becomes a madman.'
Ḫaqq taʿālâ sevär anï ki mudām kiši Ḫaqq cānïbïğa subḥ ilä šām. (RB3v:8) 'God, the Most High, loves the person who always, morning and evening, has his face turned toward Him.'
Taṣavvur manṭiqin čōn qïldï taṣdīq, bitidi nāmaē luṭf ilä taʿlīq. (DN246v:1) 'When he verified [with his heart] the logic of [his] imagination, he wrote a letter with graceful characters.'
Gar sorar sen yazuğumnï ʿadl ilä vā ḫasratā. (BH6v:4) 'If, by exercising your harsh justice, you ask me to render account of my sins, woe is me.'
Bar durur kündüz bilän kečä ṣabāḥ ilän masā. (BH15v:10) 'Day is followed by night, morning by evening.'
Dōst birlän yaḫšïliq ḫwaš, dušman ilän yaḫšïraq. (BH13v:9) 'To treat a friend well is meritorius, to treat an enemy well is even better.'

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

Anïng ilä yoq qïlur va anïng ilä bar qïlur. (BH13r:14) 'With [that Power] He annihilates and creates.'

3.2.1.1.8. The Postpositions kebi, käbi, käbin 'like', 'as'

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

[59] I.e., He surrenders to sorrow.

Yangï aynï kim qïlur ay bašïda sayqal kebi. (BH3v:9) 'Who, at the beginning of the month, makes the new moon [the shape of] a whetstone?'
Ay Šabānī, nay kābin har ṣubḥdam qïlğïl navā. (BH12r:11) O Shabānī, like a reed, sing [of the sorrow of separation] every morning.'[60]

3.2.1.1.9. The Postposition sarï 'toward'

Yüzini qibla sarï qïlïp duᶜā qïlğay dep turlar. (RM45v:9-46r:1) 'And it is recommended that he face the Qibla while he is praying.'
Andïn song bir bir mangïp mascid sarï barğay. (RM15r-5-6) 'Then he should leave [his house] and[,with the other worshipers,] in a single file [at once] set off for the mosque.'
Ḫāṣṣa ol kišigä bermäk yārī ki tavaccuh anga bar Haqq sarï. (RB3v:6) 'You should help especially those people whose attention is directed to God.'
Tüzälmäsün yüzüm dīn qiblasïna, gar özgä sarï bolsa rōy u rāhïm. (DN257v:9) 'My face should not turn to the Qibla of [our] religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward others.'
Āšnā iç sarï taš bēgāna bu ravišča raviš olmas yana. (RB6r:6) 'The Friend [invited] in the stranger [kept] out: There is no better [principle of] behavior than this.'
Turup maktab sarï boldï ravāna, yüräkläri firāq otïğa yana. (Ḫ 75v:8) 'He got up and set out for the school, his heart burning in the fire of separation.'

Note: (1) A pronoun base must be in the genitive case:
Özüngni qïlma asru bē sar-u barg, kim egilmäs sening sarï nihālïm. (DN 242r:4) 'Do not feel too upset just because my branches do not bend toward you.'
(2) Rarely, the pronoun base stays in the nominative case:
Nazar anča ki bu sarï dur, bil, köngli közgüsi ğubārï dur, bil. (RB3v:12) 'To the extent that his attention is directed to them, they are dust that covers the mirror that his heart is, know full well.'
(3) **Sarï** may take the dative case ending:
İcāzat bar mu? dep Qābizgä aydï, ušal maktab sarïğa barsa, dedi. (Ḫ78r11) 'The Prophet asked Qabiz, the Soultaker, "Will you grant him permission to return to school."'

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

3.2.1.1.10. The Postposition ṣifat 'like'

Yā naḫl bigin saḫī keräk er, yā sarv ṣifat hamēša āzād. (Sayf 177v:8) 'A person must be either generous like the palmtree, or always uncommitted like the cypress.'[61]
Men yigirmi altï yašda savdā qïldïm, Mansūr ṣifat dīdār üčün ğavğā qïldïm. (AY p.72) 'At the age of twenty-six I became mad in love. I was shouting like Mansūr[62] for the vision [of God].'
Qulnï körsäm ḫizmat qïlïp qulï boldum, tofraq ṣifat yol üstidä yolï boldum. (AY p.106) 'When I saw a slave, I became his slave and served him, like dust I was his road upon the road.'

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

Qačtï Ḥabaš čärigi ᶜadam qalᶜasï tapa. (Sayf181r:11) 'The army of Ethiopia fled toward the fortress of annihilation.'[63]
Kiši kim kök tapa taš atsa. (Qutb p.167) 'The person who throws stones toward the sky.'
Ẓikirdin ẓākirğa bu uns ačlur ol, bu unsdïn tafakkur tapa käčlür ol. (MM198v:12) 'Recollection makes intimacy accessible to the Recollector. From intimacy he progresses to contemplation.'
Basa qabrğa yaqïn kelgändä, kafšnï yā sarmōzanï čïqarïp ölügnüng yüzi tapa, ḥurmat bilä andaq olturğay kim anïng tirigligidä olturğan bolğay. (RM45r:9-45v:2). 'And upon reaching the tomb, they should remove their shoes or overshoes and sit down facing the dead with the same respect that they used to demonstrate when these deceased were alive.'

3.2.1.1.12. The Postposition teg 'like'

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

Hamēša sāya teg küngä mulāzim bolup erišmäki boynïna lāzim. (DN258v:1) 'She is always in attendace to the sun, like a shadow. It is vital that it shine upon her shoulders [all the time].'
Ğamïmdïn gar desä ičimdäki dāğ, bulut teg yïğlağay ün tartïban dāğ. (DN256v:10) 'If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'

[61] The cypress is "free" (*āzād*) because it does not bear fruit.
[62] Mansur Ḥallāj (858-922)
[63] It was dawning.

Meni sen körmägäy sen özgä hargiz, parī teg közüngä učqay camālïm. (DN242r:2) 'You will never see me in any other way. Like a fairy, my beauty will fly into your eyes.'[64]
Muḥammad Ḫwāca beg ol kim ʿAlī teg üküš cavlān qïlur maydān ičindä. (MN295r:2) '[He is] Muḥammad Ḫwāca Beg, the one, who like ʿAlī, displays his skills very often on the battle field.'
Saḥrā yeli teg ʿumr baqāsï kečti. (Sayf41v:4) 'The rest of [our] lives has past like the desert wind.'
Käyiklär teg kezip etip cigar ḫūn, ğamï tağ va qïzïl yaši ṭabarḫūn. (DN259v:3) 'He is strolling like a deer absorbed in thoughts. His sorrow is a mountain, his tears, the fruit of the jujube [tree].'[65]

3.2.1.1.13. The Postposition üčün 'for, for the sake of'

Išārat qïl samanğa kim ačïlsun, nisār üčün diram yanglïğ sačïlsun. (DN266v:6) 'Order the jasmine to open and spread like silver coins scattered in a feast.'
Biti tek emdi tārīḫini kātib, erür tārīḫi üčün ẓabṭï vācib. (DN 271v:5) 'Mark right now the date, copyist: to preserve the date it is necessary to put it on record.'
Taqï Bizing qašïmïzda muhayyā' turur kāfirlar üčün dardnāk ʿaẓablar. (RM36r:5-7) 'And We have with Us and ready harrowing tortures for the kāfirs.'
ʿIšq üčün Ādam ata bir cav bahāna qïldï bil. (BH11v7) 'Know that for the sake of love Adam, our father, disobeyed God on the matter of a grain of wheat.'
Qoy dägül čūbān üčün ay ẓū-funūn, balki čūbān qoylara ḫidmat üčün. (Sayf40r:11) 'The sheep are not for the sake of the shepherd O, Master, but the shepherd is for serving the sheep.'

Note: A pronoun base must be in the genitive case:
Anïng üčün barča mursallargä boldï pešvā. (BH10r:10) 'That is why he is the leader of all messengers.'

3.2.1.1.14. The Postposition üzä 'on, upon'

Qurup čimgän üzä šāhāna ḫoš taḫt. (Quṭb p.204) 'They put up a royal throne on the grass.'

[64] You cannot help noticing my beauty.
[65] I.e., red

Ur tofraq üzä iki elgin. (MS9r:1) 'Touch [< hit upon] the soil with two hands.'
Ḫabar bärdi Allāh kalāmï bizä: Tayammum qïlïng tep arïğ yer üzä. (MM183r:7) 'God's Words have informed us: "Perform the tayammum upon clean soil."'
Ḫalq-i cihān maskan üčün ḫāk erür. Yattïm esä yer üzä ne bāk erür? (AC325v:2) 'To obtain a dwelling place, the people of this world humiliate themselves to the ground. What harm, then, if I too lie on the ground?'
Küyäv egni üzä qïzning ayağï. (Sayf138v:2) 'The girl's legs are upon the shoulders of the bridegroom.'

3.2.1.1.15. The Postposition üzrä 'on, upon'

Tengri qudrat birlä bir kavkab yazar kök üzrä kim tört yüz ming yïlda bir ẓāhir bolur gardūn ara. (BH9r:11) 'God, with His Power, draws a star on the [surface of the] sky. Once every four hundred thousand years [such a star] appears on the heavenly sphere.'
Qanatïn yaydï kök üzrä ḥavāṣil, firāğ-i bāl ulusqa boldï ḥāṣil. (DN267v:3) 'The pelican spread its wings in the sky and a time of leisure was granted to the people.'
Top-tola kördi malā'ik mavc üzrä favc favc. (BH9r-7) 'He saw many angels in hosts above the waves.'

3.2.1.1.16. The Postposition yanglïğ, yanglïq 'like, similar to'

Sanga tegmäs ki mihrimdin dam ursang, özüngni zarra yanglïğ bar ham ursang. (DN240v:7) 'It is not for you to brag about your love for me, to throw yourself around like a speck of dust.'
Čïqayïn yer ičidin nāla yanglïq, kafannï qanğa bulğap lāla yanglïq. (DN244v:11) 'Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry and stain the shroud with blood [red] like tulips.'
Ravza yanglïğ ḥusn bāğïda yangağï nār erür. (Sayf180v:12) 'In the garden of beauty which is like the garden of paradise, her cheeks are [reddish] like the pomegranate.'
Ikki ruḫsārï erdi māh yanglïğ. (Ḫ73v:2) 'His two cheeks were like the moon.'[66]

[66] Split into two halves by the Prophet when he needed two witnesses to prove that he was the true messenger.

Körüp bir gulnï yel yanglïğ erišmä, savurmağïl köngülning rōzgārïn. (DN254v:6) 'Beholding a rose do not rush there like the wind. Do not scatter the household of the of heart.'

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

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

Ušbu yanglïğ tartïbi ʿālamda ayğïl kim qïlur. (BH5v:11) 'Tell me, who in this world can prepare such a compound?'

3.2.1.2. With the Genitive Case

Most of the postpositions that occur with nouns in the nominative case, take pronouns, demonstrative or personal, in the genitive case. See **dek, ilä, kebi, sarï, üčün** above.

3.2.1.3. With the Ablative Case [see 3.1.4.2.7.7.]

3.2.1.3.1. The Postposition burna 'before'

ḫuftan namazïdïn burna (MS15:3) 'before the night prayer'
zavāldïn burna 'before noon' (MS15r:3)

3.2.1.3.2. The Postposition burun 'before'

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

Ḥaqq taʿalâ barča ašyānï yaratmasdïn burun. (BH5r:8) 'Before God, the Most High created all things.'

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

3.2.1.3.3. The Postposition cudā 'separated from'

Ay Šabānī ol moğul hacrïng köngüldä saqlağïl, näyläsün andïn cudā könglüm ara ṣabr va šikēb. (ShD22v:1) 'O, Shabānī, keep in your heart your separation from that Moghul beauty. Without it why would I have tolerance and patience in my heart.?'

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

3.2.1.3.4. The Postposition öng 'before'

Barčadïn öng qïlmïš erdi Muṣṭafânïng rūḥïnï. (BH5r:6) 'Before all else the Eminent and Excellent Lord created the Spirit of Mustafâ.'

Yemäkdin öng äl yup taqï songra ham. (MM194v:8) 'Wash your hands before eating and also after.'

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

3.2.1.3.5. The Postposition öngin 'other than; except'

Biling lā ilāha temäk ne bolur: İḍidin öngin yoq čïğay bay qïlur. (MM177v:3) 'You must know what *lā ilāha* means. [It means that] no one save the Lord makes one poor or rich.'

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

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

İḍidin öngindin yüzin äwrübän, iḍi utru kullï äwürmäk yüzi. (MM179r:12) 'One must turn away from everything other than God, and orient oneself entirely to Him.'

3.2.1.3.6. The Postposition özgä 'other than'

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

Sendin özgä yoq turur ʿālamda Raḥmān u Raḥïm. (BH7r:2) 'Other than you, there is in this world no Beneficient One, no Merciful One.'

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

İlāhī sendin özgä yoq panāhïm, ïsïnïp ḥaẓratïngda čïqtï āhïm. (DN 271v:6) 'My God, I have no refuge other than you, assiduous in your service I sigh.'

3.2.1.3.7. The Postposition song 'after'

Uyğandïn song, čōn tüz olturğay, bu duᶜānï oquğay. (RM11r:5) 'After awakening, when he sits up, he should recite the following prayer.'
Basa vitr namāzïnï tahaccuddïn song oquğay. (RM17v:1-2). 'And he should perform the witr prayer after the tahajjud prayer.'
Bu kündän song bu išdin tavba etkil, qïlïp eygü ᶜamal cannatkä ketgil. (Sayf139r:2) 'Starting today repent and give up this thing, do good deeds and go to Paradise.'
Musāfirning aḥvālï bilmäk sorup salām sufradïn song erür olturup. (MM194v:3) 'One must learn a traveler's condition by asking him about it after the reception meal, while the company is still seated.'

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

3.2.1.3.8. The Postposition songra 'after'

Ol ḥarāmïlar mağribdän songra kelip qāfïla urup māl va niᶜmat ketürdilär. (Sayf12v:6-7).'After sunset the highway robbers came, attacked the caravan and took away merchandise and goods.'
Nafydïn songra ki bar illā'llāh, munda yetgädä ešit bu dur rāh. (RB7v:10) 'After the negation comes [the phrase] but God. When you reach this point here is how [you should proceed]. Listen well!'
Bu kündin songra ačïldï cihānïng, savuq day čillasïdïn čïqtï cānïng (DN266r:5) 'From this day on your world is in bloom; your life is out of the fourty day cold.'
Bir nečä kündän songra kördi kim ḫalq anïng üstünä yïğïlïp turur. (Sayf88v:2) 'A few days later he saw that people were gathering around [the beggar].'

3.2.1.1.9. The Postposition taš 'outside of'

Alta farẓdur biling namāzdïn taš. (MS10r:6) 'There are six mandatory duties outside the prayer.'

3.2.1.4. With the Dative Case [see 3.1.4.2.5.9.]

3.2.1.4.1. The Postposition oḫšaš 'like, similar to'

Va baᶜẓïning hay'atïnï namāzda olturğan kišilärgä oḫšaš ḫalq qïlïp turur--tağlar va tašlar dek kim bir yerdä olturup tebränmäy tasbīḥ ayturlar. (RM27v:5-8) 'And the appearance of others --such as mountains and rocks, which stay in one place and do not move--He has created so that they resemble people who are performing the sitting in the prayer and are saying the tasbih.'
Firāqïnda kečär har kečä yel teg tanïm bēlimgä oḫšaš boldï qïl teg. (DN259v:9) 'Separated from me he strolls like breeze every night. He has become like a [single] hair, resembling my body and my waist.'

3.2.1.4.2. The Postposition qaršu, qaršï 'opposite to, facing; toward'

Anï ol aqar suwğa qaršu yüritgäy sän. (KBV63v:17) 'Make it [the horse] walk against the current of that river.'
Banafša boynïn egdi gulgä qarsï, ačïp ᶜabhar közin sunbulgä qaršï. (Sayf3v:5) 'The violet bowed to the rose [and] the jasmine opened its eyes to the hyacinth.'

3.2.1.4.3. The postposition tegrü 'until'

Nečägä tegrü sorar sen mendin emdi bu ḫabar. (BH9v:8) 'Now, how long will you keep asking me about this [journey]?'
Saḫargä tegrü namāzğa turur edi. (Sayf62r:4) 'He was at his prayers until morning.'
Ančağa tegrü eygü atïng ḫayr üzä qalïp sözlänsän el tilindä cihānïng dilāvarï. (Sayf182v:3) 'Until that time your name will survive with good attributes and you will be called the valiant hero of this world.'

3.2.1.5. With the Locative Case

3.2.1.6.1. The Postposition kedin 'after'

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

Cihānnï Ḥaqq yaratmïšdïn kedin. (Qutb294) 'After God created this world.'
Yaqïn bir temišdä ikinčin yätür, taqï anda kedin tašahhud kätür. (MM184r:14) 'If you are sure about one do the second and than perform the tašahhud.[67]
Uš emdidän kedin bel bağlağayïn. (Quṭb153) 'From now on we will make a great effort [in our service].'

3.2.1.6.2. The Postposition öng 'before' (see 3.2.1.3.4.)

Asïğ qïlmas ol köp ökünč yesä song, är ol kim ongarsa ičin munda öng. (MM193r:9) 'To have regrets when it is too late is of no avail. The [wise] man rectifies his condition while there is still time.'
Munung orta otrušta öng birisi, taqï bir songïnça, ay ṣāḥibhudā. (MM185r:6a) 'One of these recitations should be performed before the internal sitting, the other one after it, O Well-guided One!'

3.2.1.6.3. The Postposition song [see 3.2.1.3.7.]

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

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

3.2.2.1. The Postposition allïda 'in front of, at the head of'

Banafša sačïng allïda ačïlmay, uyattïn bašïnï yuqarï qïlmay. (DN 250r:10) 'The sweet violet does not bloom in the presence of your hair. Out of shame it does not raise its head.'

[67] I.e., pronounce the testimony formula

Čärigning allïda Sulṭān ʿAlī bin Mūsà Riżā erdilär. (RM 5v:6-7) 'Sultan ʿAlī bin Mūsà Riżā was at the head of the army.'
Mašā'iḫ-i kibārdïn köp kiši alarnïng allïda kelip erdilär. (RM 5v:7-8) 'Many distinguished sheikhs came up to him.'
Ču qoysang ol harāb allïda gāmē bitigni tez tegür, bizdin salāmē. (DN 246v:5) 'When you come to the presence of that wretched [person] give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from us.'
Tïladi ašuğup allïda šabrang, vidāʿē körgüzüp atlandï diltang. (DN270r:5) 'Wasting no time she asked for her dark bay horse, bade good-bye, and, with a sad heart, mounted [her horse].'

Note: (a) The pronoun head must be in the genitive case:
Mening allïmda säning amānatïng bar bu kün. (RM8r:6-7). 'Today [, the Day of Resurrection,] I have with me a letter of exemption concerning you.'

(b) Idiom: **allïda tilä-** 'to summon'
Tïladi allïda tïnmay ṣabānï, bitigni berdi va tēz etti anï. (DN 246v:3) 'She summoned the Morning Wind to his presence at once, gave it the letter and sent it off right away.'

3.2.2.2. The Postposition allïdïn 'from, from the presence of'

Amīrī allïdïn tā ötti ol zulf, nesīmidin mušavvaš dur dimāğï. (DN 239r:6) 'Since those tresses swept by Amiri's face, the breeze they generated perplexed his brain.'

3.2.2.3. The Postposition arasï(n)da 'among; between'

Sacda ikki kaffïng arasïda qïl. (MS13r:4) 'Perform the prostration between the palms of your hands.'
Farż bilä sunnat arasïda. (RM14v:9) 'Between the farż and sunna [*rakʿats*].
Padšāhlarïng arasïnda män oq tur män gadā. (BH11r:11) 'Among kings, I alone am a beggar.'
Cāhillär ara ʿālim oltursa anga oḫšar, bir šamʿ-i munavvar dur közsüzlär arasïnda. (Sayf170v:9-10) 'If a learned man sits among the ignorant, it is like lit candle among the blind.'

3.2.2.4. The Postposition dargāhïnğa 'to the presence of'

İkki ʿālamda sāning dargāhïngа keldi bu qul. (BH2v:6)'[Seeking security] in the Two Worlds [I,] your slave, have come to your court.'

3.2.2.5. The Postposition dargāhïnda 'in the presence of'

Qïlmadïm men hēč iš šāyista dargāhïnda mān. (BH18;1) 'I have not produced anything worthy [of presenting] at your court.'

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

Nafs elindin mān zaʿīf mān hirs elindin nātavān; ʿIšq atïn tergä tutup har tünlä šabgïr etkä sen. (ShD125v:9-10) 'I am weak because of the Carnal Soul, I am powerless because of my greed. Making the horse of love sweat you roam every night.'
Yürüp zulfung elidin kečälär tün, yašunup ḫaclatïngdïn äylär kün. (DN250r:7) 'Because of your tresses evening becomes night. Hiding in shame because of you[r tresses] it lets the day appear.'
Zamānē āh elidin köngli tïnmay fïğānlar tartïban nay teg erinmäy. (DN253r:3) 'At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the read.'
Qïlïp ğam elidin hay'atnï tağyïr etip ʿišq āyatïn özigä tafsïr. (DN 253v:4). 'He changes [his] figure because of [his] sorrow and makes for himself a commentary on the verse of love.'

3.2.2.7. The Postposition ḫaqqï 'for he sake of'

Payğambar bilä qarïndašlïğïngnïng ḫaqqï (RM5v:8-9) 'For the sake of your descent from the line of the Prophet...'

3.2.2.8. The Postposition ḫaqqï(n)da 'in reference to, regarding'

ʿUmar, razìya'llāhu ʿanhu, su'āl qïldï kim, Yā Rasūla'llāhi, bu āyat munung ḫaqqïda kelip turur yā barča mu'minlär ḫaqqïnda? (RM24v:7-9) 'The Emir of the Faithful, Omar, may God be pleased with him, asked, O Messenger of God, did this verse come down in reference only to his case or in reference to all believers?'
Muntaẓir turup men, yuqarïdan sening ḫaqqïnda ne ḥukm bolğay. (RM24r:8-9) 'I will wait and see what decision regarding you will come from on high.'

3.2.2.9. The Postposition ḫaqqïna 'in the interest of, in relation to, toward'

Malikning šafaqatï anïng ḫaqqïna dağï artuqraq boldï. (Sayf 21r:6) 'The inclination of the King toward him increased even more.'
Ol zamān beglärindän bir beg bu tā'ifa ḫaqqïna ğāyat iʿtiqād bağlap dağï muḥibb bolup idrār muʿayyan qïldï. (Sayf28v:7). 'One of the Begs of those days developed close ties with this group, became their friend and established an allowance for them.'

3.2.2.10. The Postposition iči(n)dä 'in, within, inside'

Qarañğuluq ičindä tapïlur āb-i ḥayvān. (Sayf66r:3) 'The water of life is to be found in the darkness.'
İši yoq muḥtasibning äv ičindä. (Sayf49v:1) 'The officer of weights and measures has nothing to do inside the house.'
Ol diyānatda ṣūfī va ṣafī, šarʿ ičidä vafī va ham vāfī. (MS10r:2) 'In matters of religion he is wise and clear-sighted. In matters of the Law he is comprehensive and correct.'
Baḥr ičindä qaṭranï ki qïldï durr-i bā bahā. (BH4r:7) 'Who makes a drop [of water] in the sea a precious pearl?'
Uzun tün qalmağa allïngda ğamlar, yaruğay ʿayš ičindä ṣubḥ-damlar. (DN248r:7) 'May sorrow not stay in your presence for long nights. May mornings dawn upon in luxury and pleasure.'[68]
Muvabbab taptï anda ʿišq rāzïn, mufaṣṣal ičidä bir bir bayānïn. (DN252r:1) 'There he found the secrets of love laid down in chapters with statements disclosed in paragraphs.'

Idioms: **ol kün ičindä** 'that day'
ṭarfatu'l-ʿaynē ičindä 'in the twinkling of an eye'

3.2.2.11. The Postposition ḫaẓratïna 'to, to the presence of'

Keräk qul dā'imā taqsïri ʿuzrïn kätürgäy ḫwācasïnïng ḫaẓratïna. (Sayf3r:2) 'It is necessary that the servant always bring to the presence of his master excuses for his indeficiencies.'
Hamïn kim taptï yārï ḫaẓratïna, tavāẓuʿ qïldï va qoydï qatïna. (DN243v:2) 'As soon as it arrived to the presence of the Friend, it greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.'

[68] Lit., while you enjoy food and company

Bir köp yazuqlï qul Ḥaqq taʿālà ḥaẓratïna kelip... (Sayf2r:12) 'A very sinful servant came to the presence of God, the Most High.'

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

Vaqt bolur kim nadīmlärgä sulṭān ḫidmatïnda kïs bilän altun tegär. (Sayf24r:9) 'There are times when in the presence of the King a bagful of gold comes to the hands of the servants.'
Elig yup özidin su ḫidmatïngda, arïğlïq lāfïn urmay ḥaẓratïngda. (DN244r:2) 'The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.'

3.2.2.13. The Postposition käyninä 'after'

Kiši kün yoğra ham kirišsä bolmas, safāḥat käyninä erišsä bolmas. (DN246r:1) 'One cannot interfere in his actions day after day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.'

3.2.2.14. The Postposition käynidä 'in the wake of'

Har bahārī kim kelür bar dur ḫazānï käynidä. (BH15v:9) 'Every spring that comes has an autumn in its wake.'

3.2.2.15. The Postposition ornïna, ornïngä 'in the place of, for'

Agar ottuz altïğa tegsä tewä, maḫāẓ ornïngä ämdi bint labūn. (MM189r:16) 'If the number of additional camels goes as high as thirty-six, give a *bint labūn* instead of a [*bint*]-*maḫāẓ*.
Šakar ornïna ḫanzal kim berip tur? Yaman söz yaḫšïğa kim yïbarïp tur? (DN248v:2) 'Who has ever given wild gourd in return for sugar? Who has ever sent bad words in response to good ones?'

3.2.2.16. The Postposition qašına, qašïğa 'to the presence of, to, at'

Žiyāfat fikri čon tüšti bašïmğa, tapuğčïlarnï ündädim qašïmğa. (DN268r:2) 'When the thought of the banquet occurred to me, I called the servants to my presence.'
Kirip keldi qašïmğa ol dilārāy, yüzi andaq ki muškīn pardada ay. (DN268v:8) 'The beloved entered and came to my presence; her face was like the moon upon a black curtain.'

Birāv Šayḫ Ḥasan Baṣrī qašïğa barïp ayttï. (RM212r:8-9) 'Someone went to Sheikh Ḥasan Baṣrī and said...'
Agar salsam naẓarnı köz yašına, ne bolğay qaṭraē daryā qašïna? (DN250v:7) 'Suppose I cast a glance at the tears, what is the value of a single drop against [the waters of] a river?'

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

Taqï Bizing qašïmïzda muhayyā' turur kāfirlar üčün dardnāk ʿaẓablar. (RM36r:5-7) 'And We have with Us and ready harrowing tortures for the kāfirs.'
Üč kiši Ḥaẓrat-i Payğambar, ʿalaihi's-salām, qašïda keldilär. (RM39V:4-6) 'Three people came to the noble Prophet, peace be upon him.'
Yüzi gul sačï sunbul sarv-qadd āzādalar qašïda, közi bādām dahānï ğunča dek šahzādalar qašïda. (Ḫ77v:4) '[The goblet that comes round] to the rose-faced, hyacinth-haired, cypress-bodied noble ones, to the almond-eyed, bud-mouthed princes.'

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

Yätišti Ḥaqq qašïdïn Cibra'īl bāz, mäni aldïmğa keldi qïldï parvāz. (Ḫ75r:7) '[Then] Gabriel again set out from the Divine Court and came flying to me.'

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

Bir aḥmaq kišining közi ağrïr edi. Baytār qatïna barïp ayttï. (Sayf147r:10) 'The eyes of a fool were hurting. He went to see a veterinarian and said to him.'
Hamīn kim taptï yārï ḫaẓratïna, tavāẓuʿ qïldï va qoydï qatïna. (DN243v:2) 'As soon as he arrived to the presence of the Friend, he greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.'
Barčasï munung qatïna keldilär. (Sayf14v:13) 'All of them came to see him.'
Daʿvānï qāzī qatïna eltürlär. (Sayf33v:4) '[People] take their claims to the Judge.'
Ol qavm kim andan ẓulm körüp edilär barča munung qatïna kelip taqviyat qïldïlar. (Sayf17r:4) 'All those people who had experienced ill treatment from him, came to this [sultan] and gave him support.'

3.2.2.20. The Postposition qatïnda 'at the side of, by, with'

Bir baqqālnïng ṣūfïlar qatïnda bir nečä ağčasï borč yïğïldï. (Sayf 85r:11) 'The sufis ran up an account of a few coins at the grocer.'
Bäsländing anïng süti bilän dağï ulğaydïng mänim qatïmda. (Sayf14v:6) 'You were nurtured with their milk but grew up at my side.'
Sän tanaʿʿum ičindä qayğung yoq, čōn tapuğčï qatïngda özdäng čoq. (Sayf 77v:1) 'You live in affluence and have no worries as there are many goodlooking servants at your side.'
Öydä bolsang bu iḥtiyātlarnï qïl. Yoq dur isrāf arïğ qatïda, bil. (MS8r:1) 'When you are at home, take the measures enumerated above. Know that you should not waste [water even] at the side of a flowing source of water.'
Kelip iqbāl baš qoyğay qatïngda, buzulmaqlïqğa yüz qoyğay sitamlar. (DN248r:11) 'The name of sorrow will depart from the book of life. The numbers will draw to the total of the heart.'

3.2.2.21. The Postposition qatï(n)dïn, qatï(n)dan 'from the presence of, from'

Qačan sürsä qulun Tangrï qatïndan. (Sayf57r:13) 'When God drives away his servant from His presence.'
Amïrï asrağïl sen köz yağï birlä, sen ol gulnï ki barmasun qatïmdïn. (DN245r:10) 'Amïrï, nurture that rose with the oil of the eye so that it never leave us.'
İttifāq tüšti kim qatïmïzdan safar etti. (Sayf135v:8) 'It so happened that he embarked on a journey from our circle.'

3.2.2.22. The Postposition üsti(n)dä 'upon; over'

Paḥtalïq töšäk bigin qar üstindä yattuq yalïng, kečä kündüzi barābar üstümä tondï savuq. (ShD79v:3-4) 'We were lying naked on the snow soft like a cotton mattrasse. Night and day at a stretch cold froze me over.'
Mening dek ay kök üstidä yoq tur, bu kün kör kim ne yergä yätti ḥālïm. (DN242r:6) 'There is no moon like me in the sky. Look to day to what level my situation has risen.'
Va har kim yatqay kim ṣubḥ anïng üstidä ṭulūʿ qïlğay. (RM 19v:8-9) 'Anyone who goes to bed and [without getting up to pray] stays there until dawn rises over him.'

Magar lāf urdï gul bilmäy nihānï, kim ağnattïng tikän üstidä anï. (DN244r:6) 'Did the rose, not knowing discretion, engage in idle talk that you rolled it around upon thorns.'

Idiom: **Ayaq üstidä tur-** 'to rise'

Yaʿnï, ayaq üstidä turmaq namāz üčün (RM33v:10-34r:1) 'That is to say, [during night hours] it is very difficult to rise for the prayer.'

3.2.2.23. The Postposition üstinä 'onto, upon'

Köngüldä ʿišqïng otï saldï bulğaq, yana dāğ üstinä sen qoymağïl dāğ. (DN244r:8) 'The fire of your love cast confusion into [my] heart. Do not press again the branding iron upon the wound made by a branding iron.'
Parēšān köngligä ağïr[69] sevär cān, siriški kahrubā üstinä marcān. (DN259r:10) 'The precious life is very heavy for his distraught heart. His tear drops are like coral beads upon [his] amber[-colored face.]'

3.3. Adjectives

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

3.3.1. Syntactic Function of Adjectives

Chagatay adjectives may occur in the following syntactic roles:

3.3.1.1. Adjectives in Attributive Position

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

sarbasta rāz 'innermost secret'
rangïğ guftār 'colorful presentation'
altun varaq 'a golden page'
bāṭil namāz 'invalid prayer'
ʿāqil er 'a wise man'
qarangğu kečä 'dark night'

[69] *MS has ʾğyz*

3.3.1.2. Adjectives in Predicative Position

Adjectives may occur in pedicative position in the following roles:

(a) either as subject complements. E.g.,

Sen ol ündin parešān bolma ay gul! (DN238r:10) 'Do not be distraught by that voice, O Rose!

Kimining sözläri mavzūn u šīrīn. (Sayf185v:6) 'The poems of some are well-proportioned and sweet.'

(b) or as object complement. E.g..

Qïlïp ṣuḥbatnï hamdamlar damï garm. (DN234r:10) 'The talk of people of the same conviction make the conversation warm.'

Anï sen cumlä šāʾir kamtarï bil. (Sayf185v:10) 'Know him the smallest of your servants.'

3.3.1.3. Adjectives Modified by Adverbs

Adjectives can be modified by adverbs. E.g.,

köp yazuqlï qul 'a very sinful servant'
engän biligsiz 'very ignorant'
ğāyat ḫwaš 'very pleasant'

3.3.1.4. Adjectives Allow Formation of Degrees

Qualitative adjectives may have comparative, superlative, absolute or intensive forms created by inflection or by syntactic means, or both. E.g.,

sendän yaḫšïraq 'better than you'
eng äksük qul 'the lowliest servant'
müšükdän uluğraq 'bigger than a cat'
andan yaḫšïraq 'better than that'

3.3.1.5. Adjectives Occur as Appositions

Appositions immediately precede the nouns they refer to. They may also be attached to the noun by the Izafat marker **-ī**. Less frequently, appositions directly follow the noun in juxtaposition. E.g.,

Telbä Šabānī furqatï otïğa yansa nä ʿacab? (ShD145r:1) 'If Shaybanī, the fool is consumed by the fire of separation, no one should wonder.'

Sarāyī Sayf-ī bēčāra 'Sayf-i Sarāyi, the unfortunate one.'
Luqmān-ī ḥaqīm 'Luqman, the physician'
qul ʿÎmādī ''Îmādī, the servant'
Ḥaqq taʿālâ 'God, the Most High'
Sayf-i Sarāyī qul 'Sayf-i Sarayī, the servant'

3.3.1.6. Adjectives Occur as Modifiers in Izāfat Structures

In descriptive Izafat structures adjectives may occur as second elements. E.g.

rah-i rāst 'straight path'
šaʿr-i nihānī 'hidden law'
ṣayyād-i mağbūn 'unwise fisherman'
yār-i ḥaqīqī 'true friend'
bitig-i ʿāšiqāna 'love letter'
māh-i tābān 'shining moon'

3.3.1.7. Adjectives as Bases for Word Formation by Derivation

Adjectives can serve as bases for nominal as well as verbal derivation. E.g.,

eygülük 'goodness'	< **eygü** 'good'
baḫïllïq 'greed'	< **baḫïl** 'greedy'
bayït- 'to enrich'	< **bay** 'rich'
ongal- 'to heal'	< **ong** 'right'
tiril- 'to come to life'	< **tiri** 'alive'
tüzät- 'to establish'	< **tüz** 'plain'

3.3.1.8. Adjectives Substantivized [see 3.3.2.2.]

Adjectives can occur substantivized and have all the morphological and functional characteristics of a noun including inflection for cases and possession. E.g.,

Sağğa sağlïğï yätär. (Sayf 177r:8). For the right one its being right suffices.'

Äygülärgä bu yamanïng tegmäsün. (Sayf110v:2)'This wickedness of yours should not reach the good ones.'

Bilišlär birlä ḫwaš ʿārifgä zindān ki yatlar birlä bolğïnča gulistān. (Sayf68r:10-11) 'For the enlightened to be in prison among acquaintances is better than to be in paradise with strangers.'

3.3.1.9. Adjectives Modified by Measures

Adjectives can be modified by expressions of measurements. The adjectival phrase as a whole may modify a noun. E.g.,

Yašïmïz teng u bir ikki ay küčük ham. 'We are of the same age, he may be one or two months younger.'

yätmiš yašar bir qarï er (Sayf133r:7) 'a seventy years old man'

Qatïmïzda yüz yašar bir qarï er bar. (Sayf132r:10) 'There is a one hundred years old man in our presence.'

yašï yetmišdä yetkän bir qarï er (Sayf133r:7) 'a seventy years old man'

3.3.1.9. Adjectives with Complements in Case Forms

Adjectives may require their complements in case forms other than the nominative case. [See 4.4.2.]

tikänlärgä yavuq 'close to the thorns'
qanïna saʿī 'thirsty for his blood'
yüzümgä ḥayrān 'admiring my face'
ištin farig 'done, free from work'
kišigä dastgīr 'helping someone'
otqa giriftār 'captive in the fire'

3.3.1.10. Adjectives Used as Verbless Clauses

Adjectives can occur in absolute [unconnected] use as the realization of a verbless clause to express state, status, or attending circumstances. E.g.,

Yürüdüm ev sarï men zār u giryān, qïlïp parvāna teg özümni biryān. (DN235v:11) 'I progressed toward the house, tearful and bitter. I scorched myself, as the moth [in the flame of the candle].'

3.3.2. Classification of Adjectives

3.3.2.1. Semantic Classification

By their meanings adjectives can be divided into qualitative and relative adjectives.

3.3.2.1.1. Qualitative Adjectives

Qualitative adjectives specify a noun by its quality [size, color, shape, consistency and temperature]. Since qualities occur in different degrees and can be compared, qualitative adjectives are gradable. E.g.,

šīrīn 'sweet' > **šīrīn söz** 'sweet [pleasant] words'
az 'small' > **az ot** 'small fire'
muškil 'difficult' > **muškil iš** 'difficult work'
ʿacāʾib ḥālat > 'strange condition'
yaḫšï farzand > 'good farzand'

3.3.2.1.2. Relative Adjectives

Relative adjectives specify a noun by its relationship to place or time. They are mostly derivative adjectives formed from nouns. Relative adjectives cannot be compared.E.g.,

qadīmī 'old, ancient'> **qadīmī dīvār** 'old wall',
qïšlaqdaki 'being in the winter quarter' > **qïšlaqdaki māl** 'cattle in the winter quarter'
elindäki 'being in his hand' > **elindäki ekmäk** 'bread in his hand'
eli altïndaki 'being in his service' > **eli altïndaki qavm** 'his vassals.'

3.3.2.1.2. Gradable and Nongradable Adjectives

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

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

3.3.2.1.2.1. The Positive Degree

There is no special grammatical marker for the positive degree. E.g.,

belgili faris (Sayf7r:8) 'an outstanding horseman'
yaman temür (Sayf15r:6) 'iron of bad quality'
yängi qumaš (Sayf93v:10) 'a new robe'
rah-i rāst (DN258v:5) 'a straight path'

3.3.2.1.2.2. The Comparative Degree

There are two ways to form the comparative degree in Chagatay.

(a) With the comparative marker **-raq/-räk:**

Ğanīrāk kim esä muḥtācrāk tur. (Sayf19v:4) 'He who is richer is more in need.'

Munung yalğan sözi säning toğrï sözüngdän yaḫšïraq turur. (Sayf9v:1) 'The false words of this [vazīr} are better than your true words.'

Bu kāğizpāra kim [anda] Tengri taʿālâ atï bolğay alardïn ağïrraq kelgäy. (RM8v:5-7) 'The piece of paper with the name of God the Most High on it will be heavier.'

Mening hēč kišim ölmäy dur, va lekin manga bir nemä vāqiʿ bolup turur kim yüz qatla qarïndašlar ölgänidin yamanraq turur. (RM10v:9-21r:1) 'None of my relatives has died, but something has happened to me that is a hundred times worse than the death of one's brothers.'

Note: Adjectives with the suffix **-raq/-räk** may indicate a little greater or a little smaller quality [as in modern Uzbek]. Often they occur as adverbs.

Qur'ānnï āhastaraq oqup, ḥarf ḥarfïnï bilgürtä tartīb bilän oquğïl. (RM30v:8-9) 'Recite the Qur'ān quite slowly, enunciating each sound in proper sequence.'

Agar uzunraq sūra bilsä, oquğay. (RM17r:10-17v:1) 'If he knows a longer verse, he should recite it.'

(b) The adjective with no marker occurs with the ablative case of the name of the thing to which something is compared. E.g.,

Körüp tur tā yangaqïng sarï dïda, bolup tur almadïn könglüm guzïda. (DN257r:7 'Ever since my eyes looked toward your face, my heart has been a preferable simile for the apple.'

Ne kim desäm yüzüng dur andïn artuq, köngül allïda laʿlïng cāndïn artuq. (DN263r:4) 'Whatever I call it, your face is more than that; in the presence of the heart, your ruby [lips] are [worth] more than life.'

Ḫaṣm sendän küčlü dur. (Sayf100v:7) 'The enemy is stronger than you.'

3.3.2.1.2.3. The Superlative Degree

The superlative degree is expressed in several ways.

(a) With the particle **eng** 'most' and, rarely, **engän** 'very much' placed before the adjective. E.g.,
eng äksük qul (Sayf46r:12) 'the lowliest servant'
engän qïsqačuq (MM187v:15) 'very short'

(b) The adjective is substantivized and put in possessive relationship with the name of the group out of which an individual stands out. The possessor may be without the genitive case marker. E.g.,
Baylarnïng yaḫšïraqï ol durur kim faqīrlär qayğusïn yegäy dağï faqīrlär yaḫšïraqï ol durur kim baylardan köz yumğay. (Sayf 158v:6) 'The best of the rich is the one who cares about he poor and the best of the poor is the one who disregards the rich.'
Anïng teg oqudï šiʿr-i nihānī, ki toymay qaldï ol elning yamanï. (DN258r:8) 'She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil pople would not comprehend it.'
Va išning yaḫšïsï ol dur kim kiši anï dā'im qïla tura alğay, agarči az bolsa. (RM32v:1-2) 'Yet it would be the best for people to pray every night, even if only a little.'
ʿIbādatlarnïng yaḫšïrağï Qur'ān oqumaq turur. (RM9v:9-10r:1) 'The best of services [to God] is to recite from the Qur'ān.'

(c) The adjective follows a noun with the postposition **ara** 'among'
bar payğambar ara uluğ (MS2r:6) 'the greatest of all prophets'

3.3.2.1.2.4. Intensive Forms of Adjectives

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

(a) By adverbs of intensity such as **kāmil** 'perfect', **köp** 'many', **asru** 'very much'. E,.g.,
bir kāmil biligli er (Sayf23v:5) 'a most learned person'
bir köp yazuqlï qul (Sayf4r:11) 'a most sinful servant'
asru badnām (ShD85r:13) 'of very bad repute'
asru köp (ShD79v:2) 'very much'

(b) By repetition. E.g.,
Daḫï bilgil ušbu yataq yaḫšï yaḫšï: uqlamasa čağdavul köpdin ozar. (ShD50r:12-13) 'Know also that this bed is very comfortable. If the guard does not sleep, he gets ahead of many.'
Ḥakīmlär yemäkni keč keč yerlär. (Sayf168v:10) 'The wise eat very seldom.'
Taʿalluq dur ki sen ğam hamdamï sen, anï tark et ki ḫwaš ḫwaš ādamī sen. (DN241v:1) 'Dependence is at work when you associate with sadness. Abandon it because you are a cheeerful person.'
Ay köngül dunyā ğamïdïn tolğanur sen pēč pēč, šändin ayru kimsä bilmäs bevafa dur hēč hēč. (ShD27v:4-5) 'O, heart, you are suffering terribly because of the concern about this world. Besides you nobody knows that [this world] is most unfaithful.'
Kiši andak käräk dur ṭālib-i yār. Ušol yār šavqï dur ḫwaš-ḫwaš zamānïm. (ShD104v:8) 'This is how a person should be in search of his Beloved. The fervent desire for that Beloved is the very best of my time.'

(c) By reduplication of the first syllable:
ap-aq (MA p.91) 'clear white'
bešbatar (ShD79v:2) 'worse'
bom-boz (ML18) 'very light blue'
bom-boš (Zenker229a) 'entirely empty'
čup-čuqur (MLXIV-117) 'very deep
köm-kök (PdC477) 'entirely blue'
qap-qara (PdC392) 'entirely black'
qïp-qïrmïzï (PdC443) 'entirely red'
qïp-qïzïl (ShD105r:9-10) 'very red'
sap-sağ (ML83:8) 'quite healthy'

sap-sarïğ[70] (MLXIV-117) 'very yellow'
sar-sabz (ShD86v:5) 'fresh green'
tip-tek (Sayf17v:10) 'quite upright'; 'motionless'
top-toğrï (Babur107v:7) 'perfectly straight'
top-tola (ShD61v:7-8) 'completely filled'
tüp-tüz (Babur106v:5) 'perfectly flat'
yam-yašïl (ML18) 'very green'
yap-yašïl (MabL83:5) 'very green'
yus-yumrï (Sang.343r:2) 'perfectly round'

E.g.,

Ṣūfī va zāhid va mavlā ʿišqdin bēgāna dur, ʿišq durdï top-tola dur bil bizing mayḫānamïz. (ShD61v:8) 'The sufi, the abstinent, and the sheikh are strangers in the matter of love [whereas] our tavern is entirely filled with the dregs of love.'

Qïp-qïzïl mayni körär män curʿada, ay laʿl-i lab, daʿimā curʿa labïndïn ḥadd-dïn aštï sormağïm. (ShD105r:9-10) 'I see red red wine in my drinking vesssel, O Ruby of theLip. My constant pulling at the lips of the drinking vessel has gone beyond measure.'

Bil ki dōstlar yaḫ kebi cismimni tongdurdï savuq. Yaḫdïn ham beš batar dur asru küydürdi savuq. (ShD79v:1-2) 'Know friends that cold froze my body like ice. Worse than the ice, cold burned me very much.'

Sunbul-i zulfïn tararda bolsa köp der män Allāh, tāza va sar-sabz bolsun sarv'i būstānïm mänim. (ShD86v:4-5) 'When she is combing her tresses curly like hyacinths I keep saying "Allāh"[71]. May the cypress of my garden be fresh and green.'

3.3.2.2. Substantivization of Adjectives [see 3.3.1.7.]
Adjectives are very often used as nouns without any change in form. In this role they can take plural markers, possessive suffixes, and case endings, mostly in this order. They can be abstract or concrete nouns. When they constitute the second element of a possessive structure, the possessor should be, preferably, in the genitive case. E.g.,

Agar bāğ ičrä oltursang čalïp čang, beyiklärdä tüzüp boyung teg āhang. (DN263r:11) 'If you sit in the garden playing the harp, creating tunes in high altitudes [harmonious] like your body.'

Bu savuqnïng šarḫïnï qïlsa qalam yüz yïl tamām, yüzdä birin qïlmağay kim asru köp boldï savuq. (ShD79v:11) 'If the pen goes on describing the nature of cold for a hundred years, it would be [only] one hundredth [of the true story] so mighty was the cold.'

Ay muḫariflär begi bir kez yana äygülärgä bu yamanïng tegmäsün. (Sayf110v:2) 'O, Chief of Thieves! Your wickedness should not hurt the good, not even once.'

Note: Often the nouns **kiši** 'person' and **nämä** or **nä ärsä** 'thing' are used to substantivize adjectives. E.g.,

ṣādiq kiši (ShD86v:13)'the truthful or the truthful one'
bay kiši (Sayf150r:3) 'the rich'
eski kiši (Sayf102v:5) 'the old'

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

āsān	'easy'
ačïğ	'bitter'
ağïr	'heavy'
arïğ	'pure, purified; hallowed'
aq	'white'
aqsaq	'lame'
az	'little'
barï	'all'
berk	'strong'
boš	'soft; empty'
buzuq	'destroyed'
cānsïz	'lifeless'
čāk	'split open'
čïn	'last'
eski	'old'
farāvān	'overwhelming'
keč	'late'
muškil	'difficult'
ölüg	'dead'
qarangğu	'dark'
qarï	'old'

[70] Variant *sapsarï* 'very yellow' (PdC333)
[71] To drive away thoughts of other than God, especially in an effort to ward of Satan's temptations.'

qatïğ	'hard'
qïsqa	'short'
qïzïq	'hot'
ranglig	'colorful'
rōšan	'shining'
ṣādiq	'faithful'
sağ	'sound, healthy
savuq	'cold'
sïnuq	'broken'
šōr	'bitter'
miskīn	'miserable'
tar	'narrow'
telbä	'fool'
tīra	'dark'
tirig	'alive'
toq	'full'
učuz	'cheap'
uluğ	'big'
yangï	'new; fresh' [wound]
yavuq	'close'
yïraq	'far'
zēbā	'beautiful'

E.g.,

Maḥabbat sarvïdïn bar yegüsi dur közüng suyï bilär niyāzïng. (DN261r:2) 'From the cypress of caring love your cleansed by your tears will enjoy the fruit.'

Yavuq tur kim kesäklär qïlğay āvāz, qïlïp ʿÎsâ quši teg parvāz. (DN266r:11) 'It is close [now] that the clods will sin like the bird of Jesus,[72] they will take flight and soar in the sk

Ača berdi anga sarbasta rāzïn, dedi bir bir barï sōz-u gu (DN258v:3) 'To her [the Beloved] disclosed her safely secret. He told her about all her pains and tribulations.'

Ğamï Farhād yanglïğ körgüzür zōr, ğamï šīrīn valēkin ṭālı (DN259v:5) 'His sadness manifests the strength of a stone- His sadness is sweet, but his fortune is brackish.'[74]

Ḫalq-i cihān barčasï ārām edi, tīra u tārīk, ʿacab šām ed 322v:2) 'The world's creatures were all still. It was a strange dark and gloomy.'

[72] That He formed from clay and let go.

[73] Tied as you tie up the opening of a bag in which you keep your *hashish* or sealed [witl wax] as you seal the mouth of the bottle in which you store your wine.

[74] The traditional epic figures Farhād [stone-cutter] and Šīrīn [sweet] are referred to.

3.3.2.4. Formation of Adjectives

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

3.3.2.4.1. Formation by Suffixes

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

3.3.2.4.1.1. Turkish Suffixes

3.3.2.4.1.1.1. The Suffix -daki/-däki

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

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

könglüngdäki (DN260r:2) 'that which is in your heart'
bašïndağï (Sayf15r:3) 'those who are on the top of [the mountain]'
elingdäki (Sayf163v:5) 'that which is in your hand'
yïraqdağïlar (Sayf55v:5) 'those who are far'

E.g.,

Mäning cānïmda dur könglüngdäki āh, köngüldin bar köngül ičinä čon rāh. (DN260r:2) 'The sighs of your heart are in my soul inasmuch as there is a pathway from one heart into another.'

Qačan kim tükänsä elingdäki al, qïlïč čeksäng ol dam qïnïndan ḥalāl. (Sayf163v:5) 'When the ruse [you hold] in your hand runs out, it is proper to pull the sword from its sheath.'

Māl va niʿmat alïp ol tağ bašïndağï harāmïlar mağārasïna kirip atasï yerinä olturdï. (Sayf15r:3) 'He took merchandise and goods, retired into the cave of the highway-robbers on the top of the mountain, and occupied his father's place.'

Yïraqdağïlar böylä ḥuẓūrda dağï yaqïndağïlar başïratsïz yïraqda. (Sayf55v:5) 'Those who are far away are so close and those who are close, are fare away beyond visibility.'

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

atlïq (DN250r:1) 'having the name of'
bağlïq (DN252r:5) 'tied'
bašāratlïq (DN(259r:3) 'auspicious'
čïraylïq (NTM15r;5) 'beautiful'
fahmlïq (NTM15r:8) 'intelligent'
ğamlïq (DN253r:7) 'sorrowful'
kayflïq (NTM12r:1) 'drunk'
paḥtalïq (ShD79v:3) 'cotton [adj.]'
qarïlïq (ShD83r:12) 'old age'
qïllïq (NTM15v:1) 'hairy'
uyatlïq (DN250r:1) 'ashamed'

E.g.,

Paḥtalïq tošäk bigin qar üstidä yattuq yalïng, kečä kündüzi barābar üstümä tondï savuq. (ShD79v:3) 'We lied naked on the snow as if on cotton mattresses. For one night and day at a stretch my body was frozen over.'
Sačïngdïn ʿanbar erür köp uyatlïq, qara qul dur sanga bir ʿanbar atlïq. (DN250r:2) 'Because of your hair the ambergris is put to shame. What is called ambergris, is an unskilled servant of yours.'
Saʿādat mavkabïdïn mužda berip, bašāratlïq ḫabarlarnï yïbarïp. (DN259r:3) 'Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, sending good tidings [about its being on the way].'
Sačïmda bar mu dur bağlïq ḫiyalï, nečük tur ol parēšānlïqda ḥālï? (DN252r:5) 'Is his imagination tied to my hair? How is his condition in being so distraught.'

3.3.2.4.1.1.3. The Suffix -lïğ/-lig

aylïğ (D262v:2) 'monthly'
egärlig (NTM6r:3) 'saddled'
qutluğ (DN262r:3) 'auspicious'
ranglig (DN271r:7) 'colorful'
uyatlïğ (DN268v:2) 'ashamed'
yarağlïğ (DN262v:3) 'equipped'
yazlïğ (DN267v:11) 'summerly'
mungluğ (Ḫ75r:3) 'sorrowful'

E.g.,

Dedim, "Ay qutluğ ağïzlïq qarïnim, tili šïrïn yarağlïğ hamnišïnim." (DN262r:3) 'I said: O my companion of auspicious mouth, my associate blessed with a sweet tongue!'
Yüzüng ḫwaršēd ḥusnïnïng zakātï, qamarğa beribän aylïğ barātï. (DN262v:2) 'Your face is the alms tax levied on the beauty of the sun, it grants the monthly patents to the moon.'[75]
Bu erdi söz ču qïldïm iḫtiyātïn, ki, yazlïğ yerdä yay ṣuḥbat bisāṭïn. (DN267v:11) 'This was the message, when I was able to pay heed: Spread the carpet of companionship in a summer place.'
Ḫabar qïldï yetip bir ḫwāca atlïğ, eligi māya sarïdïn uyatlïğ. (DN 268v:2) 'Along came a merchant on horseback: his hands were bashful on account of his wealth...'
Erür bu ranglig guftār muškil, emäs āsān ḫiyālï bar muškil. (DN271r:7) 'This colorful speech is difficult, it is not easy, because the thoughts [it contains] are ambiguous.'

3.3.2.4.1.1.4. The Suffix -lu/-lü, -lï/-li [see 3.1.5.1.10]

cirāḥatlï (Sayf85v:7) 'wounded'
haybatlï (Sayf102r:2) 'frightful, fearsome'
ʿizzatlï (Sayf29r:10) 'respectable'
küčli (Sayf100v:7) 'strong'
körklü (Sayf7r:11) 'beautiful'
maṣlaḥatlï (Sayf9v:5) 'well-meant'
yazuqlu (Sayf34v:7) 'accused'
yüklü (Sayf145r:2) 'pregnant'

E.g.,

Muʿallim bolmasa haybatlï, ay yār, saqalïndan tutup oğlanlar oynar. (Sayf102r:2) 'If the teacher is not authoritative, O Friend, the boys will grab his beard and dance [around him].'
Fitna yüzli rāst sözdän bol yïraq, maṣlaḥatlï yalğan andan yaḫšïraq. (Sayf9v:4-5) 'Keep away from the truth that has a cunning face. A well-meant lie is better than that.'
Bir faqīr ävdäši yüklü edi. (Sayf145r:2) 'The wife of a pauper was pregnant.'

Note: The suffix **-lu/-lü, -lï/-li** is often added not to a single word but to an adjective + noun structure of modification to characterize a person or an object as a possessor of something. E.g., [ač > köz] + li:

[75] To go through its phases.

āb-i ḥayāt mängizli (Sayf186r:14) 'similar to the water of life'
ač közli (Sayf141r:5) 'greedy [< open eyed]
ač qarïnlï (Sayf23r:7) 'hungry' [< having a hungry stomach']
aq saqallï (Sayf135r:1) 'having a white beard'
ḥamza yüräkli (Sayf182r:7) 'lion-hearted'
ḫwaš sözlü (DN261r:9) 'of beautiful speech'
keyik közli (Sayf70r:4) 'of the eyes of a deer'
köp māllï (Sayf59r:2) 'rich' [< having much merchandise]
pūlad qollï (Sayf32v:12) 'strong-handed'
yaman tirlikli (Sayf141r:5) 'having a bad conduct'
yumšaq tanlï (127v:4) 'having a soft body'

E.g.,

Mufarrih šīvalï dilbär, tili ṭūṭī sözi šakkar, käyik közli qamar-manẓar malāḥat mulki sulṭānï. (Sayf197v:13) 'She is a heart-ravisher with exhilerating glances, her tongue is a parrot, her words are sugar, she is a moon-faced beauty with the eyes of a deer, she is the sulṭān of the kingdom of beauty.'
Sevünüp yetti ol ḫwaš sözlü qāṣid, ki qïldï manṭiqi šarḥ-i maqāṣid. (DN261r:9) 'Happily the letter carrier of pleasant speech arrived and right then and there his eloquence expounded on [the object of] desires.'
Bir karïh ünli ḫaṭīb bar edi. (Sayf11v:11). 'There was a preacher who had an unpleasant voice.'

3.3.2.4.1.1.5. The Suffix -mängiz 'like'
From the noun **mängiz** 'face'.
bulbul-mängiz (Quṭb199) 'like a nightingale'
cannat-mängiz (Sayf181v:10) 'like Paradise]'
kül-mängiz (Sayf181v:13) 'like ashes'
kün-mängiz (Quṭb34) 'like the sun'
qav-mängiz (ShD182r:7) 'like straw'
qu-mängiz (ShD182r:6) 'like a swan'
šams-mängiz (Sayf167v:11) 'like the sun'
musāfir-mängiz (MM179r:3) 'like travellers'

E.g.,

Bu cumlä ḫalā'iq musāfir-mängiz.(MM179r:3). 'All creations are like travellers.'
Cannat-mängiz bäzädisä ol dam özin cihān. (Sayf181v:10) 'The world decorated itself [to look] like paradise.'
Tili bulbul mängiz ham mängzi gulzār. (Quṭb199) 'Her tongue is like a nightingale, her face, like a flower garden.'

3.3.2.4.1.1.6. The Suffix -ṣifat, -ṣifāt
gulṣifāt (Sayf66r:1) 'like flowers'
šabnamṣifat 'like dew'

E.g.,

Gah bolur ʿuryān ağačlar, gah käyärlär gulṣifāt. (Sayf66r:1). 'Sometimes the trees are naked, sometimes they are dressed up like flowers.'

3.3.2.4.1.1.7. The Suffix -sïz/-siz 'without'
This suffix is also the formant of the privative case [see 3.1.4.2.9]. After syllables with a labial vowel the forms **-suz/-süz** occur.
ʿamalsïz '(MM186r:1) 'without action'
arïğsïz (MM179r:5) 'without action'
asïqsïz (DN 265v:6) 'without benefit'
bānīsïz (MM178r:12) 'without a builder'
gulgūnasïz (DN265r:5) 'without make-up'
ḥaddsïz (Sayf11v:2) 'immense' [< without bounds]
ḥicābsïz (MM179r:8) 'evident' [< without a veil]
köčgüsüz (MM197r:6) 'with no need to set off'
nišānsïz (MM192v:15) 'without a sign'
rangsïz (NTM9v:7) 'colorless'
ḫurufsuz (MM199v:2) 'without sounds'
sačsïz (NTM4r:5) 'hairless'
yamīnsiz (DN254:7) 'without an oath'

E.g.,

Ne ḥācat kim qasam kirgäy arağa, yamīnsiz bilgil išingning yasārïn. (DN254v:7) 'What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without reference to the right.'[76]
Yüzi gulgūnasïz cānlarğa āfat, ayaqtïn baš barï ḥusn u laṭāfat. (DN265r:5) 'Her face without make-up is a disaster for the living: Her entire being, from head to foot, is [perfect] beauty and grace.'
Asïqsïz ʿumrï savdā kečäsi teg, qara künläri yaldā kečäsi teg. (DN 265v:6) 'His useless life is like the night spent in melancholy: His dark days are long like the longest night of the winter.'

[76] The sinister side of a matter should be recognized not in reference to the right side but on its own merit. The opposite cannot be a prompter of good things. When Satan says "Do not say Allah", you do not respond by pronouncing God's name because your meritorious action would be prompted by Satan. The Tradition says "God Loves the right side in everything even in putting on one's shoes or when one begins to chew." (Muhammad Shaybānī Khān, RM1v:7-8). However, the position of the left side should not be the cause (*sabab*) of our beginning things on the right side.

3.3.2.4.1.2. Persian Suffixes

Adjectives with Persian derivational suffixes are mostly loan elements in Chagatay. Only in a few cases appear these suffixes with Turkish bases. Chagatay owes its lexical riches to adjectives and nouns with Persian suffixes.

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

3.3.2.4.1.2.1. The Suffix -ālūd [old past participle of *ālūdan* 'to stain']

ʿanbar-ālūd (DN 252v:8) 'stained with ambergris'
šitāb-ālūd (Steingass733b) 'hasty'
ḫaṭā-ālūd (Steingass95b) 'stained with crimes'

E.g.,

Tiladi kāğid va čon boldï mavcūd, qalam tilini etti ʿanbar-ālūd. (DN252v:8) 'He asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was there, he stained the tip of the pen with ambergris.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.2. The Suffix -āna

The suffix **-āna** in Persian forms adverbs to express the way how an action was carried out. Its meaning was expanded and applied to the agent as adjective. In Chagatay most of the derivatives with **-āna** can be used also as adverbs. [Cf., **Gar otursa bizing bilän qāzī, turuban ʿāšiq-āna raqṣ urur.** (Sayf59v:12) 'If the qāzī were sitting with us, he would stand up and dance in an amorous way.'

ʿāšiqāna (Sayf114r:13) 'amorous'
gustaḫāna (Ḫ85v:2) 'impudent'
ḫwābālūd (Steingass478b) 'sleepy'
masbūqāna (MM182v:6) 'in the manner prescribed for latecomers'
turkāna (DN269v:5) 'Turkish'

E.g.,

Ayağ alïp ičip turkāna tilni, kötärdi qïzlar[77] ilän muʿtadilni. (DN 269v:5) 'She took a cup and absorbed the Turkish language; she exalted both the new wine and its tempered form.'

[77] Cf. P. *duḫtar-i raz* 'grape, wine'

Äylär erdi sözni gustāḫāna yād; bolur erdi Ḥaqq taʿālā anga šād. (BN85v:2) 'He would utter impudent words, (yet) God the Most High took delight in him.'

Note: The derivative **šukrāna** [< given as a token of thanks] has become a noun meaning 'gratitude', specifically, a gift given in gratitude in response to a felicitous piece of news such as the Beloved's arrival. E.g.,

Šukrāna dep bu cān u köngülni nisār etäy, sunbul sačïng na-sīmin agar keltürür ṣabā. (GD11,3) 'Calling them a gift for the good news I would sprinkle my life and my heart [as gold coins] if the Morning Breeze brings the scent of your hyacinth-like hair.'

The following derivatives produced by **-āna** have also become nouns:

dēvāna (BN85r:2) 'madman' [< **dēv** 'demon']
gustāḫāna (BN91v:9) 'insolently'
mardāna (Sayf11r:5) 'valiant, brave'

E.g.,

Dedi, mardāna bol yalğuz qulunum sanga kelgän dur. (Ḫ77v:7) 'He said, Be brave my only foal[78], it is to see you that our guest has come.'

Bar ekän dur bir ʿacab dēvāna, ʿišq maydānïda ol mardāna. (Ḫ 85r:2)'There was a strange madman, a brave in the arena of love.'

Dedi Mūsā sän nečük dēvāna sän, ʿarż etip näčük ki gustāḫāna sän. (BN91v:9) '(Then) Moses said (to Baraq), "What a madman you are to talk so insolently!."'

3.3.2.4.1.2.3. The Suffix -īn

This suffix indicate a quality derived mostly from concrete nouns.

ātašīn (ShD159r:10) 'hot, fiery'
ʿanbarīn (DN268v:6) 'ambergris-color'
čirkīn (Sayf121r13) 'ugly'
rangīn (DN262r:11) 'colorful'
muškīn (DN268v:8) 'musk-color'
šīrīn (Ḫ80v:8) 'sweet' [< **šīr** 'milk']

E.g.,

Boyï šimšād rangīn ʿārizi gul, labï ʿunnāb muškīn sačï sunbul. (DN262r:11) 'Her body is [straight] like the box-tree, her colored face is a rose, her lips are red like the jujube-tree, her black and fragrant hair is [curly] like hyacinth.'

[78] Endearing word for child.

Falak qoydï enginä ʿanbarïn ḫāl, ayağï ay bašïdïn qïldï ḫalḫāl. (DN268v:6) 'The sky put an ambergris-color beauty spot upon its cheek and made an ankle-ring from the new moon.'
Qïlma Šabānī vaqt-i saḥar āh-i ātašïn, kim tüšmäsün bu ahl-i ʿIraq ol šarārïma. (DN159r:10) 'Shabānī, do not heave a fiery sigh before dawn[79] lest the people of Iraq are caught up in the [shower of] sparks [I exhale].'

3.3.2.4.1.2.4. The Suffix -nāk

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

dardnāk (RM36r:6) 'harrowing, excruciating'
ğamnāk (ShD90r:12) 'said, sorrowful'
namnāk (ShD88v:11) 'wet, filled with tears'
sōznāk (AC323v:2) 'burning'

E.g.,

Bar Bizning qatïmïzda dardnāk ʿazāblar. (RM36r:6) 'We have in Our presence harrowing tortures.'
Nālalarïm ʿūd bigin sōznāk. (AC323v:2) 'My sound burns like the blaze of the aloe-wood.'
Čïqdï fiğān ol dil-i ğamnāktïn: Ötti bu nuh parda-i aflāktïn. (AC322r:10) 'Sobs of complaint burst from my sorrowful heart and flew beyond the nine veils of heaven.'
Könglüm oldï ğunčanïng ačïlğanïdïn čākrak: Aškï tolğan sabzalardïn közlärim namnākrak. (ShD88v:11) 'My heart is torn open more than an unfolding rosebud. My eyes are filled with tears more than the grass covered with dew.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.5. The Suffix -vār

ʿIrāqīvār (DN269v:2) 'from Northern Persia'
mardānavār (ShD159r:1) 'as befits a man'
sazāvār (AC322v:) 'worthy of'

E.g.,

İšārat qïldï čōn ol ḫusn zaynï, ʿIrāqīvār men tuttum ḫusaynī. (DN269v:2) 'When that ornament of beauty ordered me with a gesture [to recite a poem], as a poet from Northern Persia I chose the *ḫusaynī* mode.'
Bu Šabānī har saḥar yanmaq turur mardānavār. Hacr otïdïn nä qïlur taqï moğulčïnzādae. (ShD159r:1-2) 'This Shabānī is burning every morning as befits a [valiant] man.What does just one Moghul child do through the state of separation.'[80]

[79] After the *tahaccud* prayer.

3.3.2.4.1.2.6. The Suffix -ārāy [< ārāstan 'to ornate, decorate']

dilārāy (DN268v:8) 'beloved'
maclisārāy (DN231r:3) 'decorating the company'

E.g.,

Kavākib orda va ol ortada ay; muğannī zuhra va ol maclisārāy. (DN231r:3) 'Stars are there and he is the moon among the stars. The musician is Venus and he is the gem of the company.'
Kirip keldi qašïmğa ol dilārāy, yüzi andaq ki muškīn pardada ay. (DN268v:8) 'The Beloved entered and came to my presence; her face was like the moon upon a black curtain.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.7. The Suffix -āmēz [< āmīḫtan 'to mix, mingle']

rangāmēzlïq (DN271r:3) 'the art of mixing colors'
ʿuzrāmēz (DN249v:6) 'inclined to forgive'

E.g.,

Bitidim nāma etip ḫāmanï tēz, sarāsar dard ammā ʿuzrāmēz. (DN249v:6) 'I wrote a letter, moving the pen fast. It was pain from beginning to end, but was mitigated by excuses.'
Qalamğa berdi ẓihning tēzliğnï, anga ögrätti rangāmēzliğnï. (DN 271r:3) 'Your mind bestowed speed upon the pen and taught it the art of mixing colors.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.8. The Suffix -angēz [< angīḫtan 'to excite']

dardangēz (DN253r:2) 'pitiable, pitiful, exciting sympathy'
nišāṭangēz (DN248v:10 'causing cheerfulness, raising the spirit'
šuʿlaangēz (ShD131r:12 'producing flames'
šuʿbadaangēz (AC325r:11) 'juggler producing magic tricks'

E.g.,

Ḫirman-iʿaqlïmï yaqtïng šuʿlaangēz äyläbän; körmädim vaṣlïngï bir dam har saḥar-ḫēz äyläbän. (ShD131r:13) 'You scorched the harvest of my brain making it flare up in flames. I was not in union with you not even once although I would rise up early every morning.'
Alā ay mihri dardangēz qïlğan, ičindä nālalarnï tēz qïlğan. (DN 253r:2) 'Hark ye, whose love excites pity, who have sharpened the complaints in your heart.'

[80] Just by not being here.

Har nafasē šuʿbadaangēz men. Maclis-i sulṭānda šakarrēz men. (AC325r:12) 'I can produce a (new) magic trick at any moment. I am eloquent in the company of kings.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.9. The Suffix -bār [< **bārīdan** 'to rain down']
ātašbār (ShD83r:1) 'showering fire'
guharbār (Sayf29v:2) 'eloquent' [< 'showering jewels']
šakarbār (ḤB137b) 'sweet talking' [< 'spreading sugar']

E.g.,

Ayā ʿaqlï tängiz sözi guharbār! (Sayf29v:2) 'Listen you whose intellect is like the sea and whose words are eloquent.'[81]
Āh-i ātašbārdïn boldï qaranğu ʿālamē, ay köngül cahd äylä kim yätsün falakgä tozlarïng. (ShD83r:1) 'From the fire-showering sighs the world has become dark. O, Heart, exert yourself so that your dust may reach the sky.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.10. The Suffix -bāz [< **bāḫtan** 'to play, risk']
ḫuqqabāz (Navāʾī, Dict.IV-208) 'magician'
sarbāz (Sayf45v:9) 'soldier'
ʿišqbāz (Navāʾī, Dict.II-74) 'lover, addicted to love'

E.g.,

Küymägän ʿišq ičrä ermäs ʿišqbāz, ʿāšiq ermäs ol ki ermäs cängudāz. (Navāʾī, LT-154-16) 'He who does not burn in passionate love is not addicted to love. He is not a lover who does not melt his soul in fire.'
Böylä ṣarf etti ʿumrun ol sarbāz ne yegäy qïš dağï be käygäy yaz. (Sayf45v:9) 'The soldier spent his life with these [concerns]: What will I eat in winter and what will I wear in summer?'

3.3.2.4.1.2.11. The Suffix -band [< **bastan** 'to tie']
cigarband (ḪJ75r:2) '[dearly loved] son'
pāyband ((Navāʾī, Dict. II,578) 'encumbered, fettered'
zabānband (DN270v:11) 'mute in amazement'

E.g.,

Sanga söz fayżï bolmay bir zamān band, sözüng sihri qïlïp elni zabānband. (DN270v:11) 'For you the benefit of words never stops flowing, not even for a moment; the magic of your words renders people speechless.'[82]

[81] Lit., scatter jewels like raindrops
[82] Lit., ties the tongues of people

Dedi bizni tanïmay sän cigarband, erür sän, ay azīzim bizgä farzand. (ḪJ75r:2) '(Together) they answered, "Do you not recognize us, dear? You are our son, O Precious One!"'

3.3.2.4.1.2.12. The Suffix -bōs [< **bōsīdan** 'to kiss']
ḫākbōs-luğ (Navāʾī, Dict.III,406) 'kissing the dust, visiting'
pāybōs (DN269r:1) 'kissing someone's feet'
zamīnbōs (Navāʾī, Dict.614) 'kissing the ground' [a ritual act]

E.g.,

Yüzini ačtï ol davlat ʿarūsï, elig berdi saʿādat pāybōsï. (DN 269r:1) 'The bride of happiness unveiled her face and the kissing of the feet[83] of felicity took place.'
Dayr ara ismaʿ nāqiṣ äyläyin, but sucūdïnda zamīnbōs äyläyin. (Navāʾī, Dict.614) 'Let us do less maligning in the tavern. Let us kiss the ground when we prostrate in front of the idol.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.13. The Suffix -cōy [< **custan** 'to look for']
fitnacōy (AC323r:4) 'quarrelsome'

E.g.,

Ṭanbūra-i ğamzagarī fitnacōy macmaʿ-i ol sāzğa keltürdi rōy. (AC 323r:4) 'The coquettish and quarrelsome Ṭanbūra turned to the assembled string instruments.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.14. The Suffix -dār [< **dāštan** 'to hold']
This suffix expresses that the referent holds or works with the object or possesses the quality expressed by the base noun. Most of the derivatives are used as titles or qualifications.
ābdār (DN269v:3) 'brilliant' [< **āb** 'lustre, splendor']
mašʿaladār (Sayf161r:6) 'torchbearer'
pardadār (DN265r:1) 'doorkeeper' [> confidant]
kamāndār (DN326v:5) 'archer'[84]
vafādār (Sayf121r:8) 'faithful'

E.g.,

İčidä pardadārï Zuhra bolsun, muḫālifni čïqarïp ʿuzr qolsun. (DN265r:1) 'İnside the planet Venus should be the doorkeeper; she should single out the opponents and ask them to leave.'
Oqudum laʿlī teg bir šiʿr rangīn, laṭīf va ābdār va narḫï sangīn. (DN269v:3) 'I recited a poem colorful like a red and white flower: it was delicate, brilliant, and its price was heavy.'

[83] I.e., being in the presence
[84] Warrior or hunter with the most prestigious weapon.

Dedi Ġicak, "Ḫurdak-i ʿayyār men, sāz ičidä rind-i kamāndār men. (AC326v:5)'Then Ghijak spoke: I am a smart mischiefmaker. Among string instruments I am an intoxicated archer.'
Sağïndïm män säni yār-i vafādār, valekin bilmädim böylä cafākār. (Sayf121r:8) 'I have considered you a faithful friend. I did not know that you were such a tyrant.'
Taqvâsïz ʿālim közsüz maśʿaladārğa oḫšar. (Sayf161r:6) 'A wise man without piety is like a blind torch-bearer.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.15. The Suffix -dōz [< **dōḫtan** 'to sew']
cāndōz (AC326v:6) 'heartrending [< piercing the soul]'
E.g.,
Ğamzam oqï nāvak-i cāndōz erür, nālalarïm barča cigarsōz erür. (AC326v:6) 'The arrows of my amorous glances are lances that pierce the soul. My plaintive voice burns people's livers.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.16. The Suffix -gīr [< **giriftan** 'to take']
dāmangīr (Navāʾī, Dict.,I,499) 'appealing for justice' [< 'holding on to s.o.'s skirt']
dastgīr (DN270v:5) 'help, support'[85]
dilgīr (ShD122v:13) 'annoyed, displeased, despondent'
šabgīr (ShD31r:4) 'vigilant'
E.g.,
Bu Camšīd oldï cānïm dastgīri, ki boldum šiʿr mulkïnïng amīri. (DN270v:5) 'This Jamshid was the supporter of my life, and I became the prince of the kingdom of poetry.'
Ay nasïm-i ṣubḥ ol könglüm murādïğa degil, bu Šabānïni nečä hacrïngda dilgīr etgä sen. (ShD122v:13) 'O, Gentle Breeze of the morning, for the desire of my heart tell [me] how long will you keep Shabāni despondent in your absence.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.17. The Suffix -ḫwān [< **ḫwāndan** 'to read']
ğazalḫwān (DN266r:8) 'reciter of amatory odes'
šabḫwān (DN269r:8) 'singing at night'
qiṣṣaḫwān (Navāʾī Dict.IV,56) 'story-teller'
E.g.,
Bolup bulbul čaman ičindä šabḫwān, ünidin ačïlïp gullar yüz alvān. (DN269r:8) 'In the orchard the nightingale was the singer of the night; from her voice a hundred sorts of flowers burst into bloom.'

[85] Lit., he who takes the hand of those who have fallen

Ğazalḫwān boldï bustān ičrä durrāc, köngüldin ṣabrlarnï qïldï tārāc. (DN266r:8) 'In the garden the francolin became the reciter of amatory odes and robbed the heart of its patience.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.18. The Suffix -ḫwāh [< **ḫwāstan** 'to desire']
havāḫwāh (DN263v:5) 'adherent, devotee'
ʿuzrḫwāhïm. (DN257v:8) 'apologist'
E.g.,
Qutulmay qayğudïn gar furqatïngda ğamïngdïn özgä bolsa ʿuzrḫwāhïm. (DN257v:8) 'I do not wish to rid myself of sadness in your absence if other than grief because of you is my apologist.'
Ičimdin ötrü čïqqay nāla va āh, yüzüng ḫwaršēdinä bolup havāḫwāh. (DN263v:5) 'From my inside complaints and sighs emerge, since I am an adherent of the sun of your face.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.19. The Suffix -navāz [< **navāḫtan** 'to caress']
dilnavāz (DN260v:7) 'mistress'
barbatnavōz (Navāʾī, Dict.,I,215) 'a harper'
E.g.,
Sanga yüz qoyğusï dur dilnavāzïng kelip baš tüzgüsi dur sarv-i nāzïng. (DN260v:7) 'Your mistress will for sure turn toward you. With head held high your sweetheart[86] will surely come.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.20. The Suffix -pāš [< **pāšīdan** 'to scatter']
durrpāš (Navāʾī, Dict., I,518) 'scattering pearls'
guharpāš (DN255v:1) 'scattering pearls'
E.g.,
Közümning kirpüki boldï guharpāš, qalam teg har ḫaṭṭïna qoyuban baš. (DN255v:1) 'The eyelashes of my eyes were shedding gems. Like a pen I bowed to every character.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.21. The Suffix -paymā[y] [< **paymūdan** 'to measure']
bādapaymāy (DN259r:9) 'wine-drinker'
cahānpayma (Navāʾī, Dict., I,11) 'travelling all over the world'
E.g.,
Šafaq dek köz yašïdïn bādapaymāy, tanïdïn körgüzüp har kün yängi ay. (DN259r:9) 'He is a wine-drinker consuming his tears red like the color of the dawn. His body reminds one the new moon everyday.'

[86] Lit., your stately cypress

Yār erür cān ičrä, sen ğāfil valē istäp anï, kečä-kündüz el kibi bulmaq cahānpaymā nä sūd. (Navā'ī, Dict., I,572) 'The Beloved is inside the heart. But unaware of this, what is the use of travelling all over the word night and day like the wind.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.22. The Suffix -pōš [< **pōšīdan** 'to put on, cover']
curmpōš (ShD73r:9) 'forgiving'[87]
ḫirqapōš (Navā'ī, Dict. III,400) ' dervish'
parniyānpōš (DN263r:7) 'wearing a garment of fine painted Chinese silk'
sabzapōš (Navā'ī, Dict. III,11) 'donning a green garment'

E.g.,

Damï kim bolsa [dar]yā parniyānpōš, tamadduḥ qïlsa ḫāšāk etmägäy cōš. (DN263r:7) 'The sea, when it dons its garment of fine colored Chinese silk, is not going to be agitated by the chaff's [selfserving] praise.'
Barča cismim ḥacr otïdïn rēš u marhamlïq mamuq, ittiṣālïdïn men-i ʿuryānnï derlär ḫirqapōš. (Navā'ī, Dict. III,400) 'From the fire of separation my entire body is covered with wounds and elixir-soaked cotton-balls. For union with her they call me, the naked, the one covered with a dervish robe.'
Ne qorqa dur qāżī bilän muftī qadaḥnïng curmïdïn? Aḥmad šafāʿatčï turur, sulṭān-i ʿālam curmpōš. (ShD73r:11-12) 'Why are the Qazi and he Mufti afraid of the sin of the cup? [After all they should realize that] Aḥmad is the intercessor and the Sultan of the World is the forgiver.'

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

E.g.,

Ešikdin kirdi ol ʿÎsâ nafaslig ki taptï kün qašïnda dastraslik. (DN242v:3) 'Through the door entered the individual with Jesus's breath, who was granted access to the presenceof the sun.'
Mūnisim ol Yār-i ḫiyālī, va bas. Ol edi firyādïma firyādras. (AC 322r:7) 'The vision of my Friend was my comforter; there was no one else. It was He who responded to my call for help.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.24. The Suffix -rēz [< **rīḫtan** 'to pour']
bargrēz (Navā'ī, Dict., I,218) 'fall, autumn'
gulrēz n. 'flowered silk material'
ḫūnrēz (Navā'ī, Dict., III,218) 'killer'
šakarrēz (AC325r:11) 'scattering sugar'

E.g..,

Har nafasē šuʿbadaangēz men, maclis-i sulṭānda šakarrēz men. (AC325r:11) 'I can produce a [new] magic trick at every moment. I am eloquent in the company of kings.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.25. The Sufffix -afrōz [< **afrōḫtan** 'to light up']
dilafrōz (Navā'ī, Dict., I,485) 'cheering up the heart'
maclisafrōz (DN266v:2) 'one who brightens up the party'

E.g.,

Barïp bulbulnï qïlğïn maclisafrōz; degin, "Āhang tüz, kim boldï navrōz." (DN266v:2) 'Go and bid the nightingale brighten up the party; tell him: Tune [your instrument], for the new year festival is here.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.26. The Suffix -sāz [< **sāḫtan** 'to make']
damsāz (DN263v:3) 'friend, confidant'
čārasāz (DN260v:10) 'provider of remedy'
fusūnsāz (DN269r:4) 'conjuror, worker of spells'
kārsāz (Navā'ī, Dict.,II,128) 'effective, creative'
suḫansāz (AC324v:8) 'lier'
qiṣṣasāz (Navā'ī, Dict.,IV,56) 'story-teller'

E.g.,

Va gar ev ičrä salsang masnad-i nāz, boluban ʿayš ara ne birlä damsāz. (DN263v:3) 'And if you establish your seat of affection in the house occupying yourself with anything during the feast...'
Muğannï siḥr ara boldï fusūnsāz, čïqardï har eligidin bir āvāz. (DN269r:4) 'The singer, spellbound, worked magic: he pulled melodies from his sleeves[88] one after the other.'
Bašārat kelgüsi dur ḫidmatïnga saʿādat bolğusï dur čārasāzïng. (DN260v:10) 'Good news will surely come to you.[89] Felicity will be your provider of remedy.'

3.3.2.4.1.2.27. The Suffix -sōz [< **sōḫtan** 'to burn']
cānsōz ((Navā'ī, Dict.,I,592) 'heart-rending'
cigarsōz (AC326v:6) id.
dilsōz (Navā'ī, Dict.,I,490) id.

[87] Lit., covering sins for Ar. *ğufrān*

[88] Lit., hands
[89] Lit., to your presence

E.g.,

Ğamzam oqï nāvak-i cāndōz erür, nālalarïm barča cigarsōz erür. (AC326v:6) 'The arrows of my amorous glances are lances that pierce the soul. My plaintive voice burns people's livers.'

3.3.2.4.2. Formation by Prefixes

In Chagatay only Persian prefixes are used for creating adjectives.

3.3.2.4.2.1. Formation by Persian Prefixes

A few nouns, adverbs, prepositions, and particles took on the role of prefixes already in classical Persian and became a favored means of Chagatay word formation. They most preferably occur on Persian and Arabic nouns. Some of them, such as **nā-**, spread over to Turkish word materials.

3.3.2.4.2.1.1. The Prefix bā- [< **bā** 'with']
bābahā (BH4r:7) 'valuable'
bāsafā (BH17v:8) 'pure'
bāḫabar (Navā'ī, Dict., I,319) 'informed, knowledgeable'
bānām-u nišān (ShD62v:4) 'famous'

E.g.,

Bu qaṣīda ṣāniʿung ṣun'ïn ʿacā'ib körsätür. Ṣubḥ-i ʿālam dek munavvar. Ham künäš dek bāsafā. (BH17v:8) 'This qaṣīda reveals the astonishing artistry of the Maker. It illuminates the World exactly like the dawn. [It is] also serene and pure like the sun.'

3.3.2.4.2.1.2. The Prefix ba- [< **ba** 'to, at, by']
bacā (Navā'ī, Dict., I,192) 'appropriate, good'
badūš (ShD73r:10) 'upon the shoulder'
bağāyat (Navā'ī, Dict., I,192) 'extremely'
basar (GD159,6) 'to an end'
bašām (Navā'ī, Dict., I,233) 'until evening'
bataḫṣīṣ (Navā'ī, Dict., I,192) 'especially'
batang (Navā'ī, Dict., I,229) 'narrrow'
bayak (GD93,1) 'all at once'

E.g.,

Sirr bilmäyin qāżī neteg dayr-i muğannï der ḫarāb? Gar bilsä erdi mastnï olğay edi anï badōš. (ShD73r:10) 'Without knowing the secrets, how come the Qażī calls the house of the magi ruins? Had he known the drunk, he would have lifted him upon his shoulder.'

3.3.2.4.2.1.3. The Prefix bar- [< **bar** 'upon, on, over']
barbād (Ḫ77v:2) 'destroyed, ruined' [90]
barcōš (DN234v:7) 'agitated'
barṭaraf (RM31v:6) 'at the side, aside'
barqarār (ShD2r:1) 'established, existing'

E.g.,

Andïn oldï cumla ʿālam barqarār. (ShD2r:1) 'Through him the entire word came into existence.'
Buzup barbād qïldï nečä yärdä ḫānmānlarnï. (Ḫ77v:2) 'He ruined and destroyed families in many places.'
Bašïmdïn eltibān may našʾasï hōš, berip yüz šiʿr baḥrï tund va barcōš. (DN234v:7) 'The excitement caused by the wine took intellect from my head. The ocean of a hundred poems emerged, agitated and vehement.'

3.3.2.4.2.1.4. The Prefix bē- [< **bē** 'without']
bēadab (AC325r:5) 'ill-mannered'
bēcān (DN258r:2) 'lifeless'
bēčāra (Ḫ77v:5) 'helpless'
bēguman (MM178r:6) 'without doubt, certain'
bēkas (Ḫ77v:5) 'destitute'
bēhayā (AC325r:3) 'shameless, impudent'
bēḥadd (DN265r:11) 'endless'
bēḫirad (AC326r:11) 'fool' [< without understanding]
bēmadār (BN91r:2) 'ephemeral'
bēmihr (DN270v:6) 'without the sun'
bēmurād (BN86r:8) 'without intent'
benamāz (RM29r:9) 'he who does not perform the five prayers'
bēqarār (RB324v:6) 'restless'
bēqiyās (BN85v:7) 'immense'
bērava (Sayf182v:11) 'without splendor'
bēsabab (BN85v:9) 'without motive'
bētağayyur (DN247v:9) 'unchanging'
bētakalluf (DN264r:11) 'unaffected, simple, frank'
bēdard u ranc (DN271v:9) 'without pain and trouble'
bēḫwāst adj. (DN247v:3) 'spontaneous'
bēmārlïq n. (DN259v:10) 'a being sick, ailing'
bēnavā adj. (Sayf187r:4)) 'destitute'
bē sar-u barg (DN242r:5) 'destitute, confused'
bēvafā (Sayf180v:6) 'faithless, deceitful'

[90] Lit., tossed to the winds

E.g.,

Oqur ḥālatda mīmi körgüzüp sīn, sevünüp bētakalluf qïldï taḥsīn. (DN264r:11) 'As she was engaged in reading [the letter] her mīm-shape mouth displayed a sīn [> a wide smile]; she was happy and candidly expressed her approval.'

Dedi, "Yetkür anga kim yoq qarārï, yolumda bar bēḥadd intiẓārï." (DN265r:11) 'She said: "Deliver it to the one who has nc rest, who keeps an eye on my road with endless expectations."'

Ḫudāyā tā yarutur čarḫ bēmihr, özin Żaḥḥāk körgüzür Minučihr. (DN270v:6) 'O Lord, until the [time comes when the] sk illuminates without the sun and Minuchihr displays himself a Dahhak.'[91]

Niẓāmī teg išin bēdard u ranc et, anïng Dahnāmasïnï panc gan et. (271v:9) 'Make his work [enjoyable] without pain and troubl like those of Niẓāmī, make his Ten Letters [as valuable as] th Five Treasures.'[92]

3.3.2.4.2.1.5. The Prefix ğayr- [< **ğayr** 'withhout']

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

ğayrdōst (ShD23v:4) 'enemy, rival'
ğayrmaqṣūd (MQ21r:14) 'not intended'
ğayr ahlï (Sayf13r:7) 'a lowly person'

E.g.,

Tarbiyat ğayr ahlïna qïlmaq gunbad üstündä qoz qoymaq tu (Sayf13r:7) 'To educate a lowly person is like putting walnuts the tope of a dome.'

Yolnï yürümäy kirgän itär va ğayrmaqṣūd yergä yetär. (M 21r:14) 'He who enters upon the path which he has not travel before, loses his way and arrives to a place he did not intend to g

3.3.2.4.2.1.6. The Prefix ḫwaš-

ḫwašāvāz (Sayf98r:11) 'having a pleasant voice'
ḫwašalḥān (ShD161r:10) 'having a pleasant tone of voice'
ḫwašbāda (ShD156r:10-11) 'a tasty sort of wine'
ḫwasbū (ShD141v:11) 'having a pleasant fragrance'
hwašguvār (ShD155r:5-6) 'easy of digestion'
ḫwašmaqāl (Sayf46v:2) 'of agreeable speech'

[91] I.e., for ever, because Minuchihr will never be remembered as a tyrant
[92] I.e., the *khamsa*, the five epics of Nizāmī

ḫwašnām (ShD144v:11) 'having a good repute'
ḫwašrāy (Sayf106v:6) 'having good judgment'
ḫwašvaqt (Sayf59v:9) 'happy; safe'

E.g.,

Ḫwašdilbar va ḫwaššāqī, ḫwašbādaē ḫwašbāqī mān tašnalab va miskīn ol ḫurram va āzāda. (ShD156r:10-11) 'A delightful heart-ravisher, an obliging cupbearer, tasty wines, and tasty leftovers: my lips are thirsty. I am miserable while she is happy and free from care.'

3.3.2.4.2.1.7. The Prefix nā- [< **nā** 'no']

nāahl (BH4v:5) 'lowly, mean'
nācins (Sayf120r:8) 'ignoble, lowly'
nāḫalaf (Sayf161r:8) 'worthless'
nāḫwaš (MM180r:9) 'unpleasant'
nākas (Sayf87v:12) 'base, worthless'
nāmavzūn (Sayf115r:7) displeasing, offensive'
nāmurād (ShD118r:7) 'disappointed'[93]
nāpāk (RM20v:2) 'impure'
nārasīda (Ḫ81r:8) 'child' (< 'not fully grown')
naravā (MM192r:7) 'unjust'
nāsazā (Ḫ80v:9) 'improper'

E.g.,

Bēvafālardïn umēd tutğan kiši nāahl erür. Ot va yel topraq va su tarkībidä bolmas baqā. (BH4v:5) 'He who sets his hope on what is not constant is not worthy of being called a man, [for] there is no permanency in the compounds of fire and air, or earth and water.'

Sizä bärgäy ummatïngnï qādirim rōz-i cazā, ham kečürgäy garčï ummatdïn ötär köp nāsazā. (Ḫ80v:9) 'My Omnipotent One will entrust you with the fate of the Community on the Day of Retribution. He will even forgive, (upon your intercession,) those members of the community whose service was unworthy.'

3.3.2.4.2.1.8. The Prefix ṣāḥib- [**ṣāḥib-i** 'the owner of'

Originally the first element of classical Persian izāfat-structures created on the pattern of Arabic status constructus of the same function. [The Persian **ḫudavand** for **ṣāḥib** was rare in Chagatay.]

ṣāḥibcamāl (Sayf10r:11) 'beautiful'
ṣāḥibdavlat (Sayf5v:13) 'wealthy'
ṣāḥibhudā (MM185r:6a) 'wellguided'

[93] I.e., he who did not reach his goal

ṣāḥibiḥsān (MM178r:5) 'beneficient'
ṣāḥibkaram (Sayf160v:2) 'generous'
ṣāḥibniyāz (MM184v:13) 'needful'
ṣāḥibvuqūf (RM45r:1) 'aware'
ṣāḥibrašād (MM190v:15) 'faithful'
ṣāḥibuquš (MM191r:1) 'wise'
ṣāḥibvaqt (Sayf62r:5) 'pious'

E.g.,

İkkisi uzun boylu ṣāḥibcamāl dağï biri qïsqa boylï edi. (Sayf 10r:11) 'Two of them were tall and handsome while one of them was short.'

Qanda kim ṣāḥibkaram tikti saḫāvat naḫlïnï, köklärä čïqtï butaqlarï anïng rifʿat bilän. (Sayf160v:2) 'When a charitable person plants a tree of generosity its branches rise high and reach the sky.'

Kiši bu ṣifat birlä bolsa qačan bolur ṣāḥibiḥsān va ahl-i amān. (MM178r:5) 'If a person possesses these qualities, he will become generous and secure.'

Agar yesä awnï tutup it ḥarām, ḥalāl yemäs ersä, ay ṣāḥibuquš. (MM191r:1) 'If the dog catches a game and eats from it, that game is not allowed. If it does not eat from the game, it is allowed, O, Wise One!'

3.4 Pronouns

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

3.4.1. Personal Pronouns

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

	Singular	Plural
First Persons		
Nominative	**men** 'I'	**biz** 'we'
Accusative	**meni** 'me'	**bizni** 'us'
Genitive	**mening** 'my'	**bizning** 'our'
Dative	**manga** 'to me'	**bizgä** 'to us'
Locative	**mendä** 'in me'	**bizdä** 'in us'
Ablative	**mendin** 'from me' ~ **mendän** id.	**bizdin** 'from us' ~ **bizdän** id.
Comparative	**mening teg** 'like me'	-
Equative	**menčä** 'according to me' ~ **meningčä** id.	- -
Privative	**mensiz** 'without me'	-

Second Persons		
Nominative	**sen** 'you'	**siz** 'you'
Accusative	**seni** 'you'	**sizni** 'you'
Genitive	**sening** 'your'	**sizning** 'your'
Dative	**sanga** 'to you'	**sizgä** 'to you'
Locative	**sendä** 'in you'	**sizdä** 'in you'
Ablative	**sendin** 'from you' ~ **sendän** id.	**sizdin** 'from you' ~ **sizdän** id.
Comparative	**sening teg** 'like you'	-
Equative	**senčä** 'according to you' ~ **seningčä** id.	-
Instrumental	**senin** 'with/through/by you'	-
Privative	**sensiz** 'without you' ~ **sensizin** id.	-

Third Persons:

Note: The forms of **ol, olar, alar,** filling in for the missing third person singular and plural, are identical with those of the demonstrative pronoun **ol** [see 3.4.5.].

	Singular		Plural	
Nominative	**ol**	'he, she, it'	**alar**	'they'
Accusative	**anï**	'him, her, it'	**alarnï**	'them'
Genitive	**anïng**	'his, her, its'	**alarnïng**	'theirs'
Dative	**anga**	'to him, her, it'	**alarğa**	'to them'
Locative	**anda**	'in him, her, it'	**alarda**	'in them'
Ablative	**andïn** ~ **andan**	'from him, her, it' id.	**alardïn** **alardan**	'from them' id.
Comparative	**andaq**	'like him, her, it'	-	
Equative	**anča**	'like him' her, it'	**alarča**	'like them'
Instrumental	**anïn**	'with him, her, it'	-	
Privative	**ansïz** ~**ansïzin**	'without him, her it' id.	-	

E.g.,

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

Meni sen šamᶜ teg küydürmäging ne? Cafā va cavr etäkin türmäking ne? (DN257v:3) 'What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself[94] in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty [upon me]?'

Kördüm ävlä vaqt bir zālim uyur, ayttim ol fitna uyusa yaḫširaq. (Sayf20v:6-7) 'I saw a tyrant sleeping at noon-time. I said [to myself]: He is a manace, it is better if he sleeps.'

Yüzüng bergäy manga, ay ḥusn bāġi ᶜināyat körgüzüp yarlïġ nišānï. (DN251r:10) 'May your face, showing mercy, give me the sign of [your] command, O, Garden of Beauty.'

Notes: (1) For the first person singular, out of modesty, the words **banda** 'servant', **kamīna** 'the lowliest person', **bu faqīr-i ḥaqīr** 'this wretched poor', **bu qul** 'this servant' are used. E.g.,

Mundağ aytur faqīr-i ḥaqīr. (RM1v:4) 'Thus spoke [I] the poor and wretched [Muhammad Shaybānī Khān].'

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

Mäni ᶜaybïmnï yaw ğaffār-i sattār. (Ḫ81v;8) 'Cover [> forgive] my sins, O Most Forgiving God, the Concealer of Sins!'

Biri aydï seni mungluğ atang män. (Ḫ75r:3) '[Then one of them] continued, "I was your concerned father."'

İčim küydi alarnï sözlärigä. (Ḫ75r:5) 'When I heard their words [I suffered as if] my innards had caught fire.'

Anï kätidä yätmiš ming firištä. (Ḫ82v:1) 'Behind him came seventy thousand angels.'

Tanur mu sän mäni cān dilimni? (Ḫ76r:2) 'Do you know, (my boy), the beloved of my soul and heart?'

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

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarči yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) 'I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].'

Sen navgul-i ḥandān sen, män bulbul-i nālān mān kim hacrïng ara išim faryād ilä afğān dur. (ShD34r:11) 'You are a beaming fresh rose, I am a supplicating nightingale: Separated from you I spend my time in moaning and lamenting.'

Män ol ṣubḥ-i saᶜādat mān, ki Čingīs kökidin toğdum: Qačan kim täbräsäm yel teg Tīmūr šamᶜï öčär mendin. (ShD120r:3-4) 'I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis. When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Tīmūr goes out as I pass.'

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

Sän ök sen yaratğan bu yer kök kün ay. (MM176v:6) 'You are the one who have created this earth, sky, sun and moon.'

Safar ḥācat ermäs, sän ök sän ḥicāb. (MM197r:6) There is no need to travel: You yourself are the veil.'

Sän sän ol laškarda ṣafflar üzgän er, er damïnda erdämin körgüzgän er. (Sayf7r:9) 'You are the man who breaks the lines of the [enemy's] army, who shows his skill facing those who are [also] skilled.'

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

Manga yoq tur figāre sendin özgä, sanga yoq tur nigāre mendin özgä. (DN253v:5) 'I do not have a sore wound other than [what I inflicted upon] you, you do not have a sweetheart, other than me.'

(6) In the dative case sporadically the forms **sangar** 'to you', **angar** 'to him' may occur, especially in early manucsripts. E.g,

Tewä, uy käräk aṭ, qatïr, ya ḥimār alur bergä män ter yarïn kün sangar. (MM191v:1) '[Suppose] someone takes your camel, cow, horse, mule or donkey and says, "I will return it to you tomorrow."'

Angar mängzägän yoq, qamuğdïn arïğ. (MM178r:14) 'Nothing is like Him, he is unrelated to everything.'

(7) Instead of **sizlär** the form **silär** may occur, as in colloquial Uzbek today. E.g.,

Nä bāᶜisdin silär otqa giriftār? (Ḫ75r:5) 'Why are you captive in the fire?'

[94] Lit., tying up your skirt to your waist

(8) Personal pronouns may be subjects [agents] to gerunds in **-p**. E.g.,
Sen unutup maḥabbatpēšalarnï, sağïnïp qandağï andēšalarnï. (DN257r:4) 'You have forgotten the lovers[95] anticipating the anxieties of those days.'

(9) Personal pronouns may be used with imperatives for emphasis. E.g.,
Meni sen körmä ʿāciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasïnda dastgāhïm. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'

(10) The genitive case form may occur in substantival role. E.g.,
Ču men boldum säning ğamnï uzatma, bu savdāda meni ʿālamğa satma. (DN260r:7) 'Since I became yours do not prolong the sorrow. In this transaction, do not sell me to the entire world.'

3.4.2. Reflexive Pronouns

3.4.2.1. The Pronoun öz 'self'

The most frequently used reflexive pronoun in Chagatay consists of the noun **öz** 'essence, self' and the possessive suffixes to indicate person and number. In the first and second persons the suffixes conform to the rules of labial harmony [ï > u; i > ü]. In the third person there is no labial harmony. E.g.,

Sing. 1.	**özüm**	'myself'	Plur. 1.	**özümiz**	'ourselves'
2.	**özüng**	'yourself'	2.	**özüngiz**	'yourselves'
3.	**özi**	'himself 'herself, itself'	3.	**özläri**	'themselves'

E.g.,
Agar alïsa özümingni alsun. Har iš qïlsa Ḫudāyïm özi bilsün... (Ḫ74r:4) 'But if He is determined to take [one of these three boys], let Him take mine. Whatever my Lord does, He should know that...'
Qatïngda qand özini elgä satïp, unutup özini sözünggä qatïp. (DN250r:8) 'In your presence the sugar sells itself to the people. Not aware of its own essence it mixes with your words.'
Ūstādï taqï bildi kim özindän artuq dur. (Sayf39r:10) 'His master also knew that [the young man] was stronger than him.'
Elig yup özidin su ḫidmatïngda, arïğliq lāfïn urmay ḥazratïngda. (DN244r:2) 'The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.'

[95] I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God], i.e., sufis

Tanïğa čolğašïp zaḥmat cunūn teg, qoya berip özin ranc ičrä nūn teg. (DN245v:9) 'The pain turns and twists in his body like madness. Suffering made him look [curled] like the letter *nūn*.'
Öz özümä ayttïm. (Sayf115v:4) 'I said to myself.'

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

Sing. 1.	**özümgä**	'to myself'	Plur. 1.	**özümizgä**	'to ourselves'
2.	**özünggä**	'to yourself'	2.	**özüngizgä**	'to yourselves'
3.	**özigä**	'to himself 'to herself' 'to itself'	3.	**özlärigä**	'to themselves'

E.g.,
Qïlïp ğam elidin hay'atnï tağyïr, etip ʿišq āyatïn özigä tafsïr. (DN253v:4) 'He changes [his] figure because of [his] sorrow and makes for himself a commentary of the verse of love.'

(2) In case form they are used to form reflexive verbs and verbal phrases:
özin bar ham ur- 'to mess up oneself'
özigä kel- 'to come to, regain consciousness'
özidin ket- 'to be deeply moved'
öz özigä taʿammul qïl- 'to meditate to himself'
E.g.,
Sačïm az bas ki özin urdï barham, säning ḥālïng bigin dur vaqtē darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'
Aqar saylāba dek yaš közläridin, ketip qaldï šaḥāba özläridin.(Ḫ 82r:3) 'The tears gushed from his eyes like torrents. (On beholding this) the companions were deeply moved.'
Taʿammul qïldï bir dam öz özigä, qalam tilini ačtï söz yüzigä. (DN246r:11) 'For a moment she meditated to herself [and then] opened the tongue of the pen in the face of the words.'[96]

(3) **Öz** with no possessive suffix can precede a noun to express "own". The possessive suffix on the noun that follows indicates the person. E.g.,
Cihān sulṭānï öz karamïndan yazuqïn bagïšlap āzād qïlsa ne bolğay edi. (Sayf13r:4). 'What difference would it make if the King out of his generosity forgave his sins and set him free?'

[96] I.e., he put to writing what he had formulated in her mind

Zāhid öz maqāmïna kelip ḫādimdän sufra tiladi. (Sayf52v:9). 'The abstinent returned to his home and asked the servant to serve [him] food.'

3.4.2.2. The Pronoun ḫwad 'self'

Persian **ḫwad** 'self' occurs in two functions: as a reflexive pronoun and as a pronoun of identity. It is a closed [indeclinable] morpheme: no personal or possessive suffixes can be added to it. Also, it does not form an Izafat construction with the pronoun or noun it relates to.

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

ʿInād etip anga bulğašmağaylar, valē inṣāftïn ḫwad ašmağaylar. (DN271v:3) 'They show no defiance and do not interfere; but they themselves do not go beyond what is just.'

Sän anï yüz aqčağa alïp sän, qudrat bilä ḫwad yaratmayïp sen. (Sayf148r:7) 'You have purchased him for one hundred dinars. You did not create him yourself by [your creating] power.'

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

Kišining pāklarğa köngli tartar, ḫusn ḫwad pākdāmanlïqtïn artar. (ḪM307v:4) 'A person's heart is attracted to those who are pure. One's beauty itself increases if one lives in purity.'

Manga körgüzmäsün Tengri ḫwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlä bir bolğay zulālïm. (DN242r:7) 'May God Himself never make me see the day when my [source of lifegiving] water is equal in value with dust.'

Ay Ḥusaynī yetmäsä ol ay sening faryādïngğa, čarḫ u ančum ḫwad emäs dardïngğa darmān qïlğu dek. (ḪBXXI,7) 'O Husaynī, if that moon does not answer your call for help, it is most likely that the firmament and the stars themselves are no remedy for your ailment.'

"Qïlïčtïn qïl učïča yoq anga vahm, yavutmas özigä ḫwad oqdïn vahm. (DN245v:10) 'He has no fear of the sword, not even as much as the tip of a hair. He does not let fear get to him even when he faces an arrow.'

3.4.2.3. The Pronoun kändü, kändi, kändü özi 'self'

Rarely though, the pronoun **kändü** 'self' is also used. Sometimes it occurs together with **öz** + a possessive suffix: **kändü özi** or contracted, as **kändözi**. These pronouns are declinable: **kändüsi, kändüsini, kändüsindä, kändüläri, kändözindin,** and so on. E.g.,

Käräk bolsam anga män kändü kelsün. (Quṭb,94) 'If he needs me, he himself should come.'

Ne tiläsäng sanga beräyin. Sen manga kendözüngni cüftländürgil. (NF76v:2) 'Whatever you wish, I will give it to you. Agree to be my wife.'[97]

Aḥmaq ol kimärsä turur kim kendü özini barčadïn artuq körsä. (NF74v:74v:7) 'Fool is that person who regards himself more than anyone else.'

Kändünä raḥm qïlmağan dāʾim qurtula bilmäs ol mašaqqatdan. (Sayf92r:5) 'He who has no mercy on himself, will never be able to get rid of difficulties.'

Män turur män bu qïn ičrä mubtalā ʿāciz bolup, ol ulašu tün va kün kendini zavqïnda tutar. (Sayf180r:9) 'I am bogged down in this adversity incapacitated (while) she is having fun night and day all the time.'

3.4.3. Reciprocal Pronouns

The reciprocal pronouns are: **bir biri°, biri bir°, biri biri°, biri birisi°.** They are declinable. The case markers are attached to the second element. E.g.,

Ḥikāyatlar ulašïp bir birigä qulaq salmay yïrlavčïlar yïrïgä. (DN 234v:1) 'Stories were going from one to the other. People did not pay attention to the songs of the singer.'

Firāqïdïn körüp cavr u sitamnï, sïğïšturup biri birigä ğamnï.(DN 236r:10). 'I suffered abuse and oppression because of her absence, adding one sorrow to the other.'

Biri birgä bayʿï durust qabżï šarṭ ušol maclis ičrä, köngülgä kämiš. (MM191v:13) 'The selling of one for the other is correct. Note [however,] that [the items purchased] must be taken into possession at the moment agreement on the transaction has been reached.'

Idioms: **biri biri songïnča** (MM186r:8) 'one after the other'
biri birisingä muḫālif (MM187v:2) 'contradicting one another'
biri birgä mängzär (MM196v:14) 'they resemble each other'
bir birigä yaqïn (ShD80r:9) 'close to one another'
bir birisidin sor- (GD138,6) 'to question one another'

[97] Lit., Let yourself be married to me.

3.4.4. Possessive Pronouns

The genitive case forms of the personal pronouns constitute the possessive pronouns. They occur in adjectival ['my'] or substantival ['mine'] forms. They have full and short [apocopated] variants. The short forms are not used in substantival function.

The noun governed by a possessive pronoun most of the time carries a possessive suffix equivalent in person, and, with some limitations, also in number. Postpositions which follow a noun in the nominative case [see 3.2.1.1.] usually require possessive pronouns.

Full forms

Singular	Plural
mening 'my'	**bizning** 'our'
sening 'your'	**sizning** 'your'
anïng 'his, her, its'	**alarnïng** 'their'

Short [apocopated] forms

Singular	Plural
meni 'my'	**bizni** 'our'
seni 'your'	**sizni** 'your'
anï 'his, her, its'	**alarnï** 'their'

E.g.,

Mening išimgä oḫšar ol ḥikāyat, ki Hārūndïn qïlurlar el rivāyat. (DN232r:6) 'The story that people narrate about Hārūn [ar-Rashid] resembles my case.'

Anïng teg körgüzür söz rahnamūnï ki taptï bir ʿarab yazïda sunï. (DN232r:8) 'The roadguide of stories[98] thus represents: A Bedouin came upon [some] water in the desert.'

Išim išlägil ter bu kün sän mäning, yarïn išlägil män išing ter säning. (MM191r:18) '[Let us suppose that] someone says to you, "Do my work today and I will do your work tomorrow."'

Biling awnï kim tutsa bolur anïng, raʿiyyat, vazīr, beg käräk sulṭānnïng. (MM190v:8) 'Know that a game animal belongs to him who catches it, be he a [common] citizen, a vizier, a lord, or a sultan.'

Note: In the first person the forms **mänim** 'my, mine' **bizing, bizim** 'our, ours' **sizing** 'your, yours' are also used. E.g.,

[98] I.e., a narrator

Bizim cinsimizgä lā'iq dägül sulṭān ḫidmatïndä yalğan sözlämäk. (Sayf9r:9) 'It is not appropriate for people of our class to lie in the presence of the King.'

Gar otursa bizing bilän qāzī turuban ʿāšiqāna raqṣ urur. (Sayf 59v:11) 'If the Judge were [here] sitting with us, he would jump up and dance like someone who is in love.'

Agar sizing cāhïngïz bilän bir cihat ḥāṣil bolsa camʿiyyat-i ḫāṭir üčünʿazīm minnat bolğay. (Sayf25r:10) 'If through your position an allowance could be worked out fo r a piece of mind it would be a big favor.'

3.4.5. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns in Chagatay distinguish the position of objects in relationship to the subject. Their values are relative and mutually exclusive: An object can be close or remote. Anything that is not close is remote and anything that is not remote, is close. A third option, close but not as close as, is present in popular literature [see 3.4.5.2.].

Demonstrative pronouns can occur in adjectival [modifier] function. Only the singular forms participate in this role: **bu šimšād** 'this cypress', **bu ṣifatlar** 'these qualities'. Demostrative pronouns in substantival role have plural forms in **-lar/-lär: Bular dağï čärik yasap qarši yüridilär.** (Sayf 110v:13) 'These also prepared an army and moved out against them.'

3.4.5.1. The Demonstrative Pronouns bu 'this' and ol 'that'

These demonstrative pronouns have full nominal inflection. The case forms do not have an equal distribution. Some of the adverbial forms are paralleled with postpositional forms. The latter gradually take over the functions of the cases.

Singular		
Nominative	**bu** 'this'	**ol** 'that'
Accusative	**munï** 'this [acc.]'	**anï** 'that [acc.]'
Genitive	**munïng** 'of this'	**anïng** 'of that'
Dative	**munga** 'to this'	**anga** 'to that'
Locative	**munda** 'here'	**anda** 'there'
Ablative	**mundïn** 'from here'	**andïn** 'from there'
	~ **mundan** id.	~ **andan** id.
Equative	**munča** 'as [much as] this'	**anča** 'as [much as] that'
Terminative	**munčağa** 'up to this'	**ančağa** 'up to that'
Comparative	**mundaq** 'like this'	**andaq** 'like that'
Instrumental	**munun** 'by/with this'	**anïn** 'by/with that'

Plural		
Nominative	**bular** 'these'	**alar** 'those'
Accusative	**bularnï** 'these [acc.]'	**alarnï** 'those [acc.]'
Genitive	**bularnïng** 'of these'	**alarnïng** 'of those'
Dative	**bularğa** 'to these'	**alarğa** 'to those'
Locative	**bularda** 'among these'	**alarda** 'among them'
Ablative	**bulardïn** 'from these'	**alardïn** 'from those'
	~ **bulardan** id.	~ **alardan** id.

E.g.,

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarči yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) 'I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].'

Labïm nuqlïn alur bolsang ağïzğa, čïqarğïl baštïn ol mayning ḫumārïn. (DN254v:3) 'If you take the sweetmeat of my lips into your mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of that wine.'

Yüzüng közgü dur, ay husn ičrä māhïm, ḫaẕar qïl kim anï tutmasun āhïm. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O my Moon Among the Beauties. Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'

Anï ol ḥālatta körüp könglüm ağrïdï. (Sayf143v:4) 'Beholding him in that condition, I felt compassion for him.'

Nečä tozutsa bād-i bahārī ʿabīr u mušk, nečä čamanda bād-i ḫazān qïlsa zargarī, ančağa tegrü eygü atïng ḫayr üzä qalïp, sözlänsän el tilindä cihānnïng dilāvarï. (Sayf182v:2-4) 'As long as the spring gale scatters the dust of ambergris and musk, as long as the autumnal wind works as goldsmith in the meadow, so long will your good name remain with blessings and you will be called by people the hero of this world.'

Notes: (1) **Bu** 'this' (see 3.1.2.3.2.1.) and, less frequently, **ol** 'that' are used as definite articles especially with proper names. E.g.,

Rizq üčün cahd qïl keräk qïlma, berür ol bir va bar ʿazza va calla. (Sayf173r:1) 'Whether or not you exert yourself to obtain your sustenance, God the One and Ever Existing, the Most High and the Most Majestic will grant it to you.'

Bu Harīning dāniš ahlï har nečä ʿayb etsängiz qayda kim bolsa Šabānī ol Samarqand ārzular. (ShD42v:7-8) '[You] learned men of Herat it does not matter how much you blame me. Wherever Shaybānī may be, he is longing for Samarqand.'

Dedi, "Netsün kiši bu mubtalāğa, ki küč birlän özin saldï balāğa?" (DN245v:7) 'She said, "What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition brings trouble upon himself?'

Bu Šabānīning sevärі šarʿï dur, anïng üčün közidin yaš aqturur. (ShD5r:9). 'Shaybanī's beloved is the Law. That is why he lets his tears flow from his eyes.'[99]

(2) The locative case forms **munda** 'here' and **anda** 'there' may occur with verbs of motion to indicate destination [see 3.1.4.2.6.4.]. E.g.,

"Ne der sen munda gar keltürsäm anï, nihufta ündäsäm ol bēnavānï?" (DN258v:7) 'What would you say if I brought him here? If secretely I invited that miserable person?'

Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān ṣuḥbat yarağïn qïl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will be there in no time.'

(3) Rarely, the locative case **anda** 'there' may also occur as an indirect object [see 3.1.4.2.5.8.]. E.g.,

Cavābïda dedi ol qašï ḥācib, kim anda parda ačmaq bar munāsib. (DN258v:8) 'In answer said [that intimate friend] whose eyebrow was like a chamberlain: It is now appropriate to open the the curtain.'

(4) Predicative compounds are, as a rule, preceded by the demonstrative pronouns **bu, ol,** or by the interjection **ay** (see 4.1.5.).

"Tišim lūlūsïdïn ol közi daryā, čïqarur mu falak yanglïğ ṣurayyā? (DN252v:2) 'From the pearls of my teeth will that ocean-eyed [beauty] produce the Pleiades as the sky does?'

Vafāsïz dilrubā sän, ay beli qïl! (Sayf117v:12) 'You are [surely] an unfaithful heart-ravisher, O [Beauty] with the waist [thin] like a hair.'

Ol yüzi ay kim cihānnïng cānï dur. (Sayf179r:10) 'The moon-faced [beauty] who is the life of this world.'

(5) The pronoun **ol** is part of the relative conjunction **kim ol** [cf. Persian *ki ān*]. E.g.,

Faravān dard-i dil körgüzüp anda, qïlïp šarḥī kim ol sïğmas gumānda. (DN243r:11) 'In it I presented plenty of complaints about my situation the exposition of which did not leave place for doubts.'

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[99] Touched by the majesty of God manifest in the perfection of the Law.

(6) **Mundağ** 'like this; such' and **andağ** 'like that; such' are equative forms used mostly in the popular style. E.g.,

Boldï İsmā'īl babam mīnāda qarabašï, anbiyālarğa ḫudānï mundağ erür ševasï. (Ḫ81r:4) 'Isma'īl was my Father's servant while my father was still [unborn] in the shell. Such is God's way with His Prophets.'

Tiläp alsun ki sizni bir ḫudādïn, ötünsün sizni andağ āšnādïn. (Ḫ 79r:5) '(Go and tell Muḥammad) to ask God to restore you to him, to implore Him to return you to him since He is such a good friend.'

(7) The privative forms **munsïz** 'without this' and **ansïz** 'without that' and their expanded versions **munsïzïn** and **ansïzïn** also occur mostly in adverbial function. E.g.,

Kimgä kim inṣāf yoq insān emäs, munsïz aṭvārïda cuz nuqṣān emäs. (Navā'ī, Dict.,II,355) 'He who has no sense of justice, is not a real man. Without this there is nothing but deficiency in his manners.'

Mufarriḥ šēvalï nāzuk dilārām, qïla bilmäs edi ansïz dil ārām. (Sayf70r:11). 'He is a delicate heartsoothing [beauty] with exhilarating coquettish glances without whom the heart would not be able to rest.'

3.4.5.2. The Demonstrative Pronouns bol 'this', **šol** 'this, that'

The pronouns **bol** 'this' [opposite of **ol** 'that'] and **šol** 'this', 'that' [not as close as **bol** and not an opposite of **ol**] are frequent in popular literature. They modify nouns in the majority of examples but occur also independently in predicative use. They have no plural form. E.g.,

Laškar-i islāmnï čāksām qïzïl börk üstinä, bolğusï yāvar Madīna kišvarïndïn šol Ḥabīb. (ShD15r:10-11) 'When I bring the forces of Islam against the people of the red cap, the Friend from the land of Madina[100] will surely be my helper.'

Bol sözümni qïlmadïng bol kün bacāy (BN90v:5) 'You did not grant my wish today.'

Bol išingä ol išing ṣādiq emäs. (BN90v:8) 'That act of yours is not consistent with this one.'

Šāhlïğgä bol išing lā'iq emäs. (BN89v:7) 'This act of yours is not becoming the status of a king.'

Yoq ersä ḫālïmïz bol dur parēšān. (Ḫ75r:4) 'But now we are in this pitiful state.'

[100] I.e., the Prophet Muḥammad

Idioms: **bol dam** 'now'
bol kün 'today'
bol damda 'now'

3.4.6. Deictic Pronouns

Deictic pronouns are emphatic demonstrative pronouns. They point at specific referents [objects, facts, points] leaving no doubt about the identification: 'this very', 'that very', 'this same', 'that same'. They often invite the listener to look at or carefully consider the referent. There are three sets of emphatic pronouns. They all are declinable, but in actual use none of them constitute a full paradigm.

3.4.6.1. The Pronouns ušbu, ušol or ušal

The deictic particle **uš** [see 3.9.3.] prefixed to the demonstrative pronouns **bu** and **ol** can occur both in adjectival and in substantival use. They are declinable although their paradigm is incomplete. The most frequently used forms are:

Singular				
Nominative	**ušbu**	'this same'	**ušol**	'that same'
Genitive	**ušmununng**	'of this same'	-	
Dative	**ušmunga**	'to this same'	-	
Locative	**ušmunda**	'just here'	**ušanda**	'just there'
Ablative	**ušmundïn**	'just from here'	**ušandïn**	'just from there'
Equative	**ušmunča**	'quite this much'	**ušanča**	'quite that much'
Comparative	**ušmundaq**	'just this much'	**ušandaq**	'just that much'

Plural			
Nominative	**ušbular**	'these same'	-
Accusative	**ušbularnï**	'these same' [acc]	-
Genitive	**ušbularnïng**	'of these same'	-
Ablative	**ušbulardïn**	'just from them'	-
Equative	-		-
Comparative	-		-

E.g.,

Vaṣl bāğïnda ḫirāmān tün edim ṭā'us teg, ušbu kün čörgär mäni čon mār cānān furqatï. (Sayf125v:5-6) 'Yesterday, in the garden of our meeting, I walked pompously like a peacock. This very day the absence of the beloved makes me twist and turn like a snake.'

Tang atmazdïn ušbu käräk niyyatï. (MM186v:9) 'One must state one's intention [to fast] before dawn.'

Aṣar qïldï manga gulnïng camālï; yoq esä män ušol topraq män bil. (Sayf8r:9) 'The beauty of the rose has affected me. Otherwise I am the same clay as I have been.'
Ay Šabānī ušbu makrūh dunyāda šarʿïnï qïlsang dāʾïm buldung calāl. (ShD6v:8-9) 'O, Shabanī in this frowned upon world if you do His Law, you will always find majesty.'

3.4.6.2. The Pronouns īn 'this', **ān** 'that'
The Persian demonstrative pronouns **īn** 'this', **ān** 'that' are also used, especially to indicate exact opposites.The third option we have in Turkish is not available in Persian. E.g.,

Agar ol gavhar-i darya, ṭalab qïl, elinggä kirgäy. Yinä ol bolğay va īn ham, valē nä ān nä īn bolğay. (ShD176v:6-7) 'If that is the pearl of the sea,[101] search for it and it will come into your hands. Again, it will be that and also this, but it will be neither that nor this.'[102]

3.4.6.3. The Pronouns hamīn 'this very', **hamān** 'that very'
The Persian pronouns **hamān** 'that very, that same' and, less frequently, **hamīn** 'this very, this same' are also used as emphatic or assertive demonstrative pronouns.They are not declinable, have no plural form and occur rarely in substantival use. E.g.,

ʿÏsâ äšäkin Ḥicāza eltip kältürsä yana hamān äšäk tur. (Sayf 139v:2) 'If they take Jesus' donkey [for a pilgrimage] to Ḥijaz, it will be the very same donkey [when it returns].'
Ne bilgäy sen bu daryāning bapāyānï hamīn bolğay: Buḫār āsmān bolğay kaff-i darya zamīn bolğay. (ShD176v:4-5) 'How would you know that the dimensions of the sea are exactly these: The sky is fog, and the earth is the palm of [your] hand.'

3.4.6.4. The Pronouns with the Particles oq/ök 'indeed, verily'
The demonstrative pronoun **ol** followed by the emphatic particle [see 3.9.3.] **oq** constitutes a deictic pronoun. The pronoun **bu** does not share this feature. E.g.,

Ol oq kitāblardïn čïqarïp taṣnïf qïldïm. (RM2r:8) 'I drew upon those same books and composed [this manual].'

[101] I.e., the object of your desire
[102] The pearl desired and the pearl obtained are the same, but [in the market place] it has a price and that makes it different from what it was before: It is now a merchandise. Cf., Sayf *ṣadafdan ayrïlur bolsa tapar cavhar ağïr qïmat.* (98r:10) 'The pearl obtains a heavy price after it is separated from the shell.'

Note: The particle **ök** is also used with the second person singular personal pronoun **sen** 'you, indeed you' for the purpose of emphasis. E.g.,

Safar ḥācat ermäs sän ök sän ḥicāb. (MM197r:6) 'There is no need to travel [in quest of Him], you yourself are the veil.'
Sän ök sän yaratğan bu yer kök kün ay. (MM176v:6) 'It is you who created this earth, the sky, the sun and the moon.'
Avval va Āḫir sen oq sen: barča ʿālamda ʿayān. (ShD3r:3). 'You are the first and you are the last: It is obvious all over the world.'

3.4.7. Interrogative Pronouns
Interrogative pronouns can be divided into three groups: (1) **Kim** 'who' and its case forms; (2) **Ne** 'what' and its derivatives; (3) Pronouns based on the root **qa-**.

3.4.7.1. The Pronoun kim 'who'
The interrogative pronoun **kim** and its plural form **kimlär** occur only in substantival use. It is declinable and follows the paradigm of inflection of nouns. E.g.,

Kim ḫabar berdi sanga kim sen böri oğlï sän? (Sayf14v:6) 'Who told you that you are the cub of a wolf?'
Kim qïlïp tur bu falaknï nuh ṭabaq baštïn ayaq? (BH3r:4) 'Who made these heavens in nine layers from the highest point to the lowest?'
Šab-i miʿrāc anï dōzaḫda kördüm: Bular kimlär bolur dep anda sordum. (Ḫ74v:10) 'On the Night of the Ascension I beheld them in Hell. Who are these [creatures], I asked.

The following case forms of **kim** occur: **kimning** 'whose?' **kimgä** 'to whom?' **kimä** 'to whom?' **kimdä** 'in whom? '**kimdän** 'from whom?' E.g.,

Kimgä qïlayïm säning elingdän firyād? (Sayf33v:9) 'Whom should I complain to about what you do to me?"
Yādgārï qalsa kimning äygü at, ölmäs ol är kimdä bolsa bu ṣifāt. (Sayf6v:11) 'He who leaves behind a good name as a monument, will never die if he has these qualities in him.'

3.4.7.2. The Pronoun ne 'what'
The pronoun **ne** 'what' occurs alone, in case forms, in derivatives, in grammatical phrases and in idioms. It is a frequently used morphological item. Without case ending it can be the subject or predicate of the sentence. In the role of a direct object it takes no case marker. Put before a noun it can serve as an emphasizer 'what a...' E.g.,

Ne vāqiʿ boldï? (RM21r:2) 'What has happened?'
Körär men har kečä tüštä qara zulfingnï zancïr teg: ne keltürgäy bu bašïmğa ʿacab ol tüš parēšānï. (Mavlānā Išḥaq in Sayf179v:8) 'I see every night in [my] dream your black tresses as chains: What [calamity] will, I wonder, the disheveled one of that dream bring upon my head?'
Ne debän men anï közdin salayïn, köngül aldïm, barïp ham cān alayïn. (DN246r:3) 'By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?'
Meni, ay baḫt, ʿamdā tepmäking ne? Cirāḫat üstidä tuz sepmäking ne? (DN244r:7) 'O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt over my wounds?'

The following case forms of **ne** occur: **nečä** 'how much?'; **nečägä** 'to what extent?'; **negä** 'why?'; **nedän, nädin** 'why'; **nätäg** 'how' E.g.,
Ḥaqīqatda Ḥaqqa inanğan kiši nätäg ḫalī bolur üküš külgügä. (MM179r10) '[It also proves] how a person who truly believes in God will abstain from much laughter.'
Rāz-i ʿišqïmnï nätäg bilgäylär, ay ārām-i cān, zāhid va mavlā va qāzī šayḫ muftī va ḫaṭīb. (ShD17r:5-6) 'O, Serenity of my Life! How would the abstinent, the master, the judge, the sheykh, the magistrate and the preacher know about the secrets of my life?'
Malāmat qiblasïdïn yüz evürmäs, ḫalāʾiq nečä ṭaʿn ursa, dam urmas. (DN245v:8) 'He does not turn his face away from the qibla of blame, however much people criticize him, he does not say a word.'
Dilbarïm nečägä tegrü men qulun qïnda tutar? Män qïlïč mu män, ʿacab kim meni ol qïnda tutar. (Sayf180r:7) 'How long will my heart-ravisher keep me, her servant, in pain? Am I a sword, I wonder, that she keeps me in the sheath?'

The following derivatives of **ne** are in use: **nečük** 'how?' (< **nečä ök**); **nečün** 'why?' (< **ne üčün**); **netük** 'how?'(< **netä ök**); **nağu** 'why?' E.g.,
Ḥukamā qavlïna nečük muḫālafat qïlayïn? (Sayf99r:6) 'How could I oppose the words of the wise?'
Nečün munča köp yalğan sözlär sözlägäy? (Sayf42r:11) 'Why does he tell so many lies?'
Netük men ävüräyin öz ğamïmdïn, ki pūlād erigäy otluğ damïmdïn. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath..'

Basa ʿulamā iḫtilāf qïlïp tur kim namāznïng sanï beš vaqttïn nağu artuq äksük bolmadï. (RM25v:6-8) 'But learned men differ as to why there are only five prayer times, not more or less.'
Ḫurāsān cāhilin bilip nağu raḥm äylädim anga? Dēvānalarğa tizgändim dēvāna emdi män dur män. (ShD136v:12) 'Why did I have mercy on the ignorant of Khurasan after learning about them? I resembled the madman and now I myself am a madman.'

The following phrases based on **ne** are in use: **ne türlüg** 'in what way?', 'what kind of'; **ne miqdār** 'how much?'; **ne yüzün** 'in what way'; **ne yosunluq** 'how?'; 'by what method?'; **ne yoldan** 'in what way?'; **ne yärdä** 'where?'. E.g.,
Ne yerdä kim ganc bar, anda yïlan bar. (Sayf158v:5) 'Where there is treasure, there is snake.'
Mäning cānïmğa ne otluğ fiğānlar, säning könglüngdä ne türlüg gumānlar. (DN257r:5) 'What fiery wailing for my soul. What kind of doubts in your heart!'

Idioms:
ne asïğ 'what is the use of'
ne ḥācat 'what is the need of'
ne ḥāṣil 'what is the outcome of'
netsün 'what should he do?' [with accusative case]
neyläyin 'what could I do?'
ne ʿacab 'no wonder'
ne debän 'on what account'
E.g.,
Ne ḥācat kim qasam kirgäy arağa, yamīnsiz bilgil išingning yasārïn. (DN254v:7) 'What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without a reference to the right.'

Note: **Ne** and some of its derivatives, in combination with the conjuction **kim** are often used to introduce a simple comparison or a hyperbola. E.g.,
Eligdä ḫaṭṭ sözi durr-i ṣamīn teg, ne ḫaṭṭ kim ol nigāristān-i čīn teg. (DN255r:5) 'In the hand was the letter, its words were like costly pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.'
Ḫaṭṭ ičrä saldï köz ol tün čirāğï, netük kim tün ičindä kün čirāğï. (DN245v:4) 'When that Candle of the Night[103] glanced into that

[103] I.e., the moon

letter, it was like the lamp of the day[104] appearing in the [darkness of the] night.'
Tüzälip sarv boyung ešikimdin, kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä cānï. (DN251v:1) 'May Your cypress-like body rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.'

3.4.7.3. The Pronouns Based on the Stem qa-

The following pronouns, based on the stem **qa-**, occur in Chagatay:

qačan 'when; whenever [i.e., never]'
qay, qayu 'which'
qaysï 'which'
qanda 'where'
qandağ 'how'
qayda 'where'
qanï 'where'
qayan 'where to'
qandïn 'where from'
qaydïn 'where from'

E.g.,

Erür dunyā fānī, bu māl, mamlakat, qanï mālï Qārūn, qanï ol karam. (MM188r2) 'The world is transitory as are riches and possessions. Where [today] is the wealth of Qārūn? Where is that ditch [that swallowed him and his wealth? All are gone].'
Gahē kim qïlsa yüzin kün huvaydā, qačan ḫwad sāya bolğay anda paydā. (DN255v:9) 'Sometimes when the sun discloses its face, would ever a shadow make an appearance there.'
Faṣïlnïng öngindin songïnča qayu ṣurat tüššä sacda-i sahvnï kätür. (MM184v:2} 'Make propitiatory prostrations for any [of the omissions] enumerated anywhere in this chapter.'
Qanï ʿaqlïm, qanï fahmïm, qanï fikrim, qanï nāmūs yangaqïng alïnï körgäč manga nāmūs ušandan dur. (ShD33r:12-13) 'Where is my mind, where is my understanding, where is my thought, where is my honor? My honor comes right then when I behold the vermilion color of your cheeks.'
Bāğ va bustān ičrä köp tur sarvlar, ay bāğbān! Lēk mundaq cilvagar sarv-i ḫirāmān qayda dur. (ShD41v:5-6) 'In gardens and orchards there are many cypresses, O Gardener. But where is such a brilliant walking cypress?'
Kāfirlar qayda kirür. (IM4v:3) 'Where do the infidel go?'

[104] I.e., the sun

Ay faqïr qanda kitär sän bu yol qattï yol durur. (Sayf58r:4) 'Hey, poor man, where are you going? This is a difficult road.'
Hēč bilmän bu ot mänim ävimä qandan tüšti. (Sayf38r:9) 'I don't know from where this fire got to my house.'
Qaysï davlat munïng dek bolğay? (RM42r:2) 'What happiness can be as great as this?'
Mihmanïngïz qaydïn dur, ay Šāh? (ḪJ76v:2) 'Where is your guest from, O King!'
Ki sizdin ayrïlïp qandağ bola mïz, yaruğ dunyāda qandağ kün körä mïz. (ḪJ79r:3) "For how will we get along without you? What will our lives be like in this bright world?'
Qačan qopsa va Tengrini yād qïlsa bir tügün ačïlğay. (RM20r:6) 'When he gets up [at night] and mentions God['s name] one of the knots becomes undone.'

3.4.8. Indefinite Pronouns

Indefinite pronouns come from various segments of Chagatay. We present them in the following groups:

3.4.8.1. Nouns in the Function of Pronouns

Nouns used as indefinite pronouns are declinable. Most of the time, however, they occur as subjects of the sentence [i.e., in the nominative case].

(a) **kiši** 'one, someone'; 'no one' [with negative verbs]

E.g.,

Tabarruk birlä cān taʿvīzi qïldïm, kiši čōn bilmädi özümni bildim. (DN242v:7) 'I turned it into a sacred relic, a protective charm for [my] soul since I knew myself as no one [else] did.'
Dedi, "Netsün kiši bu mubtalāğa, ki küč birlän özin saldï balāğa? (DN245v:7) 'She said, "What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition, cast himself into trouble?"'
Kiši kün toğra ham kirišsä bolmas safāhat käyninä erišsä bolmas. (DN246r:1) 'One cannot interfere with his actions day after day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.'
Bu ins parï qulluqïndïn yeg ol: İdi yïğmïšïndïn yïğïlsa kiši. (MM 179r:6) 'The best service men and fairies can render is to avoid what [our] Lord has forbidden.'
Qunut qalsa angsa rukūʿda kiši qayïtmasdïn urğay sucūdğa bašï. (MM185v:7) 'If [the worshiper] has omitted the qunut supplication and remembers [this omisson] during the bow, he should lower himself and put his head down in prostration without going back [to perform the qunut].'

(b) **kimärsä, kim ersä, kimsä** 'someone'; with negative verbs, 'no one'.

E.g.,

Nāgah ešikdän bir kim ersä kirip bašārat kätürdi. (Sayf18v:10) 'Suddenly someone came in through the door and brought some good news.'
Kim ersä ešigin dağï sufrasïn ačuq körmädi. (Sayf93r:13) 'No one has ever seen his door or his table open.'
Tört kiši tört kim ärsädän qorqar. (Sayf25v:11) 'Four people are afraid of four [types of] people.'

(c) **nemä, nemärsä, nemäginä** 'something'

E.g.,

Bayṭarğa nemä kelmäs. (Sayf147r:13) 'The veterinarian is not to blame.'[105]
Agar munung dek nemärsälär köngüldä kečsä ẕikr ornïda bolur. (RM3r:10) 'If such things occur in one's mind, the *zikr* is still in place.'

(d) **ne kim** 'whatever'

E.g.,

Ču maẓmūnï sarāsar boldï maʿlūm, ne kim [er]di mubham boldï mafhūm. (DN255v:10) 'When its content became entirely known, anything that was doubtful before now was completely understood.'

(e) **fulān** 'someone, a certain, such and such'

E.g.,

Munga fulān kim ärsä sökti. (Sayf77v:9) 'Someone cursed him.'
Fulān tağ bašïnda. (Sayf12v:1) 'On the top of such and such mountain.'

3.4.8.2. Adjectives in the Function of Pronouns

bašqa 'other'
barča 'all'
baʿẓī 'some'
nečä 'some'
öngin 'other'
özgä 'other'
yana 'other'

[105] Lit., No [blame] comes to the veterinarian.

E.g.,

Barčanï rāẓī qïldïm illā ḥasūdnï rāẓī qïla bilmädim. (Sayf15v:8) 'I could please all, except the greedy whom I was not able to please.'
Va özgälär kim yer yüzidä yürürlär va safar qïlurlar. (RM 38r:10) 'And others who move on the surface of the earth and make trips.'
Ol kim malikning ḥaqqï edi baʿẓīsin adā qïldï. (Sayf35v:6) 'He paid back some of what he owed the king.'

3.4.8.3. Numerals in the Function of Pronouns

birär 'some, a certain'
biräv 'someone'

E.g.,

Bilig bilmiš üčün ʿālimlär birär önginlär cāhil tep, takalluf qurar. (MM200v:10) 'Some learned men, just because they have acquired knowledge, engage in false display by calling others ignorant.'
Biräv kim cān bilän yoq tur nizāʿï, nečük men bolayïn qanïna sāʿï? (DN246r:4) 'How could I be after the blood someone who has no quarrel with [his] soul?'

3.4.8.4. Pronouns with Possessive -ï/-i

barïsï 'all'
barčasï 'all'
biri 'someone'

E.g.,

Barčasï munung qatïna keldilär. (Sayf14v:13) 'All came to join him.'
Tiši nārasīda cunub ḥatnasïz boğuzlasa biri, ḥalāl ol, yätiz. (MM 191r:13) 'If a female, a preadolescent boy, an unclean or uncircumcised person slaughters an animal, the slaughter is lawful and fully acceptable.'

3.4.8.5. Pronominal Phrases with bir

bir kiši 'someone'
bir kim ärsä 'someone'
bir nemä 'something'
bir nečä 'some, a little, a few'
bir näng 'something'
bir šamma 'some, a little'

E.g.,

Tayammum netäg qïlğu sorsang äšit, ayïtğïl taqï bir kiši bilmäsä. (MM182v17). 'If you want to learn how to perform the *tayammum*, listen and [then] instruct those who do not know how.'

Bir nečä šarīʿatnïng aḥkāmlarïn kätürmäklik islām erür, bil yaqïn. (MM178r:1) 'Know full well that by keeping [only] a few of the regulations of the Law one will achieve resignation to the Divine Will.'

Bu oğlannïng körklü afṣāfïndan bir šamma vaṣf qïldï. (Sayf 14v:2) 'He described some of the beautiful traits of this youth.'

3.4.9. Universal Pronouns

Universal pronouns are formed by the particle **har** 'each, every, any' placed before indefinite pronouns:

har kim (ShD15v:6) 'whoever'
har kim ki (DN248v:3) 'whoever'
har kimgä (DN250v:11) 'to whomever'
har kimsä (ShD15v:12) 'whoever'
har kiši (RM21r:6) 'whoever'
har qačan (RM15v:8) 'whenever'
har qanda (DN234v:7) 'wherever'
har qayan (GD66,5) 'wherever'
har qayda (ShD19v:2) 'wherever'
har qaysisï (ShD183r:13) 'whichever'
har ne (DN7r:3) 'whatever'
har nečä (ShD7r:3) 'however much'
har nečük (ShD173r:6) 'however'
har nemä (RM44r:1) 'everything, anything'
har nemärsä (RM39r:8-39v:1) 'everything, anything'
har sarï (DN262v:5) 'everywhere'

E.g.,

Har nemärsä kim ilgäri yibärsängiz Qiyāmatğa özingiz üčün ṭāʿatdïn va yaḫšïlïqdïn. (RM39r:8-39v:1) '[You will find with God the reward] for any acts of obedience and good deeds that you send ahead of you for yourself for the [Day of] Resurrection.'

Sevär sevgüčini har kim ki bolsa, sözi har nečä kim ʿālamğa tolsa. (DN248r:3) 'To the loving lover whoever he may be [and] however much his repute may have filled this world...'

Valē ol martaba har kimgä yetmäs, bu savdāda tamannā asïq etmäs. (DN250v:11) 'But that rank is not granted for everyone. To have false hopes in this transaction[106] is of no avail.'

[106] Consider the double meaning of *savdā* 'madness' and 'transaction'.

Berür tağ ādamï karlïğ nišānï, ki har ne desäng aytur ol ham anï. (DN248v:4) 'The man of the mountain[107] displays the signs of deafness. Whatever you say, he keeps saying the same thing.'

Fiqh ahlï manʿ etär har qayda bolsa ʿāšiqē, kim bularnïng qašïda ʿilm u hunar köp boldï ʿayb. (Sayf19v:3) 'The jurists [of Islam] interfere wherever there is a lover because in their eyes learning and art are a major disgrace.'

3.4.10. Collective Pronouns

barča (RM41r:5 'all, everyone'
barča ʿālam (ShD12v:2) 'all, everyone'
barï nemä (RM8v:9) 'all'
hama (Ḫ77v:1) 'all'
birgä (ShD114v:7) 'together'
barï (MM176v:15) 'all'
bütün 'the whole'
bar 'all there is'
cumla (Sayf3v:13) 'all'
tegmä (MM181v:4) 'all'
tegmä kiši (MM177v:13) 'everyone'
tükäl (RM2r:2) 'all'

E.g.,

Yügürür cumla säning nafʿïng üčün amr tutup. (Sayf3v:13) 'All run around following the order [to work] for your benefit.'

Šukur qïlğu tün kün tazarruʿ bilä anïng ummatï qïlmïšïnğa barï. (MM176v:15) 'Night and day we all must give thanks in humble supplication for His creation of this Community.'

Barča ʿālam bolsa bolsun dušmanïm sen bar bol. Dōst sen boldung nä bolğay bolsa el dušman manga. (ShD12v:2) 'Let the entire world be my enemy and you be the ever existig. Since you are a friend, what difference does it make that [all the] people are my enemies?'

Bolmasun hargiz ḫiyālïm balki maʿšūqdïn cudā. Ḫwaš yarašur birgä bolsa daʾima ol cān u tan. (ShD114v:6) 'Perhaps my thoughts should never be separated from the Beloved. It is becoming for the soul and body to be always together.'

Tükäl dunyā mālï yïğar, ne asïğ? Ölär özgälärgä qalur ol yana. (MM180r:2) 'Of what benefit is it to him to accumulate he goods of he entire world? [In time] he will die and they will remain in the hands of others.'

[107] The echo.

Barčanï rāzī qïldïm illā ḥasūdnï rāẓī qïla bilmädim. (Sayf15v:8) 'I could please all except for the greedy and jealous: I was not able to please them.'

3.4.11. Assertive Pronouns

There are two kinds of assertive pronouns: multal and paucal. These are relative terms. Multal pronouns indicate an amount or a quality somewhat more, paucal pronouns indicate an amount or a quality somewhat less than usual.'

3.4.11.1. Multal Assertive Pronouns

artuq (Sayf155v:3) 'more'
artuqraq (Sayf28:11) 'a little more'
köp (Ḫ80v:9) 'more'
köpräk 'more and more'
anča (MM189v:17) 'that much'
munča (MM179r:14) 'this much'
nečä köp (Sayf89r:11) 'however much'
talay (PdC203) 'much, numerous'

E.g.,

Cavr köp qïlma qulğa, ay ḫwāca! (Sayf148r:13) 'Do no inflict much cruelty upon the servant, O Master!'
Köp kelürlär mäni ziyārat qïlmağa. (Sayf74v:2) 'Many come to visit me.'
Maṣlaḥat körmädim dağï artuqraq sözlämägä. (Sayf28r:11) 'I did not see it reasonable to say more.'

3.4.11.2. Paucal Assertive Pronouns

az (Sayf171v1) 'few'
az bučuq (RM35v:7) 'some, a little'
azraq (RM37v:6) 'less'
azraqča (RM14r:3) 'a little less'
äksük (Sayf155v:3) 'less'
kam (Navā'ī, Dict.,II,93) 'few'
kamtar (Sayf185v:10) 'less'

E.g.,

Az az yïğïlsa ḫaylï bolur. (Sayf171v1) 'Little drops make an ocean.'
Muhlat ber alarnï az bučuq.(RM35v:7) 'Give them some respite.'
Meni emdi halāk etti firāqïng, šikēb az va farāvān ištiyāqïng. (DN263v:6) 'Now your absence drove me to destruction; patience is little, and the desire for you is overwhelming.'

3.4.12. Negative Pronouns

3.4.12.1. Based on hēč

hēč kim 'no one'
hēč kiši 'no one'
hēč nemä 'nothing'
hēč närsä 'nothing'
hēč qaysï 'no one, none'

E.g.,

Zāhidlärgä hēç nemä bermägil. (Sayf71v:1) 'Do not give anything to the abstinent.'
Anïng dardïdïn etmäy hēč kim yād, yätip dardïna gah gah nāla firyād. (DN240r:2) 'No one is mindful of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.'
Namāz buzmas ol ham vācib qïlmas ol, taqï hēč närsä vācib qïlmağay. (MM183v:11b) '[Such an omission] does not invalidate the prayer, impose a necessary duty, or require any other action.'

3.4.13. Relative Pronouns

Both the Persian **ki** and the Turkish **kim**, when used as relative pronouns, may require the suffix **-ī** on the noun they refer to [see 3.1.2.2.]. Mostly Arabic and Persian words occur with this suffix.

ki 'who, what, that'
kim 'who,what'

E.g.,

Har bahārī kim kelür bar dur ḫazānï käynidä. (BH15v:9) 'Every spring that comes, has an autumn in its wake.'
Yel ki der män bilingiz, ṣubḥ-i azalnïng yeli dur. (BH19r:9) 'Know that the wind I speak of is the wind of the morning of eternity.'
Bu malā'ikdin ki bar dur törtni qïldï guzīn. (BH20v:4) 'From among the already existing angels he chose four [archangels].'

3.5. Numerals

Chagatay has a full set of Turkish numerals. Sporadically numbers from Persian and Arabic also occur, especially in numbering chapters of poems or counting the elements of the ritual prayers. Numerals share grammatical features with nouns and adjectives, and, to some extent also with adverbs.

3.5.1. Cardinal Numbers

The cardinal numbers are divided into two groups: simple and compound.

3.5.1.1. Simple numbers

1	**bir**	10	**on**
2	**ikki** [~ **iki**]	20	**yigirmä** [~ **yigirmi**]
3	**üč**	30	**ottuz** [~ **otuz**]
4	**tört**	40	**qïrq**
5	**beš**	50	**ellig**
6	**altï**	60	**altmïš**
7	**yetti** [~ **yeti**]	70	**yetmiš**
8	**säkkiz** [~ **sekiz**]	80	**seksän**
9	**toqquz** [~ **toquz**]	90	**toqsan**
10	**on**	100	**yüz**
		1000	**ming**

E.g.,

Sän ol dägül mi sän kim atam säni firanč qaydïndan on altunğa satïn aldï? (Sayf 68v:11) 'Aren't you the one whom my father has bailed out for ten gold coins from French captivity?'

Özi bir yerdä va yüz yerdä közi, tili iki va yüz ağïzda sözi. (DN 254r:9) 'He himself is in one place but his eyes are in hundred places. His tongue is two[108] and his repute is in thousand mouths.'

İki zidd ikisi birlä camᶜ bolmas. (İM4v:6)'Two opposing elements cannot be united.'

Bu toqsan toquz nāmanïng allïda. (RM8v:1) 'As compared to [the weight of] those ninety-nine documents.'

Sačïngdïn ᶜanbar erür köp uyatlïq, qara qul dur sanga bir ᶜanbar atlïq. (250r:1) 'Because of your hair the ambergris is put to shame. What you call ambergris, is an unskilled servant of yours.'

3.5.1.2. Compound numbers

Compound numbers consist of coordinated entities either juxtaposed or, rarely, joined by the conjunctions **taqï**, **va** or **ham**. Their sequence is determined by their numerical values:

11	**on bir**	101	**yüz bir**
12	**on ikki**	212	**ikki yüz on ikki**
13	**on üč**	323	**üč yüz yigirmä üč**
14	**on tört**	434	**tört yüz ottuz tört**
15	**on beš**	545	**beš yüz qïrq beš**
16	**on altï**	656	**altï yüz ellig altï**
17	**on yetti**	767	**yetti yüz altmïš yetti**
18	**on sekkiz**	878	**sekkiz yüz yetmiš sekkiz**
19	**on toqquz**	989	**toqquz yüz seksän toqquz**

[108] I.e., false

10000	**on ming**
100000	**yüz ming**

Examples with conjunctions:

sekkiz yüz va on üč (MS16v:6) 'eight hundred and thirteen'

ming ikki yüz va yigirmä üč (MS17r:4) 'one thousand two hundred and twenty-three'

yüz taqï toqsan altï (MM189r:17) 'one hundred and ninety six'

The following Persian numerals occur:

100	**sad**
1000	**hazār**
10000	**tuman**
100000	**läk**

Cardinal numbers generally precede the noun they modify. The noun is preferably in the singular. E.g.,

yüz fitna (DN256r:11) 'a hundred ruses'

on altun (Sayf68v:11) 'ten dinars'

toqsan toquz nāma (RM8v:1) 'ninety-nine documents'

3.5.1.3. Approximate numbers are expressed by putting two numbers in sequence taking the lower number first. E.g.,

Ṭūlï taḫmīnan on tört on beš qarï bolğay. (Babur 47r:11) 'Its length is about fourteen or fifteen ells.'

3.5.1.4. In dates cardinal numbers are used starting with the higher figures. The last element may be in the locative case or followed by the postposition **ičrä**. E.g.,

Bu daftar kim bolup tur Miṣr qandï yeti yüz elli tört ičrä tügändi. (MN312r:6) 'This book that turned out to be as sweet as [double refined] Egyptian sugar, was finished in [the year of] seven hundred and fifty four.'

İḍi berdi tavfīq bu bir qač kalām, oruč ayï ičrä bitildi tamām. Tārīḫ yetti yüz on üč erdi yïlï salāmun ᶜalaikum ᶜalaikum salām. (MM201v:3-4) 'The Lord granted me Divine Aid to compose these few words. This work was completed in the month of the Fast in the year seven hundred and thirteen. Peace be upon you, upon you be peace.'

Mundaq aytur faqīr-i ḥaqīr...Muḥammad aš-Šaybānī ibn Abīʾl-Ḫayr Ḫān...kim [anga] bu tārīḫ toquz yüz on üčdä Ḫurāsān

taḫtï muyassar boldï. (RM1v:7) '[I] the humble beggar... Muḥammad ash-Shaybānī, son of Abū'l-Khayr Khān... who in [the year] 913 [1507-1508] of our era succeeded in obtaining the throne of Khurasan, say as follows.'

Note: If the date is introduced by **taʾrīḫï** or **taʾrīḫ-i hicrat**, the case ending or pstposition after the cardinal number may be omitted. E.g.,

Čīn diyārï bitildi bu nāma. Faqrī Ṭāhir qolïda bu ḫāma.Taʾrīḫi Hicrat erdi ming ikki yüz ham yigirmä üč. Erdi vaqtï küz. (MS 17r:3-4). 'This copy of the book was written in the land of China. The pen [that wrote it] was in the hand of Faqrī Ṭāhir. It was in [the year] one thousand two hundred and twenty three of the Hijra. It was in the autumn.'

3.5.1.5. In fractions cardinal numbers are used. The denominator is in the ablative or locative cases while the numerator takes the nominative case. E.g.,

mingdä bir 'one thousandth'

Nečä ögsäm ayïtman mingdä birin. 'Much as I praise him, I cannot tell one thousandth of it.' (Eckm. Gr. p.107)

On ikki ming aršun erür bir yïğač. Munung üčdä biri ačuq boldï qač. (MM182v:14) 'One Turkish mile equals twelve thousand Turkish yards. It is obvious how much one-third of this is.'

Bir artmïšda tana bahāsïndïn on ülüš barï törtdä birini berür. (MM189v:8) 'On an additional one, the tax is one-fourth of the tenth part of the price of a calf in its third year.'

The word **ülüš** 'part' with cardinal numbers forms such fractions as **tört ülüš** 'one fourth', **üč ülüš** 'one third', **on ülüš** 'one tenth' [see above]. For one half **yartu** and **yarïm** are used. E.g.,

Sening Tengring, ay Muḥammad, bilür kim sen köp qopar sen kečä namāzigä kečäning tört ülüšidin azraq, va kečäning yartusïdïn, va üč ülüšidin azraq. (RM37v:5-7) 'O Muhammad, indeed, your God knows that you frequently get up [at night] for the night prayer [and pray] during somewhat less than one quarter of the night, [sometimes] during half of it, and [sometimes] during somewhat less than a third of it.'

3.5.2. Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed from cardinal numbers by the suffixes **-inči/-ïnčï** [after consonants] and **-nči/-nčï** [after vowels]:

birinči	'first'
ikkinči, ikinči	'second'
üčünči	'third'
törtünči	'fourth'
bešinči	'fifth'
altïnčï	'sixth'
yettinči, yetinči	'seventh'
sekkizinči, sekizinči	'eighth'
toqquzunčï, toquzunči	'ninth'
onunčï	'tenth'

Note: (1) "First' is also expressed by **avval, avvalğï, burunğï, avvalïn,** and **ilk.**

E.g.,

Kečär cānïdïn avval suda ğavvāṣ, ki tā āḫar bolur bir durrgä ol ḫāṣṣ.(DN253v:7) 'First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single pearl.'

İkkinči rakʿatda bu āyatnï oquğay. (RM17r:4) 'In the second rak'at he should recite the following verse.'

Üčünči kün alar muḥkam uruštï. (Sayf138r:8) 'On the third day they had a big quarrel.'

Ay Šabānī dilbarïnga avvalïn āšnā eding, muḥtasib mastnï nä qïlğay kim alastdïn yār män. (ShD111v:12) 'O, Shabānī you have been the first acquaintance of your heart-ravisher. What can the inspector do about [me] the drunk person considering that I have been a friend since the beginning of times.'

(2) Signal words indicating sequence in a list come from ordinal or cardinal numbers, adverbs or conjunctions. E.g.,

Avvalğï āyatdïn songğï āyat kelgünčä on yïl kečti. (RM31:3-4) 'Ten years passed between the [coming of] the first and the last verses.'

Birï ol kim māl yïğdï dağï yemädi, ikinči ol kim ʿilm oqïdï dağï ʿamal qïlmadï. (Sayf160v:10) 'The first is the one who collected wealth but did not enjoy it, the second is the one who studied but did not use his learning in his actions.'

Qavlïsïn bilgil. Avval istiftāḥ, anda kedin aʿūz birlä falāḥ. Baʿdahu bi'smillāh ya amīn. (MS12v:1-2) 'Know what the recitations are: First is the opening orison, second is the supplication for protection, the third is the "in the name of God" and the Amen.'

Agar artuq äksük yaqīn bilmäsäng, erür avval Ādam, Muḥammad songï. (MM176v:11) 'Even if you do not know them all by name, [know at least that] Adam was the first, and Muḥammad, the last.'

Note: Parts of the ritual prayer, especially the prostrations are counted by Arabic numerals. E.g.,

Bu avval, bu ṣānī, bu ṣāliṣ teyü, käräk qïlsa sacda bilü atayu. (MM 185v:3) 'This is the first, this is the second, this is the third: One must carry out the prostrations knowingly and counting.'

A less frequently used set of ordinal numbers is formed by the suffix **-lančï/-länci:**

birlänčï	'first'
ikilänčï	'second'
üčlänčï	'third'
törtlänčï	'fourth'
bešlänčï	'fifth'
altïlančï	'sixth'
yetilänčï	'seventh'
sekizlänčï	'eighth'
toquzlančï	'nineth'
onlančï	'tenth'

Note: The final cowel of the suffix **-lančï/-länci** may be dropped. E.g.,

Biri yüzni yumaq, ikinči äling, tutuš tirsäki birlä yumaq, biling! Üčinč bašqa mash et taqï törtilänč aḍaqnï topuq birlä yup rāst qïling. (MM180v:13-14) 'The first is to wash your face, the second, to wash your hands. Know that [by washing your hand we mean that] you must wash all the way up to your elbows. The third is to wipe your head, the fourth, to wash your feet, including hour heels. [Carry on these duties and] you will be acting properly.'

3.5.3. Collective Numbers

The majority of the collective numbers in use are formed by the suffix **-av/-äv.** [The paradigm is incomplete. One of Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān's ghazals [140r:12-140v:8] has the following forms:]

biräv	'one altogether, someone'
ikäv	'the two together'
üčäv	'the three together'
törtäv	'the four together
bešäv	'the five together'
altav	'the six together'
yetäv	'the seven together'
sekizäv	'the eight together'
toquzav	'the nine together'

E.g.,

Ušbu dam keldi biräv ḫān qatïğa. (Shayb. V56-29) 'At that very moment someone came to the presence of the Khan.'

Siz ikäv bir atanïng oğlï siz. (Shayb.V180:49) 'The two of you are the sons of the same father.'

Agar havā va havasdïn bikullī desäng ötäy, šarābḫāna töründä muğān birlä ikäv. (ShD140r:13) 'If you say I wish to pass over desire and passion once and for all, you and the tavern-keeper, the two of you, will be on the seat of honor of the tavern.'

Šabāniyā sanga bas ušbu kōy-i pīr-i muğān; qalur äränlär aya-ğïnda bilgil uš toğuzav. 'O, Shabānī the quarter of the elder of the magi is sufficient for you. The [gifts of] nine remains at thee feet of the saints.'

Note: Rarely **-ağu/-ägü**, the archaic form of **-av/-äv** is also represented in Chagatay:

Ay köngül boldung bizä sen pur hunar, kel ikägü baralï ṣubḥ saḥar. (ShD47v:8-9) 'O, Heart, You have become full of virtues for us. Come, let us walk, the two of us, [joined like] morning and daybreak.'

Rarely the suffixes **-avla/-ävlä** or **-avlan/-ävlän** are used. [The series is not complete].

ikävlä, ikävlän	'both, the two together'
üčävlä, üčävlän	'the three together'

E.g.,

Ušol damda yätištilär ikävlän. (ḪJ77r:1) 'At that moment they both arrived.'

Baqa baqa ikävlän öygä keldi. (ḪJ76v:1) 'Looking around they both entered the house.'

Üčävläni birin cānïn alur mān. (ḪJ73v10) 'I will take the soul of one of these three [boys].'

The suffixes **-la/-lä, -ala/-älä, -lasï/-läsi, -alasï/-äläsi** also occur:

ikälä, ikäläsi	'both, the two together'
üčälä, üčäläsi	'the three together'
törtälä, törtäläsi	'the four together'

E.g.,

ʿĀšiq bilä maʿšūq ara bir qïl bolsa, ol ikkiläsi hargiz anï üzmäs emiš. (ShD180r:6) 'If there is one hair between the Lover and the Beloved [that ties them together], the two of them would never break it.'

3.5.4. Distributive Numbers

Distributive numbers are partly formed by suffixal derivation, partly by case forms or by repetition.

3.5.4.1. In suffixal derivation the suffixes **-ar/-är** (on consonantal bases) or **-šar/-šär** (on vowel bases) are used:

birär	'one each'
ikkišär	'two each'
üčär	'three each'
törtär	'four each'
bešär	'five each'
altïšar	'six each'
yettišär	'seven each'
säkkizär	'eight each'
toqquzar	'nine each'
onar	'ten each'

E.g.,

Ay mu'minlär, cuftlanïng ol kim sizkä ḫwaš kelgäy ḫatunlardïn ekkišär taqï üčär cuftlanïng taqï törtär cuftlanïng. (NF96v:16-97r:1) 'O Believers, marry two from women whom you like, marry three or merry four of them.'[109]

3.5.4.2. The instrumental case forms of cardinal numbers also occur in the role of distributive numbers. E.g.,

Moğulnïng čapqunčïsï birin ikin čerigning keynidin kelip. (Babur 19v:1) 'The Moghul raiders followed the army one by one or two by two.'

Valē bil, qiyāmat künindä birin birin cumlasïndïn sorulğu turur. (MM193v:7) 'But know that on the day of Resurrection you will be asked about all [of your indulgences] one be one.'

In idioms:

Bešïn vaqt namāz (RM25r:6) 'the five daily prayers'

3.5.4.3. Cardinal numbers repeated may serve as distributive numbers.

bir bir	'one by one'

E.g.,

Šabānī yurtï ḫaqqïnda basē emgäk körüp tün kün. Bu emgäkdin musulmānlar, tüšär bir bir bu dandānïm. (ShD109v:11-12) 'For his fatherland Shabānī labors a lot night and day. Because of this labor I shed my teeth one by one.'

Andïn song bir bir mangïp mascid sarï barğay. (RM15r:5) 'Then he should leave [his house] and [with other worshippers] set of for the mosque one by one.'

Muvabbab taptï anda ʿišq rāzïn, mufaṣṣal ičidä bir bir bayānïn. (DN252r:1) 'She found in it the secrets of love laid out in chapters with statements disclosed in paragraphs.'

[109] Qur. 4,3. Cf. Muhammad Ali's translation "merry such women as seem good to you, two, or three, or four"

3.5.5. Multiplicative Numbers

The following words are used to express multiplication: **anča** [equative of *ol*], **qurla** [< *qur* 'weapon'], **qatla** [< *qat* 'layer'], **martaba** [< Ar. 'step'], **navbat** [< Ar.'turn'], **tā** [< P. 'fold'], **vaqt** [< Ar. 'time']. E.g.,

Taqï qul yā ayyuhā'l-kāfirūna-nï yäti qatla oquğay. (RM10v:7) 'And he should [also] recite: Say, O kafirs...seven times.'

Qïrq qatla bu tasbīḥni aytqay. (RM14v:2) 'He should pronounce the following tasbīḥ forty times.'

Nečä navbat bu andïšanï qïldïm. (Sayf24v:9) 'Several times I entertained this thought.'

namāznï beš vaqt Kaʿbağa yüzlänip oqusa...(RM26v:2-4] 'if he recites the prayer five times turning his face toward the Kaaba...'

Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarči yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) 'I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head [in disobedience] although you turn away yours [in disregard].'

Bir aytqannï yana aytma mukarrar, ki ḫalvānï dağï bir qurla yerlär. (Sayf108v:9) 'Do not repeat what you have already said once. Consider, people serve you halva only once.'

Yüz anča bolsang ärlikdä bilip köp türlü al ärdäm. (Sayf18v:3) 'Even if you are a hundred times better in valor knowing many kinds of ruses and skills.'

Tämür töggän biläk ming qurla yaḫšï ol eldän kim kögüsdä beggä qaršï. (Sayf45v:7) 'A fist that pounds on iron is a thousand times better than hands at the chest in the presence of a lord.'

Qavïsi kündä üč navbat yemäk yer. (Sayf84r:7) 'The stronger one ate his meal three times a day.

Idiom: karrāt va marrāt 'many times', e.g.,

Karrāt va marrāt bu maṣlaḥatnï kim aytur sän fikr ettim. (Sayf 156r:7) 'I have considered this matter that you are saying many times'

3.5.6. Indefinite Numbers

Some of the indefinite numbers are also used as adjectives [see 3.4.8.2.] The most frequently used indefinite numbers are:

az	'few'
barča	'all'
barï	'all'
farāvān	'many'
köp	'many'
nečä	'few'
öküš	'many'
bir nečä	'a few'
camīʿ	'all'
cumla	'all'
tamām	'whole'
telim	'much, many'
tükäl	'entire'
tümän ming	'a great many'

E.g.,

Kim avval ṣūratï qïldï padīdār, bu išdä ṣūrat u maʿnī barï yār. (DN271r:5) 'The former brought into view forms, but in this work of art [of yours] form and meaning, both, are [inseparably together like two] friends.'

Bu kün tuttum ʿUṭārid teg alamdïn, dam urğaylar barï lavḥ u qalamdïn. (DN271v:2) 'Today I understood something from the pain like that of Mercury: All the people will be more concerned about the tablet and pen.'

Maḥabbat bābïdïn tartïp nečä faṣl, uzun ṭūmār ammā ičidä vaṣl. (DN261v:1) 'From the chapter of caring love he pulled a few paragraphs; it was a long scroll but in it there was [a description of] union.'

Tümän ming rang berding bir qaradïn, kötärding Čīn miṣālïnï aradïn. (DN271r:2) 'You presented endless number[110] of colors from black [ink] and brought forth examples of Chinese [painting].'

Meni emdi halāk etti firāqïng, šikēb az va farāvān ištiyāqïng. (DN263v:6) 'Now your absence drove me to destruction; patience is little, and the desire for you is overwhelming.'

Acun raḫtï tilär men tilä kirgäy, cihān ṣūfi barï tafṣīla kirgäy. (DN264v:8) 'I wish that the goods and chattels of this world be also brought up; that all the wool in the world be teaseled.'

[110] Lit., ten thousand times thousand

3.5.7. Numeratives

Numeratives are counting words that specify an object through a common characteristic of the group of objects it belongs to. They are nouns with full meanings. In this role, however, they occur only in the singular.

The following is a selective list with illustrations of the most frequently used numeratives:

3.5.7.1. baš 'head'
üč baš sarïmsaq (KBV62v:8) 'three bulbs of garlics'
yeti uluğ baš sarïmsaq (KBV67v:5) 'seven large bulbs of garlics'

3.5.7.2. batman 'batman' [a measure of weight].
bir batman buğday (ShD121r:8) 'one batman of wheat'

3.5.7.3. pāra 'piece'
bir pāra ʿanzarūt (KBV24r:6) 'a piece/dose of Persian balsam'

3.5.7.4. pārča 'piece'
bir pārča kāğïzpāra (RM8v:1) 'one piece of paper'

3.5.7.5. qirba 'waterbag'
bir qirba suw (KBV18v:20) 'a bag of water'

3.5.7.6. rakʿat 'rak'at; prayer-unit'
ikki rakʿat išrāq namāzï (RM16v:6) 'a two-rak'at sunrise prayer'

3.5.7.7. tiš 'clove'
üč tiš sarïmsaq (KBV30r:1) 'three cloves of garlics'

3.5.7.8. ẕarr 'an atom'
bir ẕarr mihr (DN245v:6) 'an atom of love'

3.5.7.9. ẕarra 'an atom'
bir ẕarra ṣafā (ShD84r:1) 'an atom of purity'

3.6. Verbs

3.6.1. Morphological Elements of Verbs

Verbs occur in finite or nonfinite forms: **Qayttï** 'he returned' is finite because it tells us about concrete things: the agent [3d singular], the time [past], aspect [definite] and status [completed] of the action. **Qaytğan** is

nonfinite, because it does not reveal the agent or the concrete status or aspect of the action. What it says about time [sometime in the past] or status [hearsay] does not constitute a complete agent related expression. Finite verbs create verbal predicates in the sentence while nonfinite verbs mostly occur in nominal role, including the function of nominal predicates.

The finite verb consists of a stem, a tense and/or mood marker, and a personal ending. E.g., **qayt-tï-m** 'I returned'. The subject can be included for precision or emphasis: **Men qayttïm** 'I returned'. The definiteness of the statement has been decided by the choice of tense [**-dï** forms].

The nonfinite verb consists of a stem and a nominal formant. E.g., **qayt-gan** 'a returning in the past'; **qayt-maq** 'to return; a returning.'

Negation of both verbs takes place on the stem: In case of finite verbs exclusively [**qayt-ma-dï** 'he did not return'], in case of nonfinite verbs, alternating with negative particles or negative auxiliaries [**qaytğan emäs, qaytmağan**].

More importantly, finite verbs, for a complete expression, are directly dependent on a subject, agental or grammatical. A nonfinite verb may have no subject or its subject may be expressed by syntactic structures [**qaytmaq** 'a returning', **amīrning qaytmağï** 'the returning of the prince']. Both the finite and nonfinite verbs can have complements: adverbs, direct objects, indirect objects [**tēz qaytmaq** 'a fast return, to return fast', **šahrgä qaytğan** 'having returned to the city'].

3.6.2. Verbal Stems

Vebs and nouns are closed categories: to enter from one category into the other can generally happen through nominal or verbal derivation. There are, however, a few cases where a noun, without derivative elements, is used as the equivalent verbal stem. E.g.,

ač-	(Sayf101v:8)	'to go hungry'	< **ač** 'hungry, hunger'
ağrï-	(Sayf147r:10)	'to ache'	< **ağrï** 'pain'
kengäš-	(MA122-7)	'to consult'	< **kengäš** 'consultation'
küräš-	(Sayf38v:12)	'to fight'	< **küräš** 'fight'
qarï-	(Sayf81r:5)	'to grow old'	< **qarï** 'old'
qorq-	(NTM7r:)	'to be afraid'	< **qorq** 'fear'
qol-	(MM192r:16)	'to ask for'	< **qol** 'hand'
toquš-	(PdC240)	'to meet'	< **toquš** 'clash'
tüz-	(Sayf136v:2)	'to arrange'	< **tüz** 'flat'

3.6.2.1. Basic Stems

Basic stems are original stems with no recognizable derivational element. They are, with a few exceptions, mono- or disillabic stems mostly with a closed syllable at the end. The following is a review of Chagatay basic stems according to their phonemic make-up.

(a) V stems [complete list]

e-	'to be'
u-	'to know, be able to'

(b) CV stems [complete list]

qo-	'to disregard'
sa-	'to count'
te-	'to say, tell'
ye-	'to eat'
yu-	'to wash'

(c) VC stems [quite a few, selective list]

ač-	'to open'
al-	'to take'
aq-	'to flow'
ar-	'to grow weak'
ay-	'to tell, say'
az-	'to go astray'
ät-	'to make'
es-	'to blow [wind]'
ič-	'to drink'
in-	'to descend'
ïy-	'to send'
öp-	'to kiss'
öt-	'to pierce'
uq-	'to understand'

(d) CVC stems [many, selective list]

baq-	'to look'
bar-	'to go'
bat-	'to sink'
ber-	'to give'
bil-	'to know'
bol-	'to be'
bul-	'to find'
čäk-	'to draw'

küy- 'to burn'
kir- 'to enter'
käs- 'to cut'
min- 'to ride'
sor- 'to ask'
yut- 'swallow'

(e) VCC stems (few)
elt- 'to bring'
ört- 'to cover'
ürk- 'to start up'

(e) CVCC stems (few)
qorq- 'to fear'
sanč- 'to put on the spit'
tart- 'to draw'
türt- 'to cut through'
yanč- 'to bore, pierce'
yänč- 'to smash'
yïrt- 'to rend, tear to pieces'

(f) VCV stems (few)
aya- 'to grudge'
oqï- 'to recite'
ödä- 'to pay'
ula- 'to join'
uyu- 'to sleep'

(g) CVCV stems
bäzä- 'to adorn'
büyü- 'to grow'
qarï- 'to grow old'
tanï- 'to recognize'
tilä- 'to wish'
toqï- 'to weave'
töšä- 'to spread, lay out'
yara- 'to fit'
yüri- 'to go, walk'

(h) VCVC stems (few)
äšit- 'to hear'
ayïr- 'to split'

ïnan- 'to believe'
išit- 'to hear'
unut- 'to forget'

(i) CVCVC stems
buyur- 'to command'

3.6.2.1.1. Improductive Derivations

There are a few verbs, mostly monosyllabic with a vowel base [see Brock. Ostt. Gr., p.188) that have recognizable derivational elements which, however, long have not been productive. There are very few data available and the nature of the derivation and the function of the isolated derivational means are not always easy to evaluate.

kö-r-	'to see'	cf. **kö-z** 'eye', **kö-rk** 'beauty'
to-d-/to-y-	'to eat one's fill'	cf. **to-l-** 'to be full'
yo-d-/yo-y-	'to annihilate'	cf. **yo-q** 'nonexistent'
ya-q-	'to burn'	cf. **ya-n-** 'to reduce to ashes'
ke-l-	'to come'	cf. **ke-t-** 'to go away'

3.6.2.1.2. Foreign Stems

Arabic and Persian words are introduced into the verbal system through means of verbal derivation, e.g., **āzārla-**'to hurt' [< P. *āzār* 'injury'], **ʿazīzlä-** 'to respect' [< A.ʿ**azīz** 'respected'], **farmānla-** 'to order' [< P. **farmān** 'order']. In a few examples the foreign word, preferably a noun, is directly used as a verbal stem. E.g.,

ağaz- 'to begin' (Quṭb63r:4) [< P. *āğāz* 'beginning']
naza- 'to take coquettish airs'(MA38,7) [< P. *nāz* 'coquetry']

3.6.2.1.3. Augmented Stems

Closed, mostly monosyllabic, verbs are often expanded by a vowel. Many of them survived in Modern Uzbek and are used parallel with the original verbs. E.g.,

sana- 'to count' (MM184r:12) [< **san-**]
sämri- 'to grow fat' (Sayf71r:3) [< **sämir-**]
sora- 'to ask' (Ḫ76r:2) [< **sor-**]
sosa- 'to stretch' (Bay38r:1) [< **sos-**]
söyü- 'to love'(DN250r:5) [< **söy-**]
tälbärä- 'to act foolishly' (PdC265) [< **tälbär-**]
tutaš- 'to flare up' (BN87v:6) [< **tut-**]
tüzät- 'to arrange' (Sayf185v:8) [< **tüz-**]
yalqï- 'to be fed up with' (Sang336r:3) [< **yalq-**]
yïğra- 'to be angry with' (Sayf140r:11) [< **yïğïr-**]

3.6.2.2. Grammatical Derivations

Grammatical derivations bring about forms that constitute structural elements in the verbal inflection. The derivatives are not part of the lexicon, although some of them may be listed as entry words or may be included in the word entry.

3.6.2.2.1. Negative Stems

Negative verbal stems are formed by the suffix **-ma/-mä** added directly to the positive stem. E.g.,

kelmä- 'not to come' [< **kel-**]
qaytma- 'not to return' [< **qayt-**]
tartma- 'not to pull' [< **tart-**]
sağïnma- 'not to think' [**sağïn-**]

3.6.2.2.2. Passive Stems

Passive stems are formed by means of the suffix **-l, -ïl/-il, -ul/-ül** added to the positive stem. Stems ending on an **-l** have the suffix **-n, -ïn/-in, -un/-ün** in the passive form.

3.6.2.2.2.1. Stems in -l, -ïl/-il, -ul/-ül

ačïl- 'to open, to be opened' (DN246r:6)
ayïl- 'to be related, told' (MM195r;2)
ayrïl- 'to be separated' (DN248v:1)
aytïl- 'to be said' (RM3v:8)
ägil- 'to be bent' (MM184v:5)
äwrül- 'to revolve' [< to be turned] (MM199v:8)
bitil- 'to be written' (ShD178v:10)
buzul- 'to be invalidated' (MM183v:9)
kesil- 'to give up' [lit. to be cut off] RM2v:3
kiril- 'to be introduced' (MM251v:7)
münül- 'to be ridden' (MM179v:5)
oqul- 'to be recited' (RM2v:3)
qutul- 'to be spared' (RM37r:3)
säčil- 'to be separated out' (MM198v:13)
tapïl- 'to be worshipped' (RM42v:2)
tapul- 'to be found' (Sayf105r:8)
tïyïl- 'to stop' (MM181v:1)
tiril- 'to live' (MM193v:3)
tökül- 'to spill' (MM194v:10)
tutul- 'to get stuck' (MM176v:3)
tüzäl- 'to rise' (MM(251v:1)
urul- 'to be cast' (MM188v:16)

üzül- 'to be separated from' (MM192v:17)
yïğïl- 'to accumulate' (Sayf85r:11)
yïqïl- 'to collapse' (Sayf26r:5)

E.g.,

Cihānï yaruğay cānï tirilgäy, tiriglär sanïna atï kirilgäy. (DN 251v:7) 'May his world light up, may his soul come to life, and may his name enter the list of those who are alive.'

Kelip tur bāğda guldïn ačïlmaq, yarašmas til tikän teg tēz qïlmaq. (DN246r:6) 'It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming [, however,] to make one's tongue as sharp as the thorn.'

Münülmäs maʿīšat üčün išlämäs niṣāb bilgü ušbu tewädä beši. (MM188v:16) 'Camels which are not ridden and do not work for their owner are subject to taxation if there are at least five of them.'

Ayrïlğay ğam atï cān daftarïndïn, köngül camʿïna tartïlğay raqamlar. (DN248v:1) 'The name of sorrow will be deleted from the journal of life. The numbers will be drawn to the total of the heart.'

Bu furṣat barča vaqtta tapulmas. (Sayf 105r:8) 'This opportunity is not to find every time.'

3.6.2.2.2.2. Stems in -n, -ïn/-in, -un/-ün

After stem final **-l-** and **-r-** and after a vowel in monosyllabic stems the mark of the passive voice is **-n, -ïn/-in, -un/-ün.**

alïn- 'be held back, be stemmed' (MM181r:17)
arïn- 'to be cleansed' (MM177v:2)
bilin- 'to be known' (ShD100r:3-4)
bulun- 'tobe found' (MM182v:1)
körün- 'to be seen' (RM31v:10)
qïlïn- 'to be made' (MM188v:13)
yän- 'to be eaten' (MM190v:15)

E.g.,

Pista ağzï birlä lāfē tartsa bir mīm-i matīn, qïl tabassum kim bilinsün ğunča ḫandānïm mänüm. (ShD100r:3-4). 'If a solid *mīm* flashes a smile with its pistachio mouth, return the smile so that my laughing rose bud be revealed.'

Kāfir atï mu'min bulup tasmiyat qïlïp tegdi yenmäs, ay ṣāḥibrašād. (MM190v:15) 'If an unbeliever shots his arrow, then becomes a believer and, pronouncing the name of God, touches [the animal which he has shot], the game animal cannot be eaten, O, Faithful One.'

Ayït lā ilāha, arïnsun tiling. (MM177v:2) 'Recite *lā ilāha* that your tongue may be cleansed.'

3.6.2.2.3. Reflexive Stems

Reflexive verbs express actions that the subject carries out on himself, or does for himself, in his own interest [= middle voice]. Reflexive stems are identical with passive stems formed with the same suffix. A few reflexive verbs have also passive meaning. E.g.,

ban-	'to bind oneself' (MM198v:2)
bäzän-	'to adorn, ornate' (NF306-11)
bölün-	'to rid oneself of s.th.' (MM179r:4)
tayan-	'to lean on' (NF16-11)
körün-	'to seem, to appear' (Sayf63r:10)
ïsïn-	'to be occupied with'[111] (DN258r:6)
qïsïn-	'to restrain oneself' (DN258r:6)
quyun-	'to wash oneself' (MM182r:9)
salïn-	'to sway' (Sayf182r:1)
saqlan-	'to hide [oneself]' (Sayf18v:)
saqïn-	'to take care of oneself' (Sayf14v:10)
sevün-	'to rejoice' (DN252r:3)
sïğïn-	'to take refuge' (Sayf33v:8)
tilän-	'to beg' (Sayf86v:9)
yun-	'to wash oneself' (MM181:1)

E.g.,

Tanïng ham tapïnsun bir baš ayağnï, til ačïp sözgä tïndursun qulağnï. (DN260v:2) 'Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ears.'

Munung teg quyunğu käräk üč yolï, taqï sürgü arqa, kögüz, baš qolï. (MM182r:9) 'You must wash three times in this manner. Then you must scrub your back, chest, head, and arms.'

Sävünmäk yoq körüp dušman ölüsin: kälisär čon bizä ol davr ayağï. (Sayf46r:6-7) 'There is nothing to rejoice about the death of [our] enemy since the cup that goes around in that circle will for sure come to us.'

Tängridän özgä sïğïnur yerim qalmadï. (Sayf33v:8) 'I do not have left other place of refuge than God.'

Zamānē ḥarf ʿilminä ïsïndï, iči küydi, valē qorqup qïsïndï. (DN 258r:6) 'For a while she was busy with the science of characters. She was filled with enthusiasm but, being afraid, she restrained herself.'

[111] Lit., to warm himself up

3.6.2.2.4. Intensive Stems

A group of intensive stems are formed by the suffixes **-q/-k, -ïq/-ik**. E.g.

azïq-	'to roam aimlessly' (Eckm. Gr. p.73)
birik-	'to unite' (MM177v:11)
ögrük-	'to congregate' (MA165-6)
qačïq-	'to run for one's life' (Eckm. Gr. p. 73)
qïzïq-	'to heat up, become quite red' (Zenker,728a)
sïnïq-	'to be utterly defeated' (MA159-5)
sïzïq-	'to leak intensively' (MA130-5)
turuq-	'to stop and wait, halt' (Sayf36r:2)
uq-	'to understand' (MM179v:14)

E.g.,

Qanāʿat bilä är ulašu ʿazīz: Äšitgil bu sözni, ayā ʿāqil, uq! (MM 179v:14) 'A man possessed of contentment is always beloved [of God]. Heed these words, O Wise One, and [seek to] understand them.'

Ḫwāca bu söznüng cavābïna qorqup turuqtï. (Sayf36r:2) 'The Khoja was afraid of giving a [positive] answer and waited a while.'

Bu üč birikibän bolur, bil, īmān. (MM177v:11) 'When these three are together, that is the faith, know full well!'

3.6.2.2.5. Frequentative Stems

A few frequentative verbs occur with the suffix **-ğula/-gülä, -qula/-külä**. E.g.,

atqula-	'to shower arrows upon the enemy' [cf., **atqulaš** 'fierce fight' PdC 5]
čapqula-	'to be engaged in a hand to hand fight' [cf. NT **capqulaš** 'hand to hand combat' for Persian *cang-i šamšīr* 15v:7]
tartqula-	'to fight' [cf. **tartqulaš-** 'to fight against one another' Babur, 373v:4]

3.6.2.2.6. Reciprocal Stems

Reciprocal verbs presume at least two agents whose simultaneous actions are directed against one another. Formally they are the same as the cooperative stems ['to do something together'].

basïš-	'to defeat one another' (MA198-2)
bozuš-	'to destroy one another' (MA144-4)
čäkiš-	'to pull one another' (Sayf157v:8)
körüš-	'to embrace one another' (Sayf118v:1)
mängzäš-	'to look alike' (MA113-5)

öpüš- 'to kiss one another' (Sayf123v:13)
söküš- 'to quarrel, scold each other' (Sayf158v:8)
tutuš- 'to quarrel' (Sayf168v:1)
uruš- 'to fight, beat one another' (Sayf168r:9)

E.g.,

Ol manga män anga tuttum čäkišip, yügürür artïmïzča ḫalq külä. (Sayf157v:6) 'I grabbed him and he grabbed me and we pulled at each other. Behind us people were running [bursting] with laughter.'
Üčüncü kün alar muḫkam uruštï. (Sayf138v:8) 'On the third day they had a bitter fight.'
Munï ayttïm dağï yüz köz öpüšüp vidāʿ ettim. (Sayf123v:13) 'I said this and kissing each other on the eye and the face, I said good bye.'

3.6.2.2.7. Cooperative Stems

Cooperative verbs indicate that two or more subjects are carrying out the same action directed not against one another but toward one common goal. Some of the cooperative stems are also used to express the middle tense.

bariš- 'to go together' (MA118-7
körüš- 'to embrace' (Sayf118v:1)
müngäš- 'to ride together' (MA104-7)
čöküš- 'to sit together' (MA124-8)
sïğïš- '[for several] to go in' (Sayf12r:11)
sürüš- 'to rub together' (MM194r:6)
kiriš- 'to start, to set out to do s.th.' (DN243r:9)
turuš- 'to appear together' (Sayf138v:9)
yätiš- 'to reach' (Sayf91v :1)
yürüš- 'to go together' (MM194r:7)

E.g.,

Sïğar bir ḫucrağa on ikki mihmān, bir iqlīma sïğïšmas ikki sulṭān. (Sayf12r:11-12) 'There is enough room for twelve guests in a cell, but there is not enough room for two kings in one country.'
Kirištim söz bezärgä ḫāma teg tund, išimdä sarzanïšdïn bolmayïn kund. (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to [choose] decorate words fast like the pen does, so that her reproaches may not make me tardy in my work.'
Šešip belni andïn körüšgü käräk, körüššä kögüzni sürüšgü käräk. (MM194r:6) 'Before embracing one must untie one's belt. While embracing, both persons must rub their chests together.'

3.6.2.2.8. Similative Stems

Similative stems are formed by the suffixes **-sï/-si, -sun/-sün**. The derivatives express incomplete, illusive or apparent actions. This formation was quite productive in the Karakhanid period. In Chagatay only a few examples exist:

umsun- 'to despair' (PdC81)
ulugsïn- 'to grow' (MA170-4)

3.6.2.2.9. Desiderative Stems

Desiderative verbs indicate the subject's desire to carry out the action. They are formed by the suffix **-sa/-sä**. E.g.,

körsä-t- 'to show' (BN87r:2)
külümsä- 'to smile'(PdC 476)
ögürsä- 'to wish to have a mate' (MA17-8)
qapsa- 'to grasp' (MM182r:14)
suwsa- 'to be thirsty' (MA99-10)
susa- 'to be thirsty' (Sayf153r:12)

E.g.,

Körür miskïn susamïš uyqusunda tamāmat yer yüzin tutmïš aqar su. (Sayf153r:12) 'A thirsty poor person sees in his dream that running water covers the entire surface of the earth.'
Üwüš erkän ök yu, songïnča beri taqï bašnï qapsayu masḥ et arï. (MM182r:14) 'Do the ablution while your limbs are wet. Grasp your head with both hands and rub it thoroughy.'
Qudratïngnï körsät, ay qudrat-numā! (BN82r:2) 'Exercise your power, O Omnipotent One!'

3.6.2.2.10. Causative Stems

Formation of causative verbs constitutes a vital part of Chagatay verbal expression. There are more than a dozen derivative suffixes productive in the classical period. Many of them survived in modern Turkic languages, especially in modern Uzbek.

3.6.2.2.10.1. Causative Stems in -ar/-är

čïqar- 'to produce, pull out' (DN252v:2)
ketär- 'to remove, eliminate (DN242r:9)
qaytar- 'to return' (Sayf124r:12)

E.g.,

Taẓarruʿ birlä, ay ḫwāca muẓaffar, ḫarāmī altunung qaytarmayïsar. (Sayf124r:12) 'Just because you keep lamenting, O Glorious Master, the highway robber will not return your money.'

ʿUšur bergü ʿušrī agar bolsa yer, ayaq onda batman čïqar nişfī ber. (MM188v:2) 'One must pay a tithe if one's land is subject to one. For every ten *ayaq*s pay half a *batman*.'
Zalālïmdïn ketär könglüng ḫūyïnï, körübän yutmağïl ḥasrat suyïnï. (DN242r:9) 'Remove the sweat of your heart from my pure and limpid drink. Beholding it, do not swallow the water of regret.'

3.6.2.2.10.2. Causative Stems in -dur/-dür

bildür-	'to inform' (RM29v:6]
ïsïndur-	'to warm up' (DN247v:6)
käydür-	'to garb, to don' (MM196v:4)
küydür-	'to burn, to burn up' (DN257v:3)
ozdur-	'to go beyond a certain point' (RM30v:7)
öldür-	'to kill' (MM180r:12)
qaldur-	'to raise' (MM194v:5)
sïndur-	'to break' [transitive] (KBV41v:22)
soldur-	'to make wither' (MM199r:2)
söndür-	'to extinguish, to put out' (Sayf115v:9)
tïndur-	'to make listen' (DN260v:2)
toldur-	'to fill' (NTM15r:5)
tongdur-	'to freeze [transitive]' (ShD79v:1)
urundur-	'[for the horse] to toss up the head' (KBV41v:22)
uyaldur-	'to bring shame upon s.o.' (DN247v:7)
yandur-	'to turn around' (ShD79v:5)

E.g.,

Bil ki dōstlar yaḫ kebi cismimni tongdurdï savuq. Yaḫdïn ham beš batar dur asru küydürdï savuq. (ShD79v:1-2) 'Know, friends that cold froze my body like ice. It is much worse than ice, because this cold burned [me] very much.'
Kötärgän siḥr eligin söz yüzidin, uyaldurğan közümni öz yüzidin. (DN247r:7) 'He has lifted the hands of magic from the face of the word. He put my eyes to shame by his own face.'
Meni sen šamʿ teg küydürmäging ne? Cafā va cavr etäkin türmäking ne? (DN257v:3) 'What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?'
Taniṅg ham tapïnsun bir baš ayağnï, til ačïp sözgä tïndursun qulağnï. (DN260v:2).'Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ear.'

Nečün sen meni körüp šamʿnï söndürdüng? (Sayf115v:9) 'Why did you put out the candle when you saw me?'

3.6.2.2.10.3. Causative Stems in -qar/-kär; -ğar/-gär

ötkär-	'to carry out, fulfil' (BN85v:10)
qutqar-	'to save' (Qutb p.146)
qutğar-	'to save' (NF85r:13)

E.g.,

Ötkärür erdi sözini māh sāl, kelmäs erdi Ḥaqq taālâğa malāl. (BN85v:10) 'For months and years God carried out his requests; the most high never wearied of them.'
Taqï mäni Firʿaunnung ʿazābïndan qutğarğïl. (NF85r:13) 'And save me from the cruelty of Pharaoh.'

3.6.2.2.10.4. Causative Stems in -ur/-ür

artur-	'to increase' (Sayf150v:8)
ašur-	'to skip, pass by' (Quṭb, Zaj. 143)
bitür-	'to finish' (MM184r:15)
čömür-	'to drown' (Navāʾī, Dict., IV, 484)
ičür-	'to make someone drink' (KBV42r:7)
itür-	'to lose' (RB8r:2)
käčür-	'to lead' (MM179r:7)
kätür-	'to perform' (MM181v:13)
öčür-	'to put out, extinguish' (PdC50)
tatur-	'to make s.o. taste s.th. (Ḫ75v:6
tegür-	'to send, transmit' (MM177r:2)
tüšür-	'to knock down' (Sayf11r:9)
yašur-	'to hide' (Qutb, Zaj. 74)
yatur-	'to lay down on the ground' (MM188r:17)
yetür-	'to bring, drive, reduce to' (Ḫ75r:4)

E.g.,

Ču qoysang ol ḫarāb allïda gāmē, bitigni tēz tegür, bizdin salāmē. (DN246v:5) 'When you come to the presence of that wretched [person] give him the letter right away and convey a greeting from me.'
Yüzin dāğlağaylar qaburğalarïn ham arqan yaturup quyup ot qorïn. (MM188r:17) 'His face and his side will be marked with a branding [tool]. Also, he will be laid on the ground and the embers of Hellfire will be poured upon his back.'
Halākatgä yetürdi nār-i sōzān. (Ḫ75r:4) 'The Burning Fire[112] has reduced us to this condition.'

[112] I.e., hell

Munï aytti dağï dušman čärisinä kirip bir nečä bahādur äränlärni tüšürdï. (Sayf11r:9) 'He said this and then drove into the hostile army and knocked down a few valiant soldiers.'

3.6.2.2.10.5. Causative Stems in -ğuz/-güz

kirgüz- 'to make someone enter s.th.' (DN248v:11)
körgüz- 'show, demonstrate, display' (Sayf164r:7)
tirgüz- 'to bring to life' (RM9v:7)
turğuz- 'to place, set up' (Bay41v:25)

Ee.,

Ču körgüzdi maḥabbatnï yüz alvān, tükätti nāmanï va qïldï ʿunvān. (DN246v:2) 'Having manifested [her] love in a hundred ways she completed the letter and wrote the address on it.'
Bitig berdi va cān kirgüzdi tangä, ḫabar berdi tirigliktin badangä. (DN248v:11) 'It handed over the letter and made life enter the body. It brought news to the body about living.'

3.6.2.2.10.6. Causative Stems in -qur/-kür, -ğur/-gür

turğur- 'to make stand up' (Babur100r:16)
yatğur- 'to let sleep' (Rabg. 232.11)
yätkür- 'to make reach' (ShD104v:12)
yetkür- 'to get s.th. s.where' (DN249v:8)

E.g.,

Tikilip anda čon yetkürdi özin, elinä berdi va bašladï sözin. (DN-249v:8) 'When he got himself over there, he stood straight, gave the letter in her hands and began his message.'
ʿIšqing bilä Šabānï ʿālamda boldï mašhūr, yätkürdi dard-i hacring har yärgä dāstānïm. (ShD104v:2) 'Because of your love Shabanï became renowned all over the world. The pain caused by your absence took my story everywhere.'

3.6.2.2.10.7. Causative Stems in -t

arït- 'to clean' (RM12r:10)
äksit- 'to eliminate' (MM180v:4)
bälgürt- 'to manifest, show' (MM179v:9)
išlät- 'to make work' (MM191v:2)
kängit- 'to extend [a row]' (MM184v:9)
tuḫtat- 'to stop' (PdC 223)
körsät- 'to show' (RB2r:1)
qarart- 'to blacken' (ShD83v:4)
qarat- 'to turn one's eyes to' (Ḫ75r:11)
qaynat- 'to boil' (Sayf121v:12)

sürt- 'to rub' (MM182v:4)
üvšät- 'to wet [one's beard]' (MM181r:7)
yarat- 'to create' (MM176v:2)
yïğlat- 'to make cry' (Ḫ78r:3)
yürüt- 'to carry out' (Ḫ79r:9)

E.g.,

Bu Šabānï qašïnïng miḥrābïda taptï murād, yoqsa yüzüngni qarartur bu Banï Hāšim mening. (ShD83v:3-4) 'This Shabān has found his goal in the prayer-niche of her eyebrow. Had it not been like that, the Son from the House of Hashim would have blackened my face.'
Äšittim Cibraʾïldin ušbu sözni, yumup qaratmadïm alarğa közni. (Ḫ75r:11) 'When I heard these words from Gabriel, I closed my eyes and put (my parents) out of my mind.'
Namāzğa käligli šurūʿ qïlmadïn šurūʿ qïlsa buzmaz bu ṣaff kengitip. (MM184v:9) 'One should arrive for the prayer before it begins. If it has already begun, one will not cause a disturbance if one takes a position at the end of a row.'

3.6.2.2.10.8. Causative Stems in -tur/-tür

ačtur- 'to cause to open' (Sang.31r:18)
barïštur- 'to reconcile' (BN87v:9)
ketür- 'to bring' (Ḫ75v:6)
keltür- 'to bring; to produce' (DN243v:6)
öltür- 'to kill' (Qutb, Zaj. p. 123)
qarïštur- 'to mix' (KBV41v:18)
qatïštur- 'to mix s.th. into or with s.th.' (DN258r:4)
ulaštur- 'to join s.th. with s.th.' (Qutb, Zaj. p. 197)
üläštür- 'to hand out, to distribute' (Qutb, Zaj. p. 203)

E.g.,

Labïng allïda el cān keltürürlär, közüngni körüp īmān keltürürlär. (DN243v:6) 'People bring their lives to the presence of your lips. Upon seeing your eyes they bring forth the Faith [from a sincere heart].'
Ču kördi nāmanï mihr etti iḫsās, qatïšturdï eli qunduz ara ās. (DN258r:4) 'When that sun saw the letter, she anticipated [what its message was]: Her hands added the white of the ermine['s fur] to the gray color of the beaver.'
Ğarïbni taš bilä öltürmä zinhār! ((Qutb, Zaj. p. 123) 'Do not kill a stranger with a [piece of] stone.'
Manga icāzat bergil kim bu vazïrni öltüräyim. (Sayf34v:9) 'Give me permission to kill this vizier.'

3.6.3. Substantive verbs

Substantive verbs express the existence of the subject either without qualification or with some added aspects such as sudden, unexpected emergence, prevailing states, or circumstances.

3.6.3.1. The Substantive Verb bol- 'to be'

The full paradigm is used, even the necessitative in **-ïsar/-isär**, which is rather rare. It is also used as an auxiliary verb in many roles within the verbal inflection. E.g.,

Sačïnïng savdāsïdïn boldum ẓaʿïf, bašïma tüšti ʿacab nāzuk ḫiyāl. (ShD94r:10-11) 'From the fascination with her hair I was powerless.[113] An unusually fine apparition occupied my mind.'[114]

Bu kün topraq bol andan burunraq kim ärtä gil täning topraq bolğay. (Sayf77r:6) 'Turn into dust today before tomorrow your clay body will become dust.'

3.6.3.2. The Substantive Verb ol- 'to be'

Oghuz variant of **bol-**. The full paradigm is not used: forms of the definite past, imperative [**olğil**] and gerunds [**olunča, olup**] occur. E.g.,

Zulf va yüzüngdin oldï har ṣubḥ va šām uyanmaq, bilmän nädin bolup tur rištasïz otqa yanmaq. (ShD75r:12) 'It was because of your tresses and your face that one was awake every morning and every evening. I do not know why it happened: burning in fire without [being tied with] a rope.'

Nafs hamrahlïğïdïn sen kezär sän mast olup, mast oldung ušbu dunyā mayïdïn emdi ayïl. (ShD95v:2-3) 'Accompanied by the carnal soul you roam the land intoxicated. You have become intoxicated from the wine of this world: now sober up.'

3.6.3.3. The Substantive Verb yürü- 'to walk'

In the sense of 'exist, lead a life, move around in a certain state, carry on' the verb **yürü-** 'to walk' are used. E.g.,

Yüzüm ḫwaršēdidin ḫayrān yürür mü? Bolup bir ẓarra sargardān yürür mü? (DN252r:8) 'Doesn't he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn't he move perplexed?'

Taṭavvuʿ boyun mašḥï, bilgil, uya! Yawuzluqnï ädgün yürügül, yuya. (MM182v:6) 'Know, brother, that wiping your neck is [also] a supererogatory act. Live righteously, washing away wickedness.'

[113] Lit., weak
[114] Lit., head

Nečä kim minmägä ḫāẓïr teväm yoq yürür män šādmān qarnïm közüm toq. (Sayf58r:7) 'Although I do not have camels ready to ride, I am happy, my stomach is full and my eyes satisfied [with what I have.]'

3.6.3.4. The Substantive Verb tüš- 'to fall'

To express a sudden occurrence or a change of conditions the verb **tüš-** is employed.[115] E.g.,

Ne kim vaḥm u ḫāṭir ḫayālğa tüšär, ušol cumladïn pāk, munazzah, arïğ. (MM178r15) 'He is independent of whatever may occur in fantasy, memory, or imagination.'

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

Bolur bir ayğa har kün muqābil, tüšüp tur ol naẓar ʿilmidä qābil. (DN254r:6) 'He is facing a moon every day and has become an expert in the skill of observation.'

3.6.3.5. The Substantive Verb kel- 'to come'

An occasional emergence or accidental existence can be expressed by the verb **kel-** 'to come.'[116] E.g.,

Tewä yüz taqï qïrq bešindä zakāt maḫāẓ ikki ḥiqqa kelür bu üč at. (MM189r13) 'On one hundred and forty-five camels the tax is a single [*bint*]-*maḫāẓ* and two *ḥiqqas*, that makes a total of three [camels].'

Bayṭārğa nemä kelmäs. (Sayf147r:13) 'The veterinarian is not guilty.'

Kelip ṣarṣar bigin ötti sitamlar, bi ḥamdi'llāh ki kečti barča ğamlar. (DN266r:4) '[The times of violence] came and passed like a wild howling wind, praise be to God, all the sorrows are gone'

Bu pilla kim namāẓnïng ṣavābï anda bolğay ağïr kelgäy. (RM 29r:5) 'The pan with the reward for one single prayer would be [still] heavier.'

3.6.4. Defective verbs

Chagatay has three defective verbs: **er-** 'to be', **e-** 'to be' [variant of **er-**], and **dur-** 'to be'.

The existing inflectional forms of these verbs with illustrations will be listed later.

[115] Cf., P. *uftādan* 'to fall' [> 'to occur, come about']
[116] Cf., P. *āmadan* 'to come' [> 'to be']

3.6.5. Finite forms

Finite forms of verbs indicate the person [first, second, third] and the number [singular or plural] of the subject. A finite verb consists of a stem, a theme and the personal signs, e.g., **kel-gäy-män** 'I will come', **bar-dï-ng** 'you went', **qïl-ay-ïn** 'let me do'.

3.6.5.1. The Voluntative Mood

The voluntative mood has one person, the first, two numbers, the singular and plural, and two aspects, the positive and the negative. It expresses that the agent intends, suggests, volunteers, prefers or desires to carry or not to carry out the action.

In the first person singular the mark of the voluntative base is **-ay** [after a consonant] or **-y** [after a vowel]. The signs of the first person are **-ïn/-in** or **-ïm/-im** which are often dropped. If that happens, the voluntative base is used as the form of the first person singular.

First Singular

Positive	
alayïn	'let me take, I wish to take'
ävüräyin	'let me turn away, I wish to turn away'
bolayïn	'let me become, I wish to become'
čïqayïn	'let me emerge, I wish to emerge'
qolayïn	'let me request, I wish to request'
salayïn	'let me cast away, I wish to cast away'
aytayïm	'let me tell, I wish to tell'
baqayïm	'let me consider, I wish to consider'
keläyim	'let me come, I wish to come'
kätüräyim	'let me bring, I wish to bring'
olturayïm	'let me sit, I wish to sit'
qïlayïm	'let me do, I wish to do'
etäy	'let me make, I wish to make'

E.g.,

Yā ešik ač ravān čïqïp kitäyim (Sayf60r:1). 'Or open the door so that I may walk out and leave.'

Dārū ičip ẓaʿīf bolup barayïm ḥattâ sulṭânnïng iʿtiqādï manga artuqraq bolğay. (Sayf58v8). 'I intend to take drugs, look sick and [then] go so that the Sultan's compassion toward me be greater.'

Hinddän pūlād alïp Ḥalābgä keläyim. (Sayf92v:8) 'Transporting steel from India I intend to come to Aleppo.'

Čïqayïn yer ičidin nāla yanglïq, kafannï qanğa bulğap lāla yanglïq. (DN244v:11) 'Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry[117] and stain the shroud with blood [red] like tulips.'

Ne debän men anï közdin salayïn, köngül aldïm, barïp ham cān alayïn. (DN246r:3) 'By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?'

Netük men äyüräyin öz ğamïmdïn, ki pūlād erigäy otluğ damïmdïn. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'

Bu nāzik ṭarḥlar kelmäs kišidin, netük men naql etäy Mānī išidin. (DN271r:4) 'These fine designs do not come from common people: how could I talk about the work of Mani?'

Män bir närsä aytayïm. (KBV2r:7) 'I want to say something.'

Män dağï nä degäningni qïlay, nä tilär bolsang sanga anï beräy. (BN86r:4) 'I will also do whatever you say. Whatever you ask for, I will give it to you.'

b. Negative [rare]. It is built on the negative stem in **-ma/-mä:**

bolmayïn	'let me not be, I do not wish to be'
čïqmayïn	'let me not emerge, I do not wish to emerge'
qutulmay	'let me not escape, I do not wish to escape'
qïlmayïn	'let me not do, I so not wish to do'

E.g.,

Nečük men qïlmayïn emdi duʿā ʿarż, kim özgä elgä vācib tur manga farż. (DN270r:11) 'Now how couldn't I offer up my prayers since what is a necessary duty for others, for me is mandatory.'

Kirištim söz bezärgä ḫāma teg tund išimdä sarzanïšdïn bolmayïn kund. (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to [choose] decorative words fast as the pen, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.'

Qutulmay qayğudïn gar furqatïngda ğamïngdïn özgä bolsa ʿuẓrḫwāhïm. (DN257v:8) 'I do not wish to rid myself from sadness if in your absence other than grief because of you is my apologist.'

Ol ḥusn gancïna men vērāna bolmay nedäyin, laʿl-i sērābing angïp durrdāna bolmay nedäyin. (ShD123r:10-11) 'I do not wish to be the ruin for the treasures of that beauty, I cannot help it.

[117] The moaning of those suffering from the torment of the grave.

Remembering your thirstquenching lips I do not wish to be a unique pearl, I cannot help it.'

In the first person plural the mark of the voluntative mood is **-alï/-äli** [after a consonant], and **-lï/-li** [after a vowel]. The personal signs are **-ng** or **-m:**

First plural

Positive

ičäling	'let us drink, we wish to drink'
tüšälim	'let us spend the night, we wish to spend the night'
kitälim	'let us go, we wish to go'

E.g.,

Ičäling bādanï gullar solïsar, tanïmïz ʿāqibat topraq bolïsar. (MN309r:7) 'Let us drink wine [for] roses will wither and at the end our bodies will turn into dust.'

Barïp anda tüšälim kim sizgä savuq zaḥmat bermägäy. (Sayf 90:13). 'Let's go and spend the night there so that cold would not harm you.'

Ne yatur sän yatasï yer dägül tur kitälim. (Sayf136V12). 'Why do you rest here? This is not the place to lie down. Let's go!'

Note: The personal ending may be omitted:

baralï	'let us go, we wish to go'
qïlalï	'let us do, we wish to do'
sözläli	'let us speak, we wish to speak'
uralï	'let us beat, we wish to beat'

E.g.,

Parda bilä sözläli. (AC323r:6) 'Let us rather talk in melodies.'

Yamandïn qïlalï iḥtirāz. (AC328v:8) 'Let us keep away from evil.'

Yā Muḥammad, ämdi barïp učmaqnï tafarruc qïlalï. (MN30,15) 'O, Muhammad, let's go now and enjoy Paradise.'

Nāla va rindning kusin biz uralï bu ṭavr mayḫānağa qïlsaq guẕar. (ShD48v:10) 'Let us beat the drum of laments and debauch and in this fashion let us be on our way to the tavern.'[118]

Negative [rare]:

bilmäling 'let us not know, we do not wish to know'

[118] The opposite of proper behavior prescribed for the true believer when he is on his way to the mosque.

E.g.,

Sen ve biz maydïn ičip mast olalï, bilmäling biz kufr va dïn va ḫayr va šarr. (ShD48v:11) 'Let us, you and I, drink [some] wine so that we become intoxicated and not able to see the difference between unbelief and religion, good and evil.'

3.6.5.2. The Injunctive Mood

The Injunctive mood has one person, the second, and one number, the singular, and one aspect, the positive. The mark of the Injunctive mood is **-a/-ä,** [after a consonant] and **-ya/-yä,** [after a vowel]. They are directly added to the positive stem. The injunctive can be reinforced by the second personal pronoun or by the adverb **käd, ket** 'very much'.

bilä	'you should know'
käčä	'you should pass'
qïla	'you should do'

E.g.,

Ne tafarruc dir bilä sen dostum. [N70d] 'You should know what a pleasant sight that will be, my friend.'

Sadra gäčä sen nāz ilä dostum. [N64d] 'You will proudly proceed to the seat of honor, my friend.'

Äsiz qïlğan ergä sän ädgü qïla, karamnïng bašï bu erür, ket bilä. (AtH19v:3-4) 'Do good to the man who does wrong to you. This is the highest act of generosity, know full well.'

Taqï bilgil anṣārï oğlanlarï ölüp bāz tirildi munï käḍ bilä. (MM 178v:7) 'Know also that the sons of his companions died and rose again, mark this well!'

3.6.5.3. The Imperative Mood

The imperative expresses direct orders to the second person and indirect orders, injunctions, admonishments, or prohibitions to the third person. It has two persons, the second and the third, and two numbers, the singular and the plural, and two aspects, the positive and the negative.

The base of the imperative mood is the verbal stem, positive or negative. In the second person, especially in the singular, the stem itself is used as one of the imperative forms. Both the second and the third persons have personal endings to mark the person and number of the imperative.

3.6.5.3.1. The Second Person

There are several ways to form the second person of the imperative: basic stem + zero ending, and basic stem + the endings **-ïng/-ing, -ïngïz/-ingiz, -ğïl/-gil, -ğïn/-gin.**

The second person singular personal pronoun can be added for emphasis. It can be placed either before or after the verb. Sometimes the admonitory particle **-a/-ä** is attached to either the stem form or to the suffixed forms in **-ğil/-ğil**.

3.6.5.3.1.1. The Second Person Singular

3.6.5.3.1.1.1. The Stem Form

As in many modern Turkish idioms [Uzbek, Kazakh, Azeri, and others], stem forms express direct orders, or, in the negative, direct prohibitions. They contain no morphological means to indicate greater intensity or higher social level. Versified manuals often use this form in giving instructions to students. E.g.,

Positive:

üz	'cut off'
keltür	'bring'
ketür	'bring'
oltur	'sit'

E.g.,

Köngül käyninä barğandïn umēd üz, ki hargiz egri eši bolmağay tüz. (DN241r:11) 'Cut your hope from following the heart because the crooked will never be a match to the straight.'

Quṭn keltür qulağïma qatayïm. (Sayf60r:10) 'Bring some cotton so that I may plug my ears.'

Ketür aqča kemägä kir yoq esä tašqarï oltur. (Sayf100r:8). 'Bring [your] money and sit in the boat or else sit outside (on the shores)'.

Dedi qābiż yoq ersä munda keltür, özüng ham aldïda tärmülüp oltur. (Ḫ75v:5) '(Then) the Soul-taker spoke saying: "Since that is the case bring your son, and you yourself sit here in his presence and watch.'

Negative

[The negative is often prohibitive or adhortative: 'you should not', 'you must never', or 'you better not'. In CPD negative imperatives are often translated by Persian prohibitives. E.g., **oynama** (15r:3) 'do not play' P. *mabāz*; **kitmä** (111r:8) 'do not go' P. *maraw*.]

uzatma	'do not prolong'
salma	'do not cast'
satma	'do not sell'
bolma	'do not be'
tutma	'do not take'

E.g.,

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

Ču men boldum säning ğamnï uzatma, bu savdāda meni ʿālama satma. (DN260r:7) 'Since I became yours do not prolong sadness, in this transaction do not sell me to the world.'

Ašïqqan er bilän yoldaš bolma. (Sayf78r:9). 'Do not be a road companion to a person who is in a hurry.'

Yïlannï quyruqïndan tutma. (Sayf99v:1) 'Do not grab the snake by the tail.'

Qoyma Bāburnï bu ḥirmān birlä, čāra qïl dardïğa darmān birlä. (RB2r:3) 'Do not leave Bābur in distress. Cure his pain with [your] remedy.'

Camālïngdïn munavvar qïl közümni, ešitmä el sözin, ešit sözümni. (DN257r:2) 'Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.'

Note: The particle **-čï/-či** may be added to the base form of the 2d imperative for polite expression. [Cf. Modern Uzbek **-чи**]: E.g.,

İčmägān bolsang Šabānī, bar-čï ol mayḫānağa, kim ušol gulgūna ṣūrat cāmïdïn bolğïl ʿaqīl. (ShD95v:4) 'Shabanī, if you have not quenched your thirst yet, go to that tavern, so that you may be enlightened by the cup of that same rosecolor image.'

Bu köngülning közgüsinä ur-čï Ayyūb ṣayqalïn, ṣabr-i Ayyūbğa munāsïb bolmağay hargiz safal. (ShD96r:4-5) 'Apply Job's polisher to the mirror of your heart. The ignoble one [whose mirror is not polished to reflect God] is not suitable to the patience of Job.'

3.6.5.3.1.1.2. Forms in -ğil/-gil

Originally an emphatic form of the second person singular imperative. The suffix comes from **qïl** 'do it!'. E.g, **qayt + qïl** 'return for sure', **bar + ğil** 'do go away'. It occurs with both the positive and the negative stems: **qaytmağïl** 'do not return', **barmağïl** 'do not go'.

Positive

ätkil	'do, carry out'
beklägil	'keep'
čïqarğïl	'pull out'
ketkil	'go'
išlägil	'do (my) work'
tutğïl	'take'

E.g.,

Bu kündän song bu ištän tavba etkil, qïlïp eygü ʿamal cannatkä ketkil. (Sayf139r:2) 'Repent [and keep away] of this sin starting today. Do good deeds and go to heaven.'
Išim išlägil ter bu kün sän mäning. (MM191r:16) 'Do this work for me today, you say.'
Adab beklägil, seni beklär adab. (MM194r:1) 'Keep [the tenets] of good manners, and the good manners will keep you.'
Bir yarïm fatmān[119] **birlä ğusl ätkil**. (MS7v:4) 'With half a batman water perform the major ablution.'
Čïqarğïl muʿammā muškilidin, ki yalqïp tur qulağïm el tilidin (DN260v:8) 'Pull me out from the crux of this riddle because my ears are deafened by peoples' tongues.'

With the admonitory suffix **-a/-ä:**
Vācib ol ḥaqīqat vācib tutğïla. (MM183r:16). 'It is a necessary duty, a real necessary duty, observe it!'
Bular ğuslï sunnat bilip qïlğïla. (MM182r:6) 'The washing of these [parts of the body] is a traditional duty, perform it.'

Note (1): In MM183v:16 the phrase **käḍ bilä** is glossed by **bilgilä**.

(2) The positive imperative is often supported by adverbs such as **käḍ** 'very much', **köp** 'excessively', **muṭlaq** 'surely', **ravān** 'without delay':
Munï käḍ saqïngïl inābat kätür. (MM193v:10) 'Think well about this and be repentful.'
Ay ḫwāca qulungga köp yigirmä. (Sayf148r:6) 'O, Master, do not be too angry with your servant.'
Altïnčï namāzdan čïqmaq. Farż bilgil bularnï sen muṭlaq. (MS 10v:6) 'The sixth is to conclude the prayer. Be sure to regard the above mentioned as mandatory duties.'

Negative

bermägil	'do no give'
qïlmağïl	'do not make'
bolmağïl	'do not be'
äylämägil	'do not make'
baqmağïl	'do not pay attention'
qoymağïl	'do not put'
ötmägil	'do not pass'

[119] For *batman*

E.g.,

Köp ögüt bermägil manga, ay yār. (Sayf114r:3) 'Do not give much advice to me, O Friend!'
Fażīḥat qïlmağïl özüngni ʿumdā, ki hargiz qïlmadï sūḍe bu savdā. (DN241v:2) 'Do not make a disgrace of yourself on purpose, because this transaction never yielded profit.'
Bu aṣlï yoq havasqa qoyma bunyād, tükänmäs dard u ğamdïn bolmağïl šad. (DN241v:8) 'Do not put your foundation upon passion without essence. Do not be glad about endless pain and sorrow.'
Mundaq olğač munï tark äylämägil, ḥāṣil olğay sanga tā laẓẓat-i dil. (RB5r:7) 'Having reached [this stage], do not ever give it up so that the pleasure of heart may be your reward.'
Baqmağïl sözlägüčining özigä, özini qoy, nazar etgil sözigä. (RB 2v:4) 'Pay no heed to the person who is speaking. Disregard him. Consider [only] what he says.'
Köngüldä ʿišqïng otï saldï bulğaq, yana dāğ üstinä sen qoymağïl dāğ. (DN244r:8) 'The fire of passion for you planted disturbance in the heart. Do not press the branding iron against the scar made by a branding iron.'
Gar desäm ay aḫtar-i saʿd ötmägil taʿcīl ilä, der ki öz sayrïda qïlmas kavkab-i sayyār makṣ. (ḤBD22,4) 'When I say, O, Star of Felicity, do not pass in a haste! She says, the planets do not rest in their orbits.'

3.6.5.3.1.1.3. Forms in -ğïn/-gin

The imperative forms in **-ğïn/-gin** for the second person [mostly on positive stems] are rather frequent. Judging from its use in Modern Uzbek, it probably belonged to the popular level of Chagatay.

Positive
[Quite a few occurrences in CPD: **qoyğïn** 'leave [it alone]' P. *biguzār* 7r:10; **keltürgin** 'bring [it here]' P. *biyār* (10r:10); **sačïlgin** 'scatter!' P. *bipāš* (14r:1)].

degin	'say'
talašqïn	'fight'
tutqun	'take, keep [the fast]'
tüzgin	'arrange'
ulašqïn	'meet'
unutqïn	'forget'
üzgïn	'separate from'

E.g.,

Kirsä gar boğzïnga ki toğ tütün, yoq dur nuqṣān. Rōzanï tutqun. (MS15r:4) 'If dust or smoke gets in your throat, no harm is done. Carry on your fast.'

Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān ṣuḥbat yarağïn qïl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time.'

Tilär bolsang yüzümning lālazārïn, unutqïn özgä gulnïng ḫārḫārïn. (DN254v:2) 'If you desire the tulip patch of my face, forget the anxiety for other flowers.'

Mäning nāmūs u nāmïmnï talašqïn, alif teg kelgin va elgä ulašqïn. (DN260r:9) 'Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].'

El-ulus rasmïna köküngni tüzgin bu ḫāric nağmadïn könglüngni üzgin. (DN260v:3) 'Throw out your roots in the ways of the community; turn your heart away from this discordant melody.'

Negative: [rare]
yürümägin 'do not go [around]'

E.g.,

ʿAqlïng erür qïsqa va boynïng uzun. Lāf urup yürümägin kündüzün. (AC324v:4) 'Your brain is small and your neck is long, (everyone can see that). So do not go around bragging in broad daylight.'

3.6.5.3.1.1.4. Forms in -u/ü

Verbal stems in **-ar/-är** and those ending in a vowel sometimes use **-u/-ü** [after a consonant] or **-yu/-yü** [after a vowel] to form the second person imperative. E.g.,

Positive
baru 'go'
aḫtaru 'turn upside down, search thoroughly'

E.g.,

Ay ṣabā, āvāra könglüm istäyü har yan baru; vādī u tağ u biyābānlarnï bir bir aḫtaru. (Navaī, *Örnäklär*XXIV,1) 'O Zephyr, go in all directions and look for my vagrant heart searching through valleys, mountains and deserts very thoroughly [< one by one.]'

Ay ṣabā baru ketür yaḫšï ḫabarlardïn manga kim köngülni šād etibän taqï savundur qulaq. (ShD78r:9) 'O, Zephyr! Go and bring me some from the good news, make my heart happy and my ears pleased.'

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.1.5. Forms in -dek

Positive
ičdek 'drink'
bititek 'write'

E.g.,

Ïstägünčä bāda ičdek zahr davrān bazmïda. (Navā'ī FK50r:7) 'Rather than asking for wine, drink poison at the banquet of the Time.'

Bititek emdi tārīḫini kātib erür tārīḫi üčün ẓabṭï vācib. (DN271v:5) 'Scribe, put down now the date [of completion of this work]. It is necessary to record it by its date.'

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.1.6. Forms in -ï/-i

The personal pronoun **sen** may occur after this form for emphasis.

Positive
qolï 'seek'

E.g.,

Ğam yemä dardïnggä darmān qolï sen qïlğay davā. (BH12r:7) 'Do not be sorrowful [but] seek remedy for your ailments and He will heal them.'

Negative [not used]

3.6.5.3.1.2. The Second Person Plural

3.6.5.3.1.2.1. Forms in -ng, -ïng/-ing, -ung/-üng

Positive
alïng 'take'
biling 'know, be aware'
ögräning 'learn'
soyung 'strip off'
sürüng 'drive'
alïp keling 'bring'

E.g.,

Olar milki bersä ḥalāl ḫōš alïng. (MM190v:9) 'It is their property, it is appropriate for you to accept it.'
Ay oğlanlarïm erdäm ögräning. (Sayf139v:4) 'O my sons, learn some skills!'
Buyurdï kim tonun soyung dağï bu kentdän sürüng. (Sayf 110r:5) 'He ordered them to strip off his clothes and drive him out of this village.'
Ol malik buyurdï kim Macnūnnï alïp keling. (Sayf125v:11) 'That king ordered: "Bring Majnun to my presence!"'

3.6.5.3.1.2.2. Forms in -ngïz/-ngiz, -ïngïz/-ingiz, -ungïz/-üngiz, -unguz/-üngüz

Positive
[**kelingiz** (CPD3r:3) 'come!' P. *biyāīd;* **kiringiz** (CPD3r:4) 'come in!' P. *dar āīd*]

baqïngïz	'observe
körüngüz	'watch, behold'
tutunguz	'hold'
qïlïngïz	'do'
qoyunguz	'place, put'
bilingiz	'know'

E.g.,

Öfkä bilän ol qïya baqïšïn körüngüz. (Sayf127r:11) 'Behold his angry look from the corner of his eyes.'
Ay musulmanlar čirāğï mänim yolumda tutunguz. (Sayf75v:4) 'O Muslims, hold a lamp to [light up] my way.'
Dedi, ay Ibrāhīm canïm kelingiz, mäni kögsümgä bašïngïz qoyunguz. (Ḫ80r:10) 'Then (the Prophet) addressed him (saying), "Come, Ibrahīm, my dear and put your head on my shoulder!"'

Negative
[A connective -y- may be inserted between the negative stem and the imperative ending].

almangïz	'do not take'
demängiz	'do not call him [a falcon]'
külmängiz	'do not laugh'
qomangïz	'do not bother'
qorqmayïngïz	'do not be afraid'
qoymangïz	'do not put'
sormangïz	'do not ask'
tegmängiz	'do not touch'

E.g.,

Ay qarïndašlar netäyin[120] **ušbu cāh u dunyānï tegmängiz emdi manga asru zaʿïf men ulğarïp**. (ShD18r:11-12) 'O, Brothers, there is nothing I can do about this rank and these world[ly values]. Do not touch me now, having grown old I am very weak.'
Qorqmayïngïz kim bu ortada bir män män kim elli kišigä cavāb bergäymän. (Sayf102r:9, P. *andīša madārīd*) 'Do no be afraid for in this group I alone would stand up against fifty people.'
Ay šāʿirlar, ʿanqānï köp qomangïz: qušlar ičidä bolup tur qu mängiz. (ShD182r:6) 'O, Poets, do not put down Phoenix all the time: Among birds she has become like a swan.'
Har ne dengiz, demängiz šunqar anga, ʿanqā dur, šunqar bigin yandurmangïz. (ShD182r:4) 'Whatever you call her, do not call her a falcon. He is a phoenix, do not make her return like a falcon.'

3.6.5.3.1.2.3. Forms in -nglar/–nglär, -ïnglar/-inglär, -unglar/-ünglär

Positive

bilinglär	'know'
bitinglär	'write'
oqunglar	'read'
qalïnglar	'stay, remain'
soranglar[121]	'ask'

E.g.,

Dedi, ay ham-sabaqlar ḫwaš qalïnglar, kitär män fānī dunyādïn bilinglär. (Ḫ78v:7) '[Ibrahīm] answered, 'O class-mates, farewell to you! Know that I am taking leave of this transitory world.'
Ḫar zamān kelip soranglar ham anamnï könglini. (Ḫ79v:7) 'Any time you come, ask about my mother's heart.'[122]

3.6.5.3.1.2.4. Forms in -ngïzlar/-ngizlär, -ïngïzlar/-ingizlär, -ungïzlar/-üngizlär, -unguzlar/-üngüzlär

Positive

bilingizlär	'know'
sorunguzlar	'ask'

E.g.,

Ḫalq-i ʿālam bilingizlär män anï nabīrasï. (Ḫ81r:5) 'People of this world, realize that I am [also] one of [Ismā'il's] descendants.'

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[120] *Netäyin* 'there is nothing I can do about...' takes the accusative case.
[121] Expanded stem *sora-* interchanging with sor- as in Modern Uzbek [see 3.6.2.1.3.]
[122] I.e., console my mother

3.6.5.3.2. The Third Person

3.6.5.3.2.1. The Third Person Singular

3.6.5.3.2.1.1. Forms in -sun/-sün

Positive

tutsun	'should/may keep'
aysun	'should/may say'
bolsun	'should/may be'
quvansun	'should/may rejoice'

E.g.,

İki eligni köksidä tutsun, ham adab birlä boynï tüz tutsun (MS13r:2) '[Women] should place their hands [one upon the other] across their chests. They should also stand with their bodies upright as they have been taught.'

Käräk oynap aysun käräk kärtüläp. (MM192v:7) 'May he say it in jest, or in earnest.'

Sultan yašï uzun bolsun. (Sayf9r:5) 'Long live the King.'[123]

Mäni aldïmda yor könglüm quvansun, körüp qaddïngï mihrim laḫza qansun. (Ḫ76v:7) 'Walk ahead of me that my heart may rejoice, that my love may be quenched for a moment by beholding your body.'

Negative

tegmäsün	'should/may not befall'
bilmäsün	'should/may not know'
körgümäsün	'should/may not show'
barmasun	'should/may not go'
körünmäsün	'should/may not show'

E.g.,

Äygülärgä bu yamanïng tegmäsün. (Sayf110v:2) 'May your evil deeds not befall upon good people.'

Hēč kim ärsä mänim yaḫšï yaman ḥālïmdan bilmäsün. (Sayf 24v:12) 'No one should know about my good or bad situation.'

Manga körgüzmäsün Tengri ḫwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlä bir bolğay ẓalālïm. (DN242r:7) 'May God Himself never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with dust.'

Amīrī asrağïl köz yağï birlä, sen ol gulnï ki barmasun qatïmdïn. (DN245r:10) 'Amiri, norture that rose with the oil of [your] eyes[124] so that it never leave your presence.'

[123] Lit., may the king's life be long

[124] I.e., with your tears

Yüzüng közgü dur, ay husn ičrä māhïm, ḥaẓar qïl kim anï tutmasun āhïm. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'

Körünmäsün deyü bu mändäki ʿayb. (Sayf63r:10) 'So that the sin inside me may not show.'

Note: The apocopated form in **-su** is represented by **bolsu** 'should/may be' [only in the positive]. E.g.,

Rūḥ-i rayḥān-i Cannat u Riẓvān Ḥaqqdïn anïng sarïğa bolsu ravān. (MS2v:3) 'May the breath of the sweet basil of Paradise waft toward him [carrying] God's blessings.'

Sän ök sän yaratğan bu yer kök kün ay, bu küz qïš käräk yaz käräk bolsu yay. (MM176v:6) 'You, indeed, are the creator of the earth, the sky, the sun, the moon, the fall, the winter, as well as the spring and the summer.'

öküš bolsu az (MM183v:9) 'be it many or few'

3.6.5.3.2.1.2. The form in -u/-ü is represented by **berü** 'should/may give' [negative is not attested]. E.g.,

Ki kördüm men anïng nāz u ʿitābïn, kečiksäm anda kim berü cavābïn? (DN243r:8) 'For I have witnessed her coquettish behavior as well as her expression of displeasure. If I am late, who is there to account for [my tardiness]?'

3.6.5.3.2.2. The Third Person Plural

3.6.5.3.2.2.1. Forms in -sunlar/-sünlär

Positive

oynasunlar	'should/may risk'
qalsunlar	'should/may stay'

E.g.,

Ayar bolsa čärigdän mālï sulṭān, nečük baš oynasunlar tärk etip cān? (Sayf22v:6) 'If the King begrudges his wealth from his soldiers, how would they risk their heads giving up their souls?'

Zāhidlärgä hēč nemä bermägil kim zāhid qalsunlar. (Sayf71v:1) 'Do not give anything to the abstinent so that they stay abstinent.'

Negative

etmäsünlär	'should/may not make'
tilämäsünlär	'should/may not demand'

E.g.,

İḥtiyāṭ ettim kim manga qasḍ etmäsünlär. (Sayf 18r:13) 'I took precautions so that they make no attempt on my life.'

ʿĀlimlärgä ol qadar niʿmat bergil kim dağï tilämäsünlär. (Sayf 71r:13) 'Give as much means to the learned so that they do not ask for more.'

3.6.5.3.2.2.2. The form in **-ular/-ülär** is represented by **kelsülär** 'should/may come'. [Negative is not attested]. E.g.,

Buyurdï šāh kim elning bilgälärin oqunguz kelsülär tep birgä barïn. (Qutb, H.4100) 'The king ordered [his men] to proclaim that the wise of the land, all of them, should get together.'

3.6.5.3.2.2.3. The form in **-deklär** is attested by **bitidäklär** 'should/may write'.
[Negative is not used.] E.g.,

Cunūnïmdïn parïroyumğa gar savdā aşar qïlsa, bitideklär közi könglüm qošïdïn töksä qan taʿvïz. (Navā'ī, *Örnäklär* 14,5) 'If due to my madness melancholy assails my fairy-faced beloved, you should write an amulet when her eyes draws blood form the pair of cups of my heart.'

3.6.5.4. The Definite Past Tense

The definite past tense expresses a past completed action the occurrence of which is certain. The grammatical marker of the definite past is **-dï/-di, -du/-dü** after vowels or voiced consonants, or **-tï/-ti, -tu/-tü,** after voiceless consonants. The person is indicated by the possessive type personal signs. E.g.,

Positive

Sing.			
kördüm	'I saw'	**keldim**	'I came'
kördüng	'you saw'	**kelding**	'you came'
kördi	'he saw'	**keldi**	'he came'
Plur.			
kördük	'we saw'	**keldük**	'we came'
kördüngüz	'you saw'	**keldingiz**	'you came'
kördilär	'they saw'	**keldilär**	'they came'

Negative

Sing.			
körmädim	'I did not see'	**kelmädim**	'I did not come'
körmäding	'you did not see'	**kelmäding**	'you did not come'
körmädi	'he did not see'	**kelmädi**	'he did not come'
Plur.			
kürmädük	'we did not see'	**kelmädük**	'we did not come'
körmädingiz	'you did not see'	**kelmädingiz**	'you did not come'
körmädilär	'they did not see'	**kelmädilär**	'they did not come'

E.g.,

Yarudï ḫaṭṭlarïndïn köz yüz alvān, qarangğuluğda taptï āb-i ḥayvān. (DN242v:8) 'From her writing his eyes brightened: In the darkness he found the water of life.'

Yängindän tutup bu šiʿrni oqudum. (Sayf 94r:5) 'I grabbed him by his sleeves and recited this poem to him.'

Yana unuttum özümni bolup sanga mašğūl. (Sayf115r:5) 'I forgot about myself because I was occupied with you.'

Bir orman yanïnda qondilar. (Sayf63v:9) 'They camped by the side of a forest.'

Cihān säning üzä ol qadar mï tar bolup edi kim oğrïlïq etmäding illā Tangrï ävindän? (Sayf57r:4) 'Is this world indeed so tight for you that you could not burglarize any other place but the house of God?'

Bitidi nāma altun suyï birlän, vafā u mihr, rasm u ḫūyï birlän. (DN259r:2) 'He wrote the letter with golden ink, with the rite and custom of faith and love.'

Zamānē ḥarf ʿilminä ïsïndï, ičï küydi, valē qorqup qïsïndï. (DN258r:6) '[The Beloved] wrote a letter with golden ink, with faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.'

1. In the first person the personal pronoun placed after the verb may be used for emphasis. E.g.,

Ki kördüm men anïng nāz u ʿitābïn, kečiksäm anda kim berü cavābïn? (DN243r:8) 'For I have witnessed her coquettish behavior as well as her expression of displeasure. If I am late, who is there to account for [my tardiness]?'

Note: Concerning examples from the **Iršādu'l-mulūk** we must remember that in interlinear translations words or word groups are individually translated and the data obtained are not always indicative of the usage in normal compositional style. E.g.,

Tiladim män kim ant ičkäy. (İM7v:3) 'I wanted him to take an oath.'

šarṭ qïlduq biz (IM4v:8) 'we set the condition, we stipulated that'

ulašturduq biz (IM5r:7) 'we dispached'

2.The definite past tense may occur in the same function as the aorist for a more forceful statement. E.g.,

Ravān qildï falak čon cām-i Camšed, ačïqlanïp qïzarïp čïqtï ḫwaršed. (DN242r:11) 'When the sky set in motion the cup of Jamshid, the sun came forth shiny and red.' or: 'When the sky sets in motion the cup of Jamshid, the sun comes forth shiny and red.'

3. The definite past tense may express dynamic future, az in Modern Uzbek [MLU 3.6.6.3.1.2.2.11.1.] E.g.,

Degin anda kelürgä raġbat ettük, ravān ṣuḥbat yarağïn qïl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time.'

Ḥaräm iläyingdä dağï ḥarāmï artïnğda. Agar kitting yetting va agar qaldïng öldüng. (Sayf56r:3) The sanctuary is ahead of you, and the bandits are behind you. If you go you will reach there; if you stay [here] you will die.'

Ṭanbūra dek yüzni qïlay pāymāl, äylädi oğlanlar anï dastmāl. (RB324r:8) 'I will trample a face like Ṭanbura's under foot, so that servants will [be needed to] scoop it up with their hands.'

Ol kiši kim seni čalar bilgüčä qaldï balā dastïda ol ölgüčä. (RB 327r:3) 'The person who learns to play you will be captive in the hands of misery until he dies.'

3. With a verb expressing a command the definite past tense is used to form pseudo-passive sentences. E.g.,

Ol oğrïlar begi buyurdï tonun dağï yüz aqča bilän bir farva berdilär. (Sayf110v:4) 'The chieftain of those thieves ordered that one hundred silver coins and a fur coat be given [to the poet] [< he ordered his treasurer to give the poet one hundred silver coins and a fur coat.]'

Buyurdï kim anlarnïng asbāb-i maʿāšïnï avvalki qaʿida üzä muhayyā qïldïlar. (Sayf29v:11) 'He ordered that their stipend be established according to the previous arrangement. [< He ordered (the treasurer) to establish the stipend of those (people) according to the former arrangement.] '

Buyurdï bir yaḫšï ḫilʿat bilän ol hamyān altunnï faqïrğa berdilär. (Sayf 21r:7) '[The king] ordered that a robe of honor with a bag [of money] be given to the poor man. [< The king ordered and [his treasurer] gave the poor man a robe of honor with a bag of money].'

4. The definite past tense may express the result of a past action existing in the present.' [It is equivvalent to English present perfect tense]. E.g.,

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

Bu kün tuttum tamāmï til bolayïn, ne til birlän labïng ʿuẓrïn qolayïn. (DN250v:3) 'Today I realized that I must find the perfect tongue. With what tongue should I ask forgiveness from your lips?'

Yā Rabb közümdän al bu köngül dādïnï manga, kim boldï köz balāsï bilän mubtalā köngül. (Sayf83v:12) 'O Lord, take vengeance on my eyes on behalf of my heart, mind you, because it is due to the calamity brought about by the eye that the heart has become afflicted.'

Kirištim söz bezärgä ḫāma teg tund, išimdä sarzanïšdïn bolmayïn kund. (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to [choose] ornate words fast as the pen, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.'

Muḥammad ol ki bu acrām-i vālā anïng üčün yarattï Ḥaqq taʿālā. (DN229v:7) 'He is Muhammad for the sake of whom God the Most High has created these heavenly bodies.'

5. The definte past tense occurs in idiomatic use.

(a) In suppositive role:

Ču tebrändi ol ikki čerik ravān, deding kim yïqïlğusï dur bu cahān. (ZN25r:14-15) 'When the two armies suddenly marched out you most likely thought[125] that the world was about to collapse.'

Ne boldï gōy agar arẓ etti ḫālïn, dedi sargaštalikdin öz malālïn? (DN244v:2) 'What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither? '

Ne boldï ẓavq üčün gar yolda turdum säning birlän bir ikki ḫarf urdum? (DN241r:5) 'For fun I stopped on the road and exchanged a few words with you. What about it?'

(b) With **bolğay** to express indefiniteness.

On ming evlük kiši čïqtï bolğay, šahrlar šāyad alardïn tolğay. (ShN132:18) 'About ten thousand persons with families moved out. You probably could fill cities with them.'

[125] Lit., you could have said

(3) In emphatic role with **-dur/-durlar**.
[Rare, illustration from Eckm. Gr. p.157]
Az furṣatda ḫuṭūṭnï bitidi, kim ol fan ustādlarï ottuz yïlda anča bitimädi durlar. (M.Naf. 79v:12) 'In a short time he learned how to write calligraphy to such perfection that even masters of this art were not able to produce.'

3.6.5.5. The Conditional Mood

The conditional mood expresses a present or future action the occurrence of which is bound to a condition of different degrees.

3.6.5.5.1. The Present Conditional

The grammatical marker of the present conditional is **-sa/-sä.** The person is indicated by the possessive type personal signs. E.g.,

kör- 'to see'		**bar-** 'to go'	
	Positive		
Sing.			
körsäm	'if I see'	**barsam**	'if I go'
körsäng	'if you see'	**barsang**	'if you go'
körsä	'if he sees'	**barsa**	'if he goes'
Plur.			
körsäk	'if we see'	**barsaq**	'if we go'
körsängiz	'if you see'	**barsangïz**	'if you go'
körsälär	'if they see'	**barsalar**	'if they go'
	Negative		
Sing.			
körmäsäm	'if I don't see'	**barmasam**	'if I don't go'
körmäsäng	'if you don't see'	**barmasang**	'if you don't go'
körmäsä	'if he doesn't see'	**barmasa**	'if he doesn't go'
Plur.			
körmäsäk	'if we don't see'	**barmasaq**	'if we don't go'
körmäsängiz	'if you don't see'	**barmasangïz**	'if you don't go'
körmäsälär	'they don't see'	**barmasalar**	'if they don't go'

1. The present conditional can occur in conditional sentences without a conjunction or with the conjunctions **gar, agar**. E.g.,

Buyursa beš yumurtqanï alurğa küč bilä sulṭān, navkarlarï tutup sančar yigirmi qaznï bir šišgä. (Sayf 31r:9) 'If the Sultan orders to take five eggs by force, his officials grab twenty geese and put them on one spit.'
Valī bir aqča izdäsäng berür cān, oqu alḥamd desäng yüz oqï-ğay. (Sayf 137v:10) 'If you ask him for one coin, he would rather give up his life. If you ask him to say "praise be to God", he would says it a hundred times.'
Agar tandïn desäm bir ḫāksārē ne körüngäy ešikingdä ğubārē. (DN250v:5) 'If I tell about a person that he is humble[126], how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?'
Agar sen anda töksäng yergä žāla, men alur men közümdin munda lāla. (DN260v:4) 'If you spill drops of dew on the ground there, here I get tulips from my eyes.'
Agar yazïdağï barča qumlarï inci bolsa, tilänčilärning közi tol-mağay. (Sayf 156v:6) '[Even] if all the sand[grains] in the desert turn into pearls, the beggars would not be satisfied.'
Agar könglüng manga küysä, ʿacab yoq, ki körüp taš erigäy riq-qatïmdïn. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'
Yüzüm āyïnasïndïn gar dam ursang, körüngäy közüngä gah gah ḫiyālïm. (DN242r:3) 'If you talk about the mirror reflecting my face, my phantom image may appear to you[127] from time to time.'

2. The conditional form occurs also in temporal meaning. Instead of **agar** 'if' the conjunction **qačan** 'when' may be used in such sentences. E.g.,

Qačan cān alğičï dušman ärišsä, acal bağlar yügürgänning aya-ğïn. (Sayf95r:6) 'When the Soultaker enemy[128] comes, death ties the ankles of those who run [away].'
Ol safardan kelsäm ʿumrumnïng bāqīyasïn bir yerdä oturup kečürgäy män. (Sayf92v:2) 'When I return from that voyage, I will settle down in one place and spend the rest of my life there.'
Qačan kim tükänsä elingdäki al qïlïč čäksäng ol dam qïnïndan ḫalāl. (Sayf163v:5) 'When you are out of tricks, itis proper for you to draw [your] sword from the sheath'

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[126] Lit., he is mixed with earth. A hint at the creation of Adam.
[127] According the Navā'ī's presentation Farhād and Shīrīn saw each other for the first time in their mirrors.
[128] I.e., *Qābiżu'l-arvāḥ*, the epithet of the death angel 'Izrā'īl

Bu ʿādat ḫwaš yïğačlar šēvasïndïn, ki taš atsang berürlär mēvasïndïn. (DN247v:8) 'This observation was made on the nature of fruit trees: If you throw stones [at them] they give you some of their fruit.'

3. The conditional form is also used in concessive meaning. E.g.,
Yüz anča bolsang ärlikdä bilip köp türlü al ärdäm. (Sayf18v:3) 'Even if in bravery you are a hundred times better, knowing many kinds of crafty skills.'
Tämürdän tağ bolsa yerindän qoparğaymän. (Sayf39r:9) 'Even if it is a mountain of iron I will tear him up from its place.'
Sanga körgüzmägäy ruḫ zulf va ḫālïm agar yüz qatla bolsang pāymālïm. (DN242r:1) 'My tresses and my beauty spot will not chance to appear to you even if you are trampled upon under my feet a hundred times '
Yalğan sözlämäk ol zaḫm bigin durur kim cirāḥatï bitsä nišānï qalur. (Sayf174v:3) 'To tell a lie is like inflicting a wound: Even if it heals its scar remains.'

4. With the predicative word **kerāk** 'necessary' the conditional expresses a necessary [but not inevitable] action. E.g.,
Bu fasād ahlïnïng naslï munqaṭiʿ bolsa kerāk. (Sayf 13r:9) 'This offspring of brigands must be terminated.'
Bu niʿmat šukrïnï qïlsam kerāk čoq. Kiši könglün yïqarğa ādatïm yoq. (Sayf 82r:11) 'I must be most thankful for this grace. I don't have the habit of destroying other people's hearts.'
Qačan kim mašvarat qïlmaq kerāk bolsa, ol evdä yïğïlur ärdilär. (NF10r:1) 'When it was necessary to hold a meeting, they gathered in this house.'

5. The present conditional of **bol-** is used to form the conditional of the aorist [3.6.5.6.4.]. The inflected forms of **bol-** follow the aorist theme of the verb. E.g.,
Tilär bolsang yüzümning lālazārïn, unutqïn özgä gulnïng ḫārïn. (DN254v:2) 'If you desire the tulip patch of my face, forget the anxiety for other roses.'
Kelür aḥmaq qulaqïna oyunčaq oqur bolsang yüz elli bāb ḥikmat. (Sayf62r:1-2). 'It will be a joke to the ears of a fool if you read for him one hundred and fifty chapters of wisdom.'
Kiši kim ʿišq lāfïnï qïlur bolsa kečär baštïn. Ne ʿāšiq bolur ol kiši kečä parvāna teg yanmas. (ShD65v:2-3) 'The one who brags about love, will lose his head. He is not a lover who at night does not burn like a moth.'

6. The present conditional **ersä** of the defective verb **er-** 'to be' [see 3.6.5.15.1.3.] placed unchanged after the inflected verb forms the conditional of the definite past. E.g.,
Yengillik qïldïm ersä [gar cafā]nï, sen ağïr almağïl könglünggä anï. (DN247r:8) 'If I was off-handed in inflicting cruelty [upon you], do not take it too much to [your] heart.'

Note: The auxiliary **ersä** ~ **esä** may be attached to the definite past form in which case it loses the initial vowel: **bermädi + esä > bermädisä**. E.g.,
Čōn el bermädisä[129] **vaṣlï ölär män uš cafā birlä.** (Sayf183v:11) 'Since I had no chance of achieving union with her I will surely die as a result of that cruelty.'
Cannat mängiz bäzädisä ol däm özin cahān, raqṣ urdï ʿāšiqāna yürüp čarḫ čambarï. (Sayf181v:10) 'Then the world adorned itself to look like paradise. The circle of heaven danced moving amorously.'

7. The inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging **bolur** constitute one of the possibilitive forms. E.g.,
Köngül közgü dur anï bilsä bolur, ičindäkini paydā qïlsa bolur. (DN247v:4) 'The heart is a mirror, it is possible to realize that. It is possible to find out what is in its inside.'
Balā miḥnat ağu ḫayātğa sabab, munun tutsa bolur ḫidāyat qušï. (MM180r:10) 'Misfortune, misery, and bitter experiences are means to [the devout] life. Through them one can catch up with the bird of guidance.'
Ḥukum qïlsa bolur, biling, muttafiq, ʿamal qïlsa bolur tutup qayïsï. (MM190v:1) 'Know that when they make a legal decision they are in agreement. It is [only] in [certain] practices that they differ.'

8. The inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging **bolmas** 'is not [possible]' constitute one of the prohibitive-exhortative forms. E.g.,

[129] Cf., P. *dast dādan* 'to have a chance'

Kiši kün yoğra ham kirišsä bolmas, safāhat käyninä erišsä bolmas. (DN246r:1) 'One cannot interfere in his actions day after day. One cannot follow and catch up with his folly.'
Qïzïl altun ki vaṣfin qïlsa bolmas, anï küydürmägінčä bilsä bolmas. (DN247r:10) 'The red gold the quality of which cannot be established by description, cannot be known until you burn it.'
Kiši desä sevür men ursa bolmas, bu yazuqdïn anï öltürsä bolmas. (DN247v:11) 'If a person says, "I love" he should not be beaten.[130] He should not be executed because of this sin.[131]'

9. The present conditional, often introduced by the conjunction **ki,** appears in subjunctive role. E.g.,

Ötär könglidä har dam bir dilārāy, tilär közi ki körsä bir yangï ay. (DN254r:7) 'Every moment a beloved occurs to his mind. His eyes are eagerly waiting to behold a new moon.'[132]

3.6.5.5.2. The Past Conditional

The past conditional expresses conditions that existed in the past with the implication that they did materialize or does not exist any more.

The past conditional has a compound form. It consists of the inflected forms of the present conditional followed by the unchanging **erdi**, the definite past tense of the auxiliary **er-** 'to be'.

Positive Stem	**körsä-**
Sing.	
körsäm erdi	'if I had seen'
körsäng erdi	'if you had seen'
körsä erdi	'if he had seen'
Plur.	
körsäk erdi	'if we had seen'
körsängiz erdi	'if you had seen'
körsälär erdi	'if they had seen'

Positive Stem	**barsa-**
Sing.	
barsam erdi	'if I had gone'
barsang erdi	'if you had gone'
barsa erdi	'if he had gone'
Plur.	
barsaq erdi	'if we had gone'
barsangïz erdi	'if you had gone'
barsalar erdi	'if they had gone'

Negative Stem	**körmäsä-**
Sing.	
körmäsäm erdi	'if I had not seen'
körmäsäng erdi	'if you had not seen'
körmäsä erdi	'if he had not seen'
Plur.	
körmäsäk erdi	'if we had not seen'
körmäsängiz erdi	'if you had not seen'
körmäsälär erdi	'if they had not seen'

Negative Stem	**barmasa-**
Sing.	
barmasam erdi	'if I had not gone'
barmasang erdi	'if you had not gone'
barmasa erdi	'if he had not gone'
Plur.	
barmasaq erdi	'if we had not gone'
barmasangïz erdi	'if you had not gone'
barmasalar erdi	'if they had not gone'

Forms of the past conditional occur in conditional clauses of complex compound sentences to express an unreal, impossible, or unfulfilled condition. The verb in the main clause is mostly in the past optative tense. E.g.,

Ay camālïng maclisindä ičsäm erdi cām-i may, tā qiyāmatğa tegü ʿaqlïmnï ḥayrān qïlğa män. (ShD113v:12-113) 'Could I but drink up the cup of wine at the banquet of your moonlike beauty, I would make my intellect amazed to [the day of] resurrection.'
Bu kišining biligi bolsa edi, aḥmaq bilän iši bu yergä yetmägäy edi. (Sayf108r:6) 'Had this person possessed some wisdom, his case with this idiot would not have gone so far.'

[130] Like fools are.
[131] Like Mansūr was.
[132] Lit., so that he may behold

Ayağıng tofrağın gar tapsam erdi, anı elning közidin yapsam erdi, yüzüm altunğa tutğay erdi anï, közidä asrağay erdi nihānī. (DN250v:9) 'Had I but got hold of the dust your feet were walking on, had I but covered it from people's eyes, my face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.'

The past conditional form can express unfulfilled desires. The conjunction **kāš-ki** introduces sentences of this type. E.g.,

Har gadālar teg ešikdä qïlmağïl sen dar ba-dar, bolsam erdi, kāški men ešikingdä ḫākrāk. (ShD89r:9) 'Like all the beggars at the threshold don't make me wander door to door. Could I but be a most insignifact speck of dust at your doorstep?

3.6.5.5. The Optative Mood

The optative forms express an action or a state the occurrence of which is desired, expected, guessed, suggested or ordered. They fall in two full paradigms with a variety of alternate forms and are very frequent. They have two tenses, the future and the past.

3.6.5.5.1. Future Tense of the Optative

It is formed from positive or negative stems by the thematic morphemes **-ğay/gäy** [after vowels or voiced consonants] or **-qay/-käy** [after voiceless consonants] and the personal pronouns to indicate person and number. In the third persons only the number is marked: **-lar/-lär** in the plural and its absence in the singular. There is a set of apocopated thematic morphemes in **-qa/-kä, -ğa/-gä** the use of which is quite common. The morpheme **-a/-ä** [< **-qa/-kä, -ğa/-gä**] is less frequent and has special semantic features.

	Positive		
Sing.			
körgäy män [133]	'I will see'	**barğay män**	'I will go'
körgäy sän	'you will see'	**barğay sän**	'you will go'
körgäy	'he will see'	**barğay**	'he will go'
Plur.			
körgäy biz	'we will see'	**barğay biz**	'we will go'
körgäy siz	'you will see'	**barğay siz**	'you will go'
körgäylär	'they will see'	**barğaylar**	'they will go'
	Negative		
Sing.			
körmägäy män	'I will not see'	**barmağay män**	'I will not go'
körmägäy sän	'you will not see'	**barmağay sän**	'you will not go'
körmägäy	'he will not see'	**barmağay**	'he will noi go'
Plur.			
körmägäy biz	'we will not see'	**barmağay biz**	'we will not go'
körmägäy siz	'you will not see'	**barmağay siz**	'you will not go'
körmägäylär	'they will not see'	**barmağaylar**	'they will not go'

[133] The forms *män~men, sän~sen* are alternating. Popular works mostly have *-men, -sen.*

The use of the future tense of the optative:

1. The future optative most of the time expresses a future action without indicating or implying necessity, inevitability, or intensity. E.g.,

Ay ṣabā barsang Samarqand kelibän nä eltgä sen? (ShD126r:6) 'O, Zephyr, if you go to Samarqand, what will you bring on your return?'

Boyung sarvï ki nang yer ṣuḫbatïmdïn, egilgäy ʿāqibat tüz niyyatïmdïn. (DN245r:4) 'The [straight] cypress of your body scorns to be in my companionship but it bows down at the end, when it realizes the straitforwardness of my intent.'

Ğavvāṣliq netäg qïla sen bolmayïn fanā, šahr-i vucūd ara sen özüngni bečāra qïl. (ShD97v:4-5) 'How can you dive for pearls without annihilating your Self? In the city of existence[134] make your Self totally helpless.'

2. It very often occurs in admonishments, exhortations, or preachings. E.g.,

Qïlmağïl sen namāzda taqṣïr, tā Qiyāmatda bolğa sen dilgïr. (MS3v:4) 'Do not be remiss in your prayers or you will be filled with horror on the day of resurrection.'

Bu manzildin angru yürüp yätgä sän, ayïtmaq ḫācat yoq körüp netgä sän. (MM199r10) 'You must go beyond this station in order to reach [your destination]. There is no need to tell you [the way]; just look and you will know what to do.'

3. It is used to express intent, resolve, or determination. E.g.,

[134] I.e., in this world

Bu masā'ilni zikr qïlğay miz, har biri ičrä fikr qïlğay miz. (MS 3r:5) 'We will [now] take up these matters. We will consider each of them one by one.'
Tavba qïldïm kim dağī ḫuṭba oqusam arqun oquğay män. (Sayf 111r:13). 'I made a vow that if I recite the Friday sermon again, I will recite it slowly.'

4. It is very frequent in expressing hope, desire, or wish. E.g.,
Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetgäy vaṣl bāğïdïn manga bar. (DN245r:2) 'My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.'
Umēdim Tengridin ol dur ki gah gāh, yaruğay közlärim yüzüngdin, Ay Māh! (DN251r:6) 'My hope from God is that now and then my eyes may shine with joy beholding your face, O, Moon.'
Manga körgüzmäsün Tengri ḫwad ol kün, ki tofraq birlä bir bolğay zalālïm. (DN242r:7) 'May God Himself never make me see the day when my source of life-giving water is equal in value with dust.'
Közüm Cayḫūnï üzä köprü bağladïm qašdïn, bu ārzūda ki tüškäy bu köprükdin guẓarï. (ShD176r:4) 'Over the the Jayhun river I raised a bridge using an eyebrow in the desire that by chance she may cross that bridge.'
Oqup uqqanğa köp ṣavāb olğay, ham nivīsandağa ṣavāb olğay. (MS16v:3) 'He who has read and mastered [this book] will obtain ample recompense. So will he who only copies it.'
Uzun tün qalmağa allïngda ğamlar, yaruğay ʿayš ičindä ṣubḥdamlar. (DN248v:7) 'May sorrows not stay in your presence for long nights. May mornings dawn upon you in luxury and pleasure.'
Uzatqay sen sačïngdïn vaṣl tünin, üčürgäy sen kelip hicrān tütünin. (DN251r:7) 'That by your hair you prolong the night of union; that coming to me you dissipate the smoke of separation.'

5. It often conveys a command, an injunction, or an ordinance. E.g.,
Ol yağnï sürtgäy[135] **kečä kündüz**. (KBV19r:12) 'You [*sic*] should smear on that ointment night and day.'
Sen bu čağlïq bilä bas qïlmağa sen, tark qïlmağnï havas qïlmağa sen. (RB8r:7) 'Do not be satisfied with this much. Never be willing to abandon the pronouncing of the ẓikr.'

[135] The second person marker can be omitted in case the verb occurs as an imperative.

Boğaz yergä bolsa bïčaq türtkä siz. (MM191r:14) 'If its [i.e., the animal's] throat is turned toward the ground, cut it with your knife.'
Meni sen körmägäy sen özgä hargiz, parī teg közüngä učqay camālïm. (DN242r:2) 'You will never see me in any other way. My beauty will draw your attention like a fairy.[136]

Keräk andaq ki köngüldä muṭlaq qalmağay hēč taʿalluq, cuz Ḥaqq. (RB5r:13) 'It is important that absolutely no attachment, but attachment to God remain in one's heart.'

6. It is used as a form of the gnomic future to express a generally recognized truth, or a periodically returning event. E.g.,
Har qačan munï mudām etgäy sen, yenä bir martabağa yetgäy sen. (RB8r:5) 'As long as you persist in this, you will reach a higher degree [of perfection].'
Eksängän ḫayr urluqïnï bičkä sän, kūzagä ne qoysang anï ičkä sän. (Sayf 5r:2-3) 'You will reap the ears of corn you have sown. You will drink what you have put in [your] jar.'
Kamāl-i nafs kiši bilgäy ki mard-i rāhbīn bolğay. (ShD177r:4) 'Only the man with vision of the road knows what perfection of Self is.'
Har kim ḫiyānat bilän tirilgäy, ḥisāb vaqtïnda elläri titrägäy. (Sayf25v:7-8) 'Anyone who lives in treachery, will face the reckoning with trembling hands.'

7. It is used to express promises, vows, and pledges. E.g.,
Viṣālïm ḫwānïdïn ol ḫasta toyğay, ki cānïnï elig üstidä tutğay. (DN241v:6) '[Only] the tired one will eat his fill at the spread table of union with me, who holds his soul in the palm of his hand.'
Camālïmdïn oquğay ol raqamnï ki avval bašïna qoyğay qadamnï. (DN241v:7) 'Only the person who first puts a foot upon his head will decipher the numbers from my beauty.'

8. Sometimes it expresses a habit. E.g.,
Alnïnda ne bolsa yegäy ağzïnda ne kelsä degäy. (Sayf80v:5) 'He eats whatever is in front of him, he says whatever is in his smouth.'
Oqu alḥamd desäng yüz oqïğay. (Sayf137v:10) 'If you tell him to recite a Thanks be to God, he would recite it one hundred times.'
Men ol bulbul emäs men, ay gul-andām, ki bir dam bargsïz tapğay men ārām. (244v:6) 'I am not that nightingale, O Beloved

[136] Lit., my beauty will fly into your eyes

with a delicate body, that finds rest even for a moment without rose leaves.'

9. It is used in sentences expressing assessment, estimation or guess. E.g.,
Qaysï ganc bolğay anïng teg, avliyālar anda dur: Biri Sïğnaq, biri Qïlïč, biri Türkistān sarï. (ShD174r:10) 'What treasure could be like that [in the ruins]: the saints reside there. One [of those cities] is Sïğnaq, one is Qïlïč, and one is Turkistan.'

Qurğandïn daryā bir oq atïmï bolğay. (Babur 4r:8) 'From the fortress the river is at about a bowshot distance.'

10. It is frequent in similes, hyperbolas, metaphors. E.g.,
Netük men āvüräyin öz ğamïmdïn, ki pūlād erigāy otluğ damïmdïn. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'
Atasï ol ṣadaf dur kim bahālï cavharï bolğay. Ṣadafdan ayrïlur bolsa tapar cavhar ağïr qïmat. (Sayf98r:10) 'Her father is that shell that has a precious pearl. The pearl obtains a high value [only] after it is separated from the shell.'
Agar könglüng manga küysä,ʿacab yoq, ki körüp taš erigāy riqqatïmdïn. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

11. It also expresses a supposition. E.g.,
Ne ḥācat kim qasam kirgāy arağa, yamīnsiz bilgil išingning yasārïn. (DN254v:7) 'What need is there for taking an oath? You should know the left side of your work without [a reference to] the right.'[137]
Tüzälip ādamīlär ḫōyïn alğïn, ne degāy el dağï āḫir uyalğïn. (DN260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Be ashamed at the end of what people say.'[138]
Negä keräk kiši har cāyï andaq, ne bar yegäy ču bolsa rāyï andaq. (DN254r:8) 'What he is needed for, that is his position since his philosophy is to eat whatever there is.'

12. It occurs in the main clause of conditional complex sentences. E.g.,
Sening kōyungdïn, ay körk ičrä bāğïm, bašïm gar barsa barmağay ayağïm. (DN244v:5) 'From your quarter, O, My Flowergarden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.'
Ğamïmdïn gar desä ičimdäki dāğ, bulut teg yïğlağay ün tartïban dāğ. (DN256v:10) 'If the pain I feel could talk about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'
Agar tang yaqïn bolsa, vitr namāzïnï tahaccuddïn burun oqğay. (RM17v:4) 'If dawn arrives early, he should perform the witr prayer before the tahajjud prayer.'

13. It may be used in the main clause of concessive complex sentences. E.g.,
Sanga körgüzmägāy ruḫ zulf va ḫālïm, agar yüz qatla bolsang paymālïm. (DN242r:1). 'To you my tresses and my beauty spot do not show their faces even if you are trampled upon[139] under my feet a hundred times.[140]
Agar tandïn desäm bir ḫāksārē, ne körüngāy eşikingdä ğubārē. (DN250v:5) 'Even if I tell about a person that he is humble, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?'

14. We find it, rarely though, in final clauses:
Dārū ičip ẓaʿïf bolup barayïm ḫattâ sulṭānning iʿtiqādï manga artuqraq bolğay. (Sayf58v:7) 'I take some medicine, become weak and then go [to the banquet of the Sultan] so that his good will toward me may increase.'
Murādïm ol durur har dam ki qïlsam tün va kün qulluq, ki rāḫat tapqa men āḫar ušol ranc-i garān birlä. (ShD161v:3-4) 'My intention is that I do service every moment night and day so that I find ease finally in this heavy pain.'

3.6.5.5.2. Past Tense of the Optative Mood

The past tense of the optative mood is created by the forms of the future optative and the definite past tense forms of the auxiliary **e-, er-** 'to be':

	Positive
Sing.	
körgäy erdim	'I may have seen'
körgäy erding	'you may have seen'
körgäy erdi	'he may have seen'
Plur.	

[137] You should know what the left side is without reference to the right side. The author suggests the value of absolute knowledge. God loves when we begin our actions on the left side. [M. Shaybānī Khān, *Risāla*].
[138] About how they knew you.
[139] One of the ways of execution by the Mongols of Hülägü was to let the victim, wrapped in a rug, trampled upon by galopping horses.
[140] The Lover is warned not to build any hope on the principle that cruel treatment by the Beloved could be a sign that she takes an interest in him.

körgäy erdük	'we may have seen'
körgäy erdingiz	'you may have seen '
körgäy erdilär	'they may have seen'

Sing.

barğay erdim	'I may have gone'
barğay erding	'you may have gone'
barğay erdi	'he may have gone'

Plur.

barğay erdük	'we may have gone'
barğay erdingiz	'you may have gone'
barğay erdilär	'they may have gone'

Negative

Sing.

körmägäy erdim	'I may not have seen'
körmägäy erding	'you may not have seen'
körmägäy erdi	'he may not have seen'

Plur.

körmägäy erdük	'we may not have seen'
körmägäy erdingiz	'you may not have seen'
körmägäy erdilär	'they may not have seen'

Sing.

barmağay erdim	'I may not have gone'
barmağay erding	'you may not have gone'
barmağay erdi	'he may not have gone'

Plur.

barmağay erdük	'we may not have gone'
barmağay erdingiz	'you may not have gone'
barmağay erdilär	'they may not have gone'

(1) It is used in the main clause of conditional complex sentences to express an action that did not materialize due to unfulfilled conditions. E.g.,

> **Emdi ṣanam firāğinda mäning ḫālïmnï kelip sorsang erdi ve taqï camāl-i viṣālïngning ḫaṭṭ u ḫālïna muṭāla'a qïlsam erdi, mäning ḫālimdïn ḫabardār bolğay erding**. (ShD153v:4) 'O my Idol, if while you were away you had come to ask about my state and if I had been able to observe the lines and the beauty spot of your face at the meeting, you could have learned about my situation.'
>
> **Ičmägäy erdim tana''um davrïda cām-i viṣāl bilsäm erdi hicrdin bolur bu davrān özgäčä**. (HBD42,6) 'I would not have drunk from the cup of union in the time of enjoyment, had I known how time would change due to separation from her.'
>
> **Bu kišining biligi bolsa edi, aḥmaq bilän iši bu yergä yetmägäy edi**. (Sayf108r:6) 'Had this person possessed wisdom, his case with the fool would not have gotten as far.'

> **Ayağïng tofrağïn**[141] **gar tapsam erdi, anï elning közidin yapsam erdi, yüzüm altunğa tutğay erdi anï, közidä asrağay erdi nihānī**. (DN250v:10) 'Had I but found the dust your feet were walking on, had I covered it from peoples' eyes, my face would have considered it as gold and would have preserved it secretly in its eyes.'

(2) It is also used to express a coveted but unfulfilled desire. Often the Persian desiderative particle **kāški** is used to support the desiderative meaning. E.g.,

> **Yetmäs elgim čon visālïng etäkinä, kāški qïlğay erdi gum meni yer yüzidin parvardigār**. (Gadā'ī16r 2) 'Since my hand does not reach the skirt[142] of union with you,[143] [I say:] O, had the Nourisher eliminated me from the surface of the earth.'

3.6.5.6. The Aorist

The action or state expressed by the aorist is not bound to a specific time or to a concrete location. Nor is it determined as to aspect, or status. This permits the speaker to use the aorist in a great variety of functions. The aorist is formed from verbal nouns in **-r; -ar/-är, -ur/-ür** [positive, see 3.6.5.6.] and **-mas/-mäs** [negative, see 3.6.5.7.] with the personal markers **-män, -sän, --, -biz, -siz, -lar/-lär**.

The aorist has present, past, indirect past tenses and conditional forms.

3.6.5.6.1. The Present Tense of the Aorist

The present tense of the aorist names the action related to an agent with no reference to a particular time. It provides no information as to aspect, status, or mood.

Positive

[141] Variant of *topraq*.
[142] Those who are in need reach for the skirt of the one they hope to get help from.
[143] I.e., I am not able to secure your help...

Sing.			
körär män	'I see'	**barur män**	'I go'
körär sän	'you see'	**barur sän**	'you go'
körär	'he sees'	**barur**	'he goes'
Plur.			
körär biz	'we see'	**barur biz**	'we go'
körär siz	'you see'	**barur siz**	'you go'
körärlär	'they see'	**barurlar**	'they go'
	Negative		
Sing.			
körmäs män	'I don't see'	**barmas män**	'I don't go'
körmäs sän	'you don't see'	**barmas sän**	'you don't go'
körmäs	'he doesn't see'	**barmas**	'he doesn't go'
Plur.			
körmäs biz	'we don't see'	**barmas biz**	'we don't go'
körmäs siz	'you don't see'	**barmas siz**	'you don't go'
körmäslär	'they don't see'	**barmaslar**	'they don't go'

Since the aorist does not have a point of time or time frame specifically assigned to it and is devoid of aspects and status, in actual usage it may assume diverse time, mode, and status characteristics.

(1) Therefore the present tense of the aorist often expresses habitual actions. E.g.,

Saḥargāhī barur men, bil, ḥarābāt. Ne der sen zāhid-i ṣāḥib-karāmāt? (ShD25v:4-5) 'Early mornings, be aware of this, I go to the tavern. What do you say, abstinent, possessor of [the ability to perform] miracles?'

Labïng tabassum ilä äylä tirgüzür ki Masīḥ. Zahī tabassum-i šīrīn, zahī kalām-i faṣīḥ. (ShD29r:8) 'With a smile your lips bring one to life again, like the Messiah. What a sweet smile! What an eloquent speech!'

(2) The present aorist often indicates established unchanging facts. E.g.,

Ḫusrav u Saʿdī va Ḥāfiẓğa nä aytur sen cavāb: Täng emäs tur šakkar va qand va ʿasal birlä ʿunnāb. (ShD21v:1-2-) 'How can you challenge Khusrav [Dihlavī], Saʿdī or Ḥāfiẓ? The jujube is not equal to sugar, rock candy, or honey.'

Özüngni qïlma asru bē sar-u barg, kim egilmäs sening sarï nihālïm. (DN242v:4) 'Do not feel too distressed just because my branches do not bend in your direction.'

Malāmat qiblasïdïn yüz evürmäs, ḫalāʾiq nečä ṭaʿn ursa, dam urmas. (DN245v:8) 'He does not turn his face away from the qibla of blame, however much people criticise him, he does not say a word.'

Cihānğa qaysï cān keldi qulunum ölmäyin qalmas. Ačïlğan lāla gul yāsmīn tabassum solmayïn qalmas. Ḫ77r:6) 'My boy, every soul that has entered this world will not stay here, will not escape death. The tulip, the rose, the jasmine, and the smile, once they have blossomed, will surely wither.'

(3) The present aorist is used to express a general truth. We often find it in proverbs. E.g.,

ʿIšq otï saldï Šabānī könglidä ol qïldï āh kim tütün paydā bolur har yärdä kim küydi kabāb. (ShD23r:3) 'The fire of love flared up in Shabānī's heart. He let out a sigh because smoke appears in every place where kebab is burning.'

Kiši desä sevür men ursa bolmas, bu yazuqdïn anï öltürsä bolmas. (DN247v:11) 'If a person says, "I love" he should not be beaten.[144] He should not be executed because of this sin.'[145]

Yaz faslïda quruğan kökärür. Zāhid va ṣūfī qalur taš dek qurup. (ShD23r:12-13) 'Whatever dries in summer, will green out [when spring comes]. The abstinent and the mystic remain dry like stone.'

Körär men ʿišq ara yüz miḥnat u ranc, balē, ranc körmäyin tapmas kiši ganc. (ShD28r:12-13) 'Being in love I experience a hundred sufferings and pains. But without experiencing pains one cannot find the treasures.'

(4) It is used in conditional-temporal sense. The condition or time is taken for granted. E.g.,

Davlat tilär siz barčanğïz davlat ešikkä kelingiz, andïn burunraq kim degäy davlat sizä hāzā firāq. (ShD80v:12) 'If you want good fortune, come to the threshold of good fortune before good fortune tells you, the time is here for separation.'

(5) It also expresses progressive or repeated present actions. E.g.,

[144] Lovers should not be treated as madmen who are chained and children would throw stones at them. (See ʿAynī, *Yoddoshtho*).

[145] As Mansūr Ḥallāj was.

Laʿlïng bilä tišingning hacrïnda, ay moġūlčïn, har laḥẓa kirpükimdin marcān va durr sačar mān. (ShD112v:11-12) 'Being away from your lips and from your teeth, O Moghul Beauty, from my eyelashes I constantly scatter corals and pearls.'[146]
Ol närgis-i mastāna közümdä učar har dam, könglüm qušïn avlarġa asru tez va lāčïn sen. (ShD120r:9-10) 'That intoxicated narcissus[147] flies into my eyes[148] every moment. In hunting the bird of my heart you are immensely fast and [skilled like] a falcon.'

ʿĀšiq üčün mān bilür men yār cafāsï köp turur kečä kündüz šukr etär men šol qadar iḥsān üčün. (ShD121r:1-2) 'I know that the cruelty of the friend is excessive toward the lover. I say thanks night and day for this much generosity.'
Agar davlat čirāġïnï yarutsam hēč tang ermäs, ki öčkän Čingizī šamʿï biling beglär yanar mendin.(ShD120r:1-2) 'If I relight the lantern of the empire no one ever should be amazed, since as you, lords, full well know, through me he dying candle of the House of Chingis flares up again.'

(6) For a vivid narration of past actions, the present aorist is used instead of the definite past. [149]
Ulusnï bašlap alur mulk va taḫt İskandar, ki himmat ilä tegär tāc va sarvarī mīrāṣ. (ShD17r:1-2) 'Leading his people Alexander took countries because it is through good efforts that leadership becomes your legacy.'

(7) The present aorist is also used to express future actions. E.g.,
Agar sen anda körsäng nāgah āzār, men ešitip bolur men munda afgār. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'

(9) Present progressive or continuous actions also are expressed by the present aorist. E.g.,
Ne dur ḥālï anïng ġam laškarïnda, yanï ağrïr mu miḥnat bistarïnda? (DN252v:6) 'What is his condition in the army of sorrows? Is his side aching in the sick-bed of misery?'
Yüz tümän ʿūd teg yanar men nä sababdïn dāʿimā: Čōn moġulčïn ṭarra-i ṭarrārïnï bir bir etär. (ShD31r:12-13) 'I constantly burn like a hundred times ten thousand [pieces of] aloe [wood]. For what reason? Because the Moghul beauty unties her locks one by one.'

(10) The negative aorist often serves to convey an admonishment, or a reminder. E.g.,
Men ol bulbul emäs men, ay gulandām, ki bir dam bargsïz tapğay men ārām. (DN244v:6) 'I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, who could find rest without [rose] leaves even for a moment.'

Qalamlardïn durust ermäs rivāyat, ki sïğmas tillärigä ol ḥikāyat. (DN248v:4) 'It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.[150]
Ki qalmas ādamī bir ḫuyï birlän, arïğ yoq tur hamēša suyï birlän. (DN254r:2) 'Because a human being does not prevail in one and the same habit. The irrigation canal does not keep its water[151] for ever.'

Note: Chagatay verbal inflection contains a few Azerbaijani forms. The most striking grammatical loans occur in the paradigm of the Aorist:

(a) Azerbaijani form of the positive aorist in **-am/-äm**. E.g.,
Qiṣṣanï qïlma uzun zulf-i muʿanbardïn yana, qorqaram andïn uzunraq bolmağay afsānamïz. (ShD62r:1) 'Of the scented tresses do not make the story long. I fear that my narrative will not be longer than that.'
Ol Ḥusaynī tili birlä ayturam bir nečä söz, bu Šabānïğa madadčï boldï Ḫwārizmīm mānüm. (ShD100r:5-6) 'I say a few words with the tongue of Ḥusaynī. My Khwarizmi has become the helper of Shabānī.'

(b) Azerbaijani form of the negative aorist in **-man/-mān**. E.g..,
Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarči yüz evürsäng. (DN251r:3) 'I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head[152] although you turn away[153] yours.'
Özüm özümni bilmän, bu tünlä yārïm bulman, vah zulfidïn parēšān, yā rabb manga nädin dur? (ShD53v:11) 'I do not know

[146] I.e., blood-stained tears
[147] I.e., beloved with beautiful eyes
[148] I.e., comes to my mind
[149] Historical aorist
[150] I.e., the nib of the pen
[151] I.e., the same water
[152] A sign of disobedience.
[153] In disregard, or contempt.

myself, tonight I do not find my friend. Ah, distraught by her tresses, O God! Why does this happen to me?'
Hēč <u>bilmän</u> bu ot mänim ävimä qandan tüsti. (Sayf38r:8) 'I have no idea from where this fire fell upon my house.'

3.6.5.6.2. The Past Tense of the Aorist

The past tense of the aorist consists of the aorist theme, positive or negative, followed by the inflected forms of the definite past tense of the auxiliary verb **er-**.

It expresses habitual, repeated, or continued past actions or states with no closer modal, status, or aspect characteristics.

Positive

Sing.			
körär erdim	'I saw'	**barur erdim**	'I went'
körär erding	'you saw'	**barur erding**	'you went'
körär erdi	'he saw'	**barur erdi**	'he went'
Plur.			
körär erdük	'we saw'	**barur erdük**	'we went'
körär erdingiz	'you saw'	**barur erdingiz**	'you went'
körär erdilär	'they saw'	**barur erdilär**	'they went'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäs erdim	'I did not see'	**barmas erdim**	'I did not go'
körmäs erding	'you did not see'	**barmas erding**	'you did not go'
körmäs erdi	'he did not see'	**barmas erdi**	'he did not go'
Plur.			
körmäs erdük	'we did not see'	**barmas erdük**	'we did not go'
körmäs erdingiz	'you did not see'	**barmas erdingiz**	'you did not go'
körmäs erdilär	'they did not see'	**barmas erdilär**	'they did not go'

E.g.,

Ušbu sirrni bilmäsün dep <u>kizlär erdim</u> dā'imā āškārā qïldï āḫir dāna-i durdānamïz. (ShD61v:11) 'I always hid my secret so that she may not learn it. At the end, however, a grain of my unique pearl[154] disclosed it.'
Vah uzun tün dilbarïm hicrānïnï <u>tartar edim</u>, ṣūrat-i naqšïn köngüldä čäkkäli zarzār edim. (ShD103v:6-7) 'Woe, long nights I suffered from the absence of my Beloved, I was desperate to paint the picture of her face in my heart.'

Har yïl ming yïğač <u>safar qïlur erdi</u>, ayağ ve baš yalang, ve hēč šahrda on kündin artuq <u>turmas erdi</u>. (NF87v:23) 'Every year he would travel a thousand miles barefooted and bareheaded. And he would not stay in any city more than ten days.'
Bir kün bu sulṭān maclisindä Šāhnāma kitābïn <u>oqur edilär</u>. (Sayf16r:7) 'One day in the company of the King they recited [from] the book [entitled] Shahname.'

(1) The past tense of the aorist sometimes indicates that the action was attempted, or intended but, in fact, was not carried out. E.g.,
Issï tammūz künlärindä bir kün äylä issï edi kim boğaznï qurutup ağïznï <u>qaynatur edi</u>. (Sayf121v11) 'One day in the hot [month of] July it was so hot that [the heat] dried out the throat and brought the mouth to boiling.'
Gar közümning yašï bir däm aqmayïn tïnsa edi, <u>küydürür erdi</u> biling ʿālamnï bir āhïm yaqïp. (ShD17r:12-13) 'If my tears had ceased to flow for a moment, one sigh of mine would have set fire to this world and burned it down.'

3.6.5.6.3. The Indirect Past Tense of the Aorist

The indirect past of the aorist handles indirect, unconfirmed information, either what the speaker heard from someone else, or what he himself discovered but could not obtain certainty about it.

This tense form consists of the aorist theme, positive or negative, followed by the inflected forms of the indirect past of the verb **er-** or **e-** 'to be.'

Positive

Sing.			
körär ermiš män	'I guess I saw'	**barur ermiš män**	'I guess I went'

[154] I.e., my tears

körär ermiš sän	'I guess you saw'	**barur ermiš sän**	'I guess you went'
körär ermiš	'I guess he saw'	**barur ermiš**	'I guess he went'
Plur.			
körär ermiš biz	'I guess we saw'	**barur ermiš biz**	'I guess we went'
körär ermiš siz	'I guess you saw'	**barur ermiš siz**	'I guess you went'
körär ermišlär	'I guess they saw'	**barur ermišlär**	'I guess they went'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäs ermiš män	'I guess I did not see'	**barmas ermiš män**	'I guess I did not go'
körmäs ermiš sän	'I guess you did not see'	**barmas ermiš män**	'I guess you did not go'
körmäs ermiš	'I guess he did not see'	**barmas ermiš**	'I guess he did not go'
Plur.			
körmäs ermiš biz	'I guess we did not see	**barmas ermiš biz**	'I guess we did not go'
körmäs ermiš siz	'I guess you did not see'	**barmas ermiš siz**	'I guess you did not go'
körmäs ermišlär	'I guess they did not see'	**barmas ermiš-lär**	'I guess they did not go'

E.g.,

ʿĀšiq olğannï <u>der ermišlär</u> basē nādān kiši, qaṭralar közüm yašidïn kelsä dānā bolğa män. (ShD134r:9) 'Many would call ignorant those in love.[155] When my tears fall drop by drop, I wish I was a wise man.'

Nafsïnï sevgän kiši dur har zamān dunyāparast, ay dirēğā könglüngä <u>tüšmäs emiš</u> gōr va kafan. (ShD119v:5-6) 'The person who loves his self[156] always appreciates this world. Alas, the grave and the shroud apparently did not occur to his mind.'

Bu nukta sirrini hargiz kiši qayda <u>bilür ermiš</u>? Ača ber nukta sirrini mäning pīr-i muğānïm sen. (ShD112r12-13) 'Did ever people anywhere know the secret of this point? Open the secrets of points, [after all] you are my elder of the magi.'

Sizing yunmaqïngïznï män kördüm ärsä bildim kim män ḫaṭā <u>qïlur ärmiš män</u>. (NF86v:4) 'I observed [the way you performed] your ablution and realized that I probably was in error.'

[155] Cf. MM200v:10-11
[156] I.e., his carnal soul

3.6.5.6.4. The Conditional of the Aorist

The conditional of the aorist is based on the aorist theme, positive **[-r]** or negative **[-mas/-mäs]**, followed by the inflected forms of the conditional of the verbs **er-** or **bol-.**

It is used in conditional clauses of complex sentences to express present or future simple conditions.

Positive

Sing.			
körär ersäm/ bolsam	'if I see'	**barur ersäm/ bolsam**	'if I go'
körär ersäng/ bolsang	'if you see'	**barur ersäng/ bolsang**	'if you go'
körär ersä/ bolsa	'if he sees'	**barur ersä/ bolsa**	'if he goes'
Plur.			
körär ersäk/ bolsaq	'if we see'	**barur ersäk/ bolsaq**	'if we go'
körär ersängiz/ bolsangïz	'if you see'	**barur ersängiz/ bolsangïz**	'I you go'
körär ersälär/ bolsalar	'if they see'	**barur ersälär/ bolsalar**	'if they go'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäs ersäm/ bolsam	'if I do not see'	**barmas ersäm/ bolsam**	'if I do not go'
körmäs ersäng/ bolsang	'if you do not see'	**barmas ersäng/ bolsang**	'if you do not go'
körmäs ersä/ bolsa	'if he does not see'	**barmas ersä/ bolsa**	'if he does not go'
Plur.			
körmäs ersäk/ bolsaq	'if we do not see'	**barmas ersäk/ bolsaq**	'if we do not go'
körmäs ersängiz/ bolsangïz	'if you do not see'	**barmas ersängiz/ bolsangïz**	'if you do not go'

körmäs ersälär/ bolsalar	'if they do not see'	**barmas ersälär/ bolsalar**	'if they do not go'

Note: The conditional of the aorist based on the positive stem has contracted forms. E.g.,

Positive

Sing.

körärsäm	'if I see'	**barursam**	'if I go'
körärsäng	'if you see'	**barursang**	'if you go'
körärsä	'if he sees'	**barursa**	'if he goes'

Plur.

körärsäk	'if we see'	**barursaq**	'if we go'
körärsängiz	'if you see'	**barursangïz**	'if you go'
körärsälär	'if they see'	**barursalar**	'if they go'

E.g.,

Luṭf dušmangä körgüzür bolsang, dōstluq šarṭïn ol tamām qïlur. (Sayf16r:7) 'If you show kindness to the enemy, he will carry out the necessities of friendship.'

Anïng vaṣfïn sorarlar bolsa mändän, nišānsïzdan ḫabarsïz ne degäy raz. (Sayf5r:13-5v:1) 'If they ask me about His qualities, how could an ignorant report about one who has no characteristics.'

Ay tarsālar, agar bu kimärsälär birlä laʿnat qïlïšur bolsangïz, qiyāmatqa tägi yär yüzindä tärsā uruġï qalmağay. (NF72v:9) 'O, Christians! If you go on cursing one another with this people, by the time the resurrection is at hand, no offspring of Christians will remain.'

(1) The second person of the conditional of the aorist is also used to express indirect commands. E.g.,

Sunnatï nečä dur bilür bolsang, kečä kündüz anï qïlur bolsang. (MS13v:6) 'You must know how many sunna [rak'ats] are required in one day [and, having learned that] you must perform them.'

(2) The conditional of the aorist is used in temporal sentences. The conjunction **qačan** 'when' may introduce the temporal clause. E.g.,

Oq qačan yadan čïqar bolsa yana kelmäs. (Sayf169v:8) 'When the arrow is released from the bow, it does not come back.'

Farïza qalur bolsa buzlur namāz .(MM183v:9) 'When a mandatory prayer is left out, the prayer is invalidated.'

(3) The conditional of the aorist is also used in concessive sentences. The concessive clause uses the conjunction **gar** or may not need a conjunction at all. E.g.,

İnär bolsa qayadan bir ağïr taš, keräk kim ketmägäy ʿārif yolundan. (Sayf80r:9) 'Even if a heavy boulder rolls down from a rocky mountain, the mystic does not go out of its path.'

Tuz etmäkni unutmas kalb gar yüz qovar bolsang, yana qaytarmas ol yüz. (Sayf 175r:1-2) 'The dog does not forget the gratitude for sustenance[157] even if you chase him away a hundred times, it does not turn its face away [from you].'

3.6.5.6.5. The Optative of the Aorist

The optative of the aorist expresses an anticipated future action. It consists of the aorist base of the main verb followed by the inflected forms of the optative of the auxiliary **bol-** 'to be'.

Positive

Sing.

körär bolğay män	'I am to see'	**barur bolgay män**	'I am to go'
körär bolğay sän	'you are to see'	**barur bolğay sän**	'you are to go'
körär bolğay	'he is to see'	**barur bolğay**	'he is to go'

Plur.

körär bolğay biz	'we are to see'	**barur bolğay biz**	'we are to go'
körär bolğay siz	'you are to see'	**barur bolğay siz**	'you are to go'
körär bolğay-lar	'they are to see'	**barur bolğay-lar**	'they are to go'

Negative

Sing.

körmäs bolğay män	'I am not to see'	**barmas bolğay män**	'I am not to go'
körmäs bolğay sän	'you are not to see'	**barmas bolğay sän**	'you are not to go'
körmäs bolğay	'he is not to see'	**barmas bolğay**	'he is not to go'

[157] Lit., salt and bread

Plur.			
körmäs bolğay biz	'we are not to see'	**barmas bolğay biz**	'we are not to go'
körmäs bolğay siz	'you are not to see'	**barmas bolğay siz**	'you are not to go'
körmäs bolğay-lar	'they are not to see'	**barmas bolğay-lar**	'they are not to go'

E.g.,

Ṭarīq-i ʿišqïda ol kim özin bilür bolğay, ḫabarnï sāqī va dilbargä qïlmamïš tamām. (ShD107v:11-12) 'He who is to know his Self in the path of love, apparently has not told the full story to the cupbearer and the heartravisher.'

(1) The optative of the aorist may express an eventual condition [that may arise, could occur, or chances are happens] in the conditional clause of a complex sentence. The clause may use the conjunction **agar**. E.g.,

Yā Muḥammad, agar čärigdä namāz qïlur bolsang, ḫalāʾiqni ek-ki ṭāʾifa qïlğïl. (NF20v:9) 'O, Muḥammad, should you lead the prayer in the armed forces, split the soldiers into two groups.'

3.6.5.7. The Indirect Past Tense

The indirect past tense expresses a completed action the result of which is present at the speaker's time. There is, however, some lack of certainty about the agent or the action, or both. This can result from the clouded reliability of the source of our information We heard about an incident but we did not witness it ['as I hear']. Or we observed the result of an action but only guessed how it had come about ['I gather'].

This is a fine distinction which is not always realized by individual authors who may use it in the role of definite past, or past perfect. It is comparatively rare and occurs mostly in poetry. E.g..

Positive

Sing.			
körmiš män	'I have seen'	**barmïš män**	'I have gone'
körmiš sän	'you have seen'	**barmïš sän**	'you have gone'
körmiš	'he has seen'	**barmïš**	'he has gone'
Plur.			
körmiš biz	'we have seen'	**barmïš biz**	'we have gone'
körmiš siz	'you have seen'	**barmïš siz**	'you have gone'
körmišlär	'they have seen'	**barmïslar**	'they have gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmämiš män	'I have not seen'	**barmamïš män**	'I have not gone
körmämiš sän	'you have not seen'	**barmamïš sän**	'you have not gone
körmämiš	'he has not seen'	**barmamïš**	'he has not gone'
Plur.			
körmämiš biz	'we have not seen'	**barmamïš biz**	'we have not gone'
körmämiš siz	'you have not' seen'	**barmamïš siz**	'you have not gone'
körmämišlär	'they have not seen'	**barmamïšlar**	'they have not gone'

E.g.,

Ṭarīq-i ʿišqïda ol kim özin bilür bolğay, ḫabarnï sāqī va dilbar-gä qïlmamïš tamām. (ShD107v:11-12) 'He who is to know his Self in the path of love, apparently has not told the full story to the cupbearer and the heartravisher.'

Nä aradan nä ulusdan nä umaqdan nä parī, ṣunʿ-i Ḫaqq yazmïš seni, ay körklü sulṭānïm mänüm. (ShD99v:12-13).'Not from [our] neighborhood, not from [our] people, not from [our] race, not [even from the] fairies: The artistry of God has painted you, [I believe] O My Beautiful Emperor.'

Manga belgürdi emdi ittiḥadïng, bar ermiš zulfuma čïn iʿtiqā-dïng. (DN247v:2) 'Now your alliance has been revealed to me. Your faith in my tresses was apparently sincere.'

Sanga ol zamzama beḫwāst ermiš, har āhangī ki qïldïng rāst er-miš. (DN247v:3) 'For you that chant may have sounded spontane-ous: Any tune that you produced was correct.'

Közläringning fannïdïn bildim, čïn ermiš bu maṣal: Har kišining kim kišigä raḥmï yoq, īmānï yoq. [GD124v:10] 'From the art of your eyes I knew that the proverb was apparently true: He who has no mercy, has no faith.'

ʿUmrïda miskīn Gadā hēč körmämiš ʿišrat yüzin; dard üčün göyā yaratmïšlar men qallāšnï. (GD153r:6) 'In his life poor Gadā

never saw the face of carefree enjoyment. Is it, I wonder, that I the worthless being, have been created for suffering [alone]?'
Mäni laškarda asīr etti Harīning dilbarï, kim azal kōyïnda yazmïš dur bu türlüg taqrīrin. (ShD116r:2) 'The heart-ravisher of Herāt made me a captive by her military forces. This confession was put in writing in the village of eternity without beginning.'
Avliyālar sarvarï ol šāh-i Turkistān emiš, yär yüzini nurï tutqan māh-i Turkistān emiš. (ShD68v:12-3) 'The leader of the saints [people say] was the King of Turkistan, the one whose light shines upon the face of the earth was the moon of Turkistan.'
Cannat-i maʿvā degän bāğ-i Samarqand emiš, Kavṣar-i aʿlā degän āb-i Samarqand emiš. (ShD70v:6-7) 'What is called the Blue Paradise is the garden of Samarqand.[158] What is called the most exquisite Kauthar [river] is the waters of Samarqand.'
Ḫayr va šarr degil anïng zulf va yüzin, biri nūrafšān ve biri mār emiš. (ShD71v:1-2) 'Call her tresses and her face Good and Evil: One is the radiant [sun], the other is a snake.'

Note: In the first and second person of the singular Azeri forms are also met with: E.g.,
Šāhāna dur dilbarïm yoq tur özümdä bir damïm, āhïm otïn köp yaqmïšam közdä yašïmdïn nä ʿamīm. (ShD100r:7-8) 'My heart-ravisher is imperial, not a single breath is left in me. I let the fire of my sighs burn too long. What an ocean is in my eyes formed by my tears.'
Män ki zulfung dāmïda asru ʿāciz bolmïšam, ʿārïzingning üstidä sunbullarïngnï tartma sen. (ShD116v:12). 'Since I have become utterly helpless in the net of your tresses, do not pull your hyacinths over your face.'
Anïng teg bolmïšam ḫayrān sanga kim körünmäs közümä ʿālamda diyār. (GD119r:4) 'I am so much amazed at you that I do not notice the [wonderful] lands in this world.'

3.6.5.7.1. The Conditional of the Indirect Past Tense

The conditional of the indirect past expresses eventual conditions in the past: 'if something perchance happened,' 'if someone eventually did something.'

[158] Reference to the Blue Saray, a four-storey palace in Samarkand mentioned in Shaybānī's *Dīvān*.

The forms of the conditional of the indirect past consist of the indirect past theme in **-miš/-miš** followed by the present conditional of the verb **bol-** or **er-**.

Positive			
Sing.			
körmiš bolsam	'if I saw'	**barmïš bolsam**	'if I went'
körmiš bolsang	'if you saw'	**barmïš bolsang**	'if you went.
körmiš bolsa	'if he saw'	**barmïš bolsa**	'if he went'
Plur.			
körmiš bolsaq	'if we saw '	**barmïš bolsaq**	'if we went'
körmiš bolsangïz	'if you saw'	**barmïš bolsangïz**	'if you went'
körmiš bolsalar	'if they saw'	**barmïš bolsalar**	'if they went'

Negative			
Sing.			
körmämiš bolsam	'if I did not ' see'	**barmamïš bolsam**	'if I did not go'
körmämiš bolsang	'if you did not see'	**barmamïš bolsang**	'if you did not go'
körmämiš bolsa	'if he did not see'	**barmamïš bolsa**	'if he did not go'
Plur.			
körmämiš bolsaq	'if we did not see'	**barmamïš bolsaq**	'if we did not go'
körmämiš bolsangïz	'if you did not see'	**barmamïš bolsangïz**	'if you did not go'
körmämiš bolsalar	'if they did not see'	**barmamïš bolsalar**	'if they did not go'

E.g.,
Kim ki körmiš bolsa bir kün ay yüzüngni dunyāda, ölsä dağï, bil yaqīn kim ẕarra'ē armānï yoq. (GD124v:9) 'If someone saw your face one day in this word, even when he dies, know full well, he does not have a speck of sorrow.'
Emdi kim bilür bu dağï oğrïlardan kelip özini ʿayyārlïq ṣūratïna taʿbiya qïlmïš bolsa, furṣat vaqtïnda anlarğa ḫabar qïlsa. (Sayf 103r:8-10) 'Now who knows, this also may be one of the thieves. Suppose he has [only] disguised himself and when the opportunity arises he will alert the rest.'

Qayu qulğa kim Ḥaqq taʿālā eḏgülük tilämiš bolsa aning yazuqlarïning ʿuqūbatïnï dunyāda berür āḫiratqa qoymas. (NF326,5) 'If God the Most high wanted to do good to any of the servants, He would give retribution for his sins in this word and would not leave it to the hereafter.'

Tābiʿīn ol kimärsägä ayturlar kim ṣaḥābağa satğašmïš bolsa, Payğāmbar yāränlarïnï körmïš bolsa. (NF187,10) '*Tābiʿīn* are called those people who had met with the Companions, who had seen the friends of the Prophet.'

3.6.5.7.2. The Optative of the Indirect Past Tense

The optative of the indirect past tense expresses a future action that will be completed by a future point of time indicated either by another action or by adverbials of time. It consists of the indirect past theme followed by the inflected forms of the optative of the verb **bol-.**

Positive

Sing.			
körmiš bolğay män	'I will have seen'	**barmïš bolğay män**	'I will have gone'
körmiš bolğay sän	'you will have seen'	**barmïš bolğay sän**	'you will have gone'
körmiš bolğay	'he will have seen'	**barmïš bolğay**	'he will have gone'
Plur.			
körmiš bolğay biz	'we will have seen'	**barmïš bolğay biz**	'we will have gone'
körmiš bolğay siz	'you will have seen'	**barmïš bolğay siz**	'you will have gone'
körmiš bolğaylar	'they will have seen'	**barmïš bolğaylar**	'they will have gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmämiš bolğay men	'I will not have seen'	**barmamïš bolğay men**	'I will not have gone'
körmämiš bolğay sen	'you will not have seen'	**barmamïš bolğay sen**	'you will not have gone'
körmämiš bolğay	'he will not have seen'	**barmamïš bolğay**	'he will not have gone'
Plur.			
körmämiš bolğay biz	'we will not have seen'	**barmamïš bolğay biz**	'we will not have gone'
körmämiš bolğay siz	'you will not have seen'	**barmamïš bolğay siz**	'you will not have gone'
körmämiš bolğaylar	'they will not have seen'	**barmamïš bolğaylar**	'they will not have gone'

E.g.,

Tek otur kim säning atang ağïr taš astïndan täbrängänčä keräk mänim atam cannatkä kirmiš bolğay. (Sayf150r:11-12). 'Just you wait! By the time your father crawls out from under heavy stones, my father will have entered heaven.'

Kim kim bu altï kim ärsä ḥaqqïnda yaman söz aytur bolsa, özingä ẓulm qïlmïš bolğay. (NF61r:10) 'Whoever says something bad about these six people, will bring great punishment upon himself.'

3.6.5.7.3. The Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense expresses a past action that was completed by a past point of time indicated by another verb or by an adverbial.

It consists of the indirect past theme followed by the inflected forms of the definite past of the verb **er-**. In relative clauses it may indicate the past time with emphasis on the result of the action present or effective at the time the statement is made.

Positive

Sing.			
körmiš erdim	'I had seen'	**barmïš erdim**	'I had gone'
körmiš erding	'you had seen'	**barmïš erding**	'you had gone'
körmiš erdi	'he has seen'	**barmïš erdi**	'he had gone'
Plur.			
körmiš erdük	'we had seen '	**barmïš erdük**	'we had gone'
körmiš erdingiz	'you had seen'	**barmïš erdingiz**	'you had gone'
körmiš erdilär	'theyhad seen'	**barmïš erdilär**	'they had gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmämiš erdim	'I had not seen'	**barmamïš erdim**	'I had not gone'
körmämiš erding	'you had not seen'	**barmamïš erding**	'you had not gone'
körmämiš erdi	'he had not seen'	**barmamïš erdi**	'he had not gone'

Plur.			
körmämiš er-dük	'we had not seen'	**barmamïš er-dük**	'we had not gone'
körmämiš er-dingiz	'you had not' seen'	**barmamïš er-dingiz**	'you had not gone'
körmämiš er-dilär	'they had not seen'	**barmamïš er-dilär**	'they had not gone'

E.g.,

Dāğ-i ʿišqing bermiš erdi ʿaql u hūšumdïn farāğ vah ki qoydï šu-ʿla-i hicrāning ol dāğ üzrä dāğ. (HB18-1) 'The pain caused by your love made me lose my intellect and consciousness. Alas, the flames of your separation pressed a branding iron upon the wound made by a branding iron.'

Cumlasï muʿallim ävindä erkän ol ävnüng saqfinï täbrätmiš erdi. (NF330,5) 'When all of them were in the teacher's house, he shook the roof of the house.'

Bildir taqï män bu Madāʾïn šahringä kelmiš ärdim. (NF139,12) 'Make it known that I had arrived to these two cities.'

Bir kün Abū Ḥanïfa olturmïš erdi Kavfaning ʿālimlarï birlä. (NF188,10) 'One day Abu Hanifa was in session with the learned men of Kavfa.'

Qačan kim Qaydūm atlïğ yärgä yättilär ärsä bir taš aldï taqï bu oğul ʿammïnï ol taš birlä öltürmïš ärdi. (NF170r:13) 'When they[159] reached the place called Qaydūm this boy took a stone and killed his uncle with that stone.'

3.6.5.8. The Progressive Mood

The progressive mood indicates the action in progress. It has two tenses: the present and the past. The basis for this paradigm is the locative case of the infinitive in **-maq/-mäk**. Rare in Chagatay but quite frequent in modern literary Uzbek.

3.6.5.8.1. The Present Tense of the Progressive Mood

An action in progress in the present time may be indicated by the present tense of the progressive mood.

It consists of the Locative case of the infinitive, positive or negative, and personal endings of the pronominal type.

[159] I.e., the boy and his uncle

Positive

Sing.			
körmäktä män	'I am seeing'	**barmaqta män**	'I am going'
körmäktä sän	'you are seeing'	**barmaqta sän**	'you are going'
körmäktä dur	'he is seeing'	**barmaqta dur**	'he is going'
Plur.			
körmäktä biz	'we are seeing'	**barmaqta biz**	'we are going'
körmäktä siz	'you are seeing'	**barmaqta siz**	'you are going'
körmäktä durlar	'they are seeing'	**barmaqta durlar**	'they are going'

Negative

Sing.			
körmämäktä män	'I am not seeing'	**barmamaqta män**	'I am not' going
körmämäktä sän	'you are not seing'	**barmamaqta sän**	'you are not going'
körmämäktä dur	'he is not seeing'	**barmamaqta dur**	'he is not going'
Plur.			
körmämäktä biz	'we are not seeing'	**barmamaqta biz**	'we are not going'
körmämäktä siz	'you are not seeing'	**barmamaqta siz**	'you are not going'
körmämäktä durlar	'they are not seeing'	**barmamaqta durlar**	'they are not going'

E.g.,

Men emdi ḫasta va ğam artmaqda; ḫiyāling allïda cān tartmaqda. (DN257r:3) 'Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing, facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.'

3.6.5.8.2. The Past Tense of the Progressive Mood

It consists of the locative case of the infinitive, positive or negative, followed by the full inflected forms of the definite past tense of the verb **e-**, or **er-**.

Positive

Sing.			
körmäktä edim	'I was seeing'	**barmaqta edim**	'I was going'
körmäktä eding	'you were seeing'	**barmaqta eding**	'you were going'
körmäktä edi	'he was seeing'	**barmaqta edi**	'he was going'
Plur.			
körmäktä edük	'we were seeing'	**barmaqta edük**	'we were going'
körmäktä edingiz	'you were seeing'	**barmaqta edingiz**	'you were going'
körmäktä edilär	'they were seeing'	**barmaqta edilär**	'they are going'

Negative

Sing.			
körmämäktä edim	'I was not seeing'	**barmamaqta edim**	'I was not' going
körmämäktä eding	'you were not seing'	**barmamaqta eding**	'you were not going'
körmämäktä edi	'he was not seeing'	**barmamaqta edi**	'he was not going'
Plur.			
körmämäktä edük	'we were not seeing'	**barmamaqta edük**	'we were not going'
körmämäktä edingiz	'you were not seeing'	**barmamaqta edingiz**	'you were not going'
körmämäktä edilär	'they were not seeing'	**barmamaqta edilär**	'they were not going'

E.g.,

Atam ʿUmar Šayḫ Mīrzā riʿāyat qïlïp edi va hanūz riʿāyat qïlmaqta edi. (BN52r:9-10) 'My father ʿUmar Shayh Mīrzā had respected him and still was respecting him.'

3.6.5.9. The Perfective Mood

Tenses built on the participle in **-ğan/-gän** belong under this heading. They do not constitute a fully developed system and have no clearly defined position in the Chagatay verbal inflection. Some of the forms are quite rare and occur mostly in prose works. Using these forms authors

treat the action as accomplished and its result, as a fact. They put greater emphasis on the factual result than on the subject or agent of the verb that brought about the result. Whether or not the action was witnessed or simply communicated as a hearsay, is secondary and most often does not come into play. The truth of the action is warranted by the result to be observed in the present.

3.6.5.9.1. The Present Perfect Tense

The present perfect tense expresses a past action the result of which plays a role of some kind in the present, e.g., **sanga kelgän dur** 'he is here to pick you up' [< he has come for you], **rōzī bergän** 'he is providing for' [the entire world] [< he has given provision to feed the entire world].

The present perfect tense consists of the past participle in **-ğan/-gän** followed by personal endings of the pronominal type. In the third person the predicative particles **dur, durlar** may occur. It has two negative forms: Negative I is formed from he negative participle created by the particle **-ma/-mä**, negative II, from the positive participle followed by the inflected negated forms of the verb **är-, er-**, or **e-**.

Note: The predicative particles **dur** and **durlar** in the third persons can be omitted.

Positive

Sing.			
körgän män	'I have seen'	**barğan män**	'I have gone'
körgän sän	'you have seen'	**barğan sän**	'you have gone'
körgän dur	'he has seen'	**barğan dur**	'he has gone'
Plur.			
körgän biz	'we have seen'	**barğan biz**	'we have gone'
körgän siz	'you have seen'	**barğan siz**	'you have gone'
körgän durlar	'they have seen'	**barğanlar**	'they have gone'

Negative I

Sing.			
körmägän män	'I have not seen'	**barmağan män**	'I have not gone'
körmägän sän	'you have not seen'	**barmağan sän**	'you have not gone'
körmägän dur	'he has not seen'	**barmağan dur**	'he has not gone'

Plur.

körmägän biz	'we have not seen'	**barmağan biz**	'we have not gone'
körmägän siz	'you have not seen'	**barmağan siz**	'you have not gone'
körmägän durlar	'they have not seen'	**barmağan durlar**	'they have not gone'

Negative II

Sing.

körgän ermäs män	'I have not seen'	**barğan ermäs män**	'I have not gone'
körgän ermäs sän	'you have not seen'	**barğan ermäs sän**	'you have not gone'
körgän ermäs dur	'he has not seen'	**barğan ermäs dur**	'he has not gone'

Plur.

körgän ermäs biz	'we have not seen'	**barğan ermäs biz**	'we have not gone'
körgän ermäs siz	'you have not seen'	**barğan ermäs siz**	'you have not gone'
körgän ermäs durlar	'they have not seen'	**barğan ermäs durlar**	'they have not gone'

E.g.,

Ğusl sunnatlarï qamuğ beš ol. Yaḫšï bilmägän anï badkēš ol. (MS7r:2) 'The total number of traditional practices to be observed during the *ğusl* is five. He who is not aware of all of them is an impious person.'

İki yaqtu guhar ʿālamğa bergän, maḥabbat gancïnï ādamğa bergän. (MN290v:2) 'He gave two shiny gems to the world. He gave man the treasure of love.'

Dedi, mardāna bol yalğuz qulunum sanga kelgän dur. Munï rōz-i azal parvardagārïm sanga qïlğan dur. (Ḫ77v:7) 'The Prophet said, be brave my foal[160], it is to see you that our guest has come. My Provider had decreed this from before the beginning of time.'

Toquz aflāknï tutğan muʿallaq, yäti qat yärni ham qïlğan mutabbaq. (LN4) 'He has suspended the nine layers of the sky. He has set up the seven layers of the earth.'

[160] Endearing word for 'my boy'.

Män aydïm, Vallāhī, män oqïğan ermäs men. (NF8,1) 'I said, "By God, I cannot read."'[161]

3.6.5.9.2. The Indirect Present Perfect Tense

The indirect present perfect tense expresses a past action the result of which plays a role of some kind in the present, but of which the speaker has no direct knowledge, e.g., **kelgän ermiš** 'he apparently is here.'

Positive

Sing.

körgän ermiš män	'I may have seen'	**barğan ermiš män**	'I may have gone'
körgän ermiš sän	'you may have seen'	**barğan ermiš sän**	'you may have gone'
körgän ermiš dur	'he may have seen'	**barğan ermiš dur**	'he may have gone'

Plur.

körgän ermiš biz	'we may have seen'	**barğan ermiš biz**	'we may have gone'
körgän ermiš siz	'you may have seen'	**barğan ermiš siz**	'you may have gone'
körgän ermiš durlar	'they may have seen'	**barğan ermiš durlar**	'they may have gone'

Negative

Sing.

körmägän ermiš män	'I may not have seen'	**barmağan ermiš män**	'I may not have gone'
körmägän ermiš sän	'you may not have seen'	**barmağan ermiš sän**	'you may not have gone'
körmägän ermiš dur	'he may not have seen'	**barmağan ermiš dur**	'he may not have gone'

Plur.

körmägän ermiš biz	'we may not have seen'	**barmağan ermiš biz**	'we may not have gone'
körmägän ermiš siz	'you may not have seen'	**barmağan ermiš siz**	'you may not have gone'
körmägän ermiš durlar	'they may not have seen'	**barmağan ermiš durlar**	'they may not have gone'

[161] Lit., I have not learned how to read

E.g.,

Özi miḥnatqa salğan ermiš sen, bu'l-ʿacab ğamğa qalğan ermiš sen. (Navai, see Eckm. p.171) 'You apparently have put yourself into misery. [As I see] you have bogged down in amazing sorrows.'

3.6.5.9.3. The Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense expresses an action that took place in the past before a given point of time. This may be indicated by an adverbial of time, by another action, or simply by a broader context. Here, too, it is the result of the action that is considered about which or about its agent the speaker has no direct knowledge.

Positive

Sing.			
körgän erdim	'I had seen'	**barğan erdim**	'I had gone'
körgän erding	'you had seen'	**barğan erding**	'you had gone'
körgän erdi	'he had seen'	**barğan erdi**	'he had gone'
Plur.			
körgän erdük	'we had seen'	**barğan erdük**	'we had gone'
körgän erdingiz	'you had seen'	**barğan erdingiz**	'you had gone'
körgän erdilär	'they had seen'	**barğan erdilär**	'they had gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körgän emäs erdim	'I had not seen'	**barğan emäs erdim**	'I had not gone'
körgän emäs erding	'you had not seen'	**barğan emäs erding**	'you had not gone'
körgän emäs erdi	'he had not seen'	**barğan emäs erdi**	'he had not gone'
Plur.			
körgän emäs erdük	'we had not seen'	**barğan emäs erdük**	'we had not gone'
körgän emäs erdingiz	'you had not seen'	**barğan emäs erdingiz**	'you had not gone'
körgän emäs erdilär	'they had not seen'	**barğan emäs erdilär**	'they had not gone'

E.g.,

İmām Ğazālī İḥyāʾu'l-ulūm atlïğ kitābïnda kältürmiš: Abū Ḥanīfa üküš ʿibādat qïlğan ärdi. (NF186,1) 'In his book entitled *İḥyāʾu'l-ulūm* İmām Ğazālī reported: Abu Ḥanīfa had carried out many acts of devotion.'

Tängiz körmägän dağï kemä zaḥmatïn čäkmägän edi. (Sayf 17r:12) 'He had never seen the sea and had not suffered the hardships of the boat.'

3.6.5.9.4. The Conditional of the Present Perfect Tense

The conditional of the present perfect tense expresses a real or eventual condition in the past the consequences of which in some way affect the present.

It consists of the participle in **-ğan/-gän,** positive or negative, followed by the positive inflected forms of the present conditional of the verb **bol-**, or, rarely, **ol-**.

Positive

Sing.			
körgän bolsam	'if I have seen'	**barğan bolsam**	'if I have gone'
körgän bolsang	'if you have seen'	**barğan bolsang**	'if you have gone'
körgän bolsa	'if he has seen'	**barğan bolsa**	'if he has gone'
Plur.			
körgän bolsaq	'if we have seen'	**barğan bolsaq**	'if we have gone'
körgän bolsangiz	'if you have seen'	**barğan bolsangiz**	'if you have gone'
körgän bolsalar	'if they have seen'	**barğan bolsalar**	'if they have gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmägän bolsam	'if I have not seen'	**barmağan bolsam**	'if I have not gone'
körmägän bolsang	'if you have not seen'	**barmağan bolsang**	'if you have not gone'
körmägän bolsa	'if he has not seen'	**barmağan bolsa**	'if he has not gone'

Plur.

körmägän bolsaq	'if we have not seen'	**barmağan bolsaq**	'if we have not gone'
körmägän bolsangïz	'if you have not seen'	**barmağan bolsangïz**	'if you have not gone'
körmägän bolsalar	'if they have not seen'	**barmağan bolsalar**	'if they have not gone'

E.g.,

Bu cihatdïn her kišini bu ṭā'ifadïn ẓāhir yüzidin pïri ma'lūm bolmasa ve mašā'iḫdïn birining rūḥï anï tarbiyat qïlğan bolsa, anï Uvaisï derlär. (NM p. 13) 'For this reason they call Uvaysï all those people from this group whose spiritual leader is not known by their outward appearance but have been educated by the spirit of one of the sheykhs.'

Tüšmägän bolsa camālïngdïn köngülgä šu'la-ē, hacr ğavğāsïn körüngüz Yūsuf-i Kan'ān ara. (ShD9r:7-8) 'If a flame from the beauty of your face has not touched [your] heart, just observe the turmoil caused by separation in [the heart of] Joseph of Kanaan.'

3.6.5.9.5. The Future Perfect Tense

The future perfect tense expresses an action that will have taken place in the future before a point of time express or understood from the context. The tense suggests some degree of eventuality or uncertainty of the action. That, however, does not change the perfective aspect inherent in forms built on the verbal nouns in **-ğan/-gän**.

The future perfect tense consists of the partciple in **-ğan/-gän**, positive or negative, carrying the inflectional [possessive] suffixes. It is followed by the third person singular of the present optative of the auxiliary **bol-** or, rarely, **ol-**.

Positive

Sing.

körgän bolğay män	'I may have seen'	**barğan bolğay män**	'I may have gone'
körgän bolğay sän	'you may have seen'	**barğan bolğay sän**	'you may have gone'
körgän bolğay	'he may have seen'	**barğan bolğay**	'he may have gone'

Plur.

körgän bolğay biz	'we may have seen'	**barğan bolğay biz**	'we may have gone'
körgän bolğay siz	'you may have seen'	**barğan bolğay siz**	'you may have gone'
körgän bolğay-lar	'they may have seen'	**barğan bolğay-lar**	'they may have gone'

Negative

Sing.

körmägän bolğay men	'I may not have seen'	**barmağan bolğay men**	'I may not have gone'
körmägän bolğay sen	'you may not have seen'	**barmağan bolğay sen**	'you may not have gone'
körmägän bolğay	'he may not have seen'	**barmağan bolğay**	'he may not have gone'

Plur.

körmägän bolğay biz	'we may not have seen'	**barmağan bolğay biz**	'we may not have gone'
körmägän bolğay siz	'you may not have seen'	**barmağan bolğay siz**	'you may not have gone'
körmägän bolğaylar	'they may not have seen'	**barmağan bolğaylar**	'they may not have gone'

E.g.,

İḫtimālï bar, ki öyümgä barğunča yolda kiši ẓarar tegürür dep qolumğa qïlïč alğan bolğay men va mastlikdin özümning öyi ḫayāl qïlïp taḫt üzä yatïp qalğan bolğay men. (Bahtiyārnama, see Eckm. Gr. p.171) 'It is possible that I may have grabbed the sword thinking that while returning home someone might harm me on the road, and, also, I may have stayed lying on the throne imagining in my drunken state that the place was my own house.'

3.6.5.10. The Categorical Tenses

The categorical tenses are built on the verbal nouns in **-ğu/-gü** the major characteristic of which is to suggest that the action in question must be carried out for sure and without delay. They contain no reference to the aspect or mood of the action. Also, they occur mostly in the third persons, especially in the singular.

3.6.5.10.1. The Categorical Future

The categorical future is created from the positive or negative verbal stem by the verbal noun formant **-ğu/-gü**, the possessive suffix, and the predicative particle **dur**. The particle is spelled separately: **[kel- + gü- + si] + dur = kelgüsi dur** 'he will surely come'.

It is used to express a future action or state that will definitely and unconditionally take place.The relationship of the agent to the action is that of an obligation: the agent cannot but carry out the action.

Positive

Sing.			
körgüm dur	'I will surely see'	**barğum dur**	'I will surely go'
körgüng dur	'you will surely see'	**barğung dur**	'you will surely go'
körgüsi dur	'he will surely see'	**barğusï dur**	'he will surely go'
Plur.			
körgümiz dur	'we will surely see'	**barğumïz dur**	'we will surely go'
körgüngiz dur	'you will surely see'	**barğungïz dur**	'you will surely go'
körgüläri dur	'they will surely see'	**barğularï dur**	'they will surely go'

Negative I

Sing.			
körmägüm dur	'I will surely not see'	**barmağum dur**	'I will surely not go'
körmägüng dur	'you will surely not see'	**barmağung dur**	'you will surely not go'
körmägüsi dur	'he will surely not see'	**barmağusï dur**	'he will surely not go'
Plur.			
körmägümiz dur	'we will surely not see'	**barmağumïz dur**	'we will surely not go'
körmägüngiz dur	'you will surely not see'	**barmağungïz dur**	'you will surely not go'
körmägüläri dur/durlar	'they will surely not see'	**barmağularï dur/durlar**	'they will surely not go'

Negative II

Sing.			
körgüm yoq	'I will surely not see'	**barğum yoq**	'I will surely not go'
körgüng yoq	'you will surely not see'	**barğung yoq**	'you will surely not go'
körgüsi yoq	'he will surely not see'	**barğusï yoq**	'he will surely not go'
Plur.			
körgümiz yoq	'we will surely not see'	**barğumïz yoq**	'we will surely not go'
körgüngiz yoq	'you will surely not see'	**barğungïz yoq**	'you will surely not go'
körgüläri yoq	'they will surely not see'	**barğularï yoq**	'they will surely not go'

E.g.,

Ki davlat <u>kelgüsi dur</u>, bolma ğāfil, saʿādat birlä <u>tüzgüng dur</u> maḥāfil. (DN260v:5) 'Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: brighten up the meeting place with the bliss of paradise.'

Sanga yüz <u>qoyğusï dur</u> dilnavāzïng kelip baš tüzgüsi dur sarv-i nāzïng. (DN260v:7) 'Your mistress will for sure turn toward you; with head held high your sweetheart will surely come.'

ʿInayat ṣubḥïdïn <u>savulğusï dur</u> damādam šamʿ teg sōz u gudāzïng. (DN260v:8) 'From the morning of grace your burning and melting woes will gradually reduce like a burning candle.'

Farāgat yelidin <u>ačïlğusï dur</u> köngüldä ğunča teg sarbasta rāzïng. (DN260v:9) 'From the wind of leisure your secret sealed in your heart will open like a bud.'

Bašārat <u>kelgüsi dur</u> ḫidmatïnga saʿādat bolğusï dur čārasāzïng (DN260v:10) 'Good news will surely come to your[162] presence; felicity will rise to your head [and] your abstinence will be gone.'

Bašïnga <u>čïqqusï dur</u> may ayağï eligtin barğusï dur iḫtirāzïng. (DN260v:11) 'The cup of wine will rise to your head [and] your abstinence will be lost.'

[162] Lit., to your presence

Niyāzïng qalmağusï dur kišigä, eliging yetgüsi dur vaṣl išigä. (DN261r:4) 'There will be no need left for you in anyone else: you will for sure apply your hand to the task of achieving union.'
Qïlmağan gunāhnï bilmän ki ne qïlğum dur. (NM p.32) 'I do not know what to do about the sins I did not commit.'
Bar erdi bar turur va bolğusï ham. (RB1v:7) 'He was, He is and He will [ever] be.'
Ol kün kim men dunyādïn kitsem, malā'ika tofraq savurğusï durlar. (NM p.53). 'The day I leave this world, the angels will scatter dust.'

Note: The particle **dur** may be omitted from the phrasal paradigm. E.g.,
Pas ṭahārat ičindä sunnat farż, barčasïn ḫizmatïngdä qïlğum ʿarż. (MS3r:6) 'Then I will enumerate for you all the traditional practices and mandatory duties [that must be observed] during the *ṭahārat*.'
Ol ṭahāratnï ki bozğusï bilgil, bu tayammumnï ham qïlur bāṭil. (MS9r:3) '[Occurrences] that violate the [state of ritual purity achieved by means of the] *ṭahārat* [that is, the ablution performed with water,] will also violate it, if it has been achieved by means of the *tayammum*.'
Anda kedin qïlïp bayān-i namāz, rōza baḥsïnï qïlğumïz āgāz. (MS3v:1) 'Then, after I have explained [the rules regarding] the prayer, I will take up the requirements of the fast.'

3.6.5.10.2. The Categorical Future in the Past

The categorical future in the past expresses an action that was planned in the past to be accomplished for sure at a later date, still in the past. Very rarely used.

It consists of the base of the categorical future followed by the definite past tense of the verb **er-/e-**. It has two negative forms: the basic negated by the auxiliary **ermäs erdi** and the emphatic, negated by the particle **yoq** and the auxiliary **erdi**.

Positive

Sing.			
körgüm erdi	'I was to see for sure'	**barğum erdi**	'I was to go for sure'
körgüng erdi	'you were to see for sure'	**barğung erdi**	'you were to go for sure'
körgüsi erdi	'he was to see for sure'	**barğusï erdi**	'he was to go for sure'
Plur.			
körgümiz erdi	'we were to see for sure'	**barğumïz erdi**	'we were to go for sure'
körgüngiz erdi	'you were to see for sure'	**barğungïz erdi**	'you were to go for sure'
körgüläri erdi	'they were to see for sure'	**barğularï erdi**	'they were to go for sure'

Negative I

Sing.			
körgüm ermäs erdi	'I was not to see for sure'	**barğum ermäs erdi**	'I was not to go for sure'
körgüng ermäs erdi	'you were not to see for sure'	**barğung ermäs erdi**	'you were not to go for sure'
körgüsi ermäs erdi	'he was not to see for sure'	**barğusï ermäs erdi**	'he was not to go for sure'
Plur.			
körgümiz ermäs erdi	'we were not to see for sure'	**barğumïz ermäs erdi**	'we were not to go for sure'
körgüngiz ermäs erdi	'you were not to see for sure'	**barğungïz ermäs erdi**	'you were not to go for sure'
körgüläri ermäs erdi	'they were not to see for sure'	**barğularï ermäs erdi**	'they were not to go for sure'

Negative II

Sing.			
körgüm yoq erdi	'I was not to see for sure	**barğum yoq erdi**	'I was not to go for sure'
körgüng yoq erdi	'you were not to see for sure'	**barğung yoq erdi**	'you were not to go for sure'
körgüsi yoq erdi	'he was not to see for sure'	**barğusï yoq erdi**	'he was not to go for sure'
Plur.			
körgümiz yoq erdi	'we were not to see for sure	**barğumïz yoq erdi**	'we were not to go for sure'
körgüngiz yoq erdi	'you were not to see for sure'	**barğungïz yoq erdi**	'you were not to go for sure'
körgüläri yoq erdi	'they were not to see for sure'	**barğularï yoq erdi**	'they were not to go for sure'

E.g.,

Yïbarğum erdi (Navā'i, Kulliyāt S 83r:13, see Eckm. Gr. p. 173) 'I was to send'

3.6.5.10.3. The Conditional of the Categorical Future

The conditional of the categorical future expresses a simple open condition the fulfilment of which is mandatory for the action in the main clause to materialize. It consists of the base of the categorical future followed by the present conditional of the verb **bol-**. It has one negative form based on the negative stem.

Positive

Sing.			
körgüm bolsa	'if I will have to see'	**barğum bolsa**	'if I will have to go'
körgüng bolsa	'if you will have to see'	**barğung bolsa**	'if you will have to go'
körgüsi bolsa	'if he will have to see	**barğusï bolsa**	'if he will have to go'
Plur.			
körgümiz bolsa	'if we will have to see'	**barğumïz bolsa**	'if we will have to go'
körgüngiz bolsa	'if you will have to see'	**barğungïz bolsa**	'if you will have to go'
körgüläri bolsa	'if they will have to see'	**barğularï bolsa**	'if they will have to go'

Negative

Sing.			
körmägüm bolsa	'if I will not have to see'	**barmağum bolsa**	'if I will not have to go'
körmägüng bolsa	'if you will not have to see'	**barmağung bolsa**	'if you will not have to go'
körmägüsi bolsa	'if he will not have to see'	**barmağusï bolsa**	'if he will not have to go'
Plur.			
körmägümiz bolsa	'if we will not have to see'	**barmağumïz bolsa**	'if we will not have to go'
körmägüngiz bolsa	'if you will not have to see'	**barmağungïz bolsa**	'if you will not have to go'
körmägüläri bolsa	'if they will not have to see'	**barmağularï bolsa**	'if they will not have to go'

E.g.,

Mast u rusvā men, ḫarābāt ičrä kördüng, ay rafïq: bolmağung bolsa mening dek rind-i durdāšām, ket. (Nava'ī FK26V:4; Eckm. Gr. p.174) 'I am drunk and of bad repute, you have noticed me in the tavern, O Friend. Leave, if you are not to become like me, a consumer of the very dregs.'

3.6.5.11. Necessitative Verbs

Necessitative verbs expres strong recommendations in the positive, and explicit prohibitions in the negative status. They are defective in that they occur only in the third person singular. Most of the time, they are impersonal and convey instructions valid for everybody: 'one must, one should not,' and so on.

It consists of the verbal stem, positive or negative, and the marker **-ğu/ -gü**.

3.6.5.11.1. Necessitative Verbs with a Mandatory Aspect

Necessitative verbs with mandatory aspect express commands in the positive, and outright prohibitions in the negative forms. In Islamic religious manuals this is the verb form that conveys God's commands (*amr*) and prohibitions (*naḫy*). There is only one person, the third, and two aspects,. the positive and the negative, and only one number, the singular.

Positive

Sing.			
körgü	'he must see'	**barğu**	'he must go'

Negative

Sing.			
körmägü	'he must not see'	**barmağu**	'he must not go'

E.g.,

Külüp az üküš yïğlağu bu kiši, musulmān boluğlï käräk yay qïšï. (MM179r:13) 'A man [who meets the above requirements] should laugh little and weep much. He must be a Muslim under all circumstances.'[163]

Ärän ärdin örtmiš teg ök ham tiši tišilärdin örtgü ham öz qïzïdïn. (MM180v:17) 'Just as a man covers himself in the presence of

[163] Lit., both in summer and in winter

other men, a woman, too, must cover herself in the presence of other women, even in the presence of her own daughter.'
Buzulsa yunuğ yunğu ḫalī ravān: yunuğ birlä turmaq ulašu amān. (MM181v:11). 'One must wash oneself as soon as the state of ritual purity has been violated. The state of ritual purity is a permanent guarantee against falling into sin.'

Note: The predicative particle **keräk** is used to express the impersonal form of the necessitative 'one must, one has to'.[164] E.g.,
Muvaḥḥid ʿibādat tilägü käräk, ʿibādatqa quvvat ülägü käräk. (MM182r:16) 'The Believer in the Oneness of God must be imbued with the desire to serve the Lord and must devote his energies to (His) service.'
Ne kim ol aydï anï qïlğu käräk. Ṭāʿatïnï boyunğa alğu käräk. (MS2r:2) 'One must do whatever He has commanded. One must willingly take upon one's neck [the yoke of] obedience.'

3.6.5.11.2. Necessitative Verbs with Inevitability Aspect

An action that is absolutely inevitable as known from human experience is expressed by a special form of necessitative verbs. It occurs in elevated style conveying a commonly known or humanly perceivable element of truth.

It consists of the gerund in **-ï/-i,** on positive stems, **-y,** on negative stems followed by the aorist of the verb **sa-** 'to wish'. There is only one person, the third, two aspects, the positive and the negative, and one number, the singular.

Sing.			
körisär	'he will inevitably see'	**barïsar**	'he will inevitably go'

E.g.,
Har kim özinä suʾāl ešigin ačtï, ölğünčä ol er niyāz ičindä bolïsar. (Sayf106r:3) 'He who has opened the door of beggary before himself, will live in need during the remaining part of his life.'[165]
Sävünmäk yoq körüp dušman ölüsin, kälisär čōn bizä ol davr ayağï. (Sayf46r:6-7) 'There is no use to rejoice over the death of the enemy: The cup that goes around in that circle will inevitably come to us.'

[164] MS Bodrogligeti, p.104
[165] Lit., until he dies

Ičäling bādanï gullar solïsar, tanïmïz ʿāqibat topraq bolïsar. (MN309r:8) 'Let us drink wine for roses will wilt away and our bodies will inevitably turn into dust.'
Taẓarruʿ birlä ay Ḫwāca Muẓaffar ḥarāmï altunung qaytarmayïsar. (Sayf124r:12) 'Just because you cry bitterly, O Glorious Master, the highway robber will not return your money.'
Yaraš bu bağrï baš birlä Ay Yār, kim uš tün bardï bu kün qalmayïsar. (Quṭb 3946) 'Get along with the one of a wounded heart, O Friend: Because, look, the night has passed and the day of today will not stay for ever.'

3.6.5.11.2. Necessitative Verbs with Inevitability Aspect

The necessitative verb with desiderative aspect expresses an action that one would, by desire, carry out in the future. It is used only in the third person with an indefinite subject.

Sing.			
körāsi	'one would see'	**barasï**	'one would go'

E.g.,
Kim ol dēvāna ergä ne qïlasï, ne čāra birlä andïn qurtulasï? (Quṭb2496) 'What would one do to this obsessed man? By what means would one save him form this [obsession]?'
Ažunda hēč kišining yoq baqāsï, bu kün ḫwaš bolğu tangğa ne baqasï. (Quṭb3948) 'No one in this world is granted an everlasting existence. One should be happy today. Why would one look for tomorrow?'

3.6.5.12. The Durative Tenses

The durative tenses express lasting or frequently repeated actions in the present-future, or in the past. The aspects of necessity, mandatoriness or appropriateness accompany the expression.

3.6.5.12.1. The Durative Present Tense

The durative present is the form of continued present actions or actions repeated in the present or in the future. It has full paradigms [three persons, and two numbers] both in the positive and in the negative series..

The forms of the durative present consist of the gerund in **-a/-ä** or **-y** + the auxiliary **dur** + the pronominal personal markers: There is no special marker for the third person.

Positive

Sing.			
körä dur män	'I see'	**bara dur män**	'I go'
körä dur sän	'you see'	**bara dur sän**	'you go'
körä dur	'he sees'	**bara dur**	'he goes'
Plur.			
körä dur biz	'we see'	**bara dur biz**	'we go'
körä dur siz	'you see'	**bara dur siz**	'you go'
körä durlar	'they see'	**bara durlar**	'they go'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy dur män	'I don't see'	**barmay dur män**	'I don't go'
körmäy dur sän	'you don't see'	**barmay dur sän**	'you don't go'
körmäy dur	'he doesn't see'	**barmay dur**	'he doesn't go'
Plur.			
körmäy dur biz	'we don't see'	**barmay dur biz**	'we don't go'
körmäy dur siz	'you don't see'	**barmay dur siz**	'you don't go'
körmäy durlar	'they don't see'	**barmay durlar**	'they don't go'

E.g.,

Yamanlïq qïlğan ergä äygülük qïl: qapar it ağzïna luqma ata dur. (Sayf43v:9) 'Do good to the man who has harmed [you]. One should throw a morsel to the dog that bites.'

Nečä kim ol saʿādatsïz ešitmäs, anga sän etä dur pand u naṣīḥat. (Sayf143r:9) 'Even if that unfortunate one does not listen, you keeep on giving him caution and good advice.'

Ekip ẓulm urluqïn ḫayr istägänlär cahannam otïna özïn yaqa dur. (Sayf19v:12) 'Those who sow the seeds of injustice and expect [to harvest] blessings will burn for a long time in the fire of hell.'

Anïng üčün mu qïla dur siz fiğān? (AC328r:2) 'Is that why you are making this clamor?'

Yār hacrïdïn saḥarlar aqa dur yašïm mänim; dïn yolïda cānga minnat gar barur bašïm mäning. (ShD83r:8). 'Separated from the friend I shed tears every morning. On the path of religion it is a grace for the soul if I lose my head.' [166]

Har nečä qadrïng buland olsa özüngnï past qïl, ẓarra-i davlatğa gar könglüng tiläy dur iʿtilā. (BH16v:7-8) 'No matter how high your station in life, humble yourself, if your heart desires to be raised [even] to a speck of happiness.'

Note: (1) The durative nature of the verb can be intensified by the adverb **dāʾim** or by adverbials of time. E.g.,

Erdäm bir čašma durur kim dāʾim suyï tašïp kelä durur. (Sayf 139r:9) 'Skill is like a source that gushes its water constantly.'

Maʿšūq etä dur dāʿim könglümni parākanda. Bil amn va amān[at]dārī sarfïtna-i ğavğā dur. (ShD58v:7) 'The beloved makes my heart troubled all the time. Be aware that safety and trust are the very sources of trouble.'

Yigirmi yïl dur ki ol kiši yïğlay dur va ḥālā közining suyï qanğa mubaddal bolup tur. (NM p.219) 'It is twenty years that this person has been crying. Now his tears [< the water of his eyes] have turned into blood.'

Bu kün mihmān säni qabżï qïla dur, ʿazīz cānïnga ham panca sala dur! (Ḫ78r:4) Today our guest will seize you and snatch away your precious soul.'

(2) Removal of the **dur** element from the first and second persons of the singular decreases the durative aspect of this paradigm. The verb gets a broader application covering present and future actions. [Cf. Present-Future Tenses in Modern Literary Uzbek]. E.g.,

Bir qatla anga dedi ki bu išlärni qïla sen ve āḫir bu šahrdïn sen meni čïqarğung dur. (NM p.217) 'Once he said: If you keep on doing these things, at the end you will surely chase me out of this town.'

Nä sorar sen bil ki mendin ayta men, ay dardmand. Ğunča sarï baqmağay men laʿl-i ḫandān barïda. (ShD12v:12-13r:1).'Why do you ask me, O Suffering One, mark well what I am going to tell you: In the presence of her smiling lips I will not [even] look in the direction of the rose bud.'

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[166] It is meant in the concrete sense, 'If I die'. A curious coincidence: In the final battle against Shah Ismail (1510) Shaybānī Khān's head was cut off and sent to Sultan Bayazid of Turkey. His headless body is resting in the Shaybānī mausoleum in Samarkand.

Ğavvāṣlïq netäg qïla sen bolmayïn fanā, šahr-i vucūd ara sen özüngnï bečāra qïl. (ShD97v:4) 'How are you going to dive for pearls without [your carnal soul] being annihilated? In the city of existence make yourself totally resourceless.'

3.6.5.12.2. The Past Durative Tense

The past durative tense expresses lasting or repeated actions in the past often with the aspect of necessity, propriety, or habitude.
It consist of the base of the durative present, positive or negative, followed by the definite past positive of the verb **er-**.

Positive

Sing.			
körä dur erdim	'I usually saw'	**bara dur erdim**	'I usually went'
körä dur erding	'you usually saw'	**bara dur erding**	'you usually went'
körä dur erdi	'he usually saw'	**bara dur erdi**	'he usually went'
Plur.			
körä dur erdük	'we usually saw'	**bara dur erdük**	'we usually went'
körä dur erdingiz	'you usually saw'	**bara dur erdingiz**	'you usually went'
körä dur erdilär	'they usually saw'	**bara dur erdilär**	'they usually went'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy dur erdim	'I usually did not see'	**barmay dur erdim**	'I usually did not go'
körmäy dur erding	'you usually did not see'	**barmay dur erding**	'you usually did not go'
körmäy dur erdi	'he usually did not see'	**barmay dur erdi**	'he usually did not go'
Plur.			
körmäy dur erdük	'we usually did not see'	**barmay dur erdük**	'we usually did not go'
körmäy dur erdingiz	'you usually did not see'	**barmay dur erdingiz**	'you usually did not go'
körmäy dur erdilär	'they usually did not see'	**barmay dur erdilär**	'they usually did not go'

E.g.,

Gōristānda oturup elgin tizigä urup bir nemä dey dur erdi. (NM p.106) '[Majnun] was sitting in the graveyard and hitting his knee with his palm he kept repeating[167] something.'

3.6.5.13. The Perfect Tenses

The perfect tenses are based on the gerunds in **-p** or **-y** [rarely **-map/-mäp** and **-mayïn/-mäyin]** and retain the basic semantic characteristics of this form: The action is cut or comes to an end and is relevant to the present time. It is, however, not the material result that is emphasized but rather the accomplishment itself.

3.6.5.13.1. The Present Perfect Tenses

A typical representative of the perfect tenses is the present perfect tense. It expresses a past action the completion of which affected the present time.
It consists of the perfective gerund, positive or negative, followed by the theme particle **-tur** [~ **turur**] and the pronominal personal signs **män, sän, biz, siz.**

Positive

Sing.			
körüp tur män	'I have seen'	**barïp tur män**	'I have gone'
körüp tur sän	'you have seen'	**barïp tur sän**	'you have gone'
körüp tur	'he has seen'	**barïp tur**	'he has gone'
Plur.			
körüp tur biz	'we have seen'	**barïp tur biz**	'we have gone'
körüp tur siz	'you have seen'	**barïp tur siz**	'you have gone'
körüp turlar	'they have seen'	**barïp turlar**	'they have gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy tur men	'I have not seen'	**barmay tur men**	'I have not gone'
körmäy tur sen	'you have not seen'	**barmay tur sen**	'you have not gone'
körmäy tur	'he has not seen'	**barmay tur**	'he has not gone'

[167] Lit., saying

Plur.

körmäy tur biz	'we have not seen'	**barmay tur biz**	'we ha gone'
körmäy tur siz	'you have not seen'	**barmay tur siz**	'you ha gone'
körmäy turlar	'they have not seen'	**barmay tur-lar**	'they h not go

E.g.,

Šabānī ḥusnunga ʿāšiq bolup tur; Bu ḥusnung ʿišqidi ḥabar qïl. (ShD94v:11-12) 'Shabānī has fallen in love w beauty. Let him know [more] about love for this beauty of y

Meni sïndurma kim ğam sïndurup tur, barïp köngülni tïndurup tur. (DM244r:10) 'Do not break me, because son already crushed me. Going away from me, you pacified my

Naṣīḥat birlä ol kelmäs özigä, yüz evürmäy turup tur bir (DN245v:11) 'He does not recover his senses when given a of advice. He does pay heed[168] to any of its [good] words.'

Kelip tur bāğda guldïn ačïlmaq, yarašmas til tikän qïlmaq. (DN246r:6) 'It has become appropriate for the open in the garden. It is not becoming[, however,] to mak tongue as sharp as the thorn.'

Män bu ev niʿmatï bilän bäslänip turur men. (Sayf131r was raised by the grace of this house.'

Tavbanï bu ḥālatda mï qïlur sän kim giriftār bolup halāk nä tüšüp turur sän. (Sayf130v:1-2) 'Are you showing rep in this situation when you are a captive and gotten into a danger for your life.'

Kim etip tur ačïğ ağunï tiryāk, tiläp tur kōknār ičindi (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into an elixir was for heaven inside a poppy-head.'

Kim alïp tur ağïzğa gōk terin, bilip tur ḥusn ara šakar (DN257v:2) 'He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mou appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by

Tikip mü dur közin ḥālïmğa ol yār, agarči ʿaynğa yo darkār. (DN252r:9).'Has that friend kept staring at my spot although the dot has no use for the eye.'[169]

Note: Sometimes the negative form is based on the rare negative in **-map/-mäp**. E.g.,

[168] Lit., does not turn his face to

[169] The Arabic word for 'eye' has no dot on the first character.

Tüšüp tur tā ešiking gardï közgä, körünmäp tur közümgä surma özgä. (DN257r:6). 'Since the dust at your threshold got into [my] eyes, nothing else is used as collyrium for my eyes.'

Note: Removal of the particle **tur** [~ **turur**] from the first and second persons of the paradigm deemphasizes the lasting or repetitive aspect of the verb. [Cf. the subjective past tense in Modern Literary Uzbek.]

Positive

Sing.

körüp män	'I have seen'	**barïp män**	'I have gone'
körüp sän	'you have seen'	**barïp sän**	'you have gone'
körüp tur	'he has seen'	**barïp tur**	'he has gone'

Plur.

körüp biz	'we have seen'	**barïp biz**	'we have gone'
körüp siz	'you have seen'	**barïp siz**	'you have gone'
körüp turlar	'they have seen'	**barïp turlar**	'they have gone'

Negative

Sing.

körmäy män	'I have not seen'	**barmay män**	'I have not gone'
körmäy sän	'you have not seen'	**barmay sän**	'you have not gone'
körmäy tur	'he has not seen'	**barmay tur**	'he has not gone'

Plur.

körmäy biz	'we have not seen'	**barmay biz**	'we have not gone'
körmäy siz	'you have not seen	**barmay siz**	'you have not gone'
körmäy turlar	'they have not seen'	**barmay turlar**	'they have not gone'

E.g.,

Šaybāniyā kirip men mardānavār yolğa, alïp qïlïč elimgä Tengrim yolïn ačar män. (ShD113r:3-4) 'O Shaybanī, I have entered the road as brave people do. Taking a sword in my hands I clear[170] the road of my God.'

[170] Lit, open

Sen unutup maḥabbat pēšalarnï, sağïnïp qandağï andēšalarnï. (DN257r:4) 'You have forgotten the lovers,[171] thinking about concerns of old days.'
Barïp men tā tišing fikridä özdin, salïp men sihr ara gavharnï közdin. (DN257r:8) 'In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that, as if being under a spell, I have had no eyes for [genuine] pearls.'
Tapïp men tā yüzüngdin cān navāsïn, čïqarïp men köngüldin gul havāsïn. (DN257r:9) 'Since through your face I have found the sound of life, I have removed from my heart the desire for the rose.'
Kim anïng nāzuk nihālïn qïldï közüm parvaraš, köz yašïmdan suğarïp mān sarv-i bustān qayda dur. (ShD41v:6) 'Where is the cypress of the garden the tender plant of which my eyes nurtured and that I watered with the tears of my eyes?'
Barïsï cāma-yï mātam käyip tur, rasūlu'llāh üčün ḫidmat ätip tur. (Ḫ82v:2) 'All of them were in mourning and paid homage to the Prophet.'

3.6.5.13.2. The Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect tense consists of the perfective gerund, positive or negative, followed by the theme particle **-tur** [~ **turur**] and the inflected forms of the definite past tense of the auxiliary **er-, e-**.

Positive

Sing.			
körüp turur erdim	'I had seen'	**barïp turur erdim**	'I had gone'
körüp turur erding	'you had seen'	**barïp turur erding**	'you had gone'
körüp turur erdi	'he had seen'	**barïp turur erdi**	'he had gone'
Plur.			
körüp turur erdük	'we had seen'	**barïp turur erdük**	'we had gone'
körüp turur erdingiz	'you had seen'	**barïp turur erdingiz**	'you had gone'
körüp turur erdilär	'they had seen'	**barïp turur erdilär**	'they had gone'

[171] I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God]

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy tur erdim	'I had not seen'	**barmay tur erdim**	'I had not gone'
körmäy tur erding	'you had not seen'	**barmay tur erding**	'you had not gone'
körmäy tur erdi	'he had not seen'	**barmay tur erdi**	'he had not gone
Plur.			
körmäy tur erdük	'we had not seen'	**barmay tur erdük**	'we had not gone'
körmäy tur erdingiz	'you had not seen'	**barmay tur erdingiz**	'you had not gone'
körmäy tur erdilär	'they had not seen'	**barmay tur erdilär**	'they had not gone'

E.g.,

Kemä ketip turur edi. Yigit kemäčigä čağïrïp aytti.(Sayf100r:11) 'The boat had left. The youth shouted to the boatsman.'
Ol yigit maḥabbat tängizinä äylä mustağraq bolup turur edi, kim sözlämägä macālï yoq edi. (Sayf114v:5). 'That youth had been engulfed so much in the sea of love that he had no ability to talk.'
Yigitlik ayyāmïnda ḫātirim bir kim ärsä bilän muta'alliq bolup turur edi. (Sayf117v:4) 'In my young days my mind was occupied with someone.'
Ṭūṭī bilän ğurābnï bir qafaṣqa qoyup tururlar edi. (Sayf119v:1) 'They had placed the parrot and the crow into one and the same cage.'

Note: Removal of the **tur** element from the paradigm deemphasizes the lasting or repetitive aspect of the verb. E.g.,

Bir kim ärsä dōstïnï bir muddat körmäyin edi. Körüp aytti: Qayda sän kim muštāq bolur biz. (Sayf116r:1-2) 'Someone had not seen his friend for a while. When they met [again] he said to him: Where have you been? We missed you.'[172]

[172] Lit., Where are you? We desire [to see you].

Positive

Sing.			
körüp erdim	'I had seen'	**barïp erdim**	'I had gone'
körüp erding	'you had seen'	**barïp erding**	'you had gone'
körüp erdi	'he had seen'	**barïp erdi**	'he had gone'
Plur.			
körüp erdük	'we had seen'	**barïp erdük**	'we had gone'
körüp erdingiz	'you had seen'	**barïp erdingiz**	'you had gone'
körüp erdilär	'they had seen'	**barïp erdilär**	'they had gone'

Negative

Sing.			
körmäy erdim	'I had not seen'	**barmay erdim**	'I had not gone'
körmäy erding	'you had not seen'	**barmay erding**	'you had not gone'
körmäy erdi	'he had not seen'	**barmay erdi**	'he had not gone'
Plur.			
körmäy erdük	'we had not seen'	**barmay erdük**	'we had not gone'
körmäy erdingiz	'you had not seen'	**barmay erdingiz**	'you had not gone'
körmäy erdilär	'they had not seen'	**barmay erdilär**	'they had not gone'

E.g.,

Bir yïl Basrada qaḥṭ tüštï. El istisqāğa <u>**čïqïp erdilär**</u>. (NMp.62). 'One year hunger occurred in Basra. People had set out for water.'
Dedi kim Tengridin <u>**tiläp erdim**</u> **kim agar sening qašingda qurbum bolsa, meni Tarsūsda ol ʿālimğa elt.** (NMp.67) 'He said "I had asked from God, when I am in your closeness, take me to Tarsus, to that wise man."'
Atamning Bağdād bāzārïda bir dukkānï bar erdi. Men dukkān ešikidä <u>**olturup erdim**</u>**. Nāgah birāv ötti.** (NMp.68) 'My father had a store in the market place of Baghdad. I had been sitting at the door of the store. Suddenly somebody passed by.'

3.6.5.14. The Present Continuous Tense

Verbal nouns in **-maq/-mäk + dur** serve to express continuous, long lasting actions. Only the 3d person singular is attested:

Subject + [V+ **-maq/-mäk**] + **dur**

E.g.,

Har saḥar Barlas ḫiyālï birlä <u>**yanmaq dur**</u> **Šabān, ol parïvaš ʿišqïda ḫum dāna bolmay nedäyin?** (ShD123r:10) 'Every morning Shaban keeps burning [enthralled] by the vision of the [Beloved from the] Barlas [tribe.] In love for that fairy-faced [beauty] the wine-jar is not the bait. There is nothing I can do.'[173]

3.6.5.15. The Inflection of the Defective Verbs

Two auxiliary verbs do not have a full set of inflectional forms. The existing forms are as follows:

3.6.5.15.1. The auxiliary er- > e- 'to be'

The auxiliary **er- > e-** has one verbal noun: **erkän, ekän** 'a being' and one verbal adverb [gerund] **ergäč, egäč** 'right after being, as soon as...is' We find full paradigms in the aorist, the definite past, the indefinite past and the conditional.

3.6.5.15.1.1. Present tense of the Aorist

Positive

Sing.		Plur.	
erür män	'I am'	**erür biz**	'we are'
erür sän	'you are'	**erür siz**	'you are'
erür	'he is'	**erürlär**	'they are'

Negative

Sing.		Plur.	
ermäs män	'I am not'	**ermäs biz**	'we are not'
ermäs sän	'you are not'	**ermäs siz**	'you are not'
ermäs	'he is not'	**ermäslär**	'they are not'

Negative

Sing.		Plur.	
emäs män	'I am not'	**emäs biz**	'we are not'
emäs sän	'you are not'	**emäs siz**	'you are not'
emäs	'he is not'	**emäslär**	'they are not'

[173] Lit., What can I do?

3.6.5.15.1.2. The Definite Past Tense

Positive

Sing.		Plur.	
erdim	'I was'	**erdük**	'we were'
erding	'you were'	**erdingiz**	'you were'
erdi	'he was'	**erdilär**	'they were'

Sing.		Plur.	
edim	'I was'	**edük**	'we were'
eding	'you were'	**edingiz**	'you were'
edi	'he was'	**edilär**	'they were'

3.6.5.15.1.3. The Indefinite Past Tense

Positive

Sing.		Plur.	
ermiš män	'I was [I think]'	**ermiš biz**	'we were'
ermiš sän	'you were'	**ermiš siz**	'you were'
ermiš	'he was'	**ermišlär**	'they were'

Sing.		Plur.	
emiš män	'I was [I think]'	**emiš biz**	'we were'
emiš sän	'you were'	**emiš siz**	'you were'
emiš	'he was'	**emišlär**	'they were'

3.6.5.15.1.4. The Conditional Mood

Positive

Sing.		Plur.	
ersäm	'if I am'	**ersäk**	'if we are'
ersäng	'if you are'	**ersängiz**	'if you are'
ersä	'if he is'	**ersälär**	'if they are'

Sing.		Plur.	
esäm	'if I am'	**esäk**	'if we are'
esäng	'if you are'	**esängiz**	'if you are'
esä	'if he is'	**esälär**	'if they are'

3.6.5.15.2. The Auxiliary **dur** 'to stand, stay, stop'

Only the contracted aorist [**durur > dur**] form is used in the sense of 'to be'. It may interchange with **tur, turur.** It occurs mostly in the present tense:

Sing.		Plur.	
dur män	'I am'	**dur biz**	'we are'
dur sän	'you are'	**dur siz**	'you are'
dur	'he is'	**durlar**	'they are'

E.g.,

Dardï manga darmān dur cānïm anga ḥayrān dur, rāhat kätibän mändin muḫtāc-i alam[174] **dur män**. (ShD123v:3-4) 'The pain she causes is an elixir for me. My soul admires her. My tranquility left me and I am in the need of suffering.'

For negation the forms **emäs män** etc. are used.

3.6.6. Verbal Nouns

Verbal nouns constitute one sizable group of the nominal forms of verbs. They name the action with or without its aspectual, phasal, or temporal characteristics but carry no endings of verbal inflection.

3.6.6.1. Verbal Nouns in -ma/-mä

The suffix **-ma/-mä** forms abstract nouns which in context occur mostly as concrete nouns or adjectives. They are limited in number.

isitmä	'fever'
egmä	'bent'
yämä	'food'
asma	'suspended'
tägmä	'all'
örmä	'braid'
qarišma	'hostility'
qavurma	'fried meat'
čäkmä	'riding boots'
toğma	'birth'

[174] In the Arabic orthography *alam* 'pain' consists of an *alif* [symbol for the Beloved's straight figure and unique character], *lām* [symbol for the Beloved's hair curled up at the ends in the shape of a *lām*] and *mīm* [symbol for the Beloved's mouth]. In essence this is what the Lover is in the need of.

E.g.,

Yüzüngnüng ğuṣṣasïdïn kün ïsïtïp, falak ïsïtma naqvïdïn yititip. (DN250r:11) 'From the passion of your face the sun heats up. From the intensity of the heat the sky glows.'

Tütün teg egmä qašï dusma qïlğay, közi ḫwad surmanï közigä ilmäy. (DN265r:4) '[Because she does not want] to change her curved eyebrows, black like smoke, into ashengray, her eyes have no regard to antimony.'

3.6.6.2. Verbal Nouns in -maq/-mäk

The suffix **-maq/-mäk** forms action nouns which serve also as one of the infinitives. E.g.,

Kelip badnāmlïq ṭablïnï čalmaq özini tegmä[175] el tiligä salmaq. (DN239v:10) 'He comes to sound the drum of disrepute, making himself to be the talk on everybody's tongue.'

Cavābïda dedi ol qašï ḥācib, kim "Anda parda ačmaq bar munāsib. (DN258v:8) 'In answer said that [intimate friend] whose eyebrow is the chamberlain: "It is now appropriate to open the curtain."'

Gahē šavq ilä šaftālūnï üzmäk, gahē ābïni nār üstinä tüzmäk. (DN269v:10) 'Now picking peaches with delight, now arranging quinces on the top of pomegranates.'

Ḫwaš ermäs cavrnï ḥaddïn ašurmaq, kelip oq atmaq va yanï yašurmaq. (DN244r:11).'It is not proper to increase cruelty beyond measures, to come forth, shoot the arrow and then hide the bow.'

Taṣarruf küčidin sözni uzatmaq, bir oq yolïda yüz ming qatla atmaq. (DN271r:8) 'By the force of poetic licence to stretch out the words, in the path of one arrow to shoot a hundred thousand times.'

Köngül taḫtïna andïn songra aštï, ki olturmäk anga anda yaraštï. (DN269r:2) 'After that she ascended the throne of the heart because it was appropriate for her to sit there.'

3.6.6.2.1. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-mäk in Oblique Case Forms

3.6.6.2.1.1. In the Dative Case

Yüzüng ḫālï salïp ot ičrä filfil, fusūn qïlmaqqa ačïp lablarïng til. (DN244r:3) 'The mole of your face sprinkles pepper upon the fire and your lips open the tongue to perform an incantation.'

Ayağïnğa qoyuban bašïnï qand, labïngdïn suyï bir sormaqqa ḫursand. (DN256r:10) 'The sugar places its head upon your feet [in submission] glad to request water from your lips.'

[175] MS has *tkl*'

Salām etmäkkä čon egildi qašïm, ayağïğa yügürüp tüšti yašïm. (DN268v:11) 'When my eyebrow arched to say peace, my tears dropped to the ground and rolled to her feet.'

3.6.6.2.1.2. In the Ablative Case

Qašïmğa yetti ol yār-i ḫaqīqī, bolup rangï yügürmäktin ʿaqīqī. (DN255r:4) 'That true friend came to my presence, his face turned red from running.'

Bu išning özgäčä varzišlärï bar, demäktin bašqa anïng išlärï bar. (DN271r:11) 'This art has other practical exercises, beyond telling it has skills [of its own].'

Köngül čon ʿarz berdi cān talāšïn, bitimäktin qalam kötärdi bašïn. (DN262r:6) 'When the heart finished presenting the struggle of the soul, the pen raised its head from writing.'

Ravān boldï alïp gulbargïnï yel, elig tišläp anïng barmağïdïn el. (DN270r:6) 'She set out on her way [and] the wind carried off [its] rose petals; because of her departure, people bit their hands [in yearning for her].'

3.6.6.2.2. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-mäk with Postpositions

Bu tirliging yemäk üčün dägül durur yalğuz. (Sayf 84r:3) '[The objective of] your life is not that you eat [and do nothing else].'

Yumaq bilän kitär mi lavnï qara kömürdän. (Sayf15r:7) 'Does washing eliminate the color of the coal?'[176]

Ču körgüzdi köngül rāzïn biligi, bitimäk sarïdïn tïndï eligi. (DN 265r:9) 'When her wisdom disclosed the secret of her heart, her hand stopped writing the letter.'

3.6.6.2.3. The Verbal Nouns in -maq/-mäk with Possessive Suffixes

Bayquš külätgäsinä kiši kelmäki muḫāl. (Sayf12r:7) 'No one ever would come under the shadow of the owl [to seek the good fortune of becoming a king].'

Ya kirišindän dägül oq ötmäki. (Sayf37r:10) 'The force of the arrow piercing the target[177] is not from the string of the bow.'

Köngül teg ḫaṭṭlarï macmūʿ-i ṣafī, ṣafağa körmäki bar erdi kāfī. (DN255r:8) 'The characters [of her letter] were, like [her] heart, collected and serene. It was enough [for the reader] to contemplate over [this] serenity.'

[176] Lit., Can you wash off the color of the coal?

[177] The Turkish phrase implies that the arrow passes through [*öt-*] a ring displayed as the target.

Meni sen šamʿ teg küydürmäging ne? Cafā va cavr etakın türmäking ne? (DN257v:3) 'What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?'
Hameša sāya teg küngä mulāzim, bolup erišmäki boynïna lāzim. (DN258v:1) 'She is always in the need of the sun, like a shadow. It is necessary that it reaches her shoulders [all the time].'
Duʿā yangliğ anï boynïna ildim, anïng yetkürmägin boynïna qïldïm. (DN249v:7) 'I hung it around his neck as a good-bye blessing. I made it his obligation to take it to its destination.'
Bevafā dunyāda cavlān qïlmağïng nä dur säning, bil cudā bolur cihānda murğ-i cāndïn ušbu tan. (ShD119v3-4) 'What is this parading of yours in this unfaithful world good for? Know that in this world life, like a bird, will depart from this body.'[178]

3.6.6.3. Verbal Nouns in -maqlïq/-mäklik

The suffix **-maqlïq/-mäklik** forms verbal nouns that name the action in its concrete realization associating it with an unnamed agent. E.g., **kelmäk** 'a coming' [unrelated until speficied], **kelmäklik** 'someone's coming' [related without specificarion]. It also serves as the second infinitive. E.g.,

ʿAqīqing ārzūsï qïldï bağïr qan, seni sevmäklik āsān ermäz, Ay Cān. (LN268) 'The desire for your ruby lips made the liver bleed.[179] It is not easy to be in love with you.'[180]
Yaṣṣï bolmaqlïq yaḫšïraq turur. (KBV10v:2) 'It is better, if it is flat.'
Tïläsäng anï bilmäklikkä (KBV12v:5) 'If you want to know it...'
Ölüg bašïna tepmäklik ḫwaš ermäs, savuq su yüzigä sepmäk ḫwaš ermäs. (DN246r:5) 'It is of no avail to kick the head of a dead person [to see whether he is alive].[181] It is of no avail to sprinkle water in his face.'
Dōst tutmaqlïq ilä, Ay Dānā, dōstnïng yādïnï tutmağlïq ara. (RB9r:2) [There is no difference] between [the following phrases]: To love the Friend, O Learned One, and to recollect the Friend.'

[178] The bird suddenly and unexpectedly taking off is often used as a symbol for the departing soul. Cf., MM *Vucūdung diraḫt teg, bu cānïng quš ol ; Usal turmağïl kim bu nāgāh učar.* (179v:1) 'Your body is like a tree and your soul, like a bird. Do not be heedless of God for that bird takes flight unexpectedly.'
[179] The phrase is equal to 'made the heart suffer'. *Köngül* or *qalb* cannot be used for this expression because of their explicite sufi content.
[180] Because the Beloved does not heed the prayer *yasir la tu'assir* 'make it easy, do not make it difficult'
[181] For signs to indicate whether a wounded animal is alive or not see MM191r:9.

Bar ẓuhūrïğa šarāʾiṭ ḥāṣil aṣl u sarmāya bošatmağlïq dil. (RB5v:3) 'To arrive in the Lord's presence one must fulfil several conditions: One must empty one's heart of [all attachements to] family and wealth.'[182]
Kelip iqbāl baš qoyğay qatïngda, buzulmaqlïqğa yüz qoyğay sitamlar. (DN248r:11) 'Prosperity comes and [as your] servant, salutes you.[183] [Your] hardship faces complete annihilation.'

3.6.6.4. Verbal Nouns in -maqda/-mäkdä

The suffix **-maqda/-mäkdä** names an action that is in progress. It is rare. E.g.,

Men emdi ḥasta va ğam artmaqda ḥiyālïng allïda cān tartmaqda. (DN257r:3) 'Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing, facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.'

Note: It is used as base of the Progressive Mood [3.6.5.8]. In this usage it is very frequent in modern literary Uzbek.

3.6.6.5. Verbal Nouns in -r

Verbal nouns in **-r** name the action with no aspectual or temporal implications. They display the activity itself irrespective of the time and circumstances in which it takes place. In context they occur either as action nouns [verbal nouns proper] or agent nouns [leaning toward participles].

The formation of the verbal nouns in **-r** has a few characteristics. Stems with a final vowel most of the time take **-r: sorar [< sora-]** 'asking', **bäzär [< bäzä-]** 'ornating', **bašlar [< bašla-]** 'beginning'. Sometimes stems in **-a/-ä** are expanded by a **-y** to which the suffix **-ur/ür** is added: **avlayur [< avla-]** 'hunting', **deyür [< de-]** 'saying', **sözläyür [< sözlä-]** 'speaking', **oynayur [< oyna-]** 'dancing'. Monosyllabic stems ending on a consonant take mostly **-ar/-är: ačar** 'opening', **angar** 'remembering'; **aqar** 'flowing', **artar** 'increasing', **baqar** 'looking', **čïqar** 'leaving', **äsär** 'blowing', **egär** 'bending', **etär** 'doing', **inär** 'descending', **kečär** 'passing'; **münär** 'riding'; **ögär** 'praising'; **qorqar** 'having fear'; **sanar** 'considering'; **tapar** 'finding'; **tökär** 'pouring'; **učar** 'taking flight'. Some of the monosyllabic stems, especially those ending in an **-l** or **-r**, use the

[182] Reference to the Sufi tenet according to which the believer must empty his heart entirely from other than God so that he be able to fill it with God. Cf., Islam, *Sivā'llāh sözidin köngül ḫālī qïl, nūrullāh nūrïdïn tolu bilä sän.* (MM196v:2) 'Empy your heart of all but God, so that His light may fill it.'
[183] Lit., 'prostrating in your presence touching the ground with the left or right cheek. Not with the forehead because you use your forehead only when you perform the *sacda* to God.

suffix **-ur/-ür**: **alur** 'taking'; **bilür** 'knowing'; **bolur** 'being, becoming'; **čalur** 'playing [a musical insstrument]'; **kelür** 'coming'; **qalur** 'staying behind';**qïlur** 'making, doing'; **salur** 'putting aside'; **silür** 'wiping'; **barur** 'going'; **berür** 'giving'. Consonantal stems with more than two syllables use **-ur/-ür**: **ačïlur** 'opening'; **azdurur** 'leading astray'; **ävrülür** 'turning'; **bïraqur** 'leaving behind'; **buyurur** 'decreeing'; **čïqarur** 'taking out'. Note the variants: **turur ~ turar** 'standing'.

3.6.6.5.1. Action Nouns

A great part of the verbal nouns in **-r** are action nouns. They are very rare in bare form. Most of the time they carry possessive suffixes or case endings or both. E.g.,

> **Burnung ağzïnğa min camīʿ vucūh sol eligdä su alurung makrūh.** (MS5v:4) 'It is reprehensible for you to use your left hand in any way while you are taking up water into your nose and mouth.'
> **Ay dōst seni sevgäli özgä sevärim yoq. Tengrim ḥaqqï kim sevgäli sendin guzarïm yoq.** (ShD183v:4) 'O, Friend, since I am in love with you, I have no other beloved. I swear by my God, since I am in love, I cannot walk away from you.'[184]

3.6.6.5.1.1. Action Nouns in -r in Oblique Case Forms

Action nouns in **-r** are more frequently used in oblique case forms, such as the dative, the locative, and the accusative.

3.6.6.5.1.1.1. Action Nouns in -r in the Dative Case

> **Kiši könglin yïqarğa ʿādatïm yoq.** (Sayf82r:12) 'It is not a habit of mine to destroy people's heart.'
> **Aytayïn män ay yigitlär ušbu sïrrnï tinglängiz: Sarvar olurğa lāʾiq yer cāh-i Turkistan emiš.** (ShD69r:10) 'I should say, young men, listen to this secret: To be an emperor, the proper place is the throne of Turkistan.'
> **Kirištim söz bezärgä ḫāma teg tund, išimdä sarzanïšdïn bolmayïn kund.** (DN243r:9) 'I set myself to [choose] decorate words fast like the pen does, so that her reproaches would not make me tardy in my work.'

3.6.6.5.1.1.2. Action nouns in -r in the Locative case

[184] The original is slightly different. The expression is based on *guzar* 'ford, shallows' and love is conceived as a vast bottomless sea. There is no shallows in the sea for me to walk away from the Beloved.

> **Olturup yarğu yararda qïl yarar.** (Sayf7r:4) 'He is most accurate when he sits down to render judgments.'[185]
> **Bil ki oqurda duʿā va Qurʿān cidd u cahd äylägä sen kim ol ān.** (RB3r:11) 'Know that whenever you pronounce a prayer or recite from he Qurʾān you should do so with great devotion.'
> **Ču aldï nāmanï elin uzatïp, alurda mušk ara ṣandalnï qatïp.** (DN251v:9) 'When she took the letter reaching for it with her hands she added sandal[186] fragrance to the scent of musk.'[187]
> **Nazar qïlurda körünmäs bu dūd-i āhïmdïn, fiğān va āhïm ilä toldï gunbad-i aflāk.** (ShD89v:7-8) 'When I behold her, she does not show from the smoke of my sighs. The dome of the sky is filled with my woes and sighs.'
> **Salïp tur ot cānïma ol cahān-i ātašnāk nä ğam dur emdi yüzini körärdä bolsa halāk.** (ShD89v:1-2) 'That blazing world has cast fire upon my soul. What does it matter now, since it perishes [anyway] while viewing your face.'

3.6.6.5.1.1.3. Action Nouns in -r in the Accusative Case

> **Ḫirāmān kelürüngni tā ešittim, özümdin ṣabr dek bēḫwāst yettim.** (DN263r:8) 'When I heard your elegant walk I was lost like my patience.'

3.6.6.5.2. Agent nouns

Agent nouns mostly occur as adjectives. In this function they are close to participles. E.g.,

> **Yamanlïq qïlğan ergä äygülük qïl! Qapar it ağzïğa luqma ata dur.** (Sayf 43v:9) 'Do good to the person who treats you badly. People throw a morsel into the mouth of a biting dog.'
> **Ādamī könglin yïqar söz sözlämä.** (Sayf163v:1) 'Do not [ever] say words that hurts[188] people's hearts.'
> **Arangïzda ʿacam tilin bilür kiši bar mï?** (Sayf132r:8) 'Is there anyone among you who knows Persian?'
> **Yetmiš yašar bir qarï er qïz oğlan evländi.** (Sayf133r:7) 'A seventy year old man married a young girl.'
> **Daḫl aqar su turur dağï ʿayš yürür tägirmän.** (Sayf142r:10) 'Income is like running water and good life is like a turning mill.'

[185] T. *qïl yara-* lit., 'to split hairs' > to be accurate'
[186] Cf. *ṣandal* 1. 'sandal wood' > yellow color, like henna used to paint ladies' hands; 2. 'sandal fragrance'
[187] Cf. *mušk* 1. 'black' > writing of the letter; 2. 'musk fragrance' added to the letter.
[188] Lit., 'destroy'

Ayā muṭrib, bu maclisdä ününg <u>tinglär</u> kiši yoq tur. (Sayf61r:4) 'O, Singer, in this company there is no one to listen to your voice.'
Qačan kim ʿālim er ʿilmin ḫalāʾiqqa yürüp sattï, ol er naqdïn eli birlän <u>yanar otqa</u> bilip attï. (Sayf161r:5). 'When a learned man goes to the people to sell his wisdom, with his hand he knowingly tosses his cash into the flaming fire.'
Tängridän özgä <u>siğïnur yerim</u> qalmadï. (Sayf33v:8) 'Except God no other place of refuge has been left for me.'
Oqur ḫālatda mïmi körgüzüp sïn sevünüp bētaqalluf qïldï taḥsïn. (DN264r:11) 'As she was engaged in reading [the letter] her *mïm*-shape mouth displayed a *sïn*[189]; she was happy and frankly expressed her approval.'

3.6.6.5.3. Agent Nouns in -r in Passive Use

Parēšān köngligä ağïr[190] <u>sevär cān</u>, siriški kahrubā üstinä marcān. (DN259r:10) 'The precious life is heavy for his heart. His tear drops are like coral beads upon [his] amber[-colored face].'
Ašuğup qïldï <u>atlanur yarağïn</u>, zamānē cilva berdi ḫusn bāğïn. (DN265r:2) 'In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she showed off the beauty of the garden.'[191]
Tangrïdan özgä <u>siğïnur yerim</u> qalmadï. (Sayf33v:8). 'Except for God, I have no other place of refuge left.'

Note: In the verbal inflection, see above [3.6.5.6.], it is used as the theme of the aorist

3.6.6.6. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs

Verbal nouns in **-mas/-mäs** [rarely also **-maz/-mäz**] name the action that does not take place, with no aspectual or temporal implications. In context they occur either as action nouns [verbal nouns proper] or agent nouns [leaning toward participles].

3.6.6.6.1. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs Used as Action Nouns

They occur only with case ending or possessive suffixes or with both. E.g.
May ïč paymāna <u>tolmasdïn</u> burunraq, bu sudïn ur ḫirad közinä topraq. (DN233v:5) 'Drink wine before the measure is filled[192]. From this water throw dust into the eyes of reason.'[193]

[189] I.e., a wide smile
[190] MS has *ʾğyz*
[191] I.e., she appeared in full splendor
[192] I.e., Before your life is over. Cf., P. *paymānaš pur šud* 'his measure is full, his days are numbered' (Steingass, p.270a).
[193] I.e., satisfy your intellect with inebriating wine.

<u>Ičmäsimni</u> čōn bilürlär edi, taklïf qïlmadïlar. (Babur 187r:13) 'Since they knew about my not drinking wine, they did not offer me any.'
<u>Bilmäsimdin</u> yārdïn asru bolup tur mān[194] yïraq. Vah nä türlüg qïlğusï dur ušbu dard ilä firāq. (ShD76r:11-12) 'Because of my ignorance I am far away from my beloved. O, what will separation do with this pain.'

3.6.6.6.2. Verbal Nouns in -mas/-mäs Used as Agent Nouns

Agent nouns in **-mas/-mäs** occur mostly in adjectival use as modifiers to a noun. With this quality this verbal noun is very close to participles. E.g.,
Elig elgä urup aytqay cazā dur <u>ögüt almas</u> kišigä böylä miḥnat. (Sayf143r:13) 'Clapping his hands he would say: Such misery is a right punishment for a person who does not take a good [piece of] advice.'
Ol yazuqlï sulṭānğa sökti, <u>yaramas</u> sözlär sözlädi. (Sayf9r:11) 'That convicted person, using indecent words, abused the Sultan.'
Künäš anča büyükligi birlän bir ayača bulut <u>körünmäs</u> etär. (Sayf174v:1) 'The sun with that great size can be covered by a cloud of the size of one's palm.'
Ärdäm ärning davlatï dur, bil yaqïn, kim <u>tükänmäs</u> māl erür maṭlablayïn. (Sayf140r:6) 'Valor is the riches of a man, know full well! It is an inexhaustible wealth, like the treasure people are in search of.'
Köngül bermä köngül <u>bermäs</u> kišigä. (Sayf78r:8) 'Do not confide in a person who does not confide in you.'

3.6.6.7. Verbal Nouns in -mïš/-miš

A verbal noun in **-mïš/-miš** indicates an action not directly known [witnessed or experienced] by the speaker who realizes its occurrence by information provided by others or by his own judgment on the basis of its result, factual context, or attending circumstances. As action nouns they are rare. They occur more frequently as adjectives and in this function they share the characteristics of participles.

3.6.6.7.1. Verbal Nouns in -mïš/-miš Used as Action Nouns

Ammā mutanaʿʿim edi, kölgädä <u>bäslänmiš</u>, cihān körmägän... (Sayf148v:10) 'But he was living in pleasure, raised in the shade, did not travel about in this world...'

[194] Present Perfect Tense [see3.6.5.13.1.]. The situation described is the result of a past action.

Bu oğlan ʿumrï bāğïndan yemiš yemiši yoq. (Sayf13r:3) 'This youth, I gather, have not [yet] eaten any fruit from the garden of life.'

3.6.6.7.2. Verbal Nouns in -mïš/-miš Used as Agent Nouns

They have a passive or medial meaning and mostly occur together with their specified subject: **susa-** 'to be thirsty' > **susamïš** 'he who has been thirsty' > **susamïš er** 'a thirsty person.' E.g.,

Ağïr iškä sïnamïš er ïya ber kim arslannï tutup keltürgäy ol er. (Sayf140v10) 'To handle a difficult matter send an experienced person who is able catch the lion and bring it in. '

Yetsä tatlï suğa susamïš er, qorqmas allïnda bolsa aždarhā. (Sayf 48r:13) 'When a thirsty man comes to [a source of] sweet water, he has no fear, even if there is a dragon facing him.'

Äylä saqïndïm kim qurmïš buğday turur. (Sayf89v:5) 'I thought it was fried wheat.'

Ač yarlï tapïp biši šalğam šišlämiš qaz eti bigin ḫwaš yer. (Sayf 90v:9) 'When a poor hungry man comes upon some cooked turnip, he eats it as if it was a goose roasted on the spit.'

Note: In the verbal inflection it is used as basis for indirect past tenses [see 3.6.5.5.5.].

3.6.6.8. Verbal Nouns in -š

Verbal nouns in **-š** which in modern literary Uzbek appear now as the second infinitives, name individual actions in their concrete realization. Cf., **baqmaq** 'a looking', **baqïš** 'the looking by someone, a glance.' Most verbal nouns in **-š** are concrete nouns in quite frequent use. Others serve as action nouns. There are no examples for their use as agent nouns or participles.

The suffix **-š** is added to light positive stems. Heavy stems with unrounded vowels take **-ïš/-iš**, those with rounded vowels , **-uš/-üš**. Below is a list of most common verbal nouns belonging to this group:

aytïš	'saying' (ShD103r:2)
baqïš	'glance' (Sayf127r:11)
barïš	'going' (ShD102v:3)
bitiš	'growth' (Sayf14v:7)
käliš	'coming' (ShD102v:7)
külüš	'smiling' (Sayf120v:9)
oḫšaš	'resembling' (RM27r:10)
otruš	'sitting position [in the prayer]' (MM185r:5a)

öpüš	'kiss' (Sayf129r:6)
qališ	'remaining' (ShD102v:13)
saqïš	'thought' (Sayf73v:1)
tarïš	'writing' [< sowing] (DN 229r:1)
tolğaš	'a being curly' (GD186,5)
uruš	'fight' (Sayf88v:5)
yağïš	'rain' (NTM7v:6)
yanïš	'burning' (ShD102v:13)

E.g.,

Öfkä bilän ol qïya baqïšïn körünüz. (Sayf127r:11) 'Behold that black look of anger from the corner of his eye.'

Köngülgä bu saqïš kelür kim ärtä oğul qïz turup ne yegäy. (Sayf73v:1) 'This thought comes to mind: What will the children eat when they get up in the morning?'

Ol qamar yüzli šakar sözli ḥabīb bir öpüškä cān alïp minnat qïlur. (Sayf129r:6) 'That moon-faced sweet-spoken friend takes your life for a kiss and holds you indebted for this favor.'

Yïbarïp Muštarïni ʿilm išigä, tüzätip Tïrni ḫaṭṭ tarïšïda. (DN 229r:1) 'He assigns Jupiter to the sciences. He commissions Mercury to writing.'

Zāhiding sözi bilä tüz toğrï yoldïn čïqmasam, bar durur mayḫāna yolunda kälišim barïšim. (ShD102v:6-7) 'Although I do not leave the right straight path following the words of your ascetic, I have my comings and goings on the road leading to the tavern.'

Har qačan keldi ḫiyālï šādmān oldï köngül, yoq turur cānā cafāsï birlä köngül qalïšïm. (ShD102v:12-13) 'Whenever her vision appeared the heart became joyful. I was never disappointed by the cruelty of the beloved.'[195]

3.6.6.9. Verbal Nouns in -ğu/-gü

Verbal nouns in **-ğu/-gü** express actions with modal [necessitative or imperative] and temporal [immediate future] characteristics. E.g.,

Tavakkul dalīl Ḥaqq čïnuq bilgügä, ïnanmaq qiyāmat taqï ölgügä. (MM179r:9) 'Selfsurrender to God is a proof that you truly know God, that you [truly] believe in Resurrection and Death.'

(1) The necessitative aspect in predication can be emphasized by the particle **kerāk**. E.g.,

[195] The Beloved is testing us by her harsh treatment to see whether we are worthy of her love.

Muvaḥḥid bu nafsning bašïn käsgügä qahïrning qïlïčïn bilägü keräk. (MM182r:17). 'The Believer in the Oneness of God must sharpen the sword of wrath in order to behead his Carnal Soul.'
Ne kim ol aydï anï qïlğu käräk. Ṭāʿatïnï boyunğa alğu käräk. (MS2r:2). 'One must do whatever He has commanded. One must [willingly] take upon one's neck [the yoke of] obedience to Him.'

Note: Verbal nouns in **-ğu/-gü** are used as bases of the Categorical Future Tense [3.6.5.11.1.]. E.g.,
Ki davlat kelgüsi dur, bolma ğāfil, saʿādat birlä tüzgüng dur maḥāfil. (DN260v:5). 'Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: brighten up the meeting place with the felicity of paradise.'
Laškar-i islāmnï čäksäm qïzïl börk üstinä, bolğusi yāvar Madïna kišvarïdïn šol Ḥabīb. (ShD15r11) 'When I lead the forces of Islam upon the red hats, the Friend from the land of Madina will surely be my helper.'

3.6.6.10. Verbal Nouns in -ğučï/-güči

Verbal Nouns in **-ğučï/-güči** are agent nouns expressing a subject's profession, favorite or characteristic activity and moral quality suggested by his actions. E.g.,
Gazak berdi manga ağzï labïdïn, dam urdï ičgüčilär mašrabïdïn. (DN269v:8) 'She gave me some relish from the lips of her mouth. It betrayed [the taste of] the drink of the consumer.'
Tiläsäng äygü atïng mängü qalğay, ayaqdan tüškän elin tutquči bol. (Sayf172v:6) 'If you want that your name survive for ever, take the hand of those who have fallen.'
köngüllär āzār qïlğučï [for Persian *mardum āzār*] (Sayf141r:4) 'a rude insulting person'
Ayā oq atquči yaḫšï saqïšlap ilk andan at. (Sayf169v:7) 'Hark ye, Archer! Think well first and than release your arrow.'
Ki, bir nargisgä ol köz salğučï dur, tili sūsan bigin söz salğučï dur. (DN254r:4) '[People who understood my situation said to me:] He laid his eyes on a narcissus and [since then] his tongue speaks like a lily.[196]
Ki kim dur bu raqamğa nuktapardāz, maḥabbat kōyïdïn qïlğučï parvāz? (DN239v:3) 'She said, "Who is the one who showered witty points in this letter[197] taking to wings from the lane of love?"'

[196] I.e., he is mute
[197] Meaning who wrote this letter.

Özini küč bilän bergüči ğamğa, yasanïp ötrü barğučï alamğa. (DN239v:4) 'By force he gives himself over to sadness and is prepared to walk into the face of affliction.'
Mašaqqat elinä salğučï cānïn, özi öz boynïna qïlğučï qanïn. (DN239v:5) 'He willfully gives over his soul to troubles. He takes upon himself his own execution.'
Sevär sevgüčini har kim ki bolsa, sözi har nečä kim ʿālamğa tolsa. (DN248r:3) 'To the loving lover, whoever he may be, however much his [ill] repute may have spread over this world...'
Ičgüči rindlar bilä ič bāda tīr-i māh. Hargiz yavunmasun ṣūfïlar bu diyārïma. (ShD159r:7) 'Drinker, drink wine with the rogues in the month of June. Never ever should the sufis come [even] close to my district.'

3.6.6.11. Verbal Nouns in -ğudek/-güdek

Verbal Nouns in **-ğudek/-güdek** express actions which are on the point of being carried out or which look like or are as if taking place. E.g.,
Sïnğudek dur ʿarš-i aʿlā ušbu kün, ingüdek dur čarḫ-i ğabrā ušbu kün. (BN88r:) 'This very day the Supreme Throne is on the point of tumbling down, this very day the dust colored sky is about caving in.'
Buzğudek har biri bir laškarnï, alğudek har biri bir kišvarnï. (ShVámb.94,21) 'Every one of them was ready to destroy an army [alone], every one of them was ready to take a country [alone].'

3.6.6.12. Verbal Nouns in -ğuluq/-gülük

This rather rare form of verbal nouns refers to things that are meant, or destined for some purpose or are doomed to be the object of an action. It occurs alone as a concrete noun or as an adjective either in predicative function or as modifier to a noun. E.g.,
Tüngä tegin ṭaʿām va ṣuḥbat edi, yegülüklärgä zīb u zīnat edi. (PdC556) 'Until nightfall there was food and intimate conversation. The dishes[198] were beautiful and decorated.'
Va har yïl iḥtiyāc ahlïğa keygülük yetkürgäylär. (PdC487) 'And every year they should send some clothes[199] to those in need.'
Ṣabr u qarār u hošnï almağlïğïng ne dur? Ay cānlar āfatï sanga cānïm dur alğuluq. (PdC32) 'Why do you deprive me of patience, rest, and intelligence? O, Disaster of Souls, my soul is here for you to take.'

[198] Lit., things to eat
[199] Lit., things to wear

Gar men öltürgülük men, öltürgil. (Babur, Eckm.Gr. p.137) 'If I am doomed to death, kill me.'

3.6.6.13. Verbal Nouns in -ğusïz/-güsiz

These verbal nouns express actions that are, for reasons unknown, not possible to carry out. They are adjectives and occur mostly in predicative funtion.

E.g.,

Sanga sänliking, bil, ḥicāb käčgüsüz; kitär bolsa sän män bolur säčgüsüz. (MM197r:5) 'Know that youness is your impenetrable veil. When it is eliminated, there is no longer any distinguishing between "me" and "you".'

Safar ḥācat ermäs sän ök sän ḥicāb, qamuğ manzil ušbu, valē köčgüsüz. (MM197r:6) 'There is no need to travel, your youness itself is the veil. All the stations are right here, there is no need to set off [for other parts].'

3.6.7. Gerunds

Gerunds are verbal adverbs that play a very important role in Chagatay linguistic expression. They may indicate status, aspect, tense, mood and relationship to other actions.

3.6.7.1. Gerund in -p

The suffix **-p** is added directly to light stems and through a closed connective vowel [**i, ï, ü, u**] to heavy stems:

asrap 'protecting, fostering, preserving' < **asra-** 'to protect'
tiläp 'wishing, asking for' < **tilä-** 'to ask for'
dep 'saying' < **de-** 'to say'
ağrïp 'hurting' < **ağrï-** 'to hurt'
äyläp 'going around'< **äylä-** 'to go around'
salïp 'putting, casting' < **sal-** 'to put'
ačïp 'opening' < **ač-** 'to open'
yašunup 'hiding' < **yašun-** 'to hide' [intransitive]
körüp 'beholding'< **kör-** 'to see, behold'
qačïp 'escaping' < **qač-** 'to escape, flee'
körsätip 'showing' < **körsät-** 'to demonstrate'
berip 'giving' < **ber-** 'to give'
tutup 'holding' < **tut-** 'to hold'

Note: The suffix **-p** is added generally to positive stems. With negative stems it occurs rarely: **turmap** (Babur105v:8) 'not able to resist'

Gerunds in **-p** indicate that an action ceased, came to an end, or was interrupted or completed at a point of time established by adverbs, other actions or by a broader context. They occur in adverbial, copulative, or predicative functions.

3.6.7.1.1. Gerund in -p in Adverbial Function

The gerund in **-p** is quite common in adverbial function. The action it expresses either occurs parallel with another action [mostly by the same agent] or stops before the other action begins. E.g.,

Ču aldï nāmanï elin uzatïp, alurda mušk ara ṣandalnï qatïp. (DN251v:9) 'When she took the letter reaching for it with her hands she added sandal[200] fragrance to the scent of musk.'[201]

Barqğa dedi: Negä čäkting āhnï, tïrä äyläp āftāb māhnï? (BN 86v:6) '[God] said to Barq: Why did you sigh, fogging [with your breath] the sun and the moon?'

Yuqarïdïn inip yamğur tüšär pāk, ki tā andïn tirilir ḫār ḫāšāk. (DN258v:11) 'Descending from above the rain falls evenly so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.'

Bir vaqt tüz yazïda yol taš etip azuqum tükänip yürür edim. (Sayf 89v:3) 'Once I was walking in the plain desert: I lost my way and my provisions were exhausted.'

İzdäp nämä tapmadï. (Sayf50v:10) 'He was searching but he did not find anything.'

Qalamğa su berip ačtïm tilini, anga āsān qïlïp söz muškilini. (DN 255v:11) 'I put water into the pen and opened its tongue. I made the difficult task of composition easy for him.'[202]

3.6.7.1.2. Gerund in -p in Copulative Function

Čïqayïn yer ičidin nāla yanglïq, kafannï qanğa bulğap lāla yanglïq. (DN244v:11) 'Let me emerge from the inside of the earth like a cry and stain the shroud with blood [red] like tulip.'

Yüzüm ḫwaršēdidin ḫayrān yürür mü? Bolup bir ẓarra sargardān yürür mü? (DN252r:8) 'Doesn't he walk in amazment caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn't he move perplexed?

Baštïn kečip qara qan ičip qan yašïm sačïp: tapman köngül tilägïni vā-ḥasratā köngül. (Sayf182) 'I give up my head, I drink

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[200] Cf. *ṣandal* 1. 'sandal wood' > yellow color, like henna used to paint ladies' hands; 2. 'sandal fragrance'

[201] Cf. *mušk* 1. 'black' > writing of the leter; 2. 'musk fragrance' added to the letter.

[202] Cf. the Arabic invocation *allāh yasir va lā tu'assir* 'Lord make it easy for me, do not make it difficult.

black blood, and I shed blood-color tears. Alas, O Heart, I do [still] not find the desire of my heart'.

Yätip eldin ötüp ṣaḥrā yeli teg yürüp köz yašïda daryā eli teg. (DN253v:3) 'He comes and passes by people like the desert wind. He wades in tears like maritime creatures.'

Ravān qïldï falak čōn cām-i Camšēd, ačïqlanïp qïzarïp čïqtï ḫwaršēd. (DN242r:11) 'When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshid, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.'

Yašunup gul yüzüngdin bāğlarda, qačïp lāla čïqïban tağlarda. (DN243v:9) 'The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.'

Körüp har dam qara baḫtïnï tün teg, köngüldin tartïp āhïnï tütün teg. (DN247v:1) 'He always perceives his black fortune as [the darkness of] the night. He lets out sighs, like smoke, from his heart.'

Barïp ʿarab qabīlasïnda istäp tapup alïp keldilär. (Sayf 126r:11) 'They set out, searched the Bedouin tribes, found her and took her [to the Sultan's] presence.'

3.6.7.1.3. Gerund in -p in Predicative Function

Salïp šahr ičrä ʿišq āvāzasïnï, ačïp yüzigä ğam darvāzasïnï. (DN 240r:1) 'He spreads the rumor about [his] love all over the town. He opens the gate of sorrow to his face.'

Tili ačïq sözin šakargä qatïp, közi taʿrïz oqïn cān[ïm]ğa atïp. (DN243r:2) Her tongue dipped her bitter words into sugar.[203] Her eyes shot arrows of hints[204] into [my] soul.'

Qalam til učïnï ʿanbarğa bulğap, eligi mušknï kāğidğa čolğap. (DN255r:11) 'Dipping the point of the pen into ambergris, her hands wrote on the paper with fragrant black ink.'

Säning üčün bir tüš körüp män ḫayr bolğay. (Sayf 11r:6) 'I have seen a dream concerning you, maybe it bodes something good.'

Agar sen anda körsäng nagah āzār, men ešitip bolur men munda afgār. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'

Note: Gerunds in **-p** serve as bases of the Perfect Tense [3.6.5.13.].

Meni sïndurma kim ğam sïndurup tur, barïp köngülnï mendin tïndurup tur. (DN244r:10) 'Do not break me, because sorrow has already done so. Going away from me you pacified my heart.'

[203] I.e., He mixed the bitter words of chiding with the sweetness of coquetry.
[204] Expressions with obscure meanings rebuking and encouraging the Lover at the same time.

3.6.7.2. Gerund in-ban/-bän

Formally this gerund is the expansion of the gerund in **-p**. In its use, however, there are significant restrictions that make it different from the gerunds in **-p**. First, it is a morphologically closed element: It cannot be followed by auxiliaries or personal markers, pronominal or possessive. Second, because of these qualities it cannot be part of an inflectional paradigm. Thirdly, it cannot be employed as head of a structure of modification. It preserved, however, most of its verbal privileges: It can have a subject, direct or indirect objects and other complements consisting of case forms of nouns postpositional phrases. In the sentence it occurs mostly as a nongradable adverb. Coordinated with other verbs it may have copulative function.

3.6.7.2.1. Gerund in-ban/-bän in Adverbial Function

Dedi, Ay Sözi Rangīnlärgä Artang, qalamdïn körgüzübän sihr va nayrang. (DN270v:10) 'He said. O, Mani [the painter] among those whose words are colorful,[205] who produces magic and sourcery with the pen.'

Ṣabā elini öptüm qoyuban baš, anga iḫlāṣ nūrïn etibän fāš. (DN 249v:1) 'I kissed the hand of the Morning Breeze bowing my head and showing her the light of perfect sincerity.'

Men ol qul men ki bargïm yerdä qalmas, valī bir yel kelibän eltä almas. (DN240v:9) 'I am the rose whose petals don't stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot sweep them away.'[206]

Yašunup gul yüzüngdin bāğlarda, qačïp lāla čïqïban tağlarda. (DN243v:9) 'The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.'

Gāh söz aytïp Ḫudādïn äšitip, yïğlaban har laḥza özidin ketip. (BN85r:11) 'Sometimes he said words that he had heard from God, crying he lost his senses every moment.'[207]

Ki män ummat debän kečtim atadïn. (Ḫ74v:9) 'Having chosen the community I gave up my father.'

Ozup kečti ašïqqan atlï erni yürübän bir kiši arqun tün va kün. (Sayf167r:2) 'A person walking slowly night and day caught up with and passed by the hasty horseman.'

Naẓar saldï salïban söz arağa, netük kim köz berür nūrïn qarağa. (DN264r:10) 'She cast a glance [at the letter] and then became immersed in reading the text as her eyes lended its light to [dispel] the darkness [of the ink].'

[205] I.e., who paint with their words
[206] I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.
[207] Intensity is expressed by showing a point-action verb in repetition.

3.6.7.2.2. Gerund in-ban/-bän in Copulative Function

Avčï čïqïban käyiklär avlar vaqtïn arslan körübän tutup terisin yïrtar. (Sayf105r:7) 'The hunter goes out in the season of hunting deer. A lion spots him, grabs him, and tears his skin into shreds.'

Kečä qoy ḥalqïna qoydï bïčağïn, tilädi kim soyuban alsa yağïn. (Sayf69r:2-3) 'At night he put his knife to the sheep's throat and wanted to slaughter him and take his fat [tail].'

Yüzni yuban, eligdä su quyğïl. Bašqa masḥ tartïban, ayağnï yuğïl. (MS4v:3) 'Having washed your face pour water over your hand [and wash them]. Having wiped your head [with moistened hands] wash your feet.'

Közümning kirpüki boldï guharpāš, qalam teg har ḥaṭṭïna qoyuban baš. (DN255v:1) 'The eyelashes of my eyes were shedding gems.[208] Like the pen I bowed to each of her characters.'

Ğamïmdïn gar desä ičimdäki dāğ, bulut teg yïğlağay ün tartïban dāğ. (DN256v:10) 'If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'

Bu Šabānī bu ṭavā'if beglärini qavlaban ẓulm u cavrïn kötäribän elgä köp dād äyladük. (ShD82v:1-2) 'We, Shabānī, routed the chiefs of these tribes. We have restored justice to the people [of this town] by rooting out injustice and oppression.'

3.6.7.2.3. Gerund in -ban/-bän in Predicative Function

Qïlïban mušknï ol 'anbarïn meng, cihān ičrä qara tofraq bilän teng. (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris-scented beauty spot reduced [the value of] musk to [the level of] common clay[209] in the [entire] world.'

Bašïna qoyuban hudhud bigin tāc, šaraf ičrä alïp Sïmurğdïn bāc. (DN267v:5) 'He put a crown upon his head like a hoopoe; in dignity he levied a tax on Simurgh.'[210]

Yüzüm birlän sačïmnï etibän yād, boluban kečälärdä aydïn šād. (DN253r:9) 'He talkes about my face and my hair; at nights he associates with the moon.'

3.6.7.2.4. Gerund in-ban/-bän in Idioms

The gerund in **-ban/-bän** occurs in a few idioms. E.g., **ne debän** 'by what right?':

Ne debän men anï közdin salayïn, köngül aldïm, barïp ham cān alayïn. (DN246r:3) 'By what right should I disregard him? I have taken [his] heart, now should I go and take [his] life, too?

[208] Tear drops of emotion.

[209] Versus *gil-i ḫwašbōy* 'clay with fragrance' (Sa'dī) or *nufarriḥ gul gibi gil* 'clay fragrant like an exhilarating rose' (Sayfi Sarāyī).

[210] It possesses greater dignity than Simurgh.

3.6.7.3. Gerund in-a/-ä

Gerunds in **-a/-ä** indicate actions that are not completed. These actions are either going on uninterrupted, or are being repeated without a time limit. The time of their occurrence is indicated by a concurrent action, by adverbs, or by the context itself. They are used as adverbs to finite verbs or verbal nouns to express manner, time, purpose, aim, or limit.

They may occur in doublets [with the same word repeated or with the gerund form of another verb] for emphasis.

3.6.7.3.1. Gerund in -a/-ä in Predicative Function

Very rare. This is related to the adverbial use of the gerunds in **-a/-ä** with the exception that the gerund has its own subject. E.g.,

Āftāb oturā tağqa yavuq yettim. (Babur 60r:8) 'By sunset [< as the sun was setting] I got close to the mountain.'

3.6.7.3.2. Gerund in -a/-ä in Adverbial Function

Seni kim sevdi, ay dilbar, közigä cān körünmäs tur. Qïyā baq közüng učïdïn barï ölügni tirgüzgän. (ShD128v:12) 'No life is visible in the eyes of the one who has loved you. Cast a side glance from the corner of your eye because that is what brings the dead to life.'[211]

Nečä köp yädürsäng, sanga bir kün ol urur zaḫm, andan saqïna yüri. (Sayf14v:10) 'No matter how much you feed him [the wolf cub] one day will cause you harm. Beware of him.'

Bir kün ušbu yerdä ekändä Ḫwāca Abu'l-Makārim kim bizning dek calāy-i vaṭan bolup sargardān edi meni körä keldi. (Babur 60r:8) 'One day during my state in that very place, Ḫwāca Abu'l-Makārim, an emigrant like ourselves, was aimlessly wandering and came to see me.'

Vah ki kelür yolğa qïldïm köz durrafšānïn nišār, telmürä har yol bašïnda közlärim dučār dur. (ShD44v:4-5) 'O, how I scattered the pearls of my eyes on the path she was to come! At every corner my eyes were eagerly looking for a sudden encounter.'

[211] In royal receptions the sultan signaled the acceptance of gifts by casting a side glance at them.

3.6.7.3.3. Gerund in -a/-ä in Doublets

Bolur āsān bara bara muškil. (RB5v:6) 'What is difficult, will gradually become easy.'

Ušbu sirrni ayta-ayta kāčti Manṣūr-i ğarīb; oğrï va yalğančilardïn boldï ol dār özgāčā. (ShD150r:3) 'Repeating this secret all over again Manṣūr, the strange one, passed. The tree[212] that was meant for him was different from others meant for thieves and liers.'

Bu säning ḥālïng ol tülki ḥikāyatïna oḫšar kim kördilär yïqïla tura kitär edi. (Sayf26r:5) 'This situation of yours resembles that of the fox whom people saw running away in panic.'[213]

Notes: (a) Gerunds in **-a/-ä** are used as bases for the Durative Present Tense [3.6.5.13.1.].

Köngül kim tarta dur ğam mātamïnï, qalam teg bašïdïn alğïl qarasïn. (DN264r:2) 'When the heart keeps wearing the livery of sorrow, remove melancholy from its head in the same way you remove ink from the tip of the pen.'

Tün kün saqlan ol erdin kim ol qorqa turur sändän. (Sayf18v:2) 'Night and day beware of the man who is constantly afraid of you.'

(b) It is used to form descriptive verbs [3.6.9.].

Men ol gul men ki bargïm yerdä qalmas, valī bir yel kelibän eltä almas. (DN240v:9) 'I am the rose whose petals don't stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot carry them away.'[214]

Bu nukta sirrini hargiz kiši qayda bilür ermiš? Ača ber nukta sirrini mäning pīr-i muğānïm sen. (ShD112r:13) 'How would one ever know the secret of this point? Open for me the secret of points: you are my elder of the magi.'[215]

3.6.7.3.4. Gerund in -a/-ä in Idioms

Gerunds in **-a/-ä** occur quite often in set expressions and idioms. Here is a selective list of the most frequently used idioms.

bara bara (RB5v:6] 'constantly'
ḥaddïn aša (Sayf164r:9) 'excessively, beyond limits'
kün aša (Sayf57r:2) 'every other day'
otura tura ket- (Sayf137r:1) 'slowly, taking a rest'[216]

[212] I.e., the gallows
[213] Lit., falling to the ground and standing up again
[214] I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.
[215] Fig., innkeeper
[216] Lit., sitting and standing up

qïya baqmaq (ShD128v:12) 'to cast a side glance'
yaraša (ShD137v:7) 'accordingly'
yïqïla tura (Sayf26r:5) 'head over heels'[217]
bilä (MM195v:3) 'knowingly'

E.g.,

Kün aša kelgil kim maḥabbat ziyādat bolğay. (Sayf57r:2) 'Come and see me every other day so that our attraction to one another may increase.'

Sen emdi ḥavsalanga yaraša ṭalab qïlğïl, umēding üzmä ki āḫir Ḫudā qïlur sababïn. (ShD127r:7-8-) 'Now you seek according to your liking. Do no give up your hope because in the end God grants the means.

3.6.7.4. Gerund in -ğanda/-gändä

The gerund in **-ğanda/-gändä** expresses an action in the course of which another action takes place. It may also express an action as a result of which another action is or is not carried out.

E.g.,

Ol hargiz qaranğuluq körmäy dur, ki elgä qaranğu bolğanda anga yaruq erkän dur. (NMp.55) 'He never saw the darkness because during the time when darkness enveloped the ordinary folks for him there was daylight.'

Män kim qarï män qarï ḫatunlar bilän ulfatïm bolmağanda ol kim yigit turur mäning kibi qarï bilän ne qadar dōstluq ṣuratïn bağlağay. (Sayf138r:2) 'I am an old man and cannot put up with old women, how could the one who is young achieve friendship with an old man like me?'

Bal bigin čahra sarïğ bolmaq kerāk ʿišq ahlïğa; arturur yapraq sarïğ bolğanda afğān ʿandalīb. (ShD22r:4) 'For the people of love the face should be yellow like [the color of] honey. The nightingale increases its complaint when the leaves turn yellow.'

Saḫīni yād etip dāʾim ögärlär baḫīl atïn ešitkändä sökärlär. (Sayf94r:10) 'People always remember and praise the generous. When they hear the name of the miserly, they pronounce a curse.'

Ṭārat alğanda sözlämä ʿamdā. (MS5v:6) 'Do not speak while performing the ablution.'

Nafydïn songra ki bar illāʾllāh munda yetgändä ešit bu dur rāh. (RB7v:10) 'After the negation follows [the phrase] *but God.* When you reach this point, here is how [you should proceed], listen well!'

[217] Lit., falling and getting up again cf. P. *uftān u ḫīzān*

3.6.7.5. Gerund in -ï/-i

Gerunds in **-ï/-i** indicate imperfect actions in progress to characterize another action that is taking place. [In this function they are close to adverbs expressing attending circumstances]. This gerund is also used with the auxiliary **bašla-**'to begin' to create a derivative verb [3.6.9.1.3.]. E.g.,

Bu kün ivi tegäy čon keldi činlik, ki Sīmurğ ičidä qïlsun čibinlik. (DN264v:10) 'Today I wish to arrive fast because a reality has emerged in which Simurgh should play [only] the role of a fly.'

Karīh ün bilän öz boğazïn yïrtïp ḫalq mağzïn kitärmägä yïrlayï bašladï. (Sayf60r:4) 'In a repulsive voice[218] ripping his own throat and driving people crazy he began to caterwaul.'

Bu nafs müngü kölük temiš ḫaqq rasūl öz özinä kötrür müni köp fāsiq. (MM179v:5). 'The Carnal Soul wants to ride an animal, as the true Prophet said. Many sinners carry [that animal] as it commands them.'

3.6.7.6. Gerund in -ïčaq/-ičäk

The gerund in **-ïčaq/-ičäk [-učaq/-üčäk** after syllables with rounded vowels] expresses an action that indicates a point of time when another action is taking place.The action expressed by the gerund can be the point of reference, time frame or occasion for the action of the main verb. E.g.,

Toğan arslan bilän panca tutušqan er dägül ʿāqil, anï bil ʿāqil er qahrï keličäk sözlämäs bāṭil. (Sayf44r:11-12) 'He who takes on a fierce lion in a hand-to-hand fight is not wise. Remember this: A wise man does not say idle words when anger overcomes him.'[219]

Cān qačan bolğay gulistāndan malūl čon körüčäk šādmān bolur köngül. (Sayf6v:8) 'How could the soul be weary of the rose garden? When one takes a look at it, the heart becomes joyful.'

Sändän özgä hēč ʿaybï yoq anïng, sän ölüčäk ol ming altunğa tegär. (Sayf110r:1-2) 'Other than you there is nothing wrong with this [house]. When you die, it will be worth of a thousand dinars.'

Gabr agar yüz yïl ot yaqar bolsa, ičinä tüšičäk küyär fi'l-ḥāl. (Sayf24r:8) 'Even if the fire worshipper feeds the fire for one hundred years, the fire burns him in no time when he falls into it.'

Beš altï kün kečičäk ol bolur sukkar bigin šīrīn. (Sayf17v:7). 'After five or six days it will be sweet like sugar.'

[218] Cf., *karīhu'ṣ-ṣaut* 'of a harsh voice'
[219] Reference to Qur. 3,128.

Note: Quṭb has no examples for this gerund. Hacieminoğlu's **baručaq**[220] is an error for **barur čaq.**[221]

3.6.7.7. Gerund in-u/-ü

The gerund in **-u/-ü** indicates incomplete actions. They occur mostly in adverbial role. E.g.,

Dälürmäk, ağïz tolu qusmaq kiši toluğ söz ayumaz tutup qusmïši. (MM181r:14) 'Becoming insane, throwing up a full mouthful, [one's mouth] is regarded as full when one's speech is impeded by a mouth filled with what one has regurgitated from one's stomach.'

Üwüš erkän ök yu, songïnča beri taqï bašnï qapsayu maṣḥ et arï. (MM182r:14) 'Do the ablution while your limbs are wet. Grasp your head with both hands and rub it thoroughly.'

3.6.7.7.1. Gerund in-u/-ü used in Doublets

sävünü quvanu (Quṭb1140) 'happy and proud'
öpüšü oynašu (Quṭb4055) 'kissing and playing'
külä oynayu (Quṭb770) 'laughing and playing'
qïsa sïqayu (MM181v:9) 'pressing and squeezing'

E.g.,

Sevündüm bu ḫabardïn teyü bānū, yer öpti šāhqa seyinü quvanu. (Quṭb1140) 'I am glad to hear this piece of news, says the Lady. She kissed the ground in respect to the king, happy and proud.'

Öpüšü oynašu olturdïlar ḫwaš, qïlu bir biringä tangqa tegi nōš. (Quṭb4060) 'They set together cosily kissing and playing; drinking to one another until dawn.'

3.6.7.7.2. Gerund in-u/-ü Lexicalized as Adverbs or Postpositions

ulašu (MM179v:14) 'constantly'
tegrü (BH9v:8) 'up to [but not including versus **tegi** 'up to and including']
yašru (MA53-3) 'hidden, concealed'

E.g.,

Qanāʿat bilä är ulašu ʿazīz. (MM179v:14) 'A man possessed of contentment is always a beloved [of God].'

Dilbarïm nečägä tegrü män qulun qïnda tutar. (Sayf180r:7) 'How long [< until when] will my beloved keep me in pain?'

[220] (p.161)
[221] Zaj, Glossary, p. 94 s.v. *kertäk*

Note: It is used to form descriptive verbs [3.6.9.].

3.6.7.8. Gerund in -may/-mäy

The gerund in **-may/-mäy** is the negative equivalent to the gerunds in **-p** and **-a/-ä** and is used in the same--predicative, adverbial or copulative--functions.

3.6.7.8.1. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Predicative Use

Anïng dardïdïn etmäy hēč kim yād, yätip dardïna gah gah nāla firyād. (DN240r:2) 'No one makes mention of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.'

Elig yup özidin su ḫidmatïngda, arïğlïq lāfïn urmay ḥazratïngda. (DN244r:2) 'The water renounces its essence in your service and makes no idle talk about purity in your presence.'

Zamāne āh elidin köngli tïnmay fiğanlar tartïban nay teg erinmäy. (DN253r:3) 'At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the reed.'[222]

Tabassumda labïng qïlmay mudāra, guharnï laʿlïng etip āškāra. (DN256v:5) 'In smiling your lips do not act with moderation. Your ruby lips lay open the gems.'[223]

Sözüngni ešitip, ay cān ḥayātï, čïqarmay qand Hindustān nabātï. (DN256v:4) 'Having heard your words, O Life of the Soul, the sugar plant of Hindustan stopped producing sugar.'

Bu qarïlïqda manga qïlmay madad köp kirdāšim.[224] **Tangrï yār oldï bilingiz barča qardašïm mening.** (ShD83r:12) 'In this old age many of my neighbors do not help me. Know, all brothers of mine, God has become my helper.'

3.6.7.8.2. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Adverbial Use

In adverbial use this gerund expresses manner, method, or attending circumstances.

E.g.,

Tilädi allïda tïnmay ṣabānï, bitigni berdi va tēz etti anï. (DN 246v:3). 'She summoned the Morning Breeze to his presence at once, gave it the letter and sent it off right away.'

Ayağïng tozï bolğay surma közgä, ulašqay men yetip tartïnmay özgä. (DN251r:8) '[My hope is] that the dust your feet walk on be the collyrium for the eye. That I reach the Self without hesitation.'

[222] Reference to the opening line of Rumï's *Maṣnavi*.
[223] They show their teeth.
[224] Cf. M. Kašğ. in Nadelaev, p. 308.

Qoymay eldin munï qïlsang takrār, iḫtiyārï sanga qalmas, ay Yār! (RB6v:13) 'If you continue [to pronounce His name] and never cease to do so, it will no longer be a matter of choice, O Friend!'

Naṣīḥat birlä ol kelmäs özigä, yüz evürmäy turup tur bir sözigä. (DN245v:11) 'He does not recover his senses when given a piece of advice. He does pay heed[225] to any of its [good] words.'

Külümsindi nišāṭ ağzïnï yïğmay, sevünüp gul bigin tonïna sïğmay. (DN252r:3) 'She was laughing without closing her cheerful mouth. She was rejoicing, like a rose bud, not able to fit in her robe.'[226]

3.6.7.8.3. Gerund in -may/-mäy in Copulative Function

Bolup qan köngli tïnmay köz yašïdïn, kečip ot ortasïnda su bašïdïn. (DN259v:4) 'His heart is suffering from his constantly flowing tears. From a source of water he passes into the middle of fire.'

Yavuq kelding ïraq salmay özüngni, ačïqtïn bağlamay šïrīn sözüngni. (DN247v:7) 'You came close, you did not keep away, you did not let your sweet words be bottled up by bitterness.'

Qoymay eldin munï qïlsang takrār, iḫtiyārï sanga qalmas, Ay Yār. (RB6v:13) 'If you continue [to pronounce His name] and never cease to do so, it will no longer be a matter of choice, O Friend!'

Note: The gerund in **-may/-mäy** is used to form the negative paradigm of the Present Perfect Tense [3.6.5.13.1.].

3.6.7.9. Gerund in -mayïn/-mäyin

The gerund in **-mayïn/-mäyin** is the negative equivalent of gerunds in **-ban/-bän**. It is used in the same--predicative, adverbial and copulative--functions. E.g.,

Agar sabʿa rivāyat birlä qurʾān oqusang bir yangïlmayïn sän, ay cān. (Sayf114v:6) 'Even if you recite the seven long chapters from the Qurʾān,[227] you make not one mistake, O Sweetheart!'

Gar közümnïng yašï bir dam aqmayïn tïnsa edi, küydürür erdi, biling, ʿālamnï bir āhïm yaqïp. (ShD17r:12) 'If one day my tears suddenly stopped and became depleted, one breath of mine would set this world on fire, know full well.'

[225] Lit., does not turn his face to
[226] Hint at the moment when the rosebud is opening.
[227] From *al-baqara* to *at-tauba*.

Yetibän turmayïn bir yerdä el teg, kezibän kečä tang atqïnča yel teg. (DN253r:5) 'When he arrives, he does not stay in one place as people do. At night he moves about like wind until dawn.'
Hamēša uyqusïzlïqqa qïlïp ḫū, tüšidä kirmäyin ʿumrïda uyqu. (DN253r:8) 'He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.'
Qalam tartïnmayïn aytïp ẓamīrin, qïlïp söz qandïdïn tilini šīrīn. (DN255v:5) 'Without moving the pen he told the secret thoughts of the letter. With the sugar of the words he made his tongue sweet.'
Anï dāʾim anga dur čōn bilür sän unutmayïn berür rizqïng tün va kün. (Sayf144v:4) 'One must remember Him all the time so that you know that He is not oblivious of you but provides you with sustenance night and day.'

3.6.7.10. Gerund in -qïnča/-kinčä

The gerund in **-qïnča/-kinčä, -ğunča/-günčä, -ğuča/-güčä** is formed from the verbal noun in **-ğu/-gü** by the equative case marker attached to the base with or without a pronominal **-n-**.

It is frequently used in three major functions: terminative, durative, and preferentical.

3.6.7.10.1. The Terminative use of Gerund in -qïnča/-kinčä

The gerund in **-qïnča/-kinčä** indicates that an action must be completed before or at the same time when the action expressed by the finite verb takes place. E.g.,

ʿIraqdan tīryāq kelginčä yïlan zaḫmlï er ölär. (Sayf26r:11) 'By the time the elixir gets here from ʿIraq, the man wounded by the snake, will die.'
Säning atang ağïr taš astïndan täbränginčä mänim atam cannatkä kirmiš bolğay. (Sayf150r:12). 'By the time your father crawls forth from under the heavy stone, my father will have entered heaven.'
Tiläp ay vaṣlïnï evürmägän yüz, sanağan kečä tang atqïnča yulduz. (DN246v:11) 'He desires union with the moon and does not turn his face away. At night he is counting the stars until dawn.'
Qulaq bolğu avval ačïlğïnča til, ačïlsa ayïtğïl ʿamal ašnu qïl (MM 194r:2) 'You must listen carefully before you begin to speak. Once you have begun [to speak], say [what you want] and then act accordingly.'

3.6.7.10.2. The Durative Use of the Gerund in -qïnča/-kinčä

The gerund in **-qïnča/-kinčä** indicates a lasting action in the course of which another action takes place. E.g.,

Ol oğlanning atasï bu balanï öz tiläp taptï, tüni kün bäsläbdi quš teg keyik bigin bügürgünčä. (Sayf145v:13) 'The father of this child obtained him upon his own wish. He nurtured him night and day like a bird while he was bleating like a deer.'
Nišānï nišānsïz bolu bilmäki, munï tökmägünčä anïn tolmasa. (MM192v:15) 'The sign [of a disciple who has reached his goal] is that he is without a sign. As long as he does not pour out [of his heart what is not God], he cannot be filled with [God].'
Özin kečmägünčä murīd bolmas ol, murīd bolmağïnča murād bulmas ol. (MM192v:14.) 'One does not become a disciple until one has renounced self. One cannot attain his goal until one has become a disciple.'
Tabaʿīyat anga bolmas ḥāṣil bilmägünčä ki ne ištä dur, bil. (RB 4r:12) 'He cannot achieve [complete] emulation as long as he does not know in what matter he wants to emulate [him], know full well.'

3.6.7.10.3. The Preferential Use of the Gerund in -qïnča/-kinčä

The Gerund in **-qïnča/-kinčä** indicates an action that is preferable to another action. E.g.,

Mänim halākligim yaḫšïraq andan kim yazuqsuz qan tökülgünčä. (Sayf33v:13). 'My demise is better than shedding the blood of an innocent person.'
Anasï toquz ay on kün kötärdi, ḫayrï bolğay, dep. Yïlan tapsa edi yaḫšï ol oğlannï toğurğunča. (Sayf146r:3) 'His mother carried him for nine months and ten days, saying "He will be a blessing!". It wound have been better if she had had a snake rather than giving birth to that boy.'
Ne munča ṭarab ʿayš tamāšā käräk, tamuğdïn nacāt bulmağïnča bašï. (MM179r:14) 'One should not engage in so much loud merrymaking, feasting and amusement, if one [seeks] to save himself from [the torments] of Hell.'
Toq bolup ölsä yaḫšïraq ač bolup tiri yürügünčä. (Sayf84v:11) 'It is better to die full than to stay alive and be hungry.'

3.6.7.10.4. Gerund in -qïnča/-kinčä in Idioms

āftāb batqunča (Babur60v:9) 'until sunset'
köz ačïp yumğïnča (NF429-2) 'in the twinkling of an eye '[cf. Ar. *ṭurfatu'l-ʿain*]
köz yätgünčä (RM7v:9) 'as far as the eye can see'

tang atqïnča (DN253r:5) 'until dawn'
toyğunča (Sayf172v:1) 'as much as he pleases'

E.g.,

Yetibän turmayïn bir yerdä el teg, kezibän kečä tang atqïnča yel teg. (DN253r:5) 'When he arrives, he does not stay in one place as people do. At night he moves about like wind until dawn.'
Har birining uzunluqï köz yätgünčä bolğay. (RM7v:9) 'Each will have the length as far as the eye can see.'
Toyğunča yemäk yemädi. (Sayf172v:1) 'He did not eat his fill.'

3.6.7.11. Gerund in -ğanča/-gänčä

The gerund in **-ğanča/-gänčä** indicates measurement, proportion, or extent. E.g.,

Nečä lazzat esä mayl anča bolur, mayl lazzātnï tapğanča bolur. (RB6v:12) 'The more pleasure [one receives], the greater will be one's desire [for him:] One's desire is in [direct] proportion to the pleasure one receives.'

3.6.7.11.1. The Gerund in -ğanča/-gänčä in Idioms

eligimdin kelgänčä (Babur 200v:5) 'to the best of my ability; as much as I can'

3.6.7.12. Gerund in -ğač/-gäč

The gerund in **-ğač/-gäč** expresses an action that takes place immediately before the action of the main verb. Most of the time there is a connection between the two actions. The one expressed by the gerund often leads up to, triggers or is the condition for the other action. Very frequent in modern literary Uzbek [MLU 3.6.4.2.7.]. E.g.,

Ay yüzüng nūr-i Ilāhī közläringdän kün qamar. Yā qašïng körgäč ušol ay eksilip özdin ketär. (ShD30r:4-5) 'Your moon-face [shines like] Divine light. The sun is dazzled by your eyes. Looking at your bow-like eyebrow that same moon[228] shrinks and vanishes.'
Zulfï dāmïğa tüštüm ḫālï dānïğa bolup, böylä muqayyad olğač, muškil emiš yaranmaq. (ShD75v:1-2) 'I fell into the snare of her tresses when I was after the grain of her beauty spot. As soon as I was tied like that, it was difficult for me to render any service.'[229]
Harī ḫublarïnï körgäč itürdüm ʿaql va hošïmnï, mäning teg bolmağay hargiz Cunūnning kōyïda lāʾiq. (ShD79r:8-9) 'As soon as I saw the beauties of Herat, I lost my mind and my senses. There has never been a person like me in the street of madness.'
Bu söz mazkūr bolğač ṣiḥḥat āṣārï mizācïda paydā boldï. (NM p.67) 'As soon as these words were pronounced, the signs of good health appeared in his being.'
Ay camālïng burqaʿïn alsang cihān tābān bolur. Āftāb ol yüzni körğäč özidin pinhān bolur. (ShD41v:1-11) 'If you remove the veil from your beautiful face[230] the world becomes illuminated. The sun beholds that face and hides from itself.'

[228] I.e., the real moon in the sky
[229] Reference to the Sufi view according to which our services have no value when we reach the level of being in the presence of God. Cf. MM195v:3-4.

3.6.7.13. The Gerund in -ğalï/-gäli

The gerund in **-ğalï/-gäli** serves to specify the action of the verb used in association with it. It can indicate starting point, or purpose.

3.6.7.13.1. The Gerund in -ğalï/-gäli Indicates the Purpose[231]

E.g.,

Zulf-i rayḥān sarvqaddnï körgäli men nāgahān gulistān bāğïnda tiktim köz yašïmdïn nār nār. (ShD30v:7-8) 'In order to see the cypress with the fragrant tresses, I suddenly planted pomegranate trees from the tears of my eyes.'[232]
Meni ʿālam qayğusïdïn fāriğu'l-bāl etgäli, bersä gar pīr-i muğān bir cām balï bas turur. (ShD43v:13-44r:1) 'In order to relieve me from worldly sorrows it is enough if the elder of the magi gives me a cup of his honey wine.'[233]
Yolunda baš oynap cān tarkïn urup män körgäli dildār körkin. (Sayf113r:13) 'Upon your path I risk my head and give up my life in order to see the beauty of the beloved.'
Kaʿbagä ziyārat qïlğalï bardïm ärdi. (NF188:3) 'I had set out to visit the Kaʿba.'
Bir kim ärsä Dāvud-i Ṭāyī evingä kirdi ziyārat qïlğalï. (NF 216v:15) 'Someone went to the house of Dāvud of Ṭāy in order to pay him a visit.'
Zulf-i rayḥān sarvqaddnï körgäli men nāgahān Gulistān bāğïnda tiktim köz yašïmdïn nār nār. (ShD36v:8-9) 'Since I unexpectedly caught a glimpse of that beauty with cypress body and sweet basil tresses, I have been planting pomegranate seeds from my tears in the rose garden.'

[230] The face of the Beloved shines like the sun.
[231] It often translates by the phrase 'in order to'
[232] The red seeds that fill the fruit of the pomegranate tree look like drops of blood-colored tears.
[233] In *Bhang u Čağïr*, a contest poem by the author of the *Dahnāma*, honey wine appears as a moderator and the peace of justice between hashish and wine.'

3.6.7.13.2. The Gerund in -ğalï/-gäli Indicates the Starting Point[234]
E.g.,

Körgäli Sayf-i Sarāyī qul anï Ḥaqq taʿālâ ṣunʿïnïng ḥayrānï dur. (Sayf179v:2) 'Since Sayf-i Sarāyi, the servant, saw her, he is admiring the perfect artistry of God the Most High.'[235]

Yār qatïndïn kitkäli yana ne yanglïğ ḥāl men, kim firāqï birlä vah ne yanglïğ dāl men. (ShD153v:3) 'Since I left the presence of the Beloved, what has been my condition like! Woe is me, how my body has assumed the shape of the letter *dāl*.'

3.6.8. Participles [Verbal Adjectives]
In the Chagatay language participles are not a strictly confined category. Just as adjectives can very often be used as nouns, without any derivative element, so can participles in almost all nounal functions. Even when used as nouns participles retain some or all of their verbal characteristics.

3.6.8.1. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän
The definition above refers especially to participles in **-ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän**, which, when used as a noun, can not only have complements that

usually go with verbs, but can occur as the name of the action [action nouns] or that of the agent [agent nouns].

3.6.8.1.1. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän as Action Nouns
It is usually a completed past action or its result that these participles refer to in this use. Without an express subject it has a passive meaning as **buyurğan** [< **buyur-**] 'that which has been commanded', **ol buyurğan** or **buyurğanï** 'that which he has commanded.' E.g.,

Ol buyurğannï qïlmasang, ay Yār, hēč asïğ yoq, köp ziyānï bar. (MS2r:3) 'If you do not carry out what He has commanded, O Friend, not only will you not benefit, you will suffer a great harm.'

Qullarïng qïlğan išgä nāẓir sen. (MS4r:4) 'You are the one who sees all that your servants do.'

Yüzüng šamʿ allïda ol zulf tün teg, körünüp otqa tolğašqan tütün teg. (DN243v:11) 'Your face is the candle, the tresses by it[236] are the night. The scene looks like smoke coiling above the fire.'

[234] It often translates by the conjunction 'since'.
[235] When the clergy blamed Muhammad Shaybānī Khan for bringing in girls to a party in the Blue Saray, his excuse was that he did so in order to admire the perfection of the creator (*sunʿ-i Ḥaqq*). See Archivum Ottomanicum XIII (1993-1994) pp. 85-100.
[236] I.e., the tresses that frame the Beloved's face

Közümni čon bitig yüzinä ačtïm, söyügändin guhar bašïna sačtïm. (DN249r:5) 'When I opened my eyes to look at the face[237] of the letter, out of joy I sprinkled gems[238] upon its top.'

Dušmangä asïr bolmïšï yoq, körmädi čärikdä yağğanïn oq. (Sayf 149r:1). 'He was never a prisoner in the hands of the enemy. He did not see arrows raining down upon the army.'

Keldi ketibän yana mäni öltürgän, öltürgäninä özi küyüp keldi magar. (Sayf114v:12) 'The one who killed me left and came back again. Was she grieving because he had killed me, I wonder.'

3.6.8.1.2. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän as Agent Nouns
These participles name the agents of past, already completed actions. The verbs used are single action resultative verbs. Also, there is an implied relationship between the action and the agent. The latter assumes a characterstic, undergoes a change of some kind or gets somewhere as a result of his action. Positive participles are more frequent in this role, although negative ones also occur. E.g.,

ʿIšqïng cōšïna tüšgän kizlänibän turalmas, bolğay mu tevä mingän qoy ičidä yašunmaq. (ShD75v:5-6) 'He who falls in the agitated waves of your passionate love, cannot stay hidden there. Is it possible for a person who rides a camel to hide among a flock of sheep?'

Oqup uqqanğa köp ṣavāb olğay. Ham nivīsandağa ṣavāb olğay. (MS16v:3) 'He who has read and mastered [this book] will obtain ample recompense.So will he who [only] copies it.'

Oquğanğa va ham oqutğanda, mas'alanï oqup ham uqqanğa yā ilāhī ʿaṭalar äylä anga, qaṭra andïn naṣīb äylä manga. (MS 17r:5-6). 'To the one who reads [this book] and also to the one who teaches from it, to the one who reads and masters these teachings O God, grant Your benefits, and let a drop of them be my share [too].'

Ğusl sunnatlarï qamuğ beš ol. Yaḫšï bilmägän anï badkēš ol. (MM7r:2) 'The total [number] of traditional practices [to be observed] during the *ğusl* is five. He who is not fully aware of this is an impious person.'

Alā ay dard āhangïnï tutqan, özini naqšlar birlän avutqan. (DN 246v:7) 'Hark ye, who tuned on the melody of pain, who console yourself with [phantom] images.'

[237] The *recto* side of the paper.
[238] I.e., tear drops

Tiläp ay vaṣlïnï evürmägän yüz, sanaġan kečä tang atqïnča yulduz. (DN246v:11) 'He desires union with the moon and does not turn his face away.[239] At night he is counting the stars until dawn[240].

Kötärgän sihr eligin söz yüzidin, uyaldurġan közümni öz yüzidin. (DN247r:7) 'He has lifted the hands of magic from the face of the word. He has put my eyes to shame by his own face.'

Yasarlar alma teg el eritip mūm, bolur ol tišlägän ağïzġa maʿlūm. (DN247v:1) 'Melting wax people create [figures] exactly like apples. Only the mouth, that bites into them, will realize that.'[241]

Alā ay mihri dardangēz qïlġan, içindä nālalarnï tēz qïlġan. (DN 253r:2) 'Hark ye, whose love excites pity, who has sharpened the complaints in [your] heart.'[242]

Acal bağlar yügürgänning ayağïn. (Sayf95r:7) 'Death ties together the legs of the one who runs.'

Bilgäni Qurʾān oquġay. (RM3v:10) 'Those of them who know must recite from the Qurʾān.'

3.6.8.1.3. Participles in -ğan/-gän, -qan/-kän with Passive Meaning

Bašqa ḫātun su quyar bolsa, kim üyürgän sačïnï yarmasa... (MS 7r:5) 'If a woman [intends to] pour water on her head and does not undo her braided hair...'

Note: It is used as base for the gerund in **-ğanda/-gändä** [3.6.7.4.] and also for the gerund in **-ğanča/-gänčä** [3.6.7.11.]. In verbal inflection the forms of the perfective mood [5.6.5.10] are based on it.

3.6.8.2. Participle in -asï/-äsi

The participles in **-asï/-äsi** are future participles. In adjectival function they indicate that the object named by the noun they modifiy is meant for the action they express, e.g., **käläsi miḫnat** 'the misery that is bound to come', **yatasï yer** 'a place for resting'.In predicative function they occur as impersonal verbs indicating a future, necessary, or inevitable action. They are not used as nouns. E.g.,

baqasï (Qutb, H. p. 412) 'prompted to look'
bolasï (LN143) 'is bound to be'
käläsi (Sayf 142v:4) 'bound to come'
qïlasï (Qutb, H. p. 326) 'appropriate to do'

[239] I.e., does not give up
[240] To calculate his chances.
[241] I.e., The person who bites into the apple figure will know that it is made of wax.
[242] Lit. inside. Cf. P. darūn 'inside; heart'

qurtulasï (Qutb, H. p. 326) 'meant for saving'
yatasï (Sayf136v:11) 'made for resting'

3.6.8.2.1. The Participle in -asï/-äsi in Adjectival Function

Bu naqd-i rāḫatnï käläsi miḫnat täšvïši bilän talaf qïlmaq. (Sayf 142v:4). 'To destroy the ease at hand with the anxiety of future misery.'

Ne yatur sän. Yatasï yer degül tur ketälim. (Sayf136v:11) 'Why are you resting? This is not a place for resting. Let's move on!'

3.6.8.2.2. The Participle in -asï/-äsi in Predicative Use

Labïng laʿlï erür dardïm davāsï, bu dardïmğa davā muškil bolasï. (LN143) 'The ruby of your lips is the cure for my pain. It will be difficult to find a cure for my pain.'

Kim ol dīvāna ergä ne qïlasï? Ne čāra birlä andïn qurtulasï? (Qutb, H. p. 326) 'What can one do in regard to this madman? By what means can one save him?'

Ažunda hēč kišining yoq baqāsï, bu kün ḫoš bolğu tangğa ne baqasï. (Qutb, H. p. 412). 'No one has permanence in this world. One should be happy today, one should not look forward to what comes tomorrow.'

3.6.8.3. Participles in -ïğlï/-igli

The derivatives in **-ïğlï/-igli [-ig + -li]** are, in essence, present participles. Originally they indicate that the result of an action is associated with or characteristic of the agent which may occur with them as head nouns, e.g., **yürügli yol** 'a path someone follows.' In addition to their adjectival

role they may also occur as nouns expressing the agent, e.g., **namāzğa käligli.** (MM184v:9). 'The one who has come for the communal prayer.'

3.6.8.3.1. Participles in -ïğlï/-igli in Adjectival Use

Azïp yürügänlär tamuğqa čïqar, bolur säkkiz uštmaḫ yürügli yolun. (MM179v:3) 'He who goes astray is destined for Hell. He who follows the [proper] path, reaches [one of] the Eight Heavens.'

Ḥaqīqat ḥaqīqat qoluğlï ärän käräk Ḥaqqa qoysa qamuğ qolğunï. (MM 199v:1) 'He who seeks the Supreme Reality must leave all desires to [the will of] God.'

3.6.8.3.2. Participles in -ïğlï/-igli Used as Agent Nouns

Yoq erdük, yaratti, yana yoq qïlur, biligli munï mu takabbur qurar. (MM180r:6) '[Remember that in the beginning] we did

not exist. Then He created us, and He will again return us to nothingness. How can one who is aware [of this] be possessed of pride?'

Namāzğa käligli šurūᶜ qïlmadïn šurūᶜ qïlsa buzmas bu ṣaff kengitip. (MM184v:9) 'One should arrive for the communal prayer before it begins. If it has already begun, one will not cause a disturbance if one takes a position at the end of a row.'

Yürügli šarīᶜat bilä sālik ol, valē bolsa macẓūb qïlumaz ārām. (MM195r:6). 'Traveler is the one who lives in accordance with the Law. But if he is attracted to the Path, he will not rest [until he gets to his destination].'

Valēkin bu daᶜvā qïlïğlï tälim, käling aytïng ämdi, qanï netälim? (MM199v:3). 'But all of you who have raised false claims, come and repent saying, "What can I do [to atone for my sins]?"'

ᶜİlim ᶜālam ičrä biligli tälim, taqï daᶜvâ birlä kädigli gilīm. (MM 200v:14) 'In this world there are many who have acquired knowledge. [There are] also many who have put on the woolen garment with pretension.'

Bu körügli aytti: Yā Ḥaccāc, aḥvālïng nä teg turur? (NF145-17). 'This [person] who saw him [in his dream] said: O Hajjāj , How are you?'[243]

3.6.8.3.3. Participles in -ïğlï/-igli with the Particle käräk

The predicative particle **käräk** adds emphasis to the meaning of the participle. It makes the predication mandatory. E.g.,

Bu ᶜālam kitāb ol oquğlï käräk, ačuq ḫaṭṭ ačïp köz baqïğlï käräk. (MM197r:3) 'The world is a book, one must read it. The writing [in it] is plain, one must open one's eyes and look upon it.'

Külüp az üküš yïğlağu bu kiši, musulmān boluğlï käräk yay qïši. (MM179r:13) 'A man [who meets the above requirements] should laugh little and weep much. He must be a Muslim under all circumstances.'[244]

3.6.9. Descriptive Verbs

The descriptive verbs are phrasal verbs consisting of the gerunds in **-a/-ä, -u/-ü, -y** or **-p** of the main verb and the inflected forms of one of the auxiliary verbs. The following auxiliaries are used:

[243] Lit., what is your condition alike?
[244] Lit., in summer and in winter

With gerunds in **-a/-ä, -u/-ü**	With gerunds in **-p**
al- 'to take'	**al-** 'to take'
baq- 'to try'	**bar-** 'to go'
bašla- 'to begin'	**ber-** 'to give'
ber- 'to give'	**bol-** 'to be'
bil- 'to know'	**čïq-** 'to leave'
bol- 'to be'	**kel-** 'to come'
kel- 'to come'	**keltür-** 'to bring'
kör- 'to see'	**qal-** 'to remain, stay'
qal- 'to remain'	**tašla-** 'to throw away'
sal- 'to throw'	**tur-** 'to stand'
tur- 'to stand'	**yibär-** 'to send'
tüš- 'to fall'	**yürü-** 'to walk'
yavuš- 'to draw near'	
yaz- 'to miss'	
yibär- 'to send'	

3.6.9.1. Descriptive Verbs with Gerunds in -a/-ä

The gerunds are mostly formed from the positive stem of the verb.

3.6.9.1.1. Al- 'to take' expresses ability of the agent to carry out the action of the base verb. E.g.,

Dušman säni körübän äygü ᶜamal ičindä, daᶜvâ qušun tuta almas qurup bahāna ağïn. (Sayf63v:3-4) 'If the enemy sees you occupied in good deeds, setting up the net of pretext he cannot trap the bird of claim.'[245]

Men ol gul men ki bargïm yerdä qalmas, valī bir yel kelibän eltä almas. (DN240v:9) 'I am the rose whose petals don't stay lying on the ground. Yet when the wind comes, cannot sweep them away.'[246]

Ṣabā özin qatïngda sala almay, yügürüp köp damïnï ala almay. (DN250r:4) 'Zephyr, the Morning Breeze, cannot get itself into your presence [fast enough]. It runs a great deal not able to catch his breath.'

Bil ne täg kizläy alur män ᶜišq sirrin el ara, ol cavāhir ḫirmanïndïn anča toldï maḫzanïm. (ShD106v:13-107r:1) 'Consider this: How can I hide the secret of [my] love among people. My treasure house is quite replete with the yield of those gems.'

[245] This is a subtle reference to *Qābiżu'l-arvāḥ*, the Angel of Death who is not able to claim the Believer's soul while he is engaged in good deeds.
[246] I.e., I am most coveted but not to be taken away by just anyone who happens to pass by.

Mālsïz kiši ʿuryānnï örtä bilmäs yā bir asïrni halās etä almas. (Sayf153r:4) 'A person without means cannot cover a naked nor can he bail out a prisoner.'

3.6.9.1.2. Baq- 'to try, attempt' indicates an effort to try to carry out the action of the base verb. E.g.,

Singä baqtïm anga čon köz yaši teg, qarağa mayl körgüzüp qaši teg. (DN255v:2) 'I tried to melt and flow[247] to her like the tears of my eyes showing, like the eyebrows, a leaning toward the eye.'

3.6.9.1.3. Bašla- 'to begin' marks the commencement of the action. E.g.,

Taʿaddī tilin uzatip muhmal sözläy bašladï. (Sayf157r:12) 'He became impertinently arrogant and began to talk nonsense.'

Bir sulṭān öz raʿiyyatï malïna ẓulm elin uzatïp cavr etä bašladï. (Sayf16r:2) 'A king arrogantly seized the property of his own subjects and began to do oppressive acts.'

Ol maḥbūb olturup ʿitāb qïla bašladï. (Sayf115v:8) 'The beloved sat down and began to blame me.'

3.6.9.1.4. Ber- 'to give' indicates that the action is performed not for the subject, but for someone else. Sometimes it also implies that the action is carried out quickly. E.g.,

Ača berdi anga sarbasta rāzïn, dedi bir bir barï sōz-u gudāzïn. (DN258v:3) 'To her [the Beloved] revealed her safely kept secret and told her about all her pains and tribulations one by one.'[248]

Özin ğam šašdarïna qoya bergän, farāğat taḥtasïndïn muhra tergän.(DN246v:10) 'He has resigned the six-door world[249] of sorrow. He has cleared all the dice from the board of leisure.'

Qoya bermä özüngni su ṣifatlig, ču körsäng bir malāḥat čašmasārïn. (DN254v:5) 'Do not [melt and] flow like water when you see the fountains of beauty.'

Tuta berdi manga cān tuḥfasïnï tegürdi yaʿnī cānān tuḥfasïnï. (DN255r:6) 'He offered me the gift of life, he delivered the gift of the Beloved.'

[247] Subtle hint at the Sufi experience on the Path to the Truth: At one point there will be no direction: The Sufi "melts" and flows and finds the way without being directed (MM196r:2).

[248] Lit., removed the band from the bag in which his secrets were kept. Parallel meaning: opened the bag of hashish'.

[249] The three dimensions expanded in opposite directions form a point of reference.

3.6.9.1.5. Bil- 'to know' with the negative stem is used to express the impossibility of the action. E.g.,

Ṭāliʿsiz ṣayyād tängizdä balïq tuta bilmäs. (Sayf94v:19) 'An unlucky fisherman cannot catch fish in the sea.'[250]

Erdämsizlär erdäm äyäsin körä bilmäs. (Sayf168v:3) 'Those who have no skills can't stand those who have.'

Bir ölüni ming kim ärsä tirgizä bilmäs. (Sayf169v:6) 'A thousand persons are not able to bring to life one dead person.'[251]

Azuqï yoq kiši ketä bilmäs, gar belindä köp altunï bolsa. (Sayf 90r:8-9) 'A person who has no provisions cannot progress even if he has much gold [tied in a bag] at his waist.'

3.6.9.1.6. Bol- 'to be' expresses the possibility or impossibilty of the action. In the negative form it indicates that the action of the base verb is or was not supposed happen. E.g.,

Anamğa ḫwad mumkin emäs edi, kim mundaq söz ayta bolğay. (Babur102r:3, Eckm.Gr.p.143). 'Even my mother was not supposed to say words like that.'

Garči cān šīrīn erür ummat üčün boldum riżā tā ğïna maḥšarda ḫalāʾiq aldïda bolmang aza. (Ḫ80v:8) 'As dear as [my] soul is to me, I have consented to yield it for the sake of the Community, so that on the day of Resurrection [which seems but a day away], you will not fail in the sight of the whole creation.'

3.6.9.1.7. Kel- 'to come' an action that takes place in the direction toward the speaker or an action that results in a change of position. E.g.,

Ev äyäsi bildi dağï tura keldi. (Sayf50v:2) 'The owner of the house became aware [of the intruder] and got up.'

ʿAzīz ʿumr tükändi ušol umīd bilän: Köngül tilägi ešikdän qačan kirä kelgäy? (Sayf19r:5) 'The precious life has passed with this expectation: Would ever the heart's desire walk in through the door?'

Sävüngänimdän fīʾl-ḥāl tura kelip yengim tegip šamʿ söndi. (Sayf115v:3) 'Overjoyed at once I jumped up. My sleeves touched the candle and it went out.'

3.6.9.1.8. Kör- 'to see' implies that the action of the base verb is being attempted. It may also imply that the subject should exert itself in carry out that action. E.g.,

[250] The implication is that although the bounty of the sea is a source of good things [pearls, fish, gain on transporting merchandise] even a professional fisherman cannot catch fish there without luck.

[251] The author [Saʿdī > Sarayī] is sceptical about the belief that multitude is power. This of course was against the Islamic view of the benefits of being a member of the *camāʿat*.

Ḫucandī muḫtaṣar qïlğïl sözüngni, ʿāšiqlarğa qata körgïl özüngni. (LN303) 'Make your story short, Khujandi! Try to join [the company of] lovers.'
Bu ṣūratdïn ne ayturlar baqa kör. (Quṭb H. 633) 'Try to find out what do they say about this picture.'
Sala kördi yïraqdïn baqtï nāgāh. (Quṭb H. 633) 'He did his best in releasing [his falcon] suddenly and from a distance observed [its flight].'
Yoluqmasa madāyïn yolïnï sor, sürüp Šabdïz anga yel teg yetä kör. (Quṭb H. 734) 'If you do not come upon the cities, ask about the way to them. Drive on your horse and try to get there as fast as the wind.'

3.6.9.1.9. Qal- 'to remain' expresses lasting, persistent actions. E.g.,
Anïng teg oqudï šiʿr-i nihānī, ki toymay qaldï ol elning yamānï. (DN258r:8) 'She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil people would not comprehend it.'
Har sarï telmürä qaldï Mïrzā, yol bašïnda tura qaldï Mïrzā. (Shaybani, Vámb. 68,27) 'Mirza stared in all directions with expectation. Mïrzā stood [for a while] at the head of the road.'
Gahī tanglap anïng qïr teg qaraqïn, baqa qalur körüp andāmï aqïn. (Quṭb H. 4048) 'Now he admires her pitch black eyes, now he stares at the white of her body.'

3.6.9.1.10. Tur- 'to stand' indicates continuous, prolonged actions. E.g.,
Boynïnïng terisi tepränä turğay. (KBV6v:14) 'The hide on its body is constantly twitching.'
Botam mäni sora turğïl bu subḥ yelindin, anïng teg iča turur men hacr mayïn payman. (ShD119r:7) 'My child, keep on asking about me from the wind of the early morning, [because] as long as you do so, I will keep on drinking from the cup of the wine of separation.'[252]
Ṣanavbar qadd u qāmat ḫwaš yetürmiš, čičäk ʿišqïnda köngläk yïrta turmïš. (Quṭb H. 1425) 'The fir tree has developed pleasant shape and form. [Yet] it keeps tearing on its shirt[253] in love for blossoms.
Kündäki vaẓīfa ʿaṭāsïn käsmäyin dāʾim berä turur. (Sayf3r:7). 'He continues to give you the gift of daily sustenance without cutting back.'

[252] I.e., the more you remember me the greater is my pain caused by separation.
[253] Expression of regret and disappointment.

3.6.9.1.11. Tüš- 'to fall' expresses a sudden, unexpected movement. [Cf., P. *uftādan*] E.g.,
Ešitkänlär seskänä tüšär edi. (Sayf111v:6) 'Those who heard it suddenly became terrified.'

3.6.9.2. Descriptive Verbs with Gerunds in -p
3.6.9.2.1. Al- 'to take, to receive' indicates that the action takes place in the interest of the subject. E.g.,
Tiläp alsun ki sizni bir Ḫudādïn, ötünsün sizni andag āšnādïn. (Ḫ79r:5) 'He should ask God to restore you to him. He should implore Him to return you to him since he is such a good friend.'
Va yā bizdin birävni ḫwāhlap alsun, näčä kün bu cihānda sizni qoysun. (Ḫ79r:6) 'Or else let Him be content to take one of us and permit you to remain in this world a few more days.'

3.6.9.2.2. Bar- 'to go' indicates that the action of the base verb is accompanied by an advancing movement in the direction away from the speaker. E.g.,
Ušol damda yätištilär ikävlän, kirip bardï atasï birlä oğlan. (Ḫ 77r:1) 'Soon they arrived. Father and son entered by [the gate].'
Yätip bardï ušal dam ḫāṣṣ-i dargāh, ki čïqtï aldïğa bir bačča nāgāh. (Ḫ76r:1) 'As soon as the Chosen One of the Divine Court arrived at the school, a boy came running to him.'
Apardï[254] **könglümnï bir ḫwaš qamar yüz cānfïzā dilbar.** (Sayf 184a:1) 'A pleasant, moon-faced, life-giving heart-ravisher carried off my heart.'

3.6.9.2.3. Ber- 'to give' signals that the action is carried out in the interest of someone else.' E.g.,
Dedim Bābā zamān muhlat alïp ber, barïp köräy alarnï cumla bir bir. (Ḫ78r:9) 'He went on, Father, ask [the angels to give me] some time so that I may go back [to the school] and talk to them [= my classmates] one by one.'
Hamïn kim tïndï va aldï damïnï, čïqarïp berdi ol cān marhamïnï. (DN267v:7) 'As soon as it rested and recovered its breath, it pulled out [from its wings] the elixir of life for me.'

3.6.9.2.4. Bol- 'to be' with negative forms, expresses the impossibility of carrying out the action of the base verb. E.g.,

[254] Early Azerbaijani form for *alïp berdi*, cf. Isf.An. apar- 'to take away' (MM195r9).

Qïlïp tavba qutulmaqqa bolur Tangrï ʿazābïndan, valēkin bu ḫalāʾiqnïng elindän qurtulup bolmas. (Sayf62v:6) 'Repentance saves you from God's punishment, but it does not save you from people's hands.'

3.6.9.2.5. Čïq- 'to go/come out, leave' expresses an action associated with a movement out or up from somewhere. E.g.

Aqïp čïqmağu teg agar bolsa ol, nečä köp alïnsa yunuğ ābẓān. (MM181r:17) 'If [these substances] do not flow out, the state of ritual purity is not violated no matter how great the quantity stemmed [by the dressing].'

3.6.9.2.6. Kel- 'to come' indicates an action associated with a movement in the direction toward the scene of the action, the agent or the narrator. E.g.,

Tüzälip sarv boyung ešikimdin, kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä cānï. (DN251v:1) 'May your cypress-like figure rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.'

Yibärdi Cibraʾïlni bu zamïnğa, yätip keldi rasūl-i ʿālamainğa. (H73v:8) '[And so] He sent Gabriel down to earth. [Soon that] angel reached the Prophet of the Two Worlds.'

Alïp keldim, dedi, Ḥaqqnï salāmï, äšitgil ham firištalar payāmï. (Ḫ73v:9) 'He said, I bring you salutations from God, the Truth! Listen to the message I, God's angel, have for you.'

3.6.9.2.7. Ket- 'to go away' indicates an action directed away from the scene of the action, the agent, or the narrator. E.g.,

Balïq ṣayyād elindän ağïn alïp ketti. (Sayf94v:3) 'The fish took away the net from the hands of the fisherman and left.'

3.6.9.2.8. Qal- 'to remain, stay' indicate the lasting effect of a completed action. The negative gerund in **-mayïn/-mäyin** with the negated forms of **qal-** expresses a categorical or absolute negation. E.g.,

Külük aṭlar arïp qaldï täväči sürär edi täväsin arqun arqun. (Sayf167r:5) 'Race horses got tired [and were falling back] but the camel driver [moved on] driving his camel real slow.'

Cihānğa qaysï cān keldi qulunum ölmäyin qalmas. (Ḫ77r:6) 'My boy, every soul that has entered this world will not remain here, will not escape death.'

Ṭāqat-i vasʿ bariča aymaq täk turup qalmaqïdïn avvalïraq. (MS 3v:6) 'To speak in the measure of one's ability is better than to remain silent.'

Ketip qaldï ṣaḥāba özläridin. (Ḫ82r:3) 'The companions were deeply moved [and remained so for some time].'

3.6.9.2.9. Tur- 'to stand' expresses a permanent state or a long lasting action. E.g.,

Ṣaʿab dušman andēšasïna tüšüp turur män. (Sayf19v:8). 'I am occupied by concerns about a vicious enemy.'

Arslan bigin äränlärni ẓarūrat ḥukmï bilän tešiklärdä tutup topuqlarïn yančïp tururlar. (Sayf154r:3). 'They capture lion-like valiant men in pitfalls, taking advantage of their needs and pierce their ankles [to hang them on hooks].'

3.6.9.2.10. Yüri- 'to walk' expresses a habitual, lasting or repeated, action. E.g.,

Azïp yürügänlär tamuğqa čïqar. Bolur säkkiz uštmaḫ yürügli yolun. (MM179v:3) 'He who goes astray is destined for Hell. He who follows the [proper] path, reaches [one of] the Eight Heavens.'

3.6.10. Verb Formation

Verbs are formed by suffixes or by derivative auxiliaries. Suffixes are added to nominal bases, e.g., **qan** 'blood' + **-a-** = **qana-** 'to bleed.' Derivative auxiliaries can be added to single words, e.g., **ğam + ye-** 'to grieve' or to bases, consisting of coordinated nouns, e.g., **[navḫa va zārī] + qïl-** 'to complain'.

3.6.10.1. Verb Formation by Sufffixes

3.6.10.1.1. The Sufffix -a/-ä

A narrow vowel in the second syllable of CVCVC or VCVC nouns is dropped. E.g.,

aša- (Sayf 82v:3) 'to eat' < **aš** 'food'
ata- (MM185v:3) 'to name, call; count' < **at** 'name'
bäzä- (Sayf181v:10) 'to ornate' < **bäz** 'linen'
boša- (Sayf79v:7) 'to divorce' < **boš** 'empty, free, liberated'
boya- (MA85-7) 'to paint' < **boy** 'paint' (cf. PdC179)
bulna (MA180-4) 'to capture' < **bulun** 'prisoner'
elä- (NTM13v:8) 'to sift' < **el** 'wind'
išä- (MA127-8) 'to work' < **iš** 'work'
mengzä- (MM178r:14) 'to resemble' < **mengiz** 'face'
oyna- (Sayf22v:6) 'to play' < **oyun** 'play'

orna- (MA165-8) 'to settle in a place' < **orun** 'place'
örtä- (Sayf178r:3) 'to burn' < **ört** 'flame'
qïna- (Sayf68v:6) 'to torment' < **qïn** 'pain'
sana- (NTM7v:3) 'to count' < **san** 'number'
sava- (MA229-1) 'to produce a sound' < **sav** 'word'
tengä- (MA114-3) 'to compare, confront' < **teng** 'equal'
tona- (PdC427) 'to undress' < **ton** 'garment'
yaša- (181r:3) 'to live' < **yaš** 'age'
yana- (MA53-5) 'to draw near' < **yan** 'side'

3.6.10.1.2. The Suffix -ï/-i

A narrow vowel in the second syllable of CVCVC or VCVC nouns is dropped. E.g.,

ağrï- (Sayf147r:10) 'to ache' < **ağïr** 'heavy'
bayï- (PdC156) 'to become rich' < **bay** 'rich'
berki- (MA158-8) 'to become strong' < **berk** 'strong'
qarï- (MM198v:1) 'to grow old' < **qar** 'snow'
taši- (PdC201) 'to carry' < **taš** 'outside'

3.6.10.1.3. The Suffix -u/-ü

ögü- (MA8-8) 'to praise' < **ög** 'praise'
ölüt- (PdC79) 'to moisten' < **öl** 'moist, humid'

3.6.10.1.4. The Suffix -ay/-äy

körkäy- (PdC466) 'to become beautiful' < **körk** 'beauty'
mungay- (PdC504) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'
uluğay- (Sayf66v:8) 'to grow up' < **uluğ** 'big'

3.6.10.1.5. The Suffix -da/-dä

alda- (Sayf70r:9) 'to deceive' < **al** 'ruse'
indä- (Sayf57v:2) 'to call' < **ün** 'voice'
izdä- (Sayf42r:8) 'to search, seek, look for' < **iz** 'track'
qolda- (PdC435) 'to take by the arm' < **qol** 'arm'
ündä- (Sayf4v:2) 'to call' < **ün** 'voice'
yanda-š- (PdC537) 'to become adjacent' < **yan** 'side'

3.6.10.1.6. The Suffix -ğa/-gä

sayğa- (PdC346) 'to spend' < **say** 'number'
tergä- (MA76-1) 'to make sweat' < **ter** 'sweat'

3.6.10.1.7. The Suffix -qar/-ğar

bašqar- (PdC150) 'to guide, lead' < **baš** 'head'
qutğar- (MA6-4) 'to save' < **qut** 'good luck'
suğar- (PdC356) 'to irrigate' < **su(v)** 'water'

3.6.10.1.8. The Suffix -l, -al/äl, -ul/-ül

azal- (PdC17) 'to diminish' < **az** 'little'
mungal- (Navā'ī, F., II-352) 'to grieve'< **mung** 'grief'
ongal- (Sayf185v:12) 'to heal'< **ong** 'right'
qaršul- (ZN13r:17) 'to go to meet' < **qaršu** 'opposite'
sağal- (Sang231r:28) 'to be cured' < **sağ** 'healthy'
tiril- (Sayf94r:1) 'to come to life' < **tiri** 'alive'
yoğal- (Quṭb H. 4526) to disappear' < **yoq** 'nonexistent'

3.6.10.1.9. The Suffix -la/-lä

ačïğla- (BN90r:10) 'to implore' < **ačïğ** 'bitter'
ağïrla- (Sayf14v:10) 'to respect' < **ağïr** 'heavy'
arala- (MM181r:7) 'to let water run between the toes' < **ara** 'middle'
arzula- (Quṭb H2886) 'to desire' < arzu 'desire' [P. *ārzū*]
avla- (Sayf105r:6) 'to hunt' < **av** 'game animal'
bağla- (KBV42r:8) 'to tie' < **bağ** 'knot'
boğazla- (MM191r:11) 'to slaughter' < **boğaz** 'throat'
bašla- (Sayf108r:1) 'to begin' < **baš** 'head'
birlä- (IM3v:1) 'to declare as one' < **bir** 'one'
dağla- (MM188r:17) 'to mark with the branding iron' < **dağ** 'branding iron'
išlä- (MM188v:16) 'to work' < **iš** 'work'
izlä- (MM190v:12) 'to follow an animal's tracks' < **iz** 'foot-print'
kärtülä- (MM192v:7) 'to pronounce in earnest' < **kärtü** 'true, truth'
közlä- (Sayf163v:2) 'to expect' < **köz** 'eye'
mihmāzla- (KBV45r:2) 'to spurn' < **mihmāz** 'spurn'
oğurla- (Quṭb H) 'to steal' < **oğri** 'thief'
otla- (ShD152v:12) 'to graze' < **ot** 'grass'
songla- (MM197v:16) 'to follow' < **song** 'end'
sözlä- (Sayf60r:11) 'to say' < **söz** 'word'
šišlä- (Sayf31r:1) 'to roast on the spit' < **šiš** 'spit'
tišlä- (Sayf129v:13) 'to bite' < **tiš** 'tooth'
yazuqla- (Sayf32r:13) 'to accuse' < **yazuq** 'sin'
yïrla- (Sayf60r:4) 'to sing < **yïr** 'song'
yüklä- (NTM12r:4) to load' < **yük** 'load'

3.6.10.1.10. The Suffix - /-k, -ïq/-ik, -uq/-ük

ačïq- (Sayf106v:10) 'to be hungry' < **ač** 'hunger'
birik- (MM177v:11) 'to unite' < **bir** 'one'
tarïq- (Sang.153v:1) 'to be dismayed' < **tar** 'narrow'
yoluq- (Sayf51r:1) 'to meet' < **yol** 'way'

3.6.10.1.11. The Suffix -r, -ar/-är

aqar- (MA163-5) 'to turn white' < **aq** 'white'
bašar- (Quṭb H2750) 'to accomplish' < **baš** 'head'
bälgür- (Sayf10v:10) 'to become clear' < **bälgü** 'sign'
eskir- (MA24-6) 'to become antiquated' < **eski** 'old'
ongar- (MM185v:10) 'to rectify' < **ong** 'right'
qarar- (KBV41v:2) 'to become black' < **qara** 'black'
qayğur- (Sayf4r:7) 'to grieve' < **qayğu** 'grief'
qïzar- (DN237v:5) 'to turn red' < **qïz** 'fire'
sarğar- (MA162-7) 'to become yellow' < **sarïğ** 'yellow'
uyğar- (Sayf181v:13) 'to awaken' < **uyağ** 'awaken'
yašar- (Sang.332r:19) 'to become wet' < **yaš** 'wet'

3.6.10.1.12. The Suffix -ra/-rä

telbärä- (BN91v:11) 'to talk nonsense' < **telbä** 'mad'
mungra- (Sang. 320r:7) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'
ögrä-n- (MM196v:11) 'to learn' < **ög** 'reason'

3.6.10.1.13. The Suffix -rğa/-rgä, -ïrğa/-irgä, -urğa/-ürgä

azïrğa- (Babur349r:1) 'to consider s. th. very little' < **az** 'little'
mungurğa- (Sang.320r:8) 'to grieve' < **mung** 'grief'
tangïrğa- (Sayf179v:5) 'to admire' < **tang** 'astonishing'
tašïrğa- (Sang.157r:1) 'to founder' < **taš** 'stone'

3.6.10.1.14. The Suffix -ša/-šä

oḫša- (Sayf24r:4) 'to resemble' < **oq** 'like'
qaqša-l- (Sang.274r:29) 'to dry' < **qaq** 'dry [fruit]'

3.6.10.2. Verb Formation by Derivative Auxiliaries

Verbs created by derivative auxiliaries are called phrasal or syntagmatic verbs. They consist of a nominal part--mostly nouns, rarely adjectives--and an auxiliary verb. E.g., **cavāb** 'question' + **ber-** 'to give' + **cavāb ber-** 'to answer'. The sequence of their constituents--nominal element + auxiliary verb--is flexible. The order of constituents may be reversed. Also, other sentence elements may occur between them.

There are numerous phrasal verbs in Chagatay. Since they can take complements or modifiers separately or as a unit, they are very expressive and occur quite frequently. Below is a representative list of the most frequently used phrasal verbs:

3.6.10.2.1. Bas- 'to press'

ayaq bas- (DN260v:1) 'to enter'

E.g.,

Elig urma malāmat daftarïna, <u>ayağ basqïn</u> salāmat kišvarïna. (DN260v:1) 'Keep your hands off the book of complaints.[255] Walk boldly toward the land safety.'

3.6.10.2.2. Ber- 'to give' forms directional verbs.

bašārat ber- (DN248v:8) 'to bring good news'
cilva ber- (DN265r:2) 'to display, show off'
dast ber- (DN250v:2) 'to drive one to; to be overcome by'
dastūr ber- (Sayf156r:12) 'to let in'
ʿicāzat ber- (Sayf34v:8) 'to give permission'
ḫabar ber- (Sayf14v:6) 'to inform'
mužda ber- (DN259v:2) 'to bring good news'
yüz ber- (DN168v:1) 'to come forth, emerge, appear' [< P. *ruḫ dādan*]

E.g.,

Yarudï yer közi tün Maryamïdïn, <u>bašārat berdi</u> ʿİsâ hamdamïdïn. (DN248v:8) 'The eye of the earth brightened beholding Mary of the Night[256] and conveyed the good news about the arrival of Jesus.'[257]

<u>Berip</u> aḫbāb savdāsïnda ğam <u>dast</u>, ayağï sayr ara Macnūnğa hamdast. (DN259v:2) ' In his love for his friend grief has ovecome him. In roaming [aimlessly] his legs are the companions of Majnun.'[258]

Ešiklärindä mutaʿalliqlärindän büyük boylï küčli kišilär qoyarlar, ḫattâ kelgän ʿazīzlärgä <u>dastūr bermägäylär</u>. (Sayf156r:12) 'From among their dependents they post tall, strong people at their doors who would not let in even sainted people who come to visit.'

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[255] I.e., Stop whining.
[256] Reference to mother Mary and her newborn child and to the star that indicated their whereabouts.
[257] *Hamdam* lit., 'he who is breathing together with s.o.' like the newly born child with his mother.
[258] He roams as much as the legendary Majnūn did when he was in love with Laylī

Saʿādat mavkibidin mužda berip, bašāratlïq ḫabarlarnï yïbarïp. (DN259r:3) 'Felicity signaled the approaching of its retinue, good tidings sent the news [about its being on the way]'
Ašuğup qïldï atlanur yarağïn, zamānē cilva berdi ḥusn bāğïn. (DN265r:2) 'In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she showed off the beauty of the garden.[259]

3.6.10.2.3. Bol- 'to be, become' creates passive and intransitive verbs.
afgār bol- (DN260r:3) 'to be wounded'
dāḫil bol- (DN249r:2) 'to enter'
fārïğ bol- (DN259r:4) 'to be through, to be done'
māʾil bol- (DN254r:11) 'to wish, desire'
mafhūm bol- (DN255v:10) 'to be understood'
maʿlūm bol- (DN255v:10) 'to be known'
mavcūd bol- (DN252v:8) 'to be present'
pāmāl bol- (DN260r:5) 'to be engulfed in'
paydā bol- (DN255v:9) 'to appear'
qan bol- (DN259v:3) 'to be distressed'
rāzī bol- (Sayf157v:10) 'to be satisfied'

E.g.,
Ču mazmūnï sarāsar boldï maʿlūm, ne kim [er]di mubham boldï mafhūm. (DN255v:10) 'When its contents were entirely known, anything that was doubtful before, now was perfectly understood.'
Tilädi kāğid va čōn boldï mavcūd, qalam tilini etti ʿanbar ālūd. (DN252v:8) 'She asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was provided, she covered the tip of the pen with ambergris.[260]
Agar sen anda bolsang yašqa pāmāl, men özümdin barur men munda fïʾl-ḥāl. (DN260r:5) 'If over there you are engulfed in tears, here I lose my consciousness at once.'
Agar sen anda körsäng nāgah āzār, men ešitip bolur men munda afgār. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it..'
Qalam tili čōn fārïğ boldï andïn, davāt ağzïnï yaptï tarcumāndïn. (DN259r:4) 'When the tongue of the pen was through, the inkholder that the interpreter was using closed its mouth.'
Köngül boldï farah öyinä dāḫil, közümgä ābrūyï boldï ḥāsil. (DN249r:2) '[My] heart entered the house of joy.[261] Its dignity became manifest to my eyes.'

[259] I.e., she appeared in full splendor
[260] I.e., he dipped the tip of the pen into the inkwell. Reference is made to the fragrance of the ink.
[261] The implication is that 'from thehouse of sadness moved into thehoue of joy'

3.6.10.2.4. Ček- 'to pull 'expresses that the subject endures discomfort or pain of some kind.
cafā ček- (LN170) 'to suffer injustice'
cavr ček- (Sayf60:13) 'to suffer'
dard ček- (Sayf126v:8) 'to suffer [pain, or disease]'
el ček- (Sayf12r:3) 'to reject, refuse'
ranc ček- (Sayf160v:8) 'to suffer'
yol čäk- (Sayf73v:10) 'to endure the hardships of traveling'
zaḫmat čäk- (Sayf17r:2) 'to be exposed to discomfort'

E.g.,
Firāqïngda cafā köp čektim, ay Yār. Valē har yïğlamaqnïng külmäki bar. (LN170) 'I have suffered much injustice while I was separated from you, O Friend. But [, as the saying goes], every crying is followed by a smiling.'
Ol qul čōn tängiz körmägän dağï kemä zaḫmatïn čekmägän edi, taḥammul etä bilmädi. (Sayf17r:12) 'Since that servant had no experience on the sea and was never exposed to the discomfort of [being in] a boat, was not able to endure [the trip].'

3.6.10.2.5. Et- to make, do' forms transitive verbs. Most of them have a passive equivalent with **bol-**.
āškārā et- (DN256v:5) 'to manifest, to make clear, disclose'
asïq et- (DN250v:11) 'to be of use'
darc et- (DN249r:6) 'to collect'
direğ et- (Sayf23r:4) to refuse'
fāš et- (DN248v:6) 'to disclose, lay open'
farq et- (Sayf157v:11) 'to distinguish'
huvaydā et- (DN250v:2) 'to divulge, disclose'
ḫāṣṣ et- (DN256r:1) 'to consecrate'
išārat et- (DN255v:4) 'to nod'
ittifāq et- (Sayf102r:4) 'to be united'
kasb et- (DN258v:9) 'to obtain'
parēšān et- (DN256v:6) 'to disperse, destroy'
raḥm et- (DN256v:11) 'to have mercy on'
ravān et- (DM252v:10) 'to release; to send forth'
ravāna et- (DN253v:2) 'to shed' [tears]
sucūd et- (MM181r:13) 'to make a prostration'
šūr u ğavğā et- (DN256r:11) 'to stir up tumult and riot'
tarcīḥ et- (DN257r:11) 'to prefer'
tēz et- (DN246v:3) 'to dispatch in a haste'
vahm et- (DN247r:11) 'to fear'
ẕikr et- (RM9r:3) 'to mention'

E.g.,

Tabassumda labïng qïlmay mudārā, guharnï laʿlïng etip āškārā. (DN256v:5) 'In smiling your lips do not act with moderation. Your ruby lips lay open the gems.'[262]

Valē ol martaba har kimgä yetmäs, bu savdāda tamannā asïq etmäs. (DN250v:11) 'But that rank is not granted for everyone.To have false hopes in this transaction is of no avail.'

Ne körär men, ʿibāratlar qïlïp ḫarc, farāvān luṭf yāqūtï etip darc. (DN249r:6) 'What do I see? She has spent [plenty of] expressions and has put together lots of gems of grace.'

Bitidim nāmae ʿunvānï iḫlāṣ, bayānïmnï maʿānīğa etip ḫāṣṣ. (DN256r:1) 'I wrote a letter, its title was Sincerity. I formulated my message specifically to fit the meaning of [this word].'

Ču fāš etti falak maʿšūqasï mihr, cihān örüng boldï va mihr gulčihr. (DN248v:6) 'When the Beloved of the Sky disclosed her Love, the world became white and the sun, [beautiful] like the Rose-face.'[263]

Qïlïp ay teg yüzüng nūrïnï paydā, etip kün ẓarrağa mihrin huvaydā. (DN250v:2) 'Your moon-like face revealed its light. The sun manifested its love to a speck of dust.'[264]

Kim etip tur ʿasalğa sirka tarcīḥ, oqup tur muḫtaṣar ʿilmini talvīḥ. (DN257r:11) 'He who prefers vinegar to honey is like the one who reads the science of abridgments in allusions.'

3.6.10.2.6. Kel- 1. 'to come'; 2. 'to seem' [cf. P. *āmadan*] with the first meaning it expresses actions that move in the direction toward the narrator, the subject, or the scene of the action. With the second meaning it indicates that the meaning of the base word [mostly an adjective] is the speaker's perception.

ʿacab kel- (MM189r:5) 'to seem strange'
durust kel- (Sayf26v:10) 'to come true'
ağïr kel- (RM29r:5) 'to be heavier'
artuq kel- (RM29r:2) 'to be more'
muḫālif kel- (MM187v:2) 'to differ from'
qaršï kel- (Sayf 27v:5) 'to meet'
qatïğ kel- (DN256v:7) 'to be startled, aggravated'
rāst kel- (MM185v:2) 'to be correct'
yaqïn kel- (Sayf92r:4) 'to approach'

[262] They show their teeth.
[263] Gulçihr, the mistress of Aurang.
[264] The sunrays make the invisible particles in the air shine.

E.g.,

Yā bint maḫāz bu yā bint labūn, yā ḥiqqa yā caẓaʿa ʿacab kelmäsün. (MM189r:5) 'You should be familiar [with the terms] *bint maḫāz* or *bint labūn*, or *ḥiqqa* or *cazaʿa*.'

Magar tegmä rakʿatda bir sacdasï qalur bolsa niyyat bilä rāst kelür. (MM185v:2) 'Let us assume that [the worshipper] has forgotten one prostration in each rakʿat of the prayer, he may still correct [his mistakes] by stating his intention [to make up for the omitted prostration].'

Ṣabā allïngda barïp tartmay āh, ki qatïğ kelmäsün könglüngä nāgāh. (DN256v:7) 'The Zephyr comes to your presence but does not heave a sigh so that your heart be not aggravated.'

Ḥukamā qavlï durust keldi. (Sayf16v:10) 'The words of the wise men came true.'

3.6.10.2.7. Kätür- 'to perform, carry out' expresses that the object indicated by the base word, mostly an absract noun, is produced:

faraḥ ketür- (Sayf2v:6) 'to cheer up'
īmān kätür- (MM177r:11) 'to bring forth the faith'
inābat kätür- (MM193v:10) 'to repent'
irādat kätür- (MM193v:10) 'to exercise submission'
irtidād kätür- (MM190v:14) 'to commit apostasy'
iʿtirāf ketür- (Sayf24r:2) 'to acknowledge'
nadāmat kätür- (MM198r:3) 'to produce repentance'
rakʾat ketür- (MM185r:15) 'to perform the rakʿat'
sacda ketür- (MM183v:4) 'to perform the prostration'
ṭāqat ketür- (Sayf62v:7) 'to endure'

E.g.,

Fasādnï tilämišdä ammāra ol, nadāmat kätürmišdä lavvāma ol. (MM198r:3) 'When [the Soul] drives to sin, it is commanding. When it produces repentance, it is blaming.'

Munï käḍ saqïnğïl, inābat kätür, inābatdïn ašğïl, irādat kätür. (MM193v:10) 'Think well about this and repent: [Indeed,] go beyond repentance and exercise submission.'

3.6.10.2.8. Kör- 1.'to consider, regard as'; 2. 'to experience, perceive' in the first meaning it expresses that the speaker considers an object to be what the base word means. In the second, in indicates that the subject is experiencing a hardship of some kind.

ʿāciz kör- (DM257v:6) 'to consider weak'
āzār kör- (DM260v:3) 'to be injured'
direğ kör- (Sayf51r:5) 'to grudge'
emgäk kör- (Sayf32:13) 'to suffer a blow'

cavr kör- (Sayf36r:13) 'to suffer from injustice'
ğanīmat kör- (Sayf12v:8) 'to regard s.th. as an oppor
ravā kör- (Sayf155v:7) 'to regard as lawful;

E.g.,

Meni sen körmä ʿāciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasïnc gāhïm. (DM257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'
Agar sen anda körsäng nāgah āzār, men ešitip bolur men afgār. (DM260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'
Ol eränlär vaqt saqlap furṣatnï ğanīmat körüp čïqtïla 142v:9) 'Those people waited, took advantage of the opp and moved out.'

3.6.10.2.9. Körgüz- 'to show, demonstrate, manifest' expresses subject a moral quality or a physical skill.

ärdäm körgüz- (Sayf11r:6) 'to display one's skills'
ʿināyat körgüz- (DN251r:10) 'to show mercy'
karam körgüz- (Sayf16v:2) 'to be generous to s.o.'
mayl körgüz- (DN255v:2) 'to manifest inclination'
muruvvat körgüz- (Sayf50v:5) 'to be humane'
sāya körgüz- (DN258v:10) 'to cast a shadow'
talbīs körgüz- (DN259r:5) 'to cheat'
tamannā körgüz- (DN255v:7) 'to show expectation'

E.g.,

Yüzüng bergäy manga, Ay Ḥusn Bāğï, ʿināyat körgüzü nišānï. (DN251r:10) 'May your face, showing mercy, give sign of [your] command, O, Garden of Beauty.'
Singä baqtïm anga čon köz yašï teg, qarağa mayl kï qašï teg. (DN255v:2) 'I tried to melt and flow to her like th of my eyes showing, like eyebrows, an inclination toward th
Bāyiktin sāya körgüzür humāyē, ki tā davlat tapar andïr yē. (DN258v:10) 'From high above Phoenix casts his sha that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.'[265]
Sulaymān paykïna tapšurdï Bilqīs, ki Ber bir mūrğa kö talbīs. (DN259r:5) 'Bilqīs[266] handed over [the letter] to the of Solomon[267] and said: "Deliver it, do not defraud an ant] is its due share]."'

[265] Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous casts its shadow will become a king.
[266] Name of queen of Sheba who visited Solomon.
[267] I.e., to the wind

3.6.10.2.10. Kötär- 1. 'to raise'; 2. '[lift up and] carry'

āvāz kötär- (Quṭb Zaj.104) 'to begin to sing'
baš kötär- (DN259v:10) 1.'to rise'; 2. 'to raise the head'
el kötär- (Quṭb Zaj.104) 'to give up, abandon' [cf. P *dast bar dāštan*]
cavr kötär- (Sayf85v:4) 'to endure, to put up with' [harsh treatment]
minnat kötär- (Sayf140r:1) 'to be under an obligation due to a favor received'
minnat yükin kötär- (Sayf139v:13) 'to be burdened with an obligation due to a favor received'

E.g.,

Közüm hacrïngda köp bīdārlïqdïn kötärmäs bašïnï bēmārlïqdïn. (DN259v:10) 'In your absence my eyes, having been vigilant for so long, are ailing and do not rise [in the morning].'
Erdämsizlär luqma luqma tilänip minnat yükin kötärip yürürlär. (Sayf139v:13) 'Those who have no skills go begging mouthful by mouthful carrying the load of obligation for favors received.'

3.6.10.2.11. Qïl- 'to make, do' is used to form transitive phrasal verbs. The derivatives in the majority of cases have an intransitive variant with the auxiliary **bol-** 'to be'.

ārām qïl- (MM195r:6) 'to rest'
ārzū qïl- (MM200r:12) 'to desire'
bayʿat qïl- (DN255r:2) 'to promise loyalty'
darḫwāst qïl- (DN255r:2) 'to demand'
fanā qïl- (MM193v:12) 'to annihilate'
fidā qïl- (Sayf118r:8) 'to sacrifice'
fikrini qïl- (DN259v:11) 'to think about someone'
ḫarc qïl- (DN249r:6) 'to spend'
ḫaẕar qïl- (DN257v:5) 'to beware'
huvayda qïl- (DN255v:9) 'to make apparent, show'
isrāf qïl- (Sayf22r:3) 'to waste'
iẓhār qïl- (DN245v:6) 'to manifest'
malāmat qïl- (Sayf 22v:7) 'to blame'
minnat qïl- (MM197r:14) 'to give [a donation] with the expectation of return'
mudārā qïl- (DN256v:5) 'to use dissimulation'
munavvar qïl- (DN257r:2) 'to make shine, cheer up'
namāz qïl- (MM184v:6) 'to pray' [ritual prayers]
paydā qïl- (DN250v:2) 'to show, display'
ravān qïl- (DN248v:7) 'to set in motion'

qaṭl qïl- (Sayf114r:5) 'to kill'
qurbān qïl- (Sayf137r:13) 'to sacrifice'
satïğ qïl- (MM191v:12) 'to sell'
taʿammul qïl- (DM242v:11) 'to reflect'
taṣdīq qïl- (DN246v:1) 'to confirm'
tavāzuʿ qïl- (DN243v:2) 'to show courtesy'
vidāʾ qïl- (Sayf19r:9) 'to take leave'
ziyārat qïl- (Sayf19v:1) 'to visit'

E.g.,

Qašïm čandān säning fikringni qïldï, ki qayğudïn boyï ya teg egildi. (DN259v:11) 'My eyebrow had thought so much about you that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.'
Ne körär men, ʿibāratlar qïlïp ḫarc, farāvān luṭf yāqūtï etip darc. (DN249r:6) 'What do I see? She has spent [plenty of] expressions and has put together lots of gems of grace.'
Yüzüng közgü dur, ay husn ičrä māhïm, ḫaẓar qïl kim anï tutmasun āhïm. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'
Camālïngdïn munavvar qïl közümni, ešitmä el sözin ešit sözümni. (DN257r:2) 'Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.'
Hamïn kim taptï yārï ḫażratïna, tavāzuʿ qïldï va qoydï qatïna. (DN243v:2) 'As soon as it arrived to the presence of the friend, it greeted her politely and put down the letter at her side.'

3.6.10.2.12. Qol- 'to ask for, to request'. The nominal part, most of the time a concrete noun, is the direct object of the verb.

amān qol- (NF6r:4) 'to ask for protection'
dād qol- (Quṭb Zaj.p.139) 'to seek justice'
dārū qol- (Quṭb Zaj.p.139) 'to ask for remedy'
duʿā qol- (ShD9v:10) 'to ask for a prayer'
uğandïn öngin qol- (MM201r:1) 'to seek other than God'
ʿuẓr qol- (DN249v:3) 'to dismiss'
zinhār qol- (Quṭb Zaj.p.139) 'to ask for protection'

E.g.,

Qïlayïn surma tofraqïngnï közgä, ne türlüg qolayïn ʿuzrïngnï özgä. (DN249v:3) 'I wish to make collyrium for [my] eyes from the dust you are treading on. How else could I let you go?'
Emdidän song himmatïngnï qayda barsang qoymağïl! Ol Buḫārā Ḥāfiẓïdïn, Ay Šabānī qol duʿā. (ShD9v:10) 'From now on do not abandon your good efforts wherever you go! O, Shabānī, request a prayer [for you] from Hafiz of Bukhara.'[268]
Bašïn topraqqa qoydï qoldï zinhār. (Qutb Zaj.p.139) 'He put his head on the ground and asked for protection.'
Yā Rasūla'l-lāh, bizgä nuṣrat bermäzmü sän? Bizgä Tangrïdïn amān qolmazmu sän. (NF6r:4) 'O, Prophet of God, are you not granting us victory? Are you not asking from God safety for us?'

Note: The noun part of this phrasal verb can occur in the plural. E.g.,
Qulum sizlärgä yaman iš qïldï, sizlär kečürüng tep öküš ʿuẓrlar qoldï. (NF49r:14) 'My servant has done a bad thing to you, please forgive, he said making excuses profusely.'

3.6.10.2.13. Qoy- 1. 'to put down'; 2 'to turn in the direction of'

arqa qoy- (MM182v:10) 'to turn one's back to'
baš qoy- (DN248r:11) 'to greet someone'[269]
toquš qoy- (MM182v:2) 'to surrender'
yüz qoy- (DN248v:2) 'to face s.th.'
yādgar qoy- (Sayf6v:9) 'to leave behind as a souvenir'

E.g.,

Kelip iqbāl baš qoyğay qatïngda, buzulmaqlïqğa yüz qoyğay sitamlar. (DN248r:11) 'Prosperity comes and [as your] servant, salutes you. [Your] hardship faces complete annihilation.'
Toquš qoyma mu'min bu nafs birlä sän, ʿibādatnï ṣaff tut, yunuğnï silāḥ! (MM182v:2) 'Believer, do not surrender to your Carnal Soul. Employ service [to God] as a battle-array, the ablution, as a weapon.'[270]

3.6.10.2.14. Sal- 'to throw, cast' expresses that an action which involves the base noun is produced fast, suddenly, abruptly, unexpectedly, or, energetically.

köz sal- (GD143:4) 'to cast a glance'
naẓar sal- (DN250v:7) 'to cast a glance at'
nidā sal- (MS14v:1) 'to declare'
qulaq sal- (Ḫ82r:6) 'to listen'
quš sal- (Qutb211) 'to set the falcon upon a game animal'
söz sal- (DN246v:8) 'to mention, talk about'
ṭarḥ sal- (Sayf32r:5) 'to lay the foundation of'
varaqa sal- (Sayf35v:9) 'to send a letter'
yaruğluq sal- (RM44r:8) 'to emanate light'

[268] Shaybānī Khān's spiritual leader.
[269] I.e., humbly and respectfully as a novice would greet his sheikh
[270] A sword, or an arrow.

E.g.,

Agar salsam nazarnï köz yašına, ne bolğay qaṭraē daryā qašïna? (DN250v:7) 'Suppose I cast a glance at the tears,[271] what is the value of a single drop against [the waters of] a river?' [272]

Nä yemäkdin nä uyqudïn salïp söz, yemäktin toyup uyqudïn yumup köz. (DN246v:8) 'He does not speak of food or sleep. He is fed up with food, he turns the blind eye to sleep.'

Anïng kim bar älindä manṣib u cāh, salïp ṭarḥ ol qïlur dāʾim ticārat. (Sayf32r:5) 'He who has rank and position makes plans and is always engaged in trading.'

Rōzanï Tangrï özigä aldï. Anā uczī bihi nidā saldï. (MS14v:1) 'God [has promised to] accept the believer's fast. He has declared, "I shall reward him for keeping it!"'

Ušal dam turdï payğambar cavāba: Sanga aytay qulaq sal, ay sahāba!"' (Ḫ82r:6) 'In response the Prophet answered: "Listen carefully to what I am going to tell you now, O, Companions!'

3.6.10.2.15. Tap- 'to find' expresses that the object represented by the base word is obtained, found, deserved, or gained.

ārām tap (DN242v:10) 'to find peace'
bala tap- (Sayf145r:2) 'to litter'
cavāb tap- (Sayf35v:11) 'to find an answer'
davlat tap- (DN258v:10) 'to obtain a kingdom'
furṣat tap- (Sayf15r:1) 'to find an opportunity'
infiʿāl tap- (GD139,3) 'to feel ashamed'
ʿizzat tap- (Sayf35v:11) 'to obtain dignity'
nacāt tap- (GD331,4) 'to be delivered'
tabdīl tap- (DN259r:8) 'to experience a change'
tarbiyat tap- (Sayf13v:6) 'to receive education'
yol tap- (Sayf90r:5) 'to find a way'
ẓafar tap- (Sayf39v:9) 'to gain victory'
zavāl tap- (GD135,4) 'to decline'

E.g.,

Alā ay ğamda tapqan rangï tabdīl, ravān etkän közi šangarftïn nīl. (DN259r:8) 'Hark ye whose color has changed in grief, whose eyes make the Nile river flow with vermillion red [tears].'

Bäyiktin sāya körgüzür humāyē, ki tā davlat tapar andïn gadāyē. (DN258v:10) 'From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.'[273]

[271] If I take notice of or consider the value or significance of...
[272] Rivers and seas are considered infinite sources of wealth [fishing, pearls, trnsportation; symbol of the vast and the infinite].

Köngül bir sāʿatē ārām tapdï, ki dildār ağzïdïn ol kām taptï. (DN242v:10) 'My heart found quiet for a moment when it obtained gratification from the mouth of the Beloved.'[274]

3.6.10.2.16. Tart- 'to draw, drag' expresses a sluggish, dragging action that often takes place to the detriment of the subject.

āh tart- (RM20v:5) 'to heave a sigh'
cavr tart- (Sayf183r:7) 'to suffer'
elig tart- (DN247r:3) 'to give up' [cf. P. *dast kašīdan az*]
ğam tart- (DN252r:6) 'to suffer'
ḫaṭṭ tart- (DN254v:4) 'to give up, cancel, cross out'[275]
ibārāt tart- (DN255v:4) 'to employ metaphors'

E.g.,

Ṣabā allïngda barïp tartmay āh, ki qatïğ kelmäsün könglüngä nāgāh. (DN256v:7) 'The Zephyr comes to your presence but does not heave a sigh so that your heart be not aggravated.'

Barï ay ḫirmanïn bir cavğa satqan, elig tartïp ayağïnï uzatqan. (DN247r:3) 'He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.'[276]

Qašïmnïng yasïdïn tartar mu ğamnï, körär mü gōšalarda ol alamnï? (DN252r:6) 'Is he in distress because of the arch of my eyebrow? Does he exprerience that pain in [every] corner?'

Parïlar ʿārizïnä tartqïl ḫaṭṭ, köngüldä tilämäs bolsang ğubārïn. (DN254v:4) 'Cross out the faces of the fairies if you don't want to have scruples in your heart'

Tili qānūn bilän tartïp ʿibārāt, közi har nuqtada etip išārāt. (DN255v:4) 'Her tongue employed metaphors according to the rules. Her eyes gave clues to every points.'

3.6.10.2.17. Tut- 'to hold, keep' expresses that the subject got hold of what is meant by te base word, made a pledge, acquired a habit or a new regime.

ʿār tut- (DN259v:7) 'to be ashamed'
amr tut- (Sayf3v:13) 'to obey an order'
älig tut- (MM176v:3) 'to help'
bāq tut- (MM195v:15) 'to fear'

[273] Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous bird *humā* cast its shadow will become a king.
[274] Reference to Qur, 5,31.
[275] It governs the dative case.
[276] A sign of disregarding the rules of decent social behavior.

balïq tut- (Sayf94v:4) 'to fish'
gumān tut- (MM181v:14) 'to doubt'
mātam tut- (Ḫ82v:2) 'to mourn s.o.'
orun tut- (MM177v:7) 'to take place'
oruč tut- (Sayf84r:6) 'to fast'
panca tut- (Sayf32v:12) 'to fight'
qarār tut- (Sayf21r:9) 'to rest'
qulaq tut- (Sayf22v:12) 'to listen'
rōza tut- (MM186v:7) 'to fast'
ṭamaʿ tut- (Sayf131r:2) 'to expect, desire'
tuhmat tut- (MM195v:14) 'to doubt'
umēd tut- (GD38,4) 'to hope'
uns tut- (Sayf67v:11) 'to associate'
yād tut- (Sayf93r:1) 'to learn, memorize'
yol tut- (MM193v:11) 'to take the path of'

E.g.,

Qïlïp özigä āh u nālanï yār, tutup bir yolï nām u nangïdïn ʿār. (DN259v:7) 'He made friends with sighs and moanings and at once felt ashamed of his good repute and honor.'[277]

Ol yigit ayttï: Karam qïlïp qulaq tutsang cavāb aytayïm. (Sayf 22v:12) 'If you graciously listen, I will provide the answer.'

Icābat qïlur Rabb, gumān tutmağu. Icābat anuq sän duʿānï yätür. (MM181v:14) '[Our] Lord answers prayers, of that there can be no doubt. His answer is in readiness, it only remains for you to perform the prayer.'

Yarïn tutğa män rōza tep bilmäki, bu niyyat erür bil kiši öz özin. (MM186v:7) 'Express it thus with full awareness [of what you are saying] "I wish to fast tomorrow." O Believer, you should know [that the statement of your intention] is the very essence [of the rites].'

3.6.10.2.18. Ur- 'to beat' expresses, beyond the basic meaning, sudden, emphatic, or repeated actions.

āh ur- (GD12-3) 'to sigh, heave a sigh'
ağač ur- (Sayf52r:1) 'to beat with a stick'
elig ur- (DN260v:1) 'to touch'[278]
barham ur- (DN259v:8) 'to destroy, annihilate'

[277] This is a Sufi reference: On the path toward obtaining true knowledge of God there is a stage when all our services lose their values. Cf. MM "When true knowledge has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences. All your learning and acts of pious devotions and services will appear to you as sins.'
[278] With the dative case.

dam ur- (DN246v:4) 'to speak'
lāf ur- (GD45,4) 'to boast, brag'
nafas ur- (DN259r:11) 'to breathe'
qadam ur- (Sayf58r:10) 'to go'
quš ur- (MM190v:10) 'to set a falcon upon a game animal'
raqṣ ur- (Sayf59v:12) 'to dance'
ṣayqal ur- (Sayf59r:12) 'to polish'
ṭaʿn ur- (DN260v:1) 'to criticize'
tark ur- (Sayf54r:1) 'to leave'
yüz ur- (MM182v:10) 'to turn one's face to'
zaḫm ur- (Sayf14v:10) 'to wound'

E.g.,

Elig urma malāmat daftarïna, ayağ basqïn salāmat kišvarïna. (DN260v:1) 'Keep your hands off the book of complaints.[279] Walk boldly toward the land safety.'

Malāmat qiblasïdïn yüz evürmäs, ḫalāʾiq nečä ṭaʿn ursa, dam urmas. (DN245v:8) 'He does not turn his face away from the qibla of blame,[280] however much people criticize him, he does not say a word.'

Dedi, dam urmay atlanmaq kerāk sen, agarči yel sen yanmaq kerāk sen. (DN246v:4) 'She said, "You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind,[281] you must turn around and come back [this time]".'

Munï ayttï dağï qadam yolğa urdï. (Sayf58r:10) 'He said this and set out on the road.'

3.6.10.2.19. Ye- 'to eat' expresses that the subject has a share of what the base noun means. Unless it is used in concrete sense [e.g. **ṭaʿām ye-** 'to eat, have a meal' MM194v:5], the verbal phrase refers to a negative, unpleasant experience.

dunyā ye- (Sayf161r:3) 'to enjoy the world'
ğam ye- (DN254r:3) 'to worry [oneself], grieve, sorrow'
nang ye- (DN245r:4) 'to be ashamed'
ḥarām ot ye- (MM191v:15) 'to practice usury' [282]
infiʿāl ye- (Sayf46v:5) 'to be ashamed'
nadāmat ye- (Sayf147:1) 'to repent'
ökünč ye- (MM193r:8) 'to have regrets'

[279] I.e., Stop whining.
[280] He constantly exposes himself to people's blame.
[281] That never returns.
[282] Lit., to graze your flock on a forbidden pasture

E.g.,

Küyär parvāna cāndïn qayğu yemäs, kiši parvānadïn ḫwad eksük emäs. (DN244v:7) 'The moth goes up in flames and is not concerned about its life. [And] no one [among living beings] is smaller than the moth.'

Boyung sarvï ki nang yer ṣuḥbatïmdïn, egilgäy ʿāqibat tüz niyyatïmdïn. (DN245r:4) 'The [straight] cypress of your body[283] scorns to be in my companionship but it bows down at the end when it realizes the straightforwardness of my intent.'[284]

Ğamïmnï ol camāʿat kim yedilär, ṭarīqingdin manga andaq dedilär. (DN254r:3) 'People concerned about me had this to say about the way you act.'

Zulfï šāmïnda yanar sen šamʿ bigi, ay Šabān, ğam yemägil har kečä zībā moğulïng barïda. (ShD13v:8-9) 'You burn in the night of her tresses like a candle, O Shabān. Don't be sad because every night you have a Moghul beauty in your presence.'

Köz yüzüngni har kiši körsä dili afgār dur. Yegän va ičgän ğam va dard ilä fikr-i yār dur. (ShD44r:9-10) 'Whoever beholds your eyes and your face, has scars in his heart. Thought about the Friend goes together with suffering from grief and pain.'

3.6.10.2.20. Yut- 'to swallow'

ḫūnāba yut- (DN259v:8) 'to be bitter'[285]
qan yut- (ShD11r:1) 'to be bitter' [< 'to swallow blood']
qaḏğu yut- (Quṭb Zaj. 152) 'to grieve'[286]

E.g.,

Özin qoymay zamānē barham urmay, yutup ḫūnāba va andïn dam urmay. (DN259v:8) 'He does not give up, he does not fall apart. He is bitter, but he is not talking about it.'

Ayaqdïn qan yutar elgim šikast dur. Firāqdïn qurudum qandïm degändä. (ShD10v:11-12) 'My hand that held the cup out of which I would drink blood is broken. If I say, "I am [a piece of] rock-candy", it is because I dried out in your absence.'

3.7. Adverbs

Adverbs constitute a rich, diversified and very expressive category. They serve to indicate time, place, manner and other circumstances of an action. They have no special markers, grammatical or derivational. Among them there are many loan elements, especially from Persian.

[283] I.e., your body which is straight like a cypress.
[284] Intent [*niyyat*] is correct when it is properly stated in due time.
[285] Lit., to swallow bloody tears
[286] Lit., two swallow grief

The following is a morphological classification of adverbs:

3.7.1. Primary Adverbs

asru (RB2r:1) very much, excessively'
bārī (DN244v:4) 'at least'
bat (RM10r:10) 'fast, quickly'
berk (RM43v:2) 'firm'
emdi (DN250v:8) 'now'
hargiz (Ḫ77r:9) 'never'
ilgäri (Ḫ76v:5) 'in front of, ahead'
köp (GD101,3) 'very much'
qatïğ (Quṭb Zaj.p.135) 'very much'
tašqarï (Sayf100r:8) 'outside'

E.g.,

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

Özüngni qïlma asru bē sar-u barg, kim egilmäs sening sarï nihālïm. (DN242r:4) 'Do not feel too distressed just because my branches do not bend in your direction.'

Dedi ol gul "Ču zāʾiʿ boldï avqāt, qalam birlän davātē keltürüng bat. (DN240r:8) 'The Rose said: "Now that [more than enough] time has been wasted, bring [me] a pen and an inkwell right away".'

Labïng tuttum ki bermäs iḫtiyārī, köngülni asrağïl til bilä bārī. (DN244v:4) 'I understood that your lips do not grant any options. Soothe [my] heart at least with your words.'[287]

Ketür aqča kemägä kir yoq esä tašqarï oltur. (Sayf100r:8) 'Bring [your] money, get aboard the boat, or sit outside [on the shore].'

3.7.2. Adjectives in the Role of Adverbs
No category marker is used.

āḫir (DN260r:11) 'later, after; finally'
basē (DN247v:5) 'often, quite a lot'
dāʿim (AC324r:7) 'constantly'
ḫwaš (AC326r:5)'gladly; thoroughly'
mudām (AC324r:6) 'always'
muttaṣil (AC3325v:9) 'all the while'
pāk (AC322v:19) 'completely'
ravān (AC327r:9) 'all of a sudden; suddenly, at once'

[287] Lit., with the tongue. Cf. MM *silik söz* 'smooth words' (197r:4)

yaḫšï (RB5r:3) 'well'
tärk (MM179r:17) 'quickly'
tēz (DN243r:3) 'fast'
tükäl (MM185r:13) 'entirely'

E.g.,

Tüzälip ādamīlär ḫōyïn alğïn, ne degäy el dağï āḫir uyalğïn. (DN 260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Whatever people say, do not be ashamed after all.'
Bitigläringdä saldïm men basē köz, tilädim köp sözüngdä tapmadïm söz. (DN247v:5) 'I stared at your writing for a long time. Much as I wanted to I did not find words to express your message.'

3.7.3. Nouns in the Role of Adverbs

Nouns can occur in the role of adverbs without any special marker. They can only be recognized in that role in actual context.

3.7.3.1. Nouns in the Nominative Case

aqšam (Sayf72r:3) 'in the evening'
ertä (Sayf72r:3) 'in the morning'
kečä (Sayf69r:2) 'at night'
kečälär (DN259v:6) 'at nights'
kündüz (Sayf84r:6) 'by day'
ṣabāḥ (Sayf51v:12) 'in the morning'
saḥargāh (Sayf50r:11) 'early in the morning'

E.g.,

Tüzätip kečälär egri teg ünin, ačïp tïrnaqï birlän ğam tügünïn. (DN259v:6) 'At nights he tunes his voice, as you tune a guitar. [Picking the guitar] with his fingernails he unties the knots of grief.'[288]
Ẓaʾïf kündüz oruč tutar, kečä iftār etär. (Sayf84r:6) 'The weak one had the habit of fasting by day and breaking the fast at night.'
Ertä ketip aqšam kelip kïs bilän altunnï öpüp sulṭān iläyinä qoyup turur. (Sayf72r:3) 'He left in the morning and returned in the evening. He kissed the bag that contained the gold and placed it in front of the king.'
Yetibän turmayïn bir yerdä el teg, kezibän kečä tang atqïnča yel teg. (DN253r:5) 'When he arrives, he does not stay in one place as people do. At night he moves about like the wind until dawn.'
Nečä kelsä ṣabā yeli saḥargāh, yüzüm yergä sürüp aytur män Allāh. (Sayf50r:11) 'Any time the morning breeze comes early in the morning I rub my face to the ground and say "Lord!"'

[288] In Shaybānī's *Risāla-i Maʿārif* at night Satan ties knots [*tügün bağlar*] on the head of the believer while he is sleeping (20r:6). They are removed ["untied"] by the believer's mentioning God's name, carrying out the ablution and performing the morning prayer.

3.8.3.2. Nouns Specified by Pronouns, Quantifiers, Particles or by a Possessive Suffix

bir sāʿat (Sayf179v:4) 'for a moment'
bir yan (DN253v:10) 'to the side'
bir yolï (DN259v:7) 'suddenly'
har kečä (Sayf73r:7) 'every evening'
har laḥẓa (DN247r:5) 'every moment'
har sāʿat (GD14:4) 'at every hour'
har saḥar (GD5,5) 'every early morning'
har sarï (DN253r:5) 'everywhere'
har yanï (DN246v:9) 'in all directions'
köp zamān (Sayf7v:1) 'for a long time'

E,g,

Qïlïp özigä āh u nālanï yār, tutup bir yolï nām u nangïdïn ʿār. (DN259v:7) 'He made friends with sighs and moanings and at once felt ashamed of [his] good repute and honor.'[289]
Yaši daryā bigin har yanï barïp, ičidin ʿumr ačığïnï čïqarïp. (DN 246v:9) 'His tears like a big river [that burst its banks] ran in all directions bringing forth from his heart the bitterness life.'
Basē tašlarnï bir yan tašlar āgāh, ki tā yüz körgüzür bir laʿl nāgāh. (DN253v:10) 'How many pieces of stones tosses the expert lapidarist to the side until suddenly a piece of ruby shows its face to him.'

3.7.3.3. Nouns with Persian Indefinite -ē Used as Adverbs

The indefinite suffix **-ē** (3.1.2.1.) added to words expressing time creates forms that in adverbial use are equivalent to Turkish **bir** + noun phrasal adverbs, e.g., **bir muddat, bir vaqt, bir zamān**:

muddatē (GD17:2) 'for a while'
vaqtē (DN260r:1) 'for a while'
zamānē (DN259v:8) 'in a short time'

[289] This is a Sufi reference: On the path toward obtaining true knowledge of God there is a stage when all our services lose their values. Cf. MM "When true knowledge has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences. All your learning and acts of pious devotions and services will appear to you as sins.'

E.g.,

Sačïm az bas ki özin urdï barham, säning ḫālïng bigin dur yaqtē darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, in asmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'

Özin qoymay zamānē barham urmay, yutup ḫūnāba va andïn dam urmay. (DN259v:8) 'He does not give up not even for a moment, he does not fall apart. He is bitter, but he is not talking about it.'

Ašuğup qïldï atlanur yarağïn, zamānē cilva berdi ḫusn bāğïn. (DN265r:2) 'In a haste she prepared the necessities for the road; in no time she displayed the beauty of the garden.'[290]

Qan yutup parvarda qïldï muddatē köz yašïnï, ʿāqibat qïldï bu könglüm sirr[i]ni ʿālamda faš. (GD93,6) 'Suffering a lot[291] the eye fostered its tears for some time. Finally [the blood-colored tears] disclosed the secrets of my heart for everyone in this world.'

3.7.3.4. Nouns in the Locative Case

arada (DN260r:6) 'in between'
ḫaẓarda (Sayf120v:3) 'in residence'
ḫuẓūrda (Sayf55v:5) 'close by'
kečälärdä (DN229r:2) 'every night'
kündä (Sayf6v:1) 'in [a few] days'
safarda (Sayf120v:3) 'on a journey'
tangda (Sayf142v:10) 'tomorrow'
yaqïnda (Sayf143r:10) 'soon'
yïraqda (Sayf55v:5) 'far away'

E.g.,

Arada nečä bolğay miḫnat u ğam, özüngni qayğudïn qutqar, meni ham. (DN260r:6) 'However much misery and sorrow may arise, save yourself from sorrow, and also me.'

Yarutup Kün yüzidin čarḫ bāğïn yürütüp kečälärdä Ay čirāğïn. (DN229r:2) 'By the face of the Sun He illuminates the garden of the sky. Every night He sets that lantern, the Moon, in motion.'

Yïraqdağïlar böylä ḫuẓūrda dağï yaqïndağïlar baṣïratsïz yïraqda. (Sayf55v:5) 'Those who are far are so close and those who are close are so far away that eye cannot see them.'

Ğanïmat tut bu šādī furṣatïn kim bu kün tangda üčün ʿāqil yemäs ğam.(Sayf142v:10) 'Take this opportunity of joy as a gift,
The wise one is not worrying today about what happens tomorrow.'

[290] I.e., she appeared in full splendor
[291] Lit., drinking blood

3.7.3.5. Nouns in the Dative Case

They are mostly terminative adverbs. Their adverbial role is restricted to certain verbs.

qarağa (Sayf 136r:9) '[to paint something] black'
ṣaḥilğa (Sayf181r:13) '[to land] on the shore'

E.g.,

Daryāğa čökti Ay ṣadaf teg körünmäs ol. ṣāhilga tüšti Zuhra va tiladi Muštarī. (Say181r:13) 'The Moon sank into the sea and like a shell it does not show. Venus landed on the shore and was looking for [customers like] Jupiter.'

Bäzänip bir qarï ḫatun tiši az, boyap sačïn qarağa köp qïlur nāz. (Sayf136r:9) 'An old woman with missing teeth is decorating herself. She paints her hair black and behaves coquettishly.'

3.7.3.6. Nouns in the Ablative Case

biyiktin (DN261v:5) 'from high above'
qïraqdïn (DN256r:3) 'from the side'
yïraqdïn (DN256r:3) 'further away, at a distance'

E.g.,

Ču yätti anda kirdi bir qïraqdïn, anga tapšurdï va turdï yïraqdïn. (DN256r:3) 'When he got there he entered through one side, handed over the letter to her and stood by at a distance.'

Ṭulūʿ etti biyiktin himmat ayï, tüzäldi bazm ara ʿišrat sarāyï. (DN261v:5) 'From high above the moon of magnanimity appeared and the palace of entertainment was prepared for the banquet.'

3.7.3.7. Nouns in the Equative Case

künäš teg (Sayf143r:2) 'like the sun'
parī teg (DN262v:4) 'like fairies'
ṣadaf teg (Sayf181r:13) 'like a shell'
šakar teg (DN262v:9) 'like sugar'

E.g.,

Camālïng šuhratï har yanï ketip, parī teg ḫūrlar učmaqqa yetip. (DN262v:4) 'The fame of your beauty spread in all directions. Virgin-like fairies reached the gardens of paradise.'

Šakar teg erning va yoq anda qïlï,[292] čibin teg har sarï yüz ming qatīli. (DN262v:9) 'Your lips are [sweet] like sugar and there is no hair around them. In all directions there are a hundred thousand murder victims [lying around] like [dead] flies.'

Saḫrā yeli teg ʿumr baqāsï kečti. (Sayf41v:4) 'Like desert wind the time span of [our lives] has passed.'

[292] The phrase is from the description of young male beauties.

3.7.3.8. Nouns in the Terminative Case

āḫirigača (RM18r:3) 'to the end''
qiyāmatqača (MS2v:1b) 'until the day of resurrection'
tangğača (ShD142v:2) 'until dawn'

E.g.,

Falak keygän yašïl tonnï zamīn māhīsī dağladï; küyär ol tangğača, bilgil, ki bağlar bağrïda lūlū. (ShD142v:2) 'The sky donned a green garment and branded the fish[293] of the earth. It is ablaze until dawn, know full well, until inside it the ruby is set.'

3.7.3.9. Nouns in the Instrumental Case

With both forms of the instrumental case, i.e., in **-la/-lä** and **-n**.

3.7.3.9.1. With Suffix -la/-lä

bir tünlä (Sayf169r:3) 'one night'
ikinči qatla (Quṭb Zaj. p.135) 'a second time'
kündüzlä (Quṭb H.4058) 'by day'
ming qurla (Sayf45v:7) 'a thousand times'
teglä (DN241r:8) 'all'
tümän qurla (MM187v:12) 'ten thousand times'
tünlä (ShD124r:3-4) 'at night'
har tünlä (ShD125v:7-8) 'every night'

E.g.,

Čïqïban tolun ay tünlä bulut ičrä bolur pinhān. Magar kim ay yüzin körgäč ḥicāb äylär camālïndïn. (ShD124r:3-4) 'The full moon appears at night but hides in the clouds. Maybe it glanced at the moon face of [my Beloved] and [now] hides its face from her beauty.'

Vah firāqï otïdïn har tünlä män otqa yanïp, ušbu otdïn qalmadï ʿišq ahlïğa nä bergä sen. (ShD125v:7-8) 'Alas! Every night I was scorched by the fire of separation. Nothing has remained from that fire. What can you give now to the lovers?'

Ešittim anda yïğlap āh urur sen, özüngni teglä elgä küldürür sen. (DN241r:8) 'I hear there you are crying and sighing.You make a laughing stock of yourself in the eyes of everyone.'

Tämür töggän biläk ming qurla yaḫšï ol eldän kim kögüsdä beggä qaršï. (Sayf45v:7) 'A wrist that pounds on iron is a thousand times better than hands folded on the chest in front of the Beg.'[294]

[293] The fish that carries the globe on its back.
[294] Ready to serve.

3.7.3.9.2. With the Suffix -n, -un/-ün, -ïn/-in

ačïn (Quṭb H. 4331) '[die] of hunger'
arqan (MM188r:17) '[flat] on the back'
arqun (Sayf111r:13) 'slowly'
azïn azïn (Sayf171v:7) 'little by little'
ädgün (MM182v:6) 'righteously'
činïn (MM190v:13) 'firmly, convincingly'
küčün (Quṭb H.1129) 'by force'
kündüzün (AC324v:8) 'in broad daylight'
öz iligin (Quṭb H.1872) 'by his own hand'
ünün (MM183v:17) 'aloud'
yalğuzun (Sayf52r:5) 'alone'

E.g.,

Tağ ičindä olturur sän yalğuzun lay-u nahār. (Sayf52r:5) 'You stay in the mountains alone night and day.'

İzin izlämäkdä usal qïlmadïn yarïn yätsä yenür čïnïn sözägü. (MM190v:13) 'He should not delay in following the animal's track's and should keep in mind that, if he reaches it next day, it can still be eaten.'

Muṣībat yā igdin ünün ïğlamaq buzar, ḫavf-i ḫaqqdïn buzulmas, bilä. (MM183v:17) 'Loud weeping because of misfortune or [pain caused by] disease invalidate the prayer, [but] know that when it arises from fear of God it does not.'

Ham arqan yaturup qoyup ot qurïn. (MM188r:17) 'Also, lay him flat on the back and pour embers on him.'

3.7.3.10. Nouns in the Privative Case

The expanded form of the privative suffix **-sïz/-siz** is used to create adverbs:

cānsïzïn (MM197v:4) 'without life'
kābinsizin (Quṭb H.3766) 'without a marriage-portion'
nätägliksizin (MM178r:11) 'without [asking for] signs'
niyyatsïzïn (MM186v:6) 'without [having stated one's] intention'
otrušsuzun (MM187v:5) 'without [performing the internal] sitting'
qirāʾatsïzïn (MM18r:10e) 'without recitation from the Qurʾān'
qulavuzsuzun (MM193v:17) 'without a guide'
zarūratsïzïn (MM186r:14) 'without being compelled'

E.g.,

Ṭarīqat yolïnda qulavuz adab, qulavuzsuzun yolğa kirmäk ʿacab. (MM193v:17) 'On the [Sufī] Path proper conduct is the guide. It would be contrary to common practice to enter upon the path without a guide.'

Camād cānsïzïn ol, ne išgä yarar? Qulaq mu äšitür, bu köz mü körär? (MM197v:4) 'Without life [the body] is like minerals: What can it accomplish? [Without life] can the ear hear or the eye see?'
Nätägliksizin rāst ïnandïm anga. (MM178r:11) 'I believed in him directly without [asking for] signs.'
İkinči ḥācatïm sendin erür ol, manga kābinsizin šāh sumasun qol. (Quṭb H.3766) 'My second need from you is this: The king should not reach for me without a marriage-portion.'

3.7.4. Gerunds Lexicalized as Adverbs

Gerunds--verbal adverbs--by their nature appear in adverbial function. They are the results of morphological word formation. Some of them, however, have entered the lexicon as adverbs.

3.7.4.1. Gerunds in -a/-ä

bara bara (RB5v:6) 'gradually'
otura tura (Sayf137r:1) 'resting and moving on'[295]
oynay külä (Sayf149r:2) 'playing and laughing'
yïqïla tura 'head over heels' [< 'falling and rising' cf. P. *uftān u ḫīzān*]

E.g.,

Bolur āsān bara bara muškil. (RB5v:6) 'What is difficult will gradually become easy.'[296]
Ol pahlavān yigit bilän oynay külä kelür edük. (Sayf149r:2) 'With that valiant youth we proceeded playing and laughing.'
Otura tura kitmäk yaḫšïraq andan ki tark yürüp qalğay sän. (Sayf137r:1) 'To move on taking rest [now and then] is better than to walk fast and stay behind.'

3.7.4.2. Gerunds in -may/-mäy

dam urmay (DN246v:4) 'without taking a break'
tïnmay (DN253r:3) 'without resting'

E.g.,

Dedi, dam urmay atlanmaq kerāk sen, agarči yel sen yanmaq kerāk sen. (DN246v:4) 'She said, "You must be on your way without taking a break. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time]."'

[295] Lit., sitting down and rising [again]
[296] A Central Asian proverb.

Zamāne āh elidin köngli tïnmay fiğānlar tartïban nay teg erinmäy. (DN253r:3) 'At times his heart does not rest due to his constant sighing. He complains unabatedly like the reed.'[297]

3.7.4.3. Gerunds in -p [3.6.7.2.1.]

ašuğup (DN262r:7) 'in a haste'
kärtüläp (MM192v:7) 'in earnest'
monup (Sayf13r:13) 'aged, old'
oynap (MM192v:7) 'in jest'
oynap külüp (Ḫ82r:2) 'playing and laughing'
tapšurup (AC326v:2) 'in trust'

E.g.,

Tilädi ašuğup allïda šabrang, vidāʿe körgüzüp atlandï diltang. (DN270r:5) 'Waisting no time she asked for her dark bay horse, bade good-bye, and, with a sad heart, mounted [her horse].'
Eligini uzattï ol hamāvāz, ašuğup aldï va körgüzdi parvāz. (DN 262r:7) 'That understanding and kind person held out his hand, accepted the letter in a haste and took to flight.'
Käräk oynap aysun, käräk kärtüläp, tüšär ant qïl āzād, ḥarām ittifāq. (MM192v:7) 'Whether the divorce was stated in jest or in earnest, the oath is no longer binding, one must set the woman at liberty. Union with her is henceforward forbidden.'
Künni käč qïlïp kelür alar öygä oynap külüp tapmağay mändin nišān ham ata ana yügürüp. (Ḫ80r:2) '[And], having spent the day [in such amusements], running and laughing, they return home, my father and mother will not see me among them.'

3.7.4.4. Gerunds in -ban/-bän

intikibän (AC322v:1) 'driven by a strong desire'
külübän (Sayf116r:12) 'smiling'
qorquban (Sayf142v:7) 'afraid'

E.g.,

İntiqibän, tašqarï čïqtïm ravān. Tün yarïmï ötüp edi ol zamān. (AC322v:1) 'Driven by a strong desire, I rushed out into the street. It was already past midnight.'
Külübän ayttï ki män camʿ šamʿï män, Saʿdī! Manga ne qayğu özin küydürürsä parvāna. (Sayf116r:12) 'Smiling she said, I am the candle of the assembly, Saʿdī! What do I care, if a moth burns itself?'

[297] Reference to the opening lines of Rumī's Maṣnavi.

3.7.4.5. Gerund in-u/-ü [3.6.7.7.2.]

ulašu (MM179v:14) 'constantly'
yašru (MA53-3) 'hidden, concealed'

E.g.,

Bu ilhām-i Rabbānīdin yorğučï malak teg ulašu oyağ turğučï. (MM200r:15) 'The interpreter of the Divine revelation was, like an angel, always awake.'

3.7.5. Coordinated Nouns

Nouns can be coordinated by juxtaposition or by the conjunctions **u**, **va** or, rarely **ma**, **-ï/-i**, **-a** and [in a few Persian words] **ba** or **a**.

dam ba-dam (Sayf56v:3) 'every moment, constantly'
ertä kečä (Sayf97v:5) 'night and day'
kečä kündüz (MS4v:2) 'night and day'
layl u nahār (Sayf76r:4) 'night and day'
māl sāl (BN185v:10) 'for months and years'
šām saḥar (AC324v:10) 'from evening to dawn'
ḫwar u zār (AC322r:6) 'in a depressed and dejected state'
damādam (DN260v:8) 'gradually, progressively'
payāpay (DN236v:1) 'continuously, incessantly'
tün kün (MS3v:2) 'night and day'
tün va kün (Sayf59v:12-13) 'night and day'[298]
tün mä kün (Quṭb Zaj. p.109) 'night and day'
tün mä kündüz (Quṭb Zaj. p.109) 'night and day'
tüni kün (Sayf146r:1) 'night and day'

E.g.,

ʿInāyat ṣubḥïdïn savulğusï dur damādam šamʿ teg sōz u gudāzing. (DN260v:8) 'From the morning of grace your burning and melting woes will gradually reduce like a burning candle.'
Payāpay tanda öksüp ḫward u ḫwābïm, damādam yel teg artïp iztirābïm. (DN236v:1) 'Gradually my appetite subsided and my sleep decreased. Progressively my anxiety increased like [rising] wind.'
Kečä kündüz ṭahārat ičrä farż tört närsä erür. Qïlayïn ʿarż. (MS 4v:2) 'Night and day, there are four mandatory duties [that must be observed] during the ṭahārat.'
Ötkärür erdi sözini māh sāl, kelmäs erdi Ḥaqq taʿālâğa malāl. (BN85v:10) 'For months and years God carried out his requests; the Most High never wearied of them.'

[298] In this coordinated pair of words 'night' is mentioned first following the practice in the Qur'an.

3.7.5. Repetition of Adjectives or Nouns

Repetition suggests emphais or increased quality often equivalent to the superlative or absolute degree of adjectives.

bat bat (DN259r:11) 'very fast'
bir bir (DN266r:10) 'in detail, one by one'
gah gāh (DN251r:6) 'now and then'
gah gah (DN252v:7) 'now and then'
ḫwaš ḫwaš (ShD36v:11) 'very god'
laḥza laḥza (RV3v:9) 'from moment to moment'
qoš qoš (ShD9v:5) 'in pairs'
rang rang (ShD155r:3) 'in colors'
ṣaff ṣaff (ShD7v:8) 'in rows'
zār zār (AC328r:3) 'sobbing bitterly'
ẓarra ẓarra (ShD139r:2) 'little by little'

E.g.,

Zarra zarra sendin öndi könglümizdäʿišq otï, ušbu miʿrācnïng tünindä ṣaḥib-i asrār sen. (ShD130r:2-3) 'Because of you the fire of love grew little by little in my heart. In the night of this very ascent to heaven you are the possessor of secrets.'
Umēdim Tengridin ol dur ki gah gāh, yaruğay közärim yüzüngdin, ay māh! (DN251r:6) 'My hope from God is that now and then my eyes may shine with joy beholding your face, O, Moon.'
Ača berdi anga sarbasta rāzïn, dedi bir bir barï sōz-u gudāzïn. (DN258v:3) 'To her [the Beloved] disclosed her safely kept secrets[299] and told her about all her pains and tribulations one by one.'
Rayāhïn rangï bir bir boldï maḥbūs, čaman teg cilvasïn körgüzdi ṭāvus. (DN266r:10) 'The colors of the sweet basil, one by one, became prisoners; the peacock displayed its splendor exactly as the flowergarden did.'
Tiriglik sarïdïn urmay nafas hēč, čïqïp bat bat damï ammā kelip hēč. (DN 259r: 11) 'He does not breathe at all to give a sign of being alive. He is panting[300] fast but no word comes out of [his mouth].
Cānā bu ʿišq yolïda ʿaql özidin ketär, zulfung salur kamandïnï ḫwaš ḫwaš maḥal bolur. (ShD36v:12-13) 'Swetheart, on the path of this love reason is beside itself. This is a very good opportunity for your tresses to throw their lassos.'

[299] Lit., removed the band from the bag in which his secrets were kept. Parallel meaning: opened the bag of hashish.
[300] Lit., he exhales fast

3.7.6. Arabic Accusative Case Forms Used as Adverbs

ʿamdā (DN244r:7) 'deliberately'
cahran (RM2v:3) 'aloud'
ḫāṣṣa (Sayf140v:3) 'especially'
ḫāṣṣatan (Sayf98v:2) 'particularly'
ḫufyatan (RM2v:2) 'silently'
maṣalā (RB6r:13) 'for example'
muqīmāta (MM187r:16) 'according to the duties of a resident'
qaṣdan (MM183v:9) 'by intention'
sahvan (MM183v:3) 'through inadvertance'

E.g.,

Meni, ay baḫt, ʿamdā tepmäking ne? Cirāḫat üstidä, tuz sepmäking ne? (DN244r:7) 'O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt on the top of my wounds?'

Muqīmluqda bolsa namāz qalmïši, muqīmāta qïlğay safarda kiši. (MM187r:16) 'The person who has missed a prayer while a resident, must compensate for it according to the obligation of such a resident, even if he is on a journey.'

Ḫwaš kelür āvāz-i tar bolsa ḫazīn ḫāṣṣatan ʿāšiqlara vaqt-i ṣabūḥ. (Sayf98v:2) 'It is pleasant to listen to soft music if it sounds sad, especially for lovers at dawn.'

Farīza qalur bolsa buzlur namāz, käräk sahvan qaṣdan, üküš bolsu az. (MM183v:9) 'The omission of a mandatory duty surely invalidates the prayer whether that omission occurs through inadvertence or by intention.'

3.7.7. Arabic Verbal Nouns

Arabic verbal nouns in **-at** are often used as adjectives or adverbs.

ʿāqibat (DN245r:4) 'finally, at the end'
hazīmat (Sayf181v:7) 'destroyed'
kifāyat (MS11v:5) 'sufficient, enough'
qanāʿat (Sayf82v:3) 'satisfied'
salāmat (Sayf104r:3) 'healthy'
tamāmat (Sayf 153r:12) 'completely'
ḫalvat (Sayf72v:12) 'alone'
tamāmat (Sayf153r:12) 'completely'

E.g.,

Qurï etmäk ašap ḫirqa käyärgä čon qanāʿat män. (Sayf 82v:3) 'Because I am contented with living on dry bread and wearing tattered clothes.'

İkki sacda anga kifāyat tur. (MS11v:5) 'Two propitiatory prostrations suffice [to atone] for them.'

Boyung sarvï ki nang yer ṣuḫbatïmdïn, egilgäy ʿāqibat tüz niyyatïmdïn. (DN245r:4) 'The [straight] cypress of your body[301] scorns to be in my companionship but it bows at the end, when it realizes the straitforwardness of my intent.'[302]

3.7.8. Arabic Phrases Used as Adverbs

abadu'l-abad (MM196:7) 'eternally'
ʿalā't-tamām (MS14r:2) 'totally'
al-maqṣūd (Sayf91v:13) 'in short'
al-qiṣṣa (Sayf14v:11) 'to sum up'
ʿāqibatu'l-qiṣṣa (AC327v:8) 'finally, at the end of the story'
bi't-tafṣīl (MS5r:3) 'thoroughly'
bi't-taqṣīr (MS11v:6) 'through neglect'
fāriğu'l-bāl (DN243v:1) 'free from care, at ease'
fī'l-cumla (Sayf28r:2) 'in short'
fī'l-ḫāl (DN249r:3) 'at once'
fī'l-ḥaqīqa (RB4v:13) 'in fact'
min camīʿ vucūh (MS5v:4) 'in any way'

E.g.,

Fiğānïm tïndï va firyād učtï, ṭarab keldi va ğam fī'l-ḫāl köčtï. (DN249r:3) 'My sobbing has ceased, and the cry for help has gone. Celebration has arrived and grief at once has moved away.[303]'

Agar sen anda bolsang yašqa pāmāl, men özümdin barur men munda fī'l-ḫāl. (DN260r:5) 'If over there you are engulfed in tears, here I lose my consciousness at once.'

Burnung ağzïnğa min camīʿ vucūh sol eligdä su alurung makrūh. (MS5v:4) 'It is reprehensible for you to use your left hand in any way for taking water up into your nose and mouth.'

Anga tapšurdum va ol učtï darḫāl, etip saʿy anda yätti fāriğu'l-bāl. (DN243v:1) 'I handed it over to [the Morning Wind] and it took to wings right away. Exerting itself, it arrived there free from care.'

3.7.9. Persian Phrases Used as Adverbs

ba davām (RB9v:12) 'always'
ba ğāyat (Ḫ82r:9) 'very much'
ba kamāl (RB4r:13) 'fully'
ba nāgāh (Ḫ76r:3) 'suddenly'
ba taḥqīq (RM33r:3) 'surely'

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[301] I.e., your body which is straight like a cypress
[302] Intent [*niyyat*] is correct when it is properly stated in due time.
[303] Like a nomad caravan Sorrow packed up its chattels and left [*köčti*].

ba tamām (RB8r:9) 'completely'
bar ḥasb-i kamāl (RB5r:12) 'best'
ba qadr-i nisbat (RB4v:7) 'in the measure of [one's] share'
bē māniᶜ (RB6r:8) 'without hindrance'
bē šakk (RB5r:11) 'without doubt'
bē šakk u gumān (RB4v:6) 'without doubt and hesitation'
ḫwāh u nāḫwāh (RB7r:1) 'inevitably'

E.g.,

Nisbatï nafs ne birlä ol ān nafsïnga bolğusï bē šakk u gumān. (RB4v:6) 'Then withoud doubt or hesitation it will become obvious for what [your] soul has developed an inclination and readiness.'
Ṣifat-i nafsïdïn ušbu furṣat caẓb etär nafs ba qadr-i nisbat. (RB 4v:7) 'On such occasions [your] soul draws from the qualities of [your master's] in the measure of [your] readiness.'

3.7.10. Semantic Classification

By their meanings adverbs are divided into four groups: adverbs of time, manner, quantity, and place.

3.7.10.1. Adverbs of Time

ᶜāqibat (ShD79v:8) 'finally'
avval (Sayf11r:2) 'first'
basa (RM2.r:6) 'then, thereupon'
bïltur (NTM5v:8) 'last year'
bir küni (BN86r:2) one day'
bu zamān (BN90r:8) 'now, at this time'
dāᵓimā (Sayf6v:1) 'always
darḥāl (NF5r:17) 'at once, right away'
basa (RM2r:6) 'then; furthermore'
burun (ShD171r:12) 'formerly'
emdi (Ḫ77v:8) 'now'
hamēša (DN253r:8) 'always'
har dam (DN247v:1) 'always, incessantly, invariably'
hargiz (DN242r:2 'never' [with negative predicate]
har kün (DN259r:9) 'every day'
har laḥẓa (DN247v:5) 'always, constantly'
keč (Quṭb H253) 'late'
kečqurun (PdC482) 'late, in the evening'
kündüz (GD92,2) 'by day'
nāgāh (Sayf124r:9) 'suddenly'
nāgahān (MM193r:10) suddenly'
nihāyat (NF82v:16) 'finally'

oza (MM181r:6) 'before'
ol zamān (MM184v:15)
öngin (Quṭb H40) 'before'
songğïda (RM30v:4) 'later'
songra (Sayf6v:10) 'afterward'
tangla (BN91r:2) 'tomorrow'
tanglasï (RM32r:9) 'next morning'
tutšu (Quṭb H2742) 'always'
tüni kün (Sayf146r:1) 'night and day'
tün qata (Sayf63v:8) 'all night, through the night'
tünlä (RM32r:2) 'at night'
tünlä kündüz (Quṭb H559) 'night and day'
ulašu (MM176v:12) 'always'
ušol zamān (RM12r:10) 'then, at that time'

E.g.,

Anga tapšurdum va ol učtï darḥāl, etip saᶜy anda yätti fāriğu'l-bāl. (DN243v:1) 'I handed it over to [the Morning Breeze] and right then it took to wings. Exerting itself it arrived and completed its mission.'[304]
Hamēša uyqusïzlïqqa qïlïp ḫū, tüšidä kirmäyin ᶜumrïda uyqu. (DN253r:8) 'He got used to constant insomnia. Never in his life did sleep enter his dream.'[305]
Meni sen körmägäy sen özgä hargiz, parī teg közüngä učqay camālïm. (DN242r:2) 'You will never see me in any other way. My beauty will draw your attention like a fairy.'[306]
Körüp har dam qara baḫtïnï tün teg, köngüldin tartïp āhïnï tütün teg. (DN247r:1) 'He always perceives his black fortune as [the darkness of] the night. He lets out sighs, like smoke, from his heart.'

3.7.10.2. Adverbials of Manner

āhasta (RM31r:1) 'slowly'
āsān (RM10v:6) 'easily'
arqan (MM188r:17) 'upon his back'
arqun arqun (Sayf167r:5) 'slowly'
asru (RM14v:8) 'very much'
ašuğup (RM45r:8) 'in a hurry'
az (Sayf86v:5) 'a little'

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[304] Lit., its wings were disengaged. *Fāriğu'l-bāl* is also the person who is free from care.
[305] It is understood that being constantly awake is also the characteristic of angels and highranking saints. The author Islām attributes this quality also to his father, Bābā Islām.
[306] Lit., my beauty will fly into your eyes

äylä (Sayf114v:4) 'so much'
bat (NTM13v:3) 'fast'
ba taḥqīq (RM33r:3) 'surely'
bärk (SHD38R:7) 'strongly, steadfastly'
birgä (ShD114v:7) 'together'
bu türlüg (RM20v:8) 'this kind of'
cahran (RM2v:3) 'aloud'
čïnïn (MM19v:13) 'firmly, convincingly'
ḫufyatan (RM2v:2) 'silently'
ʿiyān (RM46vv:4) 'clearly'
käḏ (MM178v:7)) 'very much, for sure'
masbūqāna (MM184v:12) 'as prescribed for latecomers'
nāgāh (DN253v:10) 'suddenly, inadvertently'
nāgah (DN258r:2) 'suddenly'
nihānī (DN250v:10) 'secretly'
nihufta (DN258v:7) 'in secret'
qaṣdan (MM183v:9) 'by intention'
qatïğ (MM181r:15) 'very much'
ravān (DN259r:6) 'at once'
ğāʾibāna (DN253v:2) 'invisibly'

E.g.,

Basē tašlarnï bir yan tašlar āgāh, ki tā yüz körgüzür bir laʿl nāgāh. (DN253v:10) 'How many pieces of stones tosses the expert lapidarist to the side until suddenly a piece of ruby shows its face to him.'
Ne der sen munda gar keltürsäm anï, nihufta ündäsäm ol bēnavānï? (DN258v:7) 'What would you say if I brought him here? If I secretly invited that miserable person?'
Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān ṣuḥbat yarağïn qïl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time.'
Ruḫïna köz yašïn etip ravāna, ḫiyālïm birlä oynap ğāʾibāna. (DN 253v:2) 'He lets his tears run down on his cheeks. In secret he is dallying with my phantom image'
Ṣabr etär bolsa kiši Ayyūb bigi har išdä bärk, dunyâ va ʿuqbâ anïng dur, ğuṣṣa va ğamdïn ketär. (ShD38r:7-8) 'If a person exercises patience in all matters steadfastly like Job, the world and the hereafter are his and he walks out of [the realm of] sadness and grief.'

Kim asru bēvafā dur bu zamāna, cahān qalmas kišigä cāvidāna. (MN295r:11) 'Because the times are most unfaithful. This world does not stay with anyone for ever.'

3.7.10.3. Adverbials of Quantity

anča (MM89v:17) 'as much'
az (RM10r:9) 'a little'
bağāyat (Quṭb2990) 'very much'
barča (Quṭb2349) 'entirel
bas (Sayf18v:3) 'enough, sufficient'
bek (NTM14r:2) 'very much'
biraz (NF12r:7) 'a little'
bu munča (RM32v:8) 'so much'
bu qadar (RM20v:8) 'this much'
čandān (DN259v:11) 'so much'
engän (MM194v:10) 'very much'
faravān (DN243r:10) 'numerous, abundant'
köp (DN247v:5) 'very much'
munča (GD19,7) 'as much'
üküš (MM179r:10) 'very much'
tälim (MM191v:5) 'much, many'
sarāsar (DN249v:6) 'entirely'

E.g.,

Ču mażmūnï sarāsar boldï maʿlūm, ne kim [er]di mubham boldï mafhūm. (DN255v:10) 'When its content became entirely known, anything that was doubtful before now was completely understood.'
Vafāsïzlïq ḫaṭṭïnï tartma köp bitimäs čon firišta ol gunāhïm. (DN257v:10) 'Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful, because the angel does not record that transgression of mine.'
Qašïm čandān säning fikringni qïldï, ki qayğudïn boyï ya teg egildi. (DN259v:11) 'My eyebrow had thought so much about you that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.'
Bitidim nāma etip ḫamanï tez, sarāsar dard ammāʿuzrāmez. (DN 249v:6) 'I finished writing the letter, moving the pen fast. It was pain in its entirety, but was mitigated by excuses.'

3.7.10.4. Adverbials of Place

anda (DN252v:3) 'there, then'
andïn (Ḫ75r:10) 'from there'
arï bäri (Sayf181r:12) 'here and there'
artïnča (Sayf34r:9) 'behind, after [him]'
bu maqāmda (RM39r:5) 'here'

bu yärdä (Ḫ84v:4) 'here'
munda (DN260v:3 'here'
mundïn (MM193r:12) 'from here'
bäri (Sayf125v:12) 'here'
ilgäri (RM39r:9) 'forward'
qoyï (RM36r:5) 'down, downward'
tašqarï (BN85v:3) 'outside, beyond'
tašra (Quṭb, Zaj. p.162) 'out, outward'
tört yaru (Quṭb Zaj. p.72) 'in four directions'
utru (Quṭb Zaj. p.201) 'before'
yaqïn (Say55r:9) 'close'
yïraq (Sayf9v:4) 'far'
yuqarï (Sayf155r:13) 'upward'

E.g.,

Agar sen anda körsäng nägah äzär, men ešitip bolur men munda afgar. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'
Ketür aqča kemägä kir yoq esä tašqarï oltur. (Sayf100r:8) 'Bring money and board the boat or else sit outside.'
Artïnča barïp tutup ketürdilär. (Sayf34r:9) 'They went after him and brought him back.'
Maʿänī har yanïndïn körgüzüp zör, salïp har laḥẓa söz bäzärïna šör. (DN247v:5) 'Charms manifest their power from all directions. Every moment they cause devaluation in the market of words'

3.8. Conjunctions

Conjunctions are divided into two groups: coordinating and subordinating. Coordinating conjunctions connect sentences that are not depending on one another to make a full sense. Subordinating conjunctions connect one or more subordinate sentences to a main sentence.

3.8.1. Coordinating Conjunctions

amma (DN 246r:2) 'but'
balki (DN258r:10) 'nay [more], in fact'
basa (RW2r:6) 'and then'
birlä (DN246r:2) 'with'
birlän (DN253r:9) 'with'
dagï (DN260r:11) 'and'
gäh...gäh (53v:13) 'now...now'
ham (Sayf181v:3) 'also'
ilä (Sayf182r:4) 'and'
ne...ne (Sayf78r:4) 'neither nor'

va (DN258r:10) 'and'
valē (Ḫ74v:11) 'but'
valēkin (Ḫ75v:9) 'but'
yä (DN252v:1) 'or'
yäḫü (Sayf154v:9) 'or else'
yäḫüd (RM30v:7) 'or'
yoq esä (Sayf8r:9) 'otherwise'

E.g.,

Barur bat ḫusn <u>ya</u> qalmas bu yigitlik, qalur <u>ammä</u> irig söz birlä itlik. (DN246r:2) 'Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But [what] will remain [with us] are rude words and meanness.'
Ne bolsa käy <u>dağï</u> äygü ʿamal qïl. (Sayf51r:12) 'Put on whatever you have and do good.'
Tüzälip ädamïlär ḫöyïn alğïn, ne degäy el <u>dağï</u> äḫir uyalğïn. (DN 260r:11) 'Shape up, acquire the nature of men. Whatever people say, do not be ashamed after all.'
Ol qarïndaš kim nafs asïri turur <u>ne</u> qarïndaš bolur <u>ne</u> yaqïn. (Sayf78r:4) 'A brother who is captive of the carnal soul is neither a brother nor a relative.'
Ẓarïf va sarkaš va zïbä va cammäš, qarïn erdi anga <u>balki</u> qarïndaš. (DN258r:10) 'She was witty, obstinate, elegant, and jolly. She was a close friend, nay, she was more, she was a close relative.'
Tegär mü kirpükümdin cänïna oq? Balänï tüš körär mü közi <u>yä</u> yoq? (252r:7) 'Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see affliction in his dream or not?'

3.8.2. Subordinating Conjunctions

agar (DN245r:7) 'if'[307]
agarči (DN246v:4) 'even if, although'
az bas ki (DN260v:1) 'inasmuch as'
čon (DN242r:11) 'since, because; when'
ču (DN246v:5) 'when; since'
gar (DM242r:3) 'if'
garči (DN256r:8) 'even if, although'
goya kim (GD68:7) 'as if'
magar (DN256v:6) 'by chance, may be, perhaps; except'
ki (DN244v:6) 'which'
kim (DN244v:7) 'which'
kim andïn (DN247v:11) 'from whom'
kim anï (DN257v:5) 'whom'

[307] With or without conditional in -sa.

ki tā (DN258v:10) 'because'
ne kim (DN255v:10) 'whatever'
nečük kim (DN258r:11) ['in the same way] as'
qačan kim (Sayf162v:1) 'when'
tā (DN243v:5) 'since, until; ever since'
tā ki (Sayf152r:7) 'in ordere that'
yaʿnī (DN251v:10) 'which means'

E.g.,

Agar könglüng manga küysä,ʿacab yoq, ki körüp taš erigäy riqqatïmdïn. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

Ayağïnğa qoyayïn zulf teg baš, agar tolğanmasang bu ḫidmatïmdïn. (DN245r:9) 'I will put my head upon your feet like tresses if you do not move away from my service.'[308]

Sahv agar bir agar on āyat dur, ikki sacda anga kifāyat dur. (MS11v:5) 'No matter whether [the number of] Qur'ān verses omitted [from the Qur'ān recitation] is one or as many as ten, two propitiatory prostrations suffice [to atone] for them.'

Dedi, dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarči yel sen yanmaq keräk sen. (DN246v:4) 'She said, "You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time].'

Sačïm az bas ki özin urdï barham, säning ḫālïng bigin dur vaqte darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'

Kečär cānïdïn avval suda ğavvāṣ, ki tā āḫar bolur bir durrgä of ḫāṣṣ. (DN253v:7) 'First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single[309] pearl.'

Vale ol martaba har kimgä yetmäs, bu savdada tamannā asïq etmäs. (DN250v:11) 'But that rank is not granted for everyone. To have false hopes in this transaction is of no avail.'

Men ol kün kim ğamïng sāzïnï tüzdüm, seni dedim köngülni cāndïn üzdüm. (DN244v:8) The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul.'

Qïlmağïl sen namāzda taqṣīr, tā[310] qiyāmtda bolğa sen dilgīr. (MS3v:4) '[So] do not be remiss in your prayers. Have a care or you will be filled with horror on that Day.'

[308] Lit., from this presence of mine
[309] In the sense of 'unique'.
[310] *Tā-i zinhāriya* 'the admonishing tā'

3.9. Particles

Particles are modifying grammatical elements mostly without a lexical meaning. Their role emerges from the context. We distinguish seven groups of particles according to the manner how they influence the sentence.

3.9.1. Particles of Specification

Rare in Chagatay but quite frequent in Modern Uzbek.

näk (ShD121v:4-5) 'exactly'[311]

E.g.,

Ay qāzī rišvagarī ay muftī ḫašyagarī, ğam ğam otïn näk söndürür ʿišqdïn ḫabar anglamayïn. (ShD121v:5) 'O, the Bribe-taking Judge! O, the Fear-inspiring Mufti! They promptly extinguish the fire of many sorrows without understanding what love is.'

Közümdä näk nihān sen könglümdä dur viṣālïng; Közüm uyalttï vaṣlïng könglümdä sen ʿayān sen. (ShD129r:8-9) 'You are hidden from my eyes: union with you is in my heart. My eyes made you bashful of our union [but] in my heart you are clearly visible.'

3.9.2. Particles of Intensification

There are five groups of intensifying particles.

3.9.2.1. The Corroborative Particle oq/ ök

ök (MM176v6) 'indeed, exactly'
oq (ShD5v:1) id.

E.g.,

Sän ök sän yaratğan bu yer kök kün ay. (MM176v6) 'You are indeed the one who created the earth, the sky, the sun, and the moon.'

Sen oq sen manga pīr va šayḫ va murīd, sen oq sen manga muršïd va bu'l-vafa. (ShD5v:1) 'You, indeed, are for me the elder, the sheikh, the novice; you, indeed, are for me the teacher and the faithful one.'

3.9.3. Deictic Particles

Very frequently used for precise pointing:

uš (MM177v:12) 'look!'
ušal (Ḫ74v:2) 'that same, that very'
ušol (MM177r:3) 'that same, that very'
ušbu (ShD6v:8) 'this same, this very'

[311] Cf. Modern Uzbek нақ

mana (AYp.48) 'lo!, behold!'
šol (ShD15r:11) 'this same, this very'

E.g.,

ʿAmaldïn riyā ham tilingdin nifāq köngüldin kitär kēna uš boldï cān. (MM177v:12) 'Cast ostentation from your heart and then [a proper] soul is there.'
Ay Šabānī ušbu makrūh dunyâda šarʿïnï qïlsang dāʿim boldung calāl. (ShD6v:6) 'O, Shabānī, if you act according to His law in this detestable world, you will always be majestic.'
Laškar-i islāmnï čäksäm qïzïl börk üstinä, bolğusï yāvar Madīna kišvarïdïn šol Ḥabīb.(ShD15r:11) 'When I lead the forces of Islam against the people of the red hat, that friend from the land of Madina will be my helper.'
Bi'smillāh dep bayān äyläy ḥikmat aytïp, ṭāliblärgä durr u guhar sačtïm, mana. (AYp.48) 'I pronounced the name of God and stated my intention to declare the words of wisdom. Lo, I have sprinkled pearls and gems in front of the seekers.'

3.9.4. Interrogative Particles

-mu/-mü (DN252r:11) 'is it?'
hēč (DN252r:11) 'at all?'

E.g.,

İčindä ʿišq otïdïn bar mu sözï, tilär ağzïmnï hēč ol tangrözī? (DN252r:11) 'Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love [for me]? Does this pauper long for my lips?'
İtim firyādïna gah gah yetär mü? Kišisizlïğïna ol raḥm etär mü? (DN252v:7) 'Does he respond now and then to the houling of my dog? Does he take pity on its loneliness?'

3.9.5. Subjective [Modal] Particles

-ā (ShD146r:3) [prosodic expletive]
-a (MS16r:5) [prosodic expletive]
kü (ShD131r:2) 'maybe'
-či (ShD95v:4-5) 'well'

E.g.,

Piyāla toldurup keltür, ay ṣāliḥ, bu dunyā bizdin olsun pīr-i Zāl-a. (ShD146r:3) 'I say, Traveler [on the Path]! Fill the cup and bring it to me. As far as we are concerned, let this world stay [nothing else but] an old man.'
Nä üčün tïnmas közüngnüng yaši dāʾim kečälär suğarur sen kü yana ol bāğ va bustānïngnï sen. (ShD131r:2) 'Why are the tears from your eyes unceasingly pouring always at nights? Are you, maybe, watering your gardens again?'
İčmägän bolsang Šabānī bar-či ol mayḫānağa. Kim ušol gulgūna ṣūrat cāmïdïn bolğïl ʿaqīl. (ShD95v:4-5). 'Shabanī, if you have not quenched your thirst yet, go to that tavern, so that you may be enlightened by the cup of that same rose-color image.'
Bir künigä ikki ay tutar rōza, aranï üzmäyin ki har rōza. (MS 16r:5) '[As penitence] he must fast one day after another without missing a day for a total of two moths for every [single] day [that he omitted or violated the fast].'

3.9.6. Morphologic-Syntactic Particles

Particles of this group are permanent parts of set expressions with lexical status. All of them are of Persian origin and occur only with Arabic-Persian elements.

3.9.6.1. Coordinative Particles

-ū: **nām-ū nišān** (ShD35v:2)) 'name and sign'[312]
ṣulḥ-u ṣalāḥ (MM182v:1) 'peace and reconciliation'
rōz-u šab (ShD44v:11-12) 'day and night'[313]
kečä u kündüz (ShD20r:12) 'night and day'

ba-: **dam ba-dam** (ShD35v:2) 'constantly, every moment'[314]
dar ba-dar (ShD48v:13) 'from door to door'[315]
sar ba-sar (ShD49r:2) 'from beginning to end'

ma-: **tün ma-kündüz** (Quṭb H1148) 'night and day'

tā-: **sar tā-qadam** (ShD130r:5) 'ftom head to toe'

-ā: **dam-ā dam** (ShD145r:8) 'always, every moment'
sar-ā sar (Navāʾī, Dict. III, 54) 'from head to toe'[316]
bar-ā bar (ShD149v:11) 'together'[317]

[312] It expresses the total absence of any trace of a deceased person in the community he has left as opposed to Ānushīrvān, the Just, whose good name and the effects of his good deeds survive for ever.
[313] This Persian phrase does not follow the Islamic practice of mentioning 'night' first.
[314] It often refers to permanent or lasting state of a person who enjoys the pleasures of Paradise [which renews every moment so that one does not get satiated or fed up with them].
[315] It is also used as a noun meaning 'vagrant, vagabond'.
[316] Lit., from this end to that end
[317] Lit., from breast to breast'

E.g.,

Bu Gulistānğa tamāšā qïlğan er, dam ba-dam maʿnī yemišin tāza yer. (Sayf6v:7) 'The one who walks around in this Rose Garden,[318] will enjoy the fresh fruit of meanings every moment.'
Kel bu yol savdāsïnï biz oynalï: yürisün mavlā va ṣūfī dar ba-dar. (ShD48v:13) 'Come and play the madness of this path. Let the shaykh and the sufi go [begging] door to door.'
Ay basā emdi biling ušbu zaman, sarguẓaštïm ayğalï yoq sar ba-sar. (ShD49r:1-2) 'O, this world is just too much now, mark well! I do not feel like telling my story from beginning to end.'

3.9.6.2. Additive Particles

ham (Ḫ74r:1) 'and even'
ham taqï (MM190r:16) 'and also'
käräk ham (MM190v:10) 'or even'
taqï (RM5r:10) 'and, and also, in addition'
yana (MM177r:6) 'and, and also'

E.g.,

Bir oq birlä atsa, quš ursa nečä, käḍik bir ya ikki käräk ham üčä. (MM190r:6) '[Let us suppose that] a believer shoots one arrow or [releases] one falcon and [the arrow or falcon] wound several--one, two, or even three--game animals...'
Yana tört muqarrab ṣaḥāba üzä tümän ming bu ğufrān va riẓvān sazā. (MM177r:6) 'And as to the four companions, who were the closest [followers of] Muhammad, let ten thousand thousand remissions and blessings be [their] share.'
Yunuğ ičrä niyyat erür mustaḥabb taqï bašlamaqlïq buyurmïšča Rabb. (MM182r:13) 'In the ablution the [statement of one's] intent is praiseworthy. It is also [praiseworthy] to begin [and carry out] the ablution [in the manner that our Lord has decreed.'

3.9.6.3. Restrictive Particles

-ğïna (ShD127v:4-5) 'a bit' [diminutive]; 'at all' [emphatic]

E.g.,

Furqat mayïdïn ičtim bir curʿanï pur šōr män. Manʿ etmä meni zāhid andak ginä maḥmūr män. (ShD121r:10-11) 'I drank a gulp from the wine of separation and I am full of bitterness. Ascetic do not stop me, I am a bit intoxicated.'
Qāẓī bilä mavlālar Šaybānïni ne bilsün; tegmä kiši bilmäs tur mastak ginä manṣūr män. (ShD127v:4-5) 'How would the judge and the sheikh know Shaybanī? Not all the people know that I am victorious because I am a bit intoxicated.'
Könglüngä kelsä sora turğïl birärdä, ay moğūl, sendin özgä bu Šabannïng hēč ginä iḥrāmï yoq. (ShD77v:10) 'If it occurs to you keep asking someone, O Moghul. Shabānī has no other refuge but you.'

[318] I.e., the one reads the book "Rosegarden" [of Sayf-i Sarāyī]

3.9.6.4. Particles of Negation

dägül (Sayf13r:10) 'is not'
ğayr- (ShD130v:8) 'no'
hēč (Ḫ81v:3) 'at all'
nä (DN254r:11) 'not'
ne (Sayf143v:5) 'nor'
ne...ne (Sayf164v:1) 'neither...nor'

E.g.,

Muruvvat körmädim bir faqīrning cirāḥatï üstünä tuz qoymaq ne öz könglümä. (Sayf143v:5) 'I did not regard it compatible with magnanimity to sprinkle salt upon the wound of a poor man or upon my heart.'

Yïlan öltürüp balasïn bäslänip ʿāqillar iši dägül. (Sayf13r:10) 'To kill the snake and bring up its young ones is not the work of the wise.'
Ne qattï bol kim el sändän üšängäy ne yumšaq qadrïnga nuqṣān ketürgäy. (Sayf164v:1) 'Don't be so hard as to break people who get in touch with you. Nor be so soft as to cause damage to your dignity.'

3.9.6.5. Particles of Affirmation

ārī (Ḫ76r:3) 'yes'
balī (Sayf26r:12)) 'yes'[319]
ārī balī (LN84)) 'yes, sure'[320]

E.g.,

Oğlï ayttï: Ay ata, balī, ranc čäkmäyin ganc ḥāṣil bolmas. (Sayf 104v:13) 'His son said: O Father, yes, you are right, without taking pains, you will not find the treasure.'[321]
Begim ağzïngda söz arï balï dur, sözüngüzgä cavāb arī balī dur. (LN84) 'My Lord, the words in your mouth are [sweet] like honey. The answer to your words is "yes, sure".'[322]

[319] I.e., you are right
[320] I.e., yes sir!
[321] Cf., English 'No pain, no gain.'
[322] Also, answer to the question 'Am I not thy Lord?'

Dedi, ārī tanur män, ay šahīnšāh! Kirip bašlarïğa ağrïğ banāgāh. (Ḫ76r:3) '[The boy] answered: Yes, I know him, O King! He has just come down with a head-ache.'

3.9.6.6. Particles of Comparison

mängiz (Sayf167v:1) 'similar'
miṣāl (Sayf37r:11) 'similar'
ṣifat (ShD160v:6) 'like'
ṣifāt (Sayf66r:1) 'like'

E.g.,

Bu cumla ḫalā'iq musāfir mengiz, taqï dunya tüpsüz qarïğsïz tengiz. (MM179r:3) 'All creatures are like seafarers and this world is like a bottomless and shoreless sea.'
Gah bolur ʿuryān ağačlar, gah bolurlar gul sifāt. (Sayf66r:1) 'The trees are sometimes naked, sometimes covered with flowers.'

3.9.7. Emphatic Particles

bas (Ḫ73v:4) 'very much'
basē (Ḫ80v:4) 'very'
eng (Sayf46v:12) 'very much'
engän (MM187v:15) 'very much'
köp (DN250r:1) 'much'
-la/-lä (MS16r:6) 'for sure'
ma (MM178v6) 'and how'

E.g.,

Bärgäy altmïš faqīrlarğa ṭaʿām yāḫūd āzād äylägäy-lä ğulām. (MS16r:6) '[Or] he must feed sixty of the poor or set free one slave.'
Bu cān bermäk basē dušvār ekän dur, bu yärdä kim manga ğam-ḫwār ekän dur? (Ḫ80v:4) 'How very difficult it is to give up one's soul! Who is there to take pity on me?'
Sačïngdïn ʿanbar erür köp uyatlïq, qara qul dur sanga bir ʿanbar atlïq. (DN250r:2) 'By your hair[323] the ambergris is put to shame. What you call[324] ambergris, is [but] an unskilled servant of yours.'

3.9.8. Quasi Particles

This is a mixed category consisting of adverbs, adjectives and predicative words, verbal or nominal.

[323] The fragrance of the Beloved's hair is meant.
[324] Lit., what is called

3.9.8.1. Sentence Modifiers

They influence the meaning of the entire sentence.

āḫir (Sayf120v:4) 'at last, finally'
albatta (Sayf140v:8) 'certainly, for sure'
ḫāṣṣa (Sayf140v:3) 'especially'
ḫāṣṣatan (Sayf98v:2) 'particularly'

E.g.,

Āḫir bir kün az nafʿ üčün ḫāṭirim āzārïn ravā kördi. (Sayf 120v:4) 'Finally, one day for a small gain he saw it fit to hurt my feelings.'

3.9.8.2. Predicative Particles

bar (DN252r:11) 'is, exists'
dur (DN257v:5) 'is'
keräk (DN246v:4) 'it is necessary'
keräkmäs (Sayf163v:3) 'it is not necessary, one should not'
käräkmäz (MM177v:11) 'it is not necessary, it is not needed'
tur (DN246r:7) 'is'
yoq (Sayf128v:5) 'is not, it does not exist'

E.g.,

Dedi, "Dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarči yel sen yanmaq keräk sen. (DN246v:4) 'She said, "You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this time]."'
Yüzüng közgü dur, ay ḫusn ičrä māhïm, ḫaẓar qïl kim anï tutmasun āhïm. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'
Meni sen körmä ʿāciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasïnda dastgāhïm. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'
Bu üč birikibän bolur, bil, īmān. Valē boldï ṣūrat, käräkmäz mü cān? (MM177v:11) 'Know that these three elements together constitue the Faith. But after the form had ben created, is it not in need of a soul?'

3.10. Interjections

Very frequent in the colloquial style.

al-amān (GD2:9) 'Mercy!'
allāh akbar (GD114r:1) 'God is Most Great'[325]
alā ay (DN259r:8) 'Hark ye!' [326]

[325] Used when the speaker expresses his admiration of God the Creator's mastery.

ay (DN244r:7) 'O'[327]
biḥamdillāh (AYV,5d) 'Praise be God!'[328]
dirēğā (Sayf132v:2) 'What a pity!'
fiğān (GD145:7) 'What a pity!'
hay hay (AYIII,3b) 'Quick Quick!'
hayhāt hayhāt (AYXVII,4a) 'Alas!'
ḫayfā (AYXVI,9a) 'Alas!'
ḫudārā (ShD122r:10-11) 'For God's sake!'
ilāhī (ShD86v:4 'O my Lord!'
taʿālā'llāh (ShD59v:3) 'the most high God'[329]
vā dirēğā (AYV,11) 'It is a pity!'
vā ḥasratā (Sayf182v:9) 'Alas!'
va'llāh bi'llāh (AYXXVII,6b) 'verily'
va's-salām GD150:7) 'That's all!'
vāvaylā (GD1:7) 'Alas!'
vā vaylatā (AYI,250) 'Alas!'
vāy (GD75:1) 'Alas!'
vāy ne ḥasrat (AYII,230) 'O, what a pity!'
zahī (ShD29r:8-9) 'What a...!, How excellent!'

E.g.,

Allāhu akbar ušbu ne zēbā camāl erür kim ḥusn ičindä maẓhar-i luṭf u kamāl erür. (GD114r:1) 'God is most great![330] What an exquisite beauty this is! As far as beauty is concerned, she is the place where elegance and perfection manifest themselves.'
Alā ay ğamda tapqan rangï tabdīl ravān etkän közi šangarftïn nīl. (DN259r:8) 'Hark ye whose color has changed in grief, whose eyes make the Nile river flow with vermillion red [tears].'
Alā ay dard āhangïnï tutqan, özini naqšlar birlän avutqan. (DN 246v:7) 'Hark ye, who tuned on the melody of pain, who console yourself with [phantom] images.'
Biḥamdillāh iki nafsïm öldi, dōstlar. (AYV,5d) 'Praise be to God, Two of my souls[331] have died, O Friends!'
Zahī ṣānīʿ ki cān berdi, köngül ham berip, davlat ayağï qïldï mulham. (DN228v: 4) 'What an Artisan, who gave [us] soul and heart and inspired the cup of happiness.'
Labïng tabassum ilä äylä tirgüzür ki masīḥ, zahī tabassum-i šīrīn

[326] Followed by a quality expressed mostly by a metaphor introduces an admonishment or a strong suggestion.
[327] Used to address someone by some salient qualities, or by a proper name.
[328] The first word of the Qur'ān.
[329] Meaning 'what a masterpiece of the Creator this is!'
[330] In beauty we admire the artistry of the Creator. Observing one we call His name.
[331] I.e., the commanding and the blaming

zahī kalām-i faṣīḥ. (ShD29r:8-9) 'Your lips with a smile bring one alive like [Jesus] the Messiah. What a sweet smile! What eloquent words.'
Men ol bulbul emäs men, ay gul-andām, ki bir dam bargsïz tapğay men ārām. (DN244v:6) 'I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, who could find rest without [rose] leaves even for a moment.'
Yüzüng közgü dur, ay ḥusn ičrä māhïm, ḥaẓar qïl kim anï tutmasun āhïm. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'
On altïmda barča arvāḥ ülüš berdi, hāy hāy sizgä mubārak dep Ādam keldi. (AYIII,3b) 'When I was sixteen all the spirits gave me their shares. Quick Quick! Adam had come and said: Blessings for you!'
Közüm yaši bigin tofraqqa tüštüm, Ḫudārā salmağïl meni naẓardïn. (ShD122r:10-11) 'Like the tear drops of my eyes I fell into the dust. For God's sake do not cast me away from your sight.'
Taʿālā'llāh bu nä yüz dur yangaqï šuʿlasï cavhar, ušol cavharnï saqlap tur iki sačï bolup aždar. (ShD59v:3) 'God the Most High! What a face is this? The flames of her cheeks are jewels. To guard those jewels, the two tresses turned into dragons.'
Ḫwāca men dep yolda qalsang, vāy ne ḥasrat. (AYII,23c) 'You say you are a teacher and [then] get stuck on the road. Oh! What a pity!'
Vā vaylatā nadāmatnï vaqtï yetti. (AYI,25c) 'What a pity! The time of repentance has arrived.'
Pīr-i Ḥafiẓ ötti ušbu dunyādïn, ay dirēğā qalmadï ahl-i hunar. (ShD49r:3) 'Shaikh Hafiz departed this world. O, what a pity! No man of skills has been left behind.'

3.11. Prepositions

Prepositions are foreign [Arabic or Persian] elements in Chagatay. Their use is restricted to lexical elements borrowed from these languages. Since these prepositions rarely occur with Turkish elements, they probably were borrowed into Chagatay together with the phrases they occur in. We distinguish primary and secondary prepositions and prepositional phrases.

3.11.1. Primary Prepositions

3.11.1.1. The Preposition bā 'with'

bā bahā (BH4r:7) 'precious'
bā ḫabar (Navāʾī, Gr. I,319) 'informed'
bāmiqdār ((Navāʾī, Gr. I,319) 'valuable'

bā nām u nišān (ShD63v:11) 'without name and sign' [332]
bā ṣafā (ShD151r:13) 'clean'

E.g.,

Baḥr ičindä qaṭranï ki qïldï durr-i bā baḥā? (BH4r:7) 'Who makes a drop [of water] in the sea a precious pearl?'
Ay Šabānī bil ki miḥrāb-i duʿā dur qašlarï. Ṭāʿat äylä kim tapïp sen bā ṣafā saccādae. (ShD150r:12-13) 'O, Shabānī, know that her eyebrows are the prayer-niche. Carry out acts of devotion because you have found a pure prayer carpet.'

3.11.1.2. The Preposition ba 'to'
ba kamāl yätiš- (RB4v:11) 'to reach perfection'
ba davām (RB9v:12) 'constantly'
ba ğāyat (Ḫ82r:9) 'very much'
ba nāgāh (Ḫ76r:3) 'suddenly'
ba dūš al- (ShD73r:9-10) 'to shoulder'

E.g.,

Tabaʿīyat ču yätišsä ba kamāl, dōst tutqay anï Ḥayy-i Mutaʿāl. (RB4v:11) 'When a person's submission reaches such perfection, God, the Living and Most High will love him.'
Sïrr bilmäyin qāzī ne teg dayr-i muğannï der ḫarāb? Gar bilsä erdi mastnï alğay edi anï badōš. (ShD73r:9-10) 'Without knowing the secret, why does the Qadi call the house of the magi ruins? Had he known the drunk, he would have carried him on his shoulders.'

3.11.1.3. The Preposition bar 'upon'
bar bād qïl- (Ḫ77v:2) 'to destroy'
bar davām ol- (RB6v:11) 'to continue'
bar guzīn (BH12r:2) 'select, chosen'
bar bār (ShD103v:11) 'loaded'
bar qarār (ShD2v:1) 'fixed, established'

E.g.,

Bar davām olsa sanga mayl artar, mayldïn ḥāṣil olur lazzatlar. (RB6v:1) 'If you continue to [pronounce His name], your desire for Him will increase. From this desire you will receive pleasures.'

3.11.1.4. The Preposition bē 'without'
beqarār bol- (Ḫ81r:8) 'to be agitated'
bē rafʿ-i ḥicāb (RB5r:7) 'without lifting the curtain'
bē giš u gil (RB5r:7) 'without flow'

[332] I.e., totally unknown

bē dafʿ-i niqāb (RB7r:13) 'without throwing back the veil'
bē miṣāl (GD131:1) 'peerless'
bē šakk (RB8v:8) 'without doubt'

E.g.,

Qurb tapmas kiši bē rafʿ-i ḥicāb, čahra körmäs kiši bē dafʿ-i niqāb. (RB7r:13) 'Without lifting the curtain one cannot draw near [to the Beloved]. Without throwing back the veil one cannot behold the Beloved's face.'
Vahm-i cāndïn nārasīda boldï ol dam bēqarār. (Ḫ81r:8) 'Fearing for the fate of his soul, the child became agitated.'

3.11.1.3. The Preposition cuz 'other'
cuz ḥaqq (RB7v:9) 'other than God'

E.g.,

Keräk andaq ki köngüldä muṭlaq qalmağay hēč taʿalluq, cuz Ḥaqq. (RB5r:13) 'It is important that absolutely no attachment but attachment to God remain in one's heart.'

3.11.2. Secondary Prepositions
Secondary prepositions are nouns that form an izafat construction with the noun they govern.

3.11.2.1. The Preposition ʿayn-i 'exactly like, same'

E.g.,

Bil ki bu yerdä durur bu muškil:ʿAyn-i Mazkūr bolur ẕākir, bil. (RB9r:8) 'Know that it is here that the enigma is revealed. Know that (it is here that) the recollector becomes one with the Recollected.'

3.11.2.2. The Preposition ʿazm-i 'setting out to'

E.g.,

Ušbu yaz faṣlïda ʿazm-i Astarābād äylädük. ʿAdl va dād ilä bu elni asru ābād äylädük. (ShD82r:2) 'This very summer we set out for [the town of] Astarabad. With equity and justice we made the people [of this town] prosper in many ways.'
Āh u vāvaylā[333] ki dilbar äylämiš ʿazm-ī ʿĪraq; qoyğusï dur bizni zār u ḫasta dar band-ī firāq. (GD111,1) 'O, dear me! [I hear] the heart-ravisher has set out for 'Iraq. For sure she is going to put me,the desperate and miserable one, into the chains of separation.'

[333] After this interjection a clause of cause follows.

3.11.2.3. The Preposition ğayr-i 'other than, nothing but; without'
E.g.,

Könglüngä hēč taʿalluq qalmas. Ğayr-i ihlās ilä qulluq qalmas. (RB8r:13) 'There will remain no attachment (to other than God) in your heart. There will remain nothing but intimacy (with Him) and service (to Him).'[334]

3.11.2.4. The Preposition ḫilāf-i 'contrary to'
ḫilāf-i ʿādat (Sayf60v:10) 'contrary to habit'
ḫilāf-i šarʿ (Sayf131r:6) 'contrary to the law'
ḫilāf-i ṭabʿ (Sayf119r:9) 'contrary to nature'
E.g.,

Muḫāl-i ʿaql dağï ḫilāf-i šarʿ durur kim sän bu kün mänim ʿuqūbatïm elindän bu faẓl va balāğat bilän qutulğay sän. (Sayf 131r:6) 'It is incompatible with [good] reason and against the law that you, by means of this eloquence and witticism be saved from my punishment.'

3.11.2.5. The Preposition maḫẓ-i 'only because of'
E.g.,

Bil ki bar dur bu degänlär barï maḫẓ-i faẓl u karam-i Cabbārī. (RB5r:2) 'Know (too,) that all that I have explained (to you so far) is possible only because of the Almighty's grace and generosity.'

3.11.2.6. The Preposition miṣl-i 'such as; like, exactly as'
E.g.,

Bāṭinğa köp anïng martaba bar, miṣl-i nafs u dil u sirr, ğayr bular. (RB4r:9) 'His interior has many levels, such as that of the tranquil soul, the heart, the innermost part of the heart, and so on.'
Ṣunʿ-i Ilāh yazmïš yüzüng näyläsün ol ḥūr u parī? Cannat ičindä qayda dur miṣl-i qaddïng ṣanavbarï? (ShD171v:3) 'God drew up your face with His artistry. The houris and the fairies are at a loss. Where in Paradise is a cypress so straight as your body?'

3.11.2.7. The Preposition qadr-i 'to the extent of'
E.g.,

Qïl qiyās uš munga sen özgälärin qadr-i nisbat bilä bahra taparïn. (RB4v:10) 'By analogy to this (situation with the wick) note how other people obtain their share (of perfection) to the extent of their affinity.'

[334] Intimacy with God and attachment to other than Got are mutually exclusive states.

3.11.3. Prepositional phrases
Chagatay prefers the use of prepositional phrases. They are of Persian origin. They consist of a preposition and a noun and are joined to the noun they govern by the izafat -ī. They occur with Persian or Arabic nouns only.

3.11.3.1. The Prepositional Phrase ba qadr-i 'in the measure of'
E.g.,

Ṣifat-i nafsdïn ušbu furṣat cazb etär nafs ba qadr-i nisbat. (RB 4v:7) 'On such occasions [your] soul draws from the qualities of [your master's] soul in the measure of your readiness.'

3.11.3.2. The Prepositional Phrase ba cuz 'except'
E.g.,

Ol nämärsä biling ğiẓā ermäs, yesä vācib ba cuz qaẓā ermäs. (MS16r:2) 'Know that if a person swallows something that is not [considered] food, he need only make up for that fast day [later]. There is no other obligation [incumbent upon him.]'

3.11.3.3. The Prepositional Phrase bar ḥasb-i 'according to'
E.g.,

Tabaʿīyat anga bar ḥasb-i kamāl qayda dur men sanga aytay, yād al. (RB5r:12) 'Now I will tell you how best to emulate him. Impress what I will say upon your mind.'

3.12. ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS
hū-hū (ShD142r:7) [moaning of nursing mares]
kü-kü (ShD142r:6) [call of doves]
qu-qu (ShD142r:2) [calling home falcons]
qul-qul (ShD183v:8) [noise made by wine when poured from a long-necked bottle called *ṣurāḥī*]
šu-šu (ShD142r13) [sound of running water on a steep slope]
hū hū (AY Eraslan p.438) [Sufi's ejaculation < huwa huwa]
ū ū (ShD124v:3-4) [sound of the frog]
E.g.,

Män ölsäm sän but-i šangul ṣurāḥī äylämä qulqul. Nä qulqul? Qulqul-i bāda. Nä bāda? Bāda-i aḥmar. (Sayf184r:7) 'When I die, [O] Beautiful Idol, do not make the long-necked bottle gurgle. What gurgle? The gurgle of wine. What wine? The wine of natural red color.'[335]

[335] Strong intoxicating wine

Čölükkän körmäy inanmas nečä bar desälär su su. ʿAcāʾib söyünür šunqarčï anga desälär qu qu. (ShD142r:1-2) 'The one who is parched [in the desert] does not believe without seeing when they tell him water, water!. It is strange, however, that the falconist is happy[336] when he hears the call coo coo.'

ʿĀšiqlar tavbasïn dāʾim buzar ol ṭurra-i muškīn. Közi ğamzasïdïn töklür alarnïng yašlarï šu šu. (ShD142r:13)'The musk scented black ringlet always upsets the lovers' vow not to sin again. Their tear-drops go "shoo-shoo" in response to the coquettish glances [of the Beloved].'

ʿĀšiqlar askïdïn ğarq ol ušol daryā-yi ʿirfānda. Durr üčün kečibän baštïn qïla kör anda sen ū ū. (ShD142v:3-4) 'From the tears of the lovers drown in the sea of gnosis. Losing your head in the quest of pearls go "oo oo" [like frogs].'

4. SYNTAX

4.1. Syntactic Structures

In carrying out their functions words in a sentence appear in relationships identifiable, both formally and semantically, as syntactic structures. The construction and application of these forms follow certain conventions which are part of the rules governing Chagatay syntax. There are seven kinds of syntactic structures:

4.1.1. Nouns Connected by Juxtaposition

Characteristic of this group is that the elements of the structure are semantically related.

ğam-ğuṣṣa (ShD45r:8-9) 'sorrow and grief'
ḥadīṣ-naṣṣ (MM194v:3) 'theTraditions and the Qurʾān'
ḫar-ḫašak (DN258v:11) 'thorn and rubbish'
ism-laqab (ShD45r:2-3) 'names and their attributes'
nāla-fïryād (DN240r:2) 'complaint and call for help'
nafs-šayṭān (RM2r:9) 'the Carnal Soul and Satan'

E.g.,

Sen emdi ṭālib ersäng pïr-i muğāna barğïl, mayḫānadïn may ičkil, ism-laqab barābar. (ShD45r:2-3) 'Now, if you are the seeker [of their rank], go to the elder of the magi. Drink wine in the tavern, where names and their attributes are the same.'[337]

[336] Without seeing the bird
[337] Referring to simple and straightforward people. Cf. Cl.P. *yakrang*

Ol köydaki kišilär ğam-ğuṣṣadïn qutulğay. Ol vādïnïng ičindä šad va taʿab barābar. (ShD45r:8-9) 'The folks of that street are exempt from sorrow and grief. In that valley joy and weariness have an equal status.'

Yuqarïdïn inip yamğur tüšär pāk, ki tā andïn tirilir ḫār-ḫāšāk. (DN258v:11) 'Descending from above the rain falls evenly[338] so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.'

Anïng dardïdïn etmäy heč kim yād, yätip dardïna gah gah nāla-fïryād. (DN240r:2) 'No one is mindful of his pains. Now and then [words of] complaint come to his relief.'

4.1.2. Coordinated Words

Coordinated words consist of two nouns with related meanings joined by the conjunction **u** 'and' which metrically belongs to the word before it. As in modern Uzbek, this conjunction is never stressed and, in prosody, it is short. No other sentence elements can come between the coordinated words They take modifiers and suffixes as one indivisible entity. E.g., **{Mäning + [nāmūs u nām] + ïm} + nï** 'my good repute and honor.'

āh u nālān (DN259v:7) 'sighs and complaints'
ʿayš u ṭarab (AC324r:3) 'feasts and merriments'
cān u cihān (DN251v:5) 'the soul and the transitory world'
cafā u cavr (DN257v:3) 'harm and cruelty'
dard u ğam (DN249r:1) 'pain and grief'
guft u goy (DN253r:10) 'conversation'
ḫurd u kalān (AC328v:3) 'small and great'
ranc u miḥnat (DN251v:3) 'pain and misery'
nām u nang (DN259v:7) 'good name and honor'
nāmūs u nang (ShD45r:1) 'good repute and honor'
nāmūs u nām (DN260v:9) 'honor and good name'
nang u ʿār (AC328r:6) 'shame and disgrace'
rasm u ḫoy (DN259r:2) 'formality and disposition'
rūḥ u ravān (DN251r:11) 'soul and heart'
rūy u rāh (DN257v:9) 'face and road'
sōz u gudāz (DN258v:2) 'burning and sizzling'
vafā u mihr (DN259r:2) 'faith and love'

E.g.,

Mäning nāmūs u nāmïmnï talašqïn, alif teg kelgin va elgä ulašqïn. (DN260r:9) 'Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].'

[338] The Creator bestows His grace upon everyone without distinction. Cf. Saʿdī *Anïng sansïz sağïšsïz raḥmatïnïng yağmurï barčağa yätip turur*. 'The rain of His countless and boundless grace reaches everyone.'

Meni sen šamᶜ teg küydürmäging ne? Cafā ū cavr etäkin türmäking ne? (DN257v:3) 'What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?'
Bitidi nāma altun suyï birlän, vafā u mihr, rasm u hūyï birlän. (DN259r:2) '[The Beloved] wrote a letter with golden ink[339], with faith and love, with [perfect] formality and [gentle] disposition.'
Tüzälmäsün yüzüm dīn qiblasïna gar özgä sarï bolsa rōy u rāhïm. (DN257v:9) 'My face should not turn to the qibla of [our] religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward others.[340]'
Ačïldïm ol ᶜināyat-nāmasïdïn, qutuldum dard u ğam hangāmasïdïn. (DN249r:1) 'The deed of exemption cheered me up. Now I was saved from the multitude of pains and sorrows.'
Camālïng nūr salğay tofrağïmğa söyüngäy qālibim rūḥ u ravānï. (DN251r:11) 'May the beauty of your face throw light upon my grave so that the soul and spirit of my body could rejoice.'

4.1.3. Nouns Modified by Other Nouns

Nouns are often used to modify other nouns. Such structures can be marked, or unmarked depending on whether the modification relationship is indicated by morphological means.

4.1.3.1. Nouns Without Markers [noun adjuncts]

4.1.3.1.1. Attributive Relationship

In these structures the first element modifies the second. The order of elements is unchangeable.

ay yüz (Sayf117r:13) 'moon-faced'
altun qanat (Sayf181v:6) 'golden wing'
er oğlan (IM6v:2) 'boy'
erkäk at (KBV3r:18) 'stallion'
külük at (Sayf167r:5) 'race horse'
orta otruš (MM185r:6a) 'internal sitting [in the prayer]'
qïsraq at (KBV3r:17) 'mare'
sarv boy (DN251v:1) 'cypress like stature'
song otruš (MM183r:16') 'final sitting'
tämür qazuq (KBV10r:17) 'iron stake'
tämür mīḫ (Sayf59v:2) 'iron nail'

[339] See the use of *altun suyï* in Sayf's *Gulistān* (96r:3).
[340] The Sufī notion of *mā sivā'llāh* 'other than God' is used in this distich. The heart should be emptied from all other than God and only then can it be filled with God.

E.g.,

Tüzälip sarv boyung ešikimdin, kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä cānï. (DN251v:1) 'May Your cypress-like body rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.'
Altun qanatïn ačtï esä ṣubḥ šunqarï, kök kölgä battï cumlä kavākib kabūtarï. (Sayf181v:6) 'When the falcon of the morning spread its golden wings, the doves of all the stars went down in the blue lake [of the sky].'

4.1.3.1.2. Possessive Relationship.

In these structures the first element is the possessor, the second element is the possessed. Their sequence is unchangeable.

aš nūkar (MM190v:9) 'servant in charge of providing food'
baš ağrïq (NTM14r:7) 'headache'
bel bağ (NTM14r:9) 'belt'
ešik ağa (NTM5r:5) 'doorkeeper of the king'
ič ağrïq (NTM14r:7) 'stomachache'
qiyāmat kün (MM178r:8) 'the Day of Resurrection'
quduq su (NTM13r:9) 'well water'
tamuğ ot (MM199r:18) 'hellfire'

E.g.,

Basïp yüzin otğa qarartïp mängiz, basurğay bašïna tamuğ ot qīrin. (MM199r:18) 'His face will be pressed into fire in order to blacken it and the pitch of hellfire will be poured upon his head.'
Ḫiyānat makrdïn köngül ḫalī qïl, qiyāmat kün artuq kün aydïn yüzüng. (MM178r:8) 'Free your heart from fraud and malice and [then] on the Day of Resurrection, your face will be more radiant than the sun or the moon.'

4.1.3.2. With Possessive Suffix on the Head [Reference Structures]

The circumstance that the second element is dependent on the first is indicated by a suffix. The order of the elements is unchangeable. No other element can come between the two parts.

ay başï (NTM12r:8) 'the beginning of the month'
farah ṣafāsï (Sayf41v:4-5) 'the serenity of joy'
Ḥaqq rizāsï (Sayf25v:9) 'God's satisfaction'
iš atï (NTM9r:8) 'work horse'
iš igiti (NTM9r:8) 'warrior'
köz yašï (DN251v:4) 'tears'
mašaqqat eli (DN239v:1) 'the grip[341] of difficulty'
miḥnat tüni (DN257r:1) 'night of misery'[342]

[341] Lit., the hand

musulmān laškarï (Sayf 174v:8 ('the armed forces of Islam'
navrōz küni (IM5v:4) 'New Year's Day'
ṣaḥrā yeli (DN253v:3) 'desert wind'

E.g.,

Uzun boldï ğamïm miḫnat tüni teg, ṭulūᶜ etkil manga davlat küni teg. (DN257r:1) 'My sorrow became long like the night of misery. Rise for me, like the sun of happiness.'
Mašaqqat elinä salğučï cānïn. Özi öz boynïna qïlğučï qanïn. (DN 239v:5) 'He willfully gives over his soul to troubles.[343] He takes upon himself to carry out his own execution..'
Ṣaḥrā yeli teg ᶜumr baqāsï kečti, ğam cavrï dağï faraḥ ṣafāsï kečti. (Sayf41v:4-5) 'Like a desert wind the time span of our lives has passed. The tyranny of sadness and the serenity of joy have passed.'

4.1.3.3. Oblique Case Forms of Nouns Used as Modifiers

Case forms other than the nominative can also modify nouns, not as widely, though, than in Modern Uzbek. Even the genitive case, which is the standard element of possessive structures in Turkic occurs less frequently in this role.

4.1.3.3.1. Nouns in the Genitive Case

āḫiratnïng davlatï (ShD15r:7) 'the wealth of the hereafter'
elning köngli (ShD82r:7) 'the heart of the people'
gulnïng ḫārḫārï (DN254r:2) 'restlessness caused by the rose'
künäšning nūrï (Sayf118r:4) 'sunlight'
maynïng ḫumārï ((DN254v:3) 'intoxication caused by wine'
sulṭānnïng iᶜtiqādï (Sayf58v:8) 'the confidence of the Sultān'
šaharnïng sirri (ShD46r:10) 'the secret of the city'
tasavvufnïng ḥaqīqatï (Sayf72v:5) 'the essence of sufizm'
yüzümning lālazārï (DN254r:2) 'the tulip patch of my face'

E.g.,

Tilär bolsang yüzümning lālazārïn, unutqïn özgä gulnïng ḫārḫārïn. (DN254v:2) 'If you desire the tulip patch of my face, forget the anxiety for other roses.'
Labïm nuqlïn alur bolsang ağïzğa, čïqarğïl baštïn ol maynïng ḫumārïn. (DN254v:3) 'If you take the sweet-meat of my lips in the mouth, remove from your head the frenzy of wine.'

[342] I.e., a night spent in misery [which is deemed very long]
[343] Lit., tosses his soul into the grips of difficulties

Körüp bir gulnï yel yanglïğ erišmä, savurmağïl köngülning rōzgārïn. (DN254v:6) 'Beholding a rose do not rush there like the wind. Do not scatter the household[344] of the heart.'

Note: (1) Members of this structure can be separated from one another by other sentence elements. The second element, therefore, cannot have a modifier of its own. Also, the sequence of the members cannot be reversed: E.g.,

Cāhil er qïlsa cafā bolma mukaddar, ay ḥakīm! Ne bilür közsüz kim ärsä qadrïni naqqāšning. (Sayf170r:2) 'If an ignorant man does an act of cruelty, do not be sad, O Wise Man. How would a blind man appreciate the rank of a painter?'
Bir vazīrning anïng bilän ğarazï bar edi. (Sayf34r:8) 'One vazīr harbored a grudge against him.'

(2) Possessive structures can contain more than one noun in the genitive case. It must be remembered, however, that even such complex structures consist of two parts one or both of which can further break down into two constituents. E.g., **{[Zavzan šahrï + nïng maliki] + ning bir ḫwācasï}** 'one merchant of the king of the city of Zavzan' or **{[qullar + nïng ᶜamalï] + nïng cazāsï}** 'punishment for the deeds of the servants.'

4.1.3.3.2. Nouns in the Dative Case

ᶜārifğa qulavuz (MM198v:9) 'a guide for the mystic'
balāğa ṣabr (MM195r:16) 'patience in misfortune'
balāğa rizā (MM195r:17) 'satisfaction in misfortune'
bu ᶜalamğa qalᶜa (MM200r:1) 'a fortress for this world'
laṭāfatğa maᶜdin (MM200r:4) 'in eloquence a deposit of precious stones'
qazāğa rizā (MM195r:16) 'acquiescence in Divine Judgment'

E.g.,

Laṭāfatğa maᶜdin, karam kānï ol, özi birlä mavcūd, biling, erdi cūd. (MM200r:4) 'In subtleties of expression he was a deposit of precious stones, in kindness he was a mine. Know that generosity existed with his [very] self.'

4.1.3.3.3. Nouns in the Locative Case

haqīqatda Ḥaqq (MM177v:5) 'the Real Truth'
ḥaqīqatda ᶜirfān (MM195v:3) 'true knowledge of God'
qïlïqlarda körklüg (MM200v:8) 'the beauty among virtues'

[344] Do not destroy the heart.

E.g.,

Haqiqatda ʿirfān ačilsa sanga baqa bilmägäy sän käräk öng songa. (MM195v:3) 'When the true knowledge of [the Lord] has appeared to you, you will not be able to look upon causes and consequences.'[345]

4.1.3.3.4. Nouns with the Equative Case

ay teg yüz (DN250v:2) 'moon-like face'
künäš teg äygü at (Sayf143r:2) 'good name [so well known everywhere] as the sun'
malak teg vucūd (MM200r:1) 'an angel-like being'
lāla teg ruḫsār (ShD55v:8) 'tulip-like cheeks'

E.g.,

Ḫalāʾiqlar ara malak teg vucūd; ǧizāsï qiyām u rukūʿ u sucūd. (MM200r:3) 'Among creatures he was an angel-like being. His sustenance was standings, bows and prostrations.'[346]

4.1.4. Bahuvrihi Compounds

A bahuvrihi compound names an object or a person by one of his salient characteristics. It consists of two elements one of which can be a noun or an adjective. E.g., **ṣāf** 'pure, unmixed', **mašrab** 'drink' in composition yield **ṣāfmašrab** 'the one whose drink is pure', i.e., a person who is innocent, naive, or unsophisticated. This typically Persian [< Indo-European] phenomenon is represented in Chagatay only by Persian loans.

ʿalīcanāb (Ḫ326r:2) 'eminent, honorable'
badafʿāl (Sayf79r:2) 'wicked'
badʿalaf (AC326r:10) 'a renegade'
gülbadan (Sayf125r:5) 'slender, delicate'
māhpaykar (DM258r:5 'a moon-faced beauty'
maḥabbat-pēša (DN257r:4) 'lover [in the Sufi sense]'
parēšān rōzgār (DN239v:7) 'one who is afflicted with troubles'
farḫunda-maqdam (DN248v:9) 'one whose arrival brings joy'
gulruḫ (Ḫ77v:2) 'rose-faced'
ḫaṭirparēšān (Ḫ81v:10) 'distressed in mind'
pākdīn (Ḫ79r:11) 'adherent of the Pure Faith'
ṣāfmašrab (DN258r:7) 'naive, innocent, unsophisticated'
sarvqāmat (DM249v:11) 'straight and erect like a cypress'
sarvqadd (Ḫ77v:4) 'cypress-bodied'
šakarlab (Ḫ78v:3) 'sweet-tongued'

[345] The duality of the creator and the created disappears.
[346] Elements of the daily prayers. Sainted people are like angels, they are not in the need of food.

šīrīnkalām (Ḫ224r:6) 'eloquent'
tangrōzī (DN252r:11) 'a pauper'

E.g.

Ičindä ʿišq otïdïn bar mu sōzï, tilär ağzïmnï hēč ol tangrōzī? (DN 252r:11) 'Is there a burning desire in his heart due to the fire of love [for me]? Does this pauper long for my lips?'
Sen unutup maḥabbat-pēšalarnï, sağïnïp qandağï andēšalarnï. (DN257r:4) 'You have forgotten the lovers[347], thinking about concerns of old days.'
Šakar sözlüg nigār-i sarvqāmat, ki sen olturdung va qoptï qïyāmat. (DN249v:11) 'A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises.'[348]

4.1.5. Predicative Compounds

Predicative compounds are the Turkish equivalents to Iranian *bahuvrihi* compounds. They are preceded by the demonstrative pronouns **bu, ol,** or by the interjections **ay, ayā.** E.g.,

Vafāsïz dilrubā sän, ay beli qïl. (Sayf117v:12) 'You are an unfaithful heart ravisher, O slender-waisted [Beauty]'.
Bu aslï yoq havasqa qoyma bunyād, tükänmäs dard u ǧamdïn bolmağïl šād. (DN241v:8) 'Do not set up your foundation[349] upon passion without essence. Derive no gladness from unending pain and sorrow.'
Ol yüzi ay kim cihānnïng cānï dur. (Sayf179r:10) 'That moon-faced beauty who is the soul of this world.'
Tišim lūlūsïdïn ol közi daryā, čïqarur mu falak yanglïğ ṣurayyā? (DN252v:2) 'From the pearls of my teeth does this ocean-eyed [beauty] bring forth the pleiades as the sky does?'
Cavābïda dedi ol qaši ḥācib, kim anda parda ačmaq bar munāsib. (DN258v:8) 'In answer said that [intimate friend] whose eyebrow was the chamberlain: "It is now appropriate to open the curtain."'

4.1.6. Izafat Structures

In izafat structures the head [notion to be modified] occupies the first position and is followed through a connective syllable [izafat -ī] by the modifier. The izafat structure is Iranian by origin and occurs mostly with Persian and Arabic constituents. There are simple and complex izafat structures. Extra long izafat structures are called izafat chains.

[347] I.e., those whose lifestyle is to be lovers [of God].
[348] For the idiom see Sayf, *Gulistān* 12r:10
[349] I.e., do not build on. The phrase refers to any enterprise we may consider to undertake.

In the Chagatay language simple izafat structures occur in abundance. Complex structures are favored only in prose works.

There are two types of izafat structures: Adjectival and Possessive.

4.1.6.1. Adjectival Izafat structures

The second element in adjectival izafat structures is a Persian or Arabic adjective. Turkish words are rare in this function.

ʿāšiq-i bēcān (DN258r:2) 'a lifeless lover' [350]
durr-i ṣamīn (DN255r:5) 'a valuable pearl'
macmūʿ-i ṣāfī (DN255r:8) 'a pure collection'
rah-i rāst (DN258v:5) 'a straight path'
šaʿr-i nihānī (DN258r:8) 'a hidden law'
ṣayyād-i mağbūn (DN258r:8) 'a dull fisherman'
yār-i ḥaqīqī (DN255r:4) 'a true friend'
bitig-i ʿāšiqāna (DN256r:2) 'a love letter'

E.g.,

Eligdä ḫaṭṭ sözi durr-i samīn teg, ne ḫaṭṭ kim ol nigāristān-i čīn teg. (DN255r:5) 'In the hand was the letter, its words were like precious pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.'
Köngül teg ḫaṭṭlarï macmūʿ-i ṣāfī ṣafāğa körmäki bar erdi kāfī. (DN255r:8) 'The characters [of her letter] were, like [her] heart, serene and collected. It was enough [for the reader] to contemplate over [this] serenity.'
Ötär köp čašmadïn ṣayyād-i mağbūn, ki tā māhī kirär elinä bir kün. (DN253v:8) 'The dull fisherman [351] passes through many rivers until one day a fish comes into his hands.'
Qašïmğa yetti ol yār-i ḥaqīqī, bolup rangï yügürmäktin ʿaqīqī. (DN255r:4) 'That true friend[352] came to my presence, its face

4.1.6.2. Possessive Izafat Structures

In possessive izafat structures both elements are nouns.The first expresses the possessed, the second, the possessor: **āb** 'water', **ḥayvān** 'life'> **āb-i hayvān** (DN242v:8) 'the water of life'

ahl-i dil (ShD55r:13) 'people of heart'[353]
cām-i Camšēd (DN242r:11) 'the cup of Jamshīd'

[350] A Sufi who "died before he died".
[351] The fisherman's ability to catch fish is the symbole of one who is able to recognize and make appropriate use of any given opportunity [*ğanīmat tutmaq*]. A dull [*mağbūn*], weak [*ẓaʿīf*], or unlucky [*tālīʿsïz*] fisherman could be one who, because of weakness {Gul. 94v:2) , or lack of luck (Gul. 173r:5), or not being ready for the moment (Gul, 168v:9) misses the opportunity.
[352] I.e., the Morning Wind.
[353] A Muslim with a perfect heart (*ḥaqīqat köngül*].

dard-i dil (DN243r:10) 'pain of the heart'
nafīr-i cang (DN247v:4) 'battle trumpet'
nigār-i sarvqāmat (DN249v:11) 'a cypress-bodied beauty'
nigāristān-i Čīn (DN255r:5) 'a Chinese picture-gallery'
pīr-i muğān (ShD112r:13) 'the elder of the magi'
sarv-i saman bar (DN245r:2) 'a jasmine-bosomed cypress'
šām-i daycūr (DN259v:1) 'a very dark night'
šōḫ-i šakarḫand (DN243v:5) 'a mischief-maker with a sweet smile'

E.g.,

Ravān qïldï falak čon cām-i Camšēd, ačïqlanïp qïzarïp čïqtï ḫwaršēd. (DN242r:11) 'When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshid, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.'
Farāvān dard-i dil körgüzüp anda, qïlïp šarḥī kim ol sïğmas gumānda. (DN243r:10) 'In it I presented plenty of complaints about my situation the exposition of which did not leave place for doubts.'
Nafīr-i cang teg har yerdä čalïp, fïğānï yïrlap āhï ötkän alïp.(DN 247r:4) 'Like a battle trumpet he blares everywhere. His lament sounds like wailing, his sigh carries one away.'
Šakar sözlüg nigār-i sarvqāmat, ki sen olturdung va qoptï qiyāmat. (DN249v:11) 'A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises.'[354]
Eligdä ḫaṭṭ sözi durr-i samīn teg, ne ḫaṭṭ kim ol nigāristān-i čīn teg. (DN255r:5) 'In the hand was the letter, its words were like valuable pearls. What letter? It was like a picture gallery of China.'
Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetgäy vaṣl bāğïdïn manga bar. (DN245r:2) 'My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.'

4.1.7. Arabic Izafat Structures

Arabic izafat structures occur as isolated elements of the vocabulary [set expressions, idioms, titles]. Turkish words do not participate in their formation.

Amīru'l-muʾminīn (RM28r:4) 'the Commander of the faithful'
fāriğu'l-bāl (DN243v:1) 'free from care'
laylatu'l-qadr 'the darkest of the night'[355]
muizzu's-salṭanat (RM2r:5) 'who brings honor to the Sultanate'[356]
rūḥu'l-qudūs (ShD176r:3) 'Gabriel, the Holy Soul'

[354] For the idiom see Sayf, *Gulistān* 12r:10
[355] Lit., the night of power
[356] Title of the son of Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān.

qābiżu'l-arvāḥ (Ḫ74v:3) 'Izrā'īl, the Soul-taker angel'
sarīʿu's-sayr (DN256r:2) 'quick in passing'[357]
raḥmatu'l-lāhi (ShD166v:6) 'the mercy of God'
ṭarfatu'l-ʿayn (RB8r:1)) 'twingling of an eye'

E.g.,

Közi Čolpan munavvar ʿārizi badr, yangï ay qašï, sačï laylatu'l-qadr. (DN256r:6) 'Her eyes are the planet Venus, her shining face, the full moon. Her eyebrows are the new moon and her hair, the darkest of the night.'

Anga tapšurdum va ol učtï darḥāl, etip saʿy anda yätti fāriğu'l-bāl. (DN243r:1) 'I handed it over to [the Morning Wind] and it took to wings right away. Exerting itself, it arrived there free from care.'

Sarīʿu'sayr bitig-i ʿāšiqāna, elimdin aldï va boldï ravāna. (DN 256r:2) 'The One Who is Quick in Passing[358] took the love letter from my hand and set out on its way.'

4.2. GOVERNMENT

Verbs and to some extent adjectives require that their nominal complements be in certain case forms. This phenomenon is called government. It is similar to what we find in Indo-European languages. Individual Turkish verbs, however, often deviate from the conventions of their Indo-European equivalents, e.g., English *'enter the house'* Chagatay **ḫānaga kirmäk** [complement in the dative case] *'left for Margilan'* Chagatay **Margīlanğa bardï** [complement in the dative case] or **bardï Margīlan** [complement in the unmarked accusative case]. In discussing the case forms of nouns above we gave an extensive list of verbs and adjectives and provided ample examples for their usage. Here we discuss and illustrate the syntactic implications of government.

4.2.1. Government by Verbs

Verbs may govern the accusative, dative, locative, and ablative cases of nouns, i.e., they may require that the complement be in one of these case forms if it occurs with these verbs.

4.2.1.1. Accusative Case

Many verbs govern the accusative case [for a representative list see 3.1.4.2.3.7.] Most of them are transitive verbs with a direct object in the accusative case like their English equivalents. Sometimes, however, they translate into English by prepositional phrases or idioms. E.g., **de-** 'to call someone something; choose', **ilin-**'to be caught up in something'; **sağïn-** 'to thing about'; **talaš-** 'to compete': **širīnlik talaš-** 'to compete in sweetness'; **cān talaš-** 'to be in the throes of death' (< to fight for one's life); **yïğ-** 'to gather, collect': **ağïz yïğ-** 'to close one's lips.'

4.2.1.1.1. Verbs Governing the Accusative Case

oḫša- (GD215:4) 'to resemble, look like'
sağïn- (DN257r:4) 'to think of or about'
talaš- (GD3:2) 'to compete, contest'
ṭāq yürü- (DN255v:8) '[for the sun] to sail in the sky'
taʾammul qïl- (DN242v:11) 'to contemplate'
tilä- (GD54r5) 'to desire'
tüš kör- (DN252r:7) 'to dream of something'
yetür- (Sayf131r:5) 'to deliver a point'
yïğ- (DN252r:3) 'to collect'

4.2.1.1.1.2. With Marked Accusative Case Forms

For grammatical and semantic reasons the noun in direct object role is marked by the accusative case ending. E.g.,

Bu laṭīfanï tangsuq yetürdüng. (Sayf131r:5) 'You delivered this point amazingly.'[359]

Tegär mü kirpükümdin cānïna oq? Balānï tüš körär mü közi yā yoq? (DN252r:7) 'Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or not?'[360]

Men ol kün kim ğamïng sāzïnï tüzdüm, seni dedim köngülni cāndïn üzdüm.(DN244v:8) 'The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul'.

4.2.1.1.1.2. With Unmarked Accusative Case Form

A nonspecific direct object may occur in the nominative case. E.g.,

Tutup Sayf-i Sarāyī qïz erini, laṭīfa sözlädi közläp yerini. (Sayf 138v:11) 'Sayf of Saray grabbed the husband of the girl, noticing his situation he told him an anecdote.'

Saʿādat birlä ḫwaršēdi yürüp ṭāq, qïlïp har ẓarradïn darḫwāst muštāq. (DN255v:8) 'By her felicity she is like the sun sailing in the sky and demanding homage from every speck of dust.'[361]

[357] Epithet of the Morning Breeze often personified.
[358] The Morning Breeze.
[359] Note that D.O. is modified by *bu*.
[360] The D.O. is specific.
[361] Intransitive verbs with direct objects.

4.2.1.2. Dative Case

A group of verbs [3.1.4.2.5.6] and adjectives [3.1.4.2.5.8] take their complements in the dative case. Most of the time the complement is the indirect object of the sentence. Depending on the semantic content of the verb the dative case complement may indicate the destination, reason, exchange value and other relations, e.g., **küy-** 'to burn' > 'to suffer', **manga küysä** 'if he suffers because of me'; **sat-** 'to sell', **bir cavğa sat-** 'to sell for or exchange with a grain of barley.' Here are a few examples for the special uses of the dative case with verbs or adjectives.

4.2.1.2.1. Verbs Governing the Dative Case

ïnan- (MM177r:17) 'to believe in'
küy- (DN245r:7) 'to suffer because of s.o.'
oḫša- (ShD1v:13) 'to look like, to resemble'
qoy- (DN243v:2) 'to put down s.where'
sal- (DN245v:7) 'to put or cast s.th. s.where'
sat- (DN247r:3) 'to sell s.th. for; give in exchange of s.th.'
sep- (DN246r:5) 'to sprinkle'
yet- (DN245r:2) 'to come to s.o.'

E.g.,

Agar könglüng manga küysä,ʿacab yoq, ki körüp taš erigäy riq-qatïmdïn. (DN245r:7) 'If If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'
Dedi, Netsün kiši bu mubtalāğa, ki küč birlän özin saldï balāğa? (DN245v:7) 'She said, "What could one do for this hapless person who, by his own volition, brings trouble upon himself?"'
Barï ay ḫirmānïn bir cavğa satqan, elig tartïp ayağïnï uzatqan. (DN247r:3) 'He traded the entire harvest of the moon for a grain of barley. He became totally inactive and stretched out his legs.[362]
Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetgäy vaṣl bāğïdïn manga bar. (DN245r:2) 'My hope is, O Jasmin-bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.'
Hamïn kim taptï yārï ḥazratïna, tavāzùʿ qïldï va qoydï qatïna. (DN243v:2) 'As soon as it arrived to the presence of the friend, it greeted her politely and put down [the letter] at her side.'
Ölüg bašïna tepmäklik ḫwaš ermäs, savuq su yüzigä sepmäk ḫwaš ermäs. (DN246r:5) 'It is not fair to kick the head of a dead person [to see whether he is alive]. It is of no avail to sprinkle water in his face.'

[362] A sign of disregarding the rules of decent social behavior.

4.2.1.2.2. Adjectives Governing the Dative Case

ḥayrān (DN247v:1) 'amazed at'
ḫursand (DN256r:10) 'pleased, satisfied with'
lā'iq (Sayf50r:8) 'worthy of, deserving s.th.'
lāzim (Sayf173r:11) 'necessary'
mağrūr (Sayf101r:5) 'proud of s.th.'
mulāzim (DM258v:1) 'needed'
munāsib (RM30r:4) 'appropriate for'
musallam (Sayf97r:12) 'granted to'
muštāq (GD141:5) 'longing for, desirous of'
mutaʿalliq (RB4r:8) 'dependent on'
sāʿī (DN246r:4) 'thirsty'
sazā (GD11:7) 'deserved'
sazāvār (Navā'ī Dict.III, 26) 'worthy of'
yaraša (GD114:5) 'appropriate for'
yavuq (DN246r:7) 'close to'

E.g.,

Ayağïnğa qoyuban bašïnï qand, labïngdïn suyï bir sormaqqa ḫursand. (DN256r:10) 'The sugar places its head upon your feet [in submission] glad to request water from your lips.'
Hamēša sāya teg küngä mulāzim bolup erišmäki boynïna lāzim. (DM258v:1) 'She is always in attendance to the sun, like a shadow[363]. It is vital that it shine upon her shoulders [all the time].'
Körüp tur gul yüzin bulbul hamēša tikänlärgä yavuq tur gul hamēša. (DN246r:7) 'The nightingale keeps her eyes on the face of the rose all the time. All the time roses are close to thorns.'
Birāv kim cān bilän yoq tur nizāʿï, nečük men bolayïn qanïna sāʿï? (DN246r:4) 'How could I be after the blood someone who has no quarrel with [his] soul?'

4.2.1.3. Locative Case

Nouns in the locative case generally occur as adverbs with no intrinsic relationship with the verb of the sentence. A few verbs, however, specifically require their components in the locative case in order to convey the intended meaning:

äriš- (Sayf99v:9) 'to reach s.where'
čïq- (DH243v:9) 'to go out s.where'
kel- (DN243v:10) 'to come to a place'
sal- (DN244r:8) 'to throw s.where'
tap- ((DN247v:5) 'to find s.th., s.where'

[363] Shadow cannot exist without a source of light.

yašun- (DH243v:9) 'to hide s.where'
yät- (DN243r:1) 'to arrive, to get to s.where'

E.g.,

Har munᶜam öz sarāyïna aḫšam turup kelür. Aḫšam ğarīb qanda ärišsä sarāyï ol. (Sayf99v:9) 'In the evening every well-to-do person returns to his home. The stranger's home is where he arrives in the evening.'

Yašunup gul yüzüngdin bāğlarda, qačïp lāla čïqïban tağlarda. (DH243v:9) 'The rose hides from your face in the gardens. The tulip escapes and seeks refuge in the mountains.'[364]

Anga tapšurdum va ol učtï darḫāl, etip saᶜy anda yätti fāriğu'l-bāl. (DN243v:1) 'I handed it over to [the Morning Wind]. It took to wings right away. Exerting itself it arrived there and was free from care.'

Köngüldä ᶜišqïng otï saldï bulğaq, yana dāğ üstinä sen qoymağïl dāğ. (DN244r:8) 'The fire of your love cast confusion into [my] heart. Do not press again the branding iron upon the wound made by a branding iron.'

Kelip tur bağda guldïn ačïlmaq, yarašmas til tikän teg tēz qïlmaq. (DN246r:6) 'It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming [,however,] to make one's tongue as sharp as the thorn.'

Bitigläringdä saldïm men basē köz, tiladim köp sözüngdä tapmadïm söz. (DN247v:5) 'I stared at your writing for a long time. Much as I wanted to I did not find words to express your message.'

4.2.1.4. Ablative case

A group of verbs [3.1.4.2.7.6.] and a few adjectives govern the ablative case.

4.2.1.4.1. Verbs Governing the Ablative Case

bar- (DN245r:10) 'to leave, go away from'
eri- (DN245r:7) 'to melt [because of...]'
köč- (MM196r:17) 'to depart from'
qol- (MM192r:16) 'to ask s.th. from s.o.'
qorq- (GD121:5) 'to be afraid of, to fear from'
qutul- (DN245r:8) 'to escape'
saqïn- (Sayf14:10) 'to beware'
üz- (DN244v:7) 'to tear off or away'
üzül- (MM172v:17) 'to be separated from'

[364] The tulip gives up the garden and flees to the wilderness.

vahm et- (DN247r:11) 'to suspect'
yïğïl- (MM179r:6) 'to avoid, refrain from'

E.g.,

Men ol kün kim ğamïng sāzïnï tüzdüm, seni dedim köngülni cāndïn üzdüm. (DN244v:8) 'The day I tuned [my] saz [to play the melody of] sadness [I felt] because of you, I chose you and I separated my heart from [my] soul.'

Agar könglüng manga küysä,ᶜacab yoq, ki körüp taš erigäy riqqatïmdïn. (DN245r:7) 'If your heart suffers because of me, it is not unusual: Even the stone melts having pity on me.'

Tanïmdïn cān körüp raᶜnā qaddïngnï, ravān boldï qutuldï minnatïmdïn. (DN245r:8) 'The soul saw your graceful stature and left my body to escape my gratitude.'

Amīrī asrağïl köz yağï birlä, sen ol gulnï ki barmasun qatïmdïn. (DN245r:10) 'Amiri, norture that rose with the oil of [your] eyes so that it never leave your presence.'

4.2.1.4.2. Adjectives Governing the Ablative Case

fāriğ (DN251r:4) 'free from'
ḫālī (Sayf14v:13) 'free from, empty of'
maḫrūm (GD219:5) 'debarred from'
malūl (GD130:5) 'depressed'
munazzah (MM178r:6) 'independent [of everything]'

E.g.,

Munazzah cumladïn ol Ḥayy-i Bāqī, yürür amrï bilän ol davr ayaqï. (Sayf80r:2) '[God,] the Everliving One is exampted of everything. The cup of that circle goes around by His command.'

Ḥiyānat makïrdïn köngül ḫālī qïl, qiyāmat kün artuq kün aydïn yüzüng. (MM178r:8) 'Free your heart from fraud and malice and [then] on the Day of Resurrection, your face will be more radiant than the sun or the moon.'

Tüšüp tofraq teg fāriğ išidin, ne yel teg kim kelip ötkäy kišidin. (DN251r:4) 'When free from his task he settles like dust unlike the wind that comes and passes on.'

4.3. THE SENTENCE

Sentences are grammatically organized syntactic entities expressing complete thoughts. By content they are positive or negative statements, questions, expressions of a will, wish, desire, or command. Accordingly, we distinguish: affirmative, negative, interrogative, exclamatory, desiderative, imperative and prohibitive sentences.

By their structure sentences can be simple [bare, expanded, elliptical], compound or complex.

4.3.1. Classification According to Function

4.3.1.1. Declarative Sentences

A declarative sentence is a positive or negative statement about a subject's action or state. The verb can introduce different aspects in the predication. E.g.,

Qamar pāra boldï išārat bilä. (MM178v:6) 'The moon split at [his] sign.'

Rasūlğa iḍi berdi ming muʿciza. (MM178v:9) 'God granted [our] Prophet a thousand miracles.'

Miṣrda bir begning ikki oğlï qaldï. (Sayf81v:10) 'In Egypt a merchant was survived by two sons.'

Šab-i miʿrāc anï dōzaḫda kördüm. (Ḫ74v:10) 'On the Night of the Ascension I saw him in Hell.'

Busağadïn Kingira qoptï ravān. (AC327r:9) 'All of a sudden Kingira[365] jumped up from the threshold.'

Ḫudāğa yaqmadï bu mihribānlïq. (Ḫ74v:2) 'God did not approve of [his prophet's] attachment [to his son].'

Amānatgä qïlalmas män ḫiyānat. (Ḫ74r:5) 'I cannot violate the trust of those who have entrusted something to me.'

Cabraʾïl keltürdi Mūsāğa ḫabar. (BN88r:8) 'Gabriel forwarded the message to Moses.'

4.3.1.2. Interrogative Sentences

An interrogative sentence expresses a question and is construed in various ways:

4.3.1.2.1. By the yes-or-no particle mu/mü

Tanur mu sän mäni cān dilimni? (Ḫ76r:2) 'Do you know [my son], the beloved of my soul and heart?'

Tegär mü kirpükümdin canïna oq? Balānï tüš körär mü közi yā yoq? (DN252r:7) 'Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or not?'

Ne dur ḫālï anïng ğam laškarïnda, yanï ağrïr mu miḫnat bistarïnda? (DM252v:6)? 'What is his condition in the army of sorrows? Is his side hurting in the sickbed of misery?'

[365] Name of a string instrument.

Yüzüm ḫwaršēdidin ḫayrān yürür mü? Bolup bir zarra sargardān yürür mü? (DM252r:8) 'Doesn't he walk in amazement caused by the sun of my face? Being a speck of dust, doesn't he move perplexed?'[366]

4.3.1.2.2. By Interrogative Pronouns

Ne baʿisdin silär[367] otqa giriftār? (Ḫ75r:1) 'Why are you captive in the fire?'

Nečük kečär sän bu ḫālatta? (Sayf68r:3) 'How do you fare in this situation?'

Köngül qačan ḫwaš bolğay? (NSMp.108) 'When is the heart good?'

Mening teg qanï bir pīr kār? (AC324v:6) 'Where [in the world] is there another experienced person like me?'

4.3.1.3. Imperative Sentences

In an imperative sentence the speaker expresses a command or a prohibition. E.g.,

Camālïngdïn cihānnï čahravar qïl, uzatmağïl ḫikāyat muḫtaṣar qïl. (ShD96v:10-11) 'Make this world attractive by your beauty. Do not make the story long. Make it concise.'

Mäning nāmūs u nāmïmnï talašqïn, alif teg kelgin va elgä ulašqïn. (DN260r:9) 'Fight for my honor and good reputation. Come straight and single like an *alif* and meet the people [face to face].

Tanïng ham tapïnsun bir baš ayağnï, til ačïp sözgä tïndursun qulağnï. (DN260v:2) 'Also, your body should don a royal garment; [your] tongue should begin to speak and charm the ear.'

Cunūn sarḫwašlugïdïn özüngä kel, dimāğïngda havādïn salmağïl yel. (DN260v:4) 'Sober up from the intoxication of madness; out of passion do not occupy your mind with things of naught.'[368]

Camālïngdïn munavvar qïl közümni, ešitmä el sözin ešit sözümni. (DN257r:2) 'Light up my eyes with your beauty, do not listen to what people say, listen to what I say.'

4.3.1.4. Exclamatory Sentences

In an exclamatory sentence the speaker expresses surprise, admiration, disapproval, or indignation about something irregular or out of the ordinary. It is often used in didactic works. E.g.

[366] The image is: Whirling like a speck of dust made visible by the sunray.

[367] Cf. Uzbek силар in the Tashkent dialect.

[368] Lit., do not put wind in your brain

Meni sen šamʿ teg küydürmäging ne!? Cafā va cavr etäkin türmäking ne!? (DN257v:3) 'What is the good of burning me like [you burn] a candle? What is the good of exerting yourself in doing harm and inflicting acts of cruelty?'[369]

Meni, ay baḫt, ʿamdā tepmäking ne? Cirāḫat üstidä, tuz sepmäking ne? (DN244r:7) 'O Fate, what is the meaning of you kicking me deliberately? What is the meaning of you sprinkling salt on my wounds?'[370]

Ne ḥācat bašïnga tāc-i mašāʾiḫ! (Sayf57v:12) 'What need is there to put the crown of sheikhs upon your head?'[371]

Qanï mālï Qārūn, qanï ol qaram! (MM188r:4) 'Where [today] is the wealth of Qārun? Where is that ditch [that swallowed him and his wealth].'[372]

Cān qačan bolğay gulistāndan malūl? (Sayf6v:8) 'When would the spirit be tired of the rose garden?'[373]

Bu ne fitna u ğavğā erür? (AC323r:5) 'What is this uproar and racket?'[374]

4.3.2. Classification According to Status

4.3.2.1. Affirmative Sentences

An affirmative sentence contains a positive statement. E.g.,

Ušal damda yätištilär ikävlän. (Ḫ77r:1) 'At that moment they both arrived.'

Taqvâsïz ʿālim közsüz mašʿaladārğa oḫšar. (Sayf161r:6) 'A wise man without piety resembles a torchbbearer who has no eyes.'

Kaʿbadïn afzal erür könglüm mäning. (BN90v:3) 'My heart is of greater value than the Kaʿba.'

4.3.2.2. Negative Sentences

A negative sentence conveys a negative statement. It is construed in various ways.

4.3.2.2.1. By Negative Verbs

İkävini atasï <u>män emäs män</u>. (Ḫ74r:3) 'I am not the father of either one of them.'

Manga <u>ögrätmädi</u> bu yolnï ustād. (Ḫ76v:8) 'The master did not teach us this way.'[375]

[369] I.e., What is the meaning of...
[370] I.e., It does not make sense. It is of no avail.
[371] I.e., No need whatsoever.
[372] I.e., All are gone.
[373] I.e., Never! How could it!
[374] I.e., Stop it!
[375] I.e., What you have just said does not agree with the teachings of my master.

Ḫudāğa <u>yaqmadï</u> bu mihribānlïq. (Ḫ74v:2) 'God did not approve of this attachment.'

4.3.2.2.2. By the Negative Particle yoq

Dedilär al-vidāʿ ay hamnišīnlär ki <u>körmäk emdi yoq</u>, ay pākdīnlär. (Ḫ79r:11) '[Then Ibrāhīm] continued, Farewell, O Classmates! We will no meet again, O Adherents of the Pure Faith.'

Čārasï yoq tur. (Ḫ79v:8) 'There is nothing to be done about this.'

Bu maṣalnï <u>ešitkäning yoq</u> mu? (Sayf17r:13) 'Have you not heard this anecdote?'

4.3.2.2.3. By the Negative Conjunction ne...ne, nē...nē 'neither...nor'

<u>Ne</u> qattï bol ki el sändän üšängäy <u>nē</u> yumšaq qadrïnga nuqṣān ketürgäy. (Sayf164v:1) 'Don't be so hard that people shatter when you touch them. Nor be so soft that they bring damage to your authority.'

4.3.2.2.4. By the Negative Particles dägül and emäs

Har qušī ʿanqā degül dur, har bašar <u>insān emäs</u>. (GD74-3) 'Not every bird is a phoenix. Not every man is human.'

Bu išning songï <u>maʿlūm dägül</u>. (Sayf42r:4) 'The outcome of this matter is not known.'

<u>Hwaš ermäs</u> cavrnï ḥaddin ašurmaq kelip oq atmaq va yanï yašurmaq. (DN244r:11) 'It is not proper to increase cruelty beyond limits, to come and shoot the arrow and hide the bow.'

4.3.2.3. Conditional Sentences

A conditional sentence indicates the condition of an action, expressed or implied. E.g.,

Šamʿ ḥācat dägül <u>künäš togsa</u>. (Sayf115v:11) 'There is no need for candles if the sun is risen.'

<u>Agar alsa</u> özümingni alsun. (Ḫ74r:4) 'But if he is determined to take [one of these three boys] let Him take mine.'

Öydä <u>bolsang</u> bu iḫtiyāṭlarnï qïl. (MṢ8r:1) 'If you are at home take these options.'

4.3.2.4. Possibilitive Sentences

A possibilitive sentence expresses the feasibility of an action. E.g.,

Munun <u>tutsa bolur</u> ḥidāyat qušï. (MM180r:10) 'Through them one can catch up with the bird of guidance [at the destination].'

Bu kün <u>sorsa bolur</u>. (MM194v:4) 'Today it is possible to ask.'

4.3.2.5. Impossibilitive Sentences

An impossibilitive sentence indicates that an action cannot or should not be carried out. E.g.,

Binā bānīsiz bolmaqï, bil, muhāl. (MM178r:12). 'Know that a building cannot come into existence without a builder.'

Uruğ äksä bolmas, kirür yergä tong. (MM193r:10) 'It is not possible to sow the seeds [for] frost penetrates the soil.'

Bir iqlīmä sïğïšmas ikki sulṭān. (Sayf12r:12) 'Two kings do not fit into one country.'

4.3.2.6. Desiderative Sentences

A desiderative sentence indicates the desirability of an action. E.g.,

İting ay kāš ki bolsa qarīnim, özin etsä bu yerdä hamnišīnim. (DN251r:1) 'If only your dog would be my associate. If only it would make itself my companion in this [very] place!'

Har gadālar teg ešikdä qïlmağïl sen dar ba-dar, bolsam erdi kāš-ki men ešikingdä ḫākrāk. (ShD89r:7-8) 'Don't make yourself a vagabond at the threshold like all the beggars do. If only I could be at your threshold lowlier [in rank] than dust.'

4.3.3. Classification According to Structure

4.3.3.1. Simple Sentences

Simple sentences consist of a subject and a verbal or nominal predicate. These are the two main constituents of a sentence.

4.3.3.1.1. Bare Sentences

In bare sentences the subject and predicate occur without any modifiers or complements. E.g.,

Sözi šakkar. (Sayf70r:8) 'His words are [sweet, like] sugar.'

Qalmadï ḫwāca fulān. (Sayf10r:9) 'Merchant so-and-so passed away.'

4.3.3.1.2. Elliptical Sentences

In elliptical sentences one of the main elements, mostly the subject, is not directly expressed. E.g.,

Bağdādlïq tur. Faṣīḥ erkän dur. (NMp.108) 'He was from Baghdad. He was eloquent.'[376]

[376] Person and number of the subject are indicated by the verb. Actual subject is provided by the context.

Ne miqdār? Qač ayğa? Bahāsï nečä? (MM192r:1)'How much? For how many months? What is its price?'

Nä ʿišrat? ʿIšrat-i cannat. Nä cannat? Cannat-i Kavṣar. (Sayf 184r:13) 'What pleasure? The pleasure of paradise. What paradise? The paradise of Kawṣar.'

4.3.3.1.3. Expanded Sentences

In addition to a subject and a verbal or nominal predicate expanded sentences have other members, such as direct object, indirect object, and various adverbials. These are called secondary elements of the sentence. E.g.,

Yetti gardūndïn ašurdï nālasïn miskīn gadā. (GD162,6) 'Poor Gadā made his complaint rise above the seven heavens.'[377]

Diyār Bakr elindä bir aq saqallï ḫwāca mäni evinä qonaq älttï. (Sayf135r:1) 'In the town of Diyar Bakr a white bearded Khoja took me to his home as [his] guest.'[378]

4.3.3.2. Secondary Elements of the Sentence

The secondary elements relate to one particular member or to the sentence as a whole.

4.3.3.2.1. Subject Complements

Bustān ičindä qaddïng sarv-i ravān körünür. (Sayf184v:5) 'In the garden your stature appears to be a walking cypress.'

Šakar sözüngdän kelür mukarrar. (Sayf185r:5) 'Sugar becomes double refined from your words.'

Yuqarïdïn inip yamğur tüšär pāk, ki tā andïn tirilür ḫār ḫāšāk. (DN258v:11) 'Descending from above the rain falls evenly so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.'

Giyāhïm čïqsa nāgah cān teg, ay dōst! Körüngäy ʿāšiq-i bēcān teg, ay dōst! (DN258r:2) 'My grass comes up unexpected as the soul['s leaving the body], O Friend. It will show like a lover without a soul, O Friend.'

Anga ol šiʿr ara kim qaldï mahzūn, radīf bar edi, maqbūl va mavzūn. (DN258r:9) 'In that poem which remained somber she had a cowalker[379], very pleasant and wellshaped.'

[377] The subject **Gadā** has an adjective modifier, **miskīn**. The verb **ašurdï** has a direct object, **nālasïn** and an adverbial phrase **yetti gardūndïn**.

[378] The subject **ḫwāca** is modified by the adjective **aq-saqallï** and specified by the numeral **bir** The verb **ältti** in the predicate has a direct object **mäni** and a predicative object **qonaq**, and an adverbial phrase of place **Diyār Bakr elindä**.

[379] Ar. *radīf* 'one who rides behind another on the same horse'. Also: 'a word following the rhyme'

Saʿādat birlä ḫwarshedi yürüp ṭāq, qïlïp har zarradïn darḫwāst muštāq. (DN255v:8) 'By her felicity she is like the sun sailing in the sky and demanding homage from every speck of dust.'

4.3.3.2.2. Direct Objects

Direct objects can be marked and unmarked depending on morphological and semantic considerations.

E.g.,

Meni sen körmä ʿāciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasïnda dastgāhim. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'

Tilädi kāğid va čon boldï mavcūd, qalam tilini etti ʿanbar ālūd. (DN252v:8) 'She asked for [a piece of] paper. When it was provided, she covered the tip of the pen with ambergris.'[380]

Qoyuban bašïnï ḫaṭṭinggä ḫāma, sözüng etip ṣabānï girdnāma. (DN250v:1) 'The pen buried its head into your letter. Your words made Zephir to serve as a magic medium.'[381]

4.3.3.2.3. Predicate Complements

The complement can be a single noun, or adjective or a nominal phrase. It has no accusative case marker. The direct object to which the predicate object belongs is always marked by the accusative case ending. E.g.,

Yollarïngning gardïnï qïldïm közümdä tūtīyā: Közlärimning yašïdïn nāzuk nihāling saqladïm. (ShD100v10-11) 'I made the dust of your paths collyrium of my eyes. By the tears of my eyes I nurtured your delicate branches.'

Kelip tur bāğda guldïn ačïlmaq, yarašmas til tikän teg tēz qïlmaq. (DN246r:6) 'It has become appropriate for the rose to open in the garden. It is not becoming [,however,] to make one's tongue as sharp as the thorn.'

Nečük men dostnï dušman qïlayïn, elig bersä ayağïnï sïlayïn. (DN248r:1) 'How could I treat a friend like an enemy?[382] If he gives his hand, I will rub [my face to] his feet.'[383]

Meni sen körmä ʿāciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasïnda dastgāhïm. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'

(Steingass, p.573)

[380] I.e., he dipped the tip of the pen into the inkwell. Reference is made to the fragrance of the ink.

[381] *Girdnāma*, an amulet that makes the escaping slave return.

[382] Friendship has been highly valued in Uzbek tradition.

[383] In humble respect and repentance. The image is taken from Sufi practices: When coming to the presence of the sheih the novice [*murīd*] prostrates and places his left or right cheek [depending on whether he is sinful or forgiven] upon the sheikh's feet

Qïlïban mušknï ol ʿanbarïn meng, cihān ičrä qara tofraq bilän teng. (DN243v:8) 'That ambergris scented beauty spot reduced [the value of the] musk to [the level of the] common clay in the [entire] world.'

Etip ḫašāknï gavhar bilän teng, qïlïp tofraqnï ʿanbar bilän teng. (DN249r:10) 'She made a mote equal to a jewel. She made the dust equal to ambergris.'

Kim alïp tur ağïzğa gōk terin, bilip tur ḫusn ara šakarnï šīrīn. (DN257v:2) 'He who takes the sweat of a toad into his mouth will appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by beauty.'

4.3.3.2.4. Indirect Objects

Indirect objects are generally indicated by the dative case. After verbs expressing motion the locative [**-da/-dä**] or accusative [without case ending] can occur to mark the indirect object. In this usage the finite verb generally precedes the unmarked accusative case. E.g.,

Atïnïn tilingä köp mazkūr et.(RB6v:9) 'Make your tongue always mention His name.'

Yüzüm altunğa tutğay erdi anï, közidä asrağay erdi nihānī. (DN 250v:10) 'My face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.'[384]

Mundïn ol yergä taraqqī qïlur ol, ʿaql ol yergä ešit tapmas yol. (RB9r:5) 'Listen well, from here he will proceed to that place to which reason can never find a way.'

Közin yašïn aqurdï bardï maktab. (Ḫ78v:3) 'He was shedding his tears when arrived at the school.'[385]

Degin anda kelürgä rağbat ettük, ravān ṣuḥbat yarağïn qïl ki yettük. (DN259r:6) 'Tell him, that we desire to go there and that he prepare the necessities for the reception because we will surely be there in no time'

Asïlur dārğa nä üčün Manṣūr, biling? Cānïnï maʿsūq üčün īsār etär. (ShD46r:6-7) 'Manṣūr is hanged on the gallows, do you know why? He sacrifices his life for the beloved.

4.3.3.2.5. Adverbials

Adverbials can be single words (adverbs, adjectives and nouns in adverbial role, case forms of nouns, pronouns, numbers, postpositional

[384] For *közidä* cf. P. *ba-čašm*.

[385] Cf. Modern Uzbek Мен сизнинг Марғилон келганингизни бугун отамдан эшитдим 'I heard today from my father about your arrival to Marghilan."

and prepositional phrases). We distinguish adverbials of place, time, and manner.

4.3.3.2.5.1. Adverbials of Place

An adverbial of place expresses the location where an action takes place or where someone or something is.

Alarning bisātī qirağida olturdī. (Nava'ī, NMp.159) 'He sat down at the edge of their carpet.'

Muvabbab taptī anda ʿišq rāzīn, mufaṣṣal ičidä bir bir bayānīn. (DN252r:1) 'She found in it the secrets of love laid out in chapters with statements disclosed one by one in paragraphs.'

Yol üstündä bir esrük kiši yatur edi. (Sayf76r:10) 'On the road a drunk person was lying.'

Män safardä tüni küni taʿbān, tegmä šāgird elindä sargardān. (Sayf77r:12) 'Night and day I tire out when the army is on the move. My head turns in every servant's hands.'[386]

Šab-i miʿrāc anī dōzaḫda kördüm. Bular kimlär bolur dep anda sordum. (Ḫ74v:10) 'On the night of the Ascension I beheld them in Hell. "Who are these [creatures]?" I asked.'

4.3.3.2.5.2. Adverbials of Time

An adverbial of time expresses the time before, during, after or in the duration of an action takes place or a situation exists.

Har namāz-i šāmdin songra kelür erdi. (Navā'ī, NMp.158) 'He would come after every evening prayer.'

Üč kün Šīrāzda erdi. (Navā'ī, NMp.158) 'He was in Shiraz for three days.'

Bu kün topraq bol andan burunraq kim ertä gil tanïng topraq bolğay. (Sayf77r:6-7) 'Turn into dust today, before your clay body turns into dust tomorrow.'

4.3.3.2.5.3. Adverbials of Manner

An adverbial of manner expresses how, in what way, or by what means an action is performed.

Aytïlïp aynïng bašïnda bu ğazal, ay va yïl ʿanqā bigin közdin učar. (ShD50v:1-2) This ghazal was recited at the beginning of the month. Months and years fly out of [our] vision like a phoenix.'[387]

On ikki yïğač yavağ kelip tur. (Navā'ī, NMp. 159) 'He came walking twelve miles.'

[386] Said about a banner.

[387] A phoenix never dies. When her lifespan is over, she disappears.

Bolur āsān bara bara muškil. (RB5v:6) 'Step by step what is difficult will become easy.'

Tävä arqun yürür āsān tün va kün. (Sayf137r:4) 'The camel walks slow, without stopping, night and day.'

4.3.3.3. Compound Sentences

Compound sentences consists of two or more independent clauses. By the nature of the relationship of these clauses to one another we distinguish copulative, adversative, disjunctive, conclusive, and explicative compound sentences.

4.3.3.3.1. Copulative Sentences

In copulative compound sentences independent clauses are joined or listed in a coordinated series. The clauses may be connected by the simple conjunctions **va, u, ham, dağī**, by the serial conjunctions **ham ... ham, gāh ...gāh** [~ **gah...gah, gāhī...gāhī**], or without the use of conjunctions.

4.3.3.3.1.1. Copulative Sentences with a Conjunction

Fiğānïm tïndï va firyād učtï, ṭarab keldi va ğam fī'l-ḥāl köčtï. (DN249r:3) 'My sobbing has ceased, and the cry for help has gone. Celebration has come and grief at once has moved away'.[388]

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

Šakar sözlüg nigār-i sarvqāmat, ki sen olturdung va qoptï qiyāmat. (DN249v:11) A cypress-bodied beauty with sweet talk [so unique] that if you sit down the Day of Resurrection rises.'[389]

Men emdi ḫasta va ğam artmaqda; ḫiyālïng allïda cān tartmaqda. (DN257r:3) 'Now I am sick and the sorrow is increasing. Facing your mental image [my] soul is in agony.'

Gah bolur ʿuryān ağačlar, gah bolurlar gul ṣifat. (Sayf66r:1). 'Trees sometimes are naked, sometimes are [dressed] like flowers.'

4.3.3.3.1.2. Copulative Sentences without Conjunction

ʿIšqïng yolïnda banda män, sen kün sen va män ẕarra män, Yādïng bilä mān zinda mān iki cihānda nām-i cān. (ShD11r:6-7) 'On the path of [my] love for you I am your servant, you are the sun and I am a speck of dust. Recollecting you I am alive. In the two worlds you are the name of the soul.'

[388] Like a nomad caravan Sorrow packed up its chattels and left [*köčti*].

[389] For the idiom see Sayf, *Gulistan* (12r:10)

Közi Čolpan, munavvar ʿārizi badr, yangï ay qašï, sačï laylatu'l-qadr. (DN256r:6) 'Her eyes are the planet Venus, her shining face, the full moon. Her eyebrows are the new moon and her hair, the darkest of the night.'[390]

Karam körgüz ʿazīmat markabïn sür, özüngni har nečük et anda yetkür. (DN249v:5) 'Be gracious, drive on [your] mount[391] and in whatever way, get yourself there.'

Cihānï yaruğay cānï tirilgäy, tiriglär sanïna atï kirilgäy. (DN 251v:7) 'May his world light up, may his soul come to life, and may his name enter the list of those who are alive.'

Körüp bir sarvnï barur özidin, yürür cōyān va su turmas közidin. (DN254r:5) 'Noticing one cypress[392] he is besides himself. He walks as if in search and the stream of tears running from his eyes never stops.'

Käyiklär teg kezip etip cigar ḫūn, ğamï tağ va qïzïl yašï ṭabarḫūn. (DN259v:3) 'He is strolling like a deer absorbed in [tormenting] thoughts. His sorrow is a mountain, his tears, the fruit of the jujube [tree].'

4.3.3.3.2. Adversative Compound Sentences

Adversative compound sentences contain contrasted clauses. The second clause, by means of adversative conjunctions contradicts the first clause. The adversative conjunctions are: **ki** 'but', **ammā** 'but, however', **valē, valēk, valēkin** 'but, yet, however', **lēk, lēkin** 'but, yet, however', **balki** 'on the contrary, but', **va** 'but'. E.g.,

Özi bir yerdä <u>va</u> yüz yerdä közi, tili iki <u>va</u> yüz ağïzda sözi. (DN 254r:9) 'He himself is in one place but his eyes are in hundred places. He has two tongues[393] but his reputation is in a hundred mouths.'[394]

Oq tämüri cirāhatdïn čïqar <u>valē</u> nišānï qalur. (Sayf101r:9) 'The iron point of the arrow comes out of the wound but its mark stays.'

Barur bat ḥusn va qalmas bu yigitlik, qalur <u>ammā</u> irig söz birlä itlik. (DN246r:2;) 'Beauty vanishes fast and youth does not stay. But what will remain [with us] are rude words and meanness'

Cihānda köp muğannīlar <u>valēkin</u> bu eši yoq tur. (Sayf61r:7) 'There are many singers in this world, but this one has no equal.'

[390] There are four nominal sentences in this couplet.
[391] *ʿAzīmat markabï* 'mount of travel', i.e., not a pack animal.
[392] I.e., a cypress-shaped beauty.
[393] I.e., he is a dissembler. Cf. P. *duzabān* 'having two tongues'
[394] He is the talk of the community for his strange behavior.

Zamānē ḥarf ʿilminä ïsïndï, iči küydi, <u>valē</u> qorqup qïsïndï. (DN 258r:6) 'For a while she was busy with the science of characters.[395] She was filled with enthusiasm but, being afraid, she restrained herself.'

Tiriglik sarïdïn urmay nafas hēč, čïqïp bat bat damï <u>ammā</u> kelip hēč. (DN259r:11) 'He does not breathe at all to give a sign of being alive. He is panting fast but no word comes out of [his mouth].'

Ğamï Farhād yanglïğ körgüzür zōr, ğamï šīrīn <u>valēkin</u> ṭāliʿi šōr. (DN259v:5) 'His sadness manifests the strength of a stone-cutter.[396] His sadness is sweet[397] but his fortune is brackish.'

Ẓarīf va sarkaš va zībā va cammās, qarīn erdi anga <u>balki</u> qarïndaš. (258r:10) 'She was witty, obstinate, elegant, and jolly. She was a close friend, nay, she was more, she was like a close relative.'

Bu kün tilägim erišti <u>valē</u> ne fāʾida? (Sayf19r:67) 'Today [the object] of my desire has come, but what is the benefit?'

Notes: (1)The conjunctions **valē, valēkin** may indicate the beginning of a new scene in the narration or a transition to a new topic. E.g.,

<u>Valēkin</u> İbrāhīmdin sözni angla, anïng cānïng qulaqï birlä tinglä. (Ḫ75v:9) 'Now hear these words about Ibrāhīm; listen to them with the ear of your soul.'

<u>Valē</u> payğambar oğlïğa baqardï, közini yašï marcān dek aqardï. (Ḫ74r:8) '(And now) whenever the Prophet looked at his son, tears of coral pears would flow from his eyes.'

(2) The phrase **ammā baʿd** 'and now to our topic' is a technical term to indicate the title or topic of a work after the conventional introductory elements [*Bismillāh*, praise of God by His creation and some of His Most Beautiful Names, praise of the Prophet by his Sublime Morals and his miracles, mention of the Prophet's companions]. E.g.,

Ammā baʿd. Mundaq aytur faqīr-i ḥaqīr, al-mutavakkilu ʿalaʾl-malikiʾl-mustaʿān, Muḥammad aš-Šaybānī ibn Abīʾl-Ḫayr Ḫān, raḥimahu'llāhu ar-Raḥmān. (RM1v:4) 'Now to begin. The humble beggar, who puts trust in God, whose aid is implored, Muhammad ash-Shaybanī, son of Abūʾ-Khayr Khān, may the mercy of God the Merciful be upon him, says as follows.'

[395] She was reading the letter.
[396] Consider *farhād* 'stone cutter' and *Farhād* prop.n. the lover of Shīrīn.
[397] Consider *šīrīn* adj. 'sweet' and *Šīrīn* prop.n. the Beloved of Farhad.

4.3.3.3.3. Disjunctive Compound Sentences

Disjunctive sentences offer a choice of two or more alternatives. The following conjunctions are used: **yā, vayā** 'or', **yā...yā** 'either, or', **yoqsa, yoq ersä** 'or else', **ḫwāh...ḫwāh, ḫwāhī...ḫwāhī** 'either...or' **ne...ne, nē...nē** 'neither...nor'. E.g.,

Cihān sävgän kišining közlärini qanāᶜat toldurur yā ölsä topraq. (Sayf93r:5) 'The eyes of the one who loves this world are either filled[398] with contentment or with dust after he dies.'

Tiriglik nišānï aḍaq yïğmaq ol, yā köz yümmäk ol, yā ağïz qïsmaq ol. (MM191r:9) 'One can tell that an animal is alive if he puts his feet together, or closes his eyes or presses his teeth together.'

Oğlan ayttï, ay äränlär yat čärigä ot urung, yā barïp ᶜavrat qumašïn käyip ävdä oturung. (Sayf11v:4-5) 'The youth said, O brave people, shoot fire into the hostile army or put on women's garments and sit at home.'

Tegär mü kirpüküm dïn cānïna oq? Balānï tüš körär mü közi yā yoq? (DN252r:7) "Does arrow from my eyelashes hit his soul? Do his eyes see dreams of misfortune or [do they] not?'

Yā naḫl bigin saḫī keräk är, yā sarv ṣifat hamīša āzād. (Sayf 177v:8) 'A person must be either generous like a palm tree[399], or free[400] like a cypress.'

Yā anga sözlägil tek oltursun, yā esik ač ravān čïqïp ketäyim. (Sayf60r:11) 'Either tell him, to be silent or open the door and let me go away.'

Erlik ol iš dägül köngül yïqqay, yā kiši ᶜaybïnï körüp čaqqay. (Sayf146v:11-12) 'It is incompatible with manly virtues to destroy a heart or to witness other people's faults and disclose them.'

Ḫwāh öltür ḫwāh tirgüz, iḫtiyār elgingdä dur. (GD102r:7) 'Either kill me, or let me live, the choice is in your hands.'

Ol qarïndaš kim nafs asïrï turur ol kišigä ne qarïndaš bolur ne yaqïn. (Sayf78r:7) 'The brother who is captive of his Carnal Soul is neither a brother to one nor a relative.'

4.3.3.3.4. Conclusive Compound Sentences

In conclusive compound sentences the cause and result relationship[401] is expressed by independent sentences. By content they are related to complex sentences with consecutive clauses. E.g.,

[398] Meaning 'satisfied'

[399] Bearing fruit

[400] From the change of seasons [being always green], from people's expectations [bearing no fruit], from care [not providing for anyone]

[401] Cause leads to a result.

Ba-nāgāh kördi mihmān közlärini, unuttï İbrāhīm ham özlärini. (Ḫ77r:3) 'Suddenly [he] caught the guest's glance and [as a consequence] was besides himself [with fear].'

Ölüp tavbasïz köp ökünčlär yedi. (MM193r:8) 'They died impenitent, [therefore] they suffered [the pangs of] deep regret.'

Ki davlat kelgüsi dur, bolma ğāfil! Saᶜādat birlä tüzgüng dur maḥāfil. (DN260v:5) 'Because good turn of fortune is coming for sure, do not be tardy: Brighten up the meeting place with the felicity of paradise.

4.3.3.3.5. Explicative Compound Sentences

In explicative compound sentences the result and cause relationship[402] is shown by independent sentences. By content they are related to complex sentences with cause clauses.

E.g.,

Uruğ äksä bolmas, kirür yergä tong. (MM193r 10) 'One cannot sow the seeds, [for] frost penetrates the soil.'

Mäning cānïmda dur könglüngdäki āh, köngüldin bar köngül ičinä čon rāh. (DN260r:2) 'The sighs of your heart are in my soul, inasmuch as there is a pathway from one heart into another.'

Tuta berdi manga cān tuḥfasïnï tegürdi yaᶜnī cānān tuḥfasïnï. (DN255r:6) 'He offered me the gift of life; he delivered to me the gift of the Beloved.'

Meni sen körmä ᶜāciz kim qavī dur maḥabbat pāyasïnda dastgāhïm. (DN257v:6) 'Do not consider me weak and beaten because firm is my seat upon the pedestal of love.'

4.3.3.4. Complex Sentences

Complex sentences consist of a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. A subordinate clause expresses a basic [subject, predicate] or a secondary member [direct object, indirect object, or adverbials] missing in the main clause. It is connected to the main clause by means of a conjunction or joined to it asyndetically. In the main sentence an adverb or an adverbial phrase may anticipate the presence and the nature of a subordinate clause.

4.3.3.4.1. Complex Sentences with a Subject Clause

In complex sentences of this group the subject is expanded into a clause. They use the conjunctions **ki, kim, har kim, har kim ki, har qaysï, har**

[402] Result is explained by a cause.

kiši, har kimsä 'who, whoever, he who', **ne kim, har ne ki, har ne** 'that, that which'. E.g.,

Ol biligli kim ešitip iš etär, lācaram maqṣūdïna āsān yetär. (Sayf 178r:8) 'The wise one who acts listening [to good advice] will definitely reach his objectives.'[403]

Kim ay burcïda yulduznï tapïp tur, tikänni gul sağïnïp oḫšatïp tur. (DN257r:10) 'He who has found a star in the house of the moon, has considered the thorn [to be] a rose and made himself to caress it.'

Kim etip tur ʿasalğa sirka tarcīḥ, oqup tur muḫtaṣar ʿilmini talvīḥ. (DN257r:11) 'He who prefers vinegar to honey is like the one who reads an abridged work in marginal notes.'

Kim etip tur ačïğ ağunï tiryāk, tiläp tur kōknār ičindä aflāk. (DN257v:1) 'He who turned bitter poison into an elixir, was looking for heaven inside a poppy-head.'

Nigārïn nečä gah ol kim ilindi, elig berdi murādï köngli tïndï. (DN254v:10) 'He who protects the image [of the Beloved], after a while he reaches his goal and his heart will be at ease.'

Kim alïp tur ağïzğa gōk terin, bilip tur ḫusn ara šakarnï šïrïn. (DN257v:2) 'He who takes the secretion[404] of a toad into his mouth will appreciate the sweetness of sugar when he is captivated by beauty.'

Ču mazmūnï sarāsar boldï maʿlūm, ne kim [er]di mubham boldï mafhūm. (DN255v:10) 'When its contents were entirely known, anything that was doubtful, now was completely understood.'

Zaqan čāhïda kim ğamdïn qutulmas, nečük tur anda ol köngli tutulmas. (DN252v:3) 'He who cannot escape sorrow in the dimple[405] of the chin, how come is not despondent there? '

Ol yüzi ay kim cihānnïng cānï dur, bu zamāna ḫublarïnïng ḫānï dur. (Sayf179r:10) 'That moon-faced [beauty] who is the soul of this world, is the ruler of the beauties of our times.'

4.3.3.4.2. Complex Sentences with a Predicate Clause

A predicate clause is the expansion of the nominal predicate or the nominal part of the nominal-verbal predicate into a subordinate clause. The conjunctions used are **ki, kim**. E.g.,

[403] Ch. *ešit-* is also used to mean 'to take, or listen to a good advice'. Cf., *Bir naṣīḥat šarfïn uš qïlduq bayān: Kim ešitmäs bolsa bizgä nä ziyān?* (Sayf178r:7) 'We have just reported what there was to say in giving a piece of good advice. If there is someone who does not listen, it is of no concern to us.'

[404] Lit., sweat

[405] Ch. *čāh* 'well', reference to a Joseph story episode: Joseph was thrown into a well by his brothers. [See Qur. 12,15].

Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i samanbar, ki yetgäy vaṣl bāğïdïn manga bar. (DN245r:2) 'My hope is, O Jasmin-Bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.'

Bu gulistān bāğbānï ol adīb kim Sarāyī Sayf erür naẓm-ï ğarīb. (Sayf7v:2) 'The gardener of this rose garden is the poet Sayf of Saray whose poems are extraordinary.'

Abū Ḥanīfa ol kimärsä ärdi kim otuz yïl yatsïğ namāzïnïng yunuğï birlä ärtä namāzïnï qïldï. (NF191,7) 'Abu Ḥanīfa was the person who for thirty years would perform the morning prayer with the ablution he had made before the night prayer.'

Män ol ṣubḥ-i saʿādat män ki Čingiz kökidin toğdum. (ShD 120r:3) 'I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis.'

4.3.3.4.3. Complex Sentences with an Object Clause

In complex sentences of this type the direct object is expressed by a subordinate clause. The conjunctions used are: **ki, kim, har kim, har kim ki, har kiši** whom'; **ne, ne kim, nemä kim, har ne kim, har ne** 'what, that'. Rarely, though, the object clause can be attached to the main clause without a conjunction.

E.g.,

Ötär könglidä har dam bir dilārāy, tilär közi ki körsä bir yangï ay. (DN254r:7) 'Every moment a sweetheart occurs to his mind. His eyes are eagerly waiting to behold a new moon.'[406]

Ne sağïndïng manga mundïn ğam erdi? Köngül zaḫmïna bu bir marham erdi. (DN243r:5) 'Why did you imagine that her tone bothers me? [Remember that blame] is a salve for the wounds of the heart!'[407]

Gar tiläsäng kim ğarāʾiblar tamāšā etkä sän, tegmä bir kün bir yängi yergä keräk kim yetkä sän. (Sayf97r:7) 'If you wish to admire strange and wonderful things, you must arrive every day to a new place.'

Kečä qoy ḫalqïna qoydï bïčağïn, tilädi kim soyuban alsa yağïn. (Sayf69r:3) 'In the evening he put his knife to the throat of the sheep, wanted to slaughter it and take its fat [tail].'

Sän saqïnma kim yeğäy män qayğu ol dam cān üčün. (Sayf 56v:6) 'Do not imagine that at that moment I would worry about my soul.'

[406] A hint at the Muslim practice of waiting for the new moon that signals the beginning of the holy month of Ramazan.

[407] Cf., MM *Malāmat muḥibb köngli tiryāqï ol.* (195v:16) 'Blame is a remedy for the lover's heart.'

Sağïndïm ādam-i ḫāṣṣï säni män. Börining ṣaʿbräki sän emiš sän. (Sayf69r:4) 'I thought you were a special person. It turns out that you are the most ferocious of wolves.'

Note: Direct quotes are considered object clauses. E.g.,

Atasï ayttï: Ay oğlum, safarnïng bu ṭarīqa fāʾidalarï köp. (Sayf97r:11) 'His father said, "O son, going on a journey has many benefits of this nature.'

Rasūlu'l-lāh soradï İbrāhīmni, tanur mu sän mäni cān dilimni? (Ḫ76r:2) 'The Prophet inquired after İbrāhīm, asking, "Do you know [my boy] the beloved of my soul and heart?"'

Dedi, bar kim közi dur yolda anïng, qulağï üngä dur ol bēnavānïng. (DN252v:11) 'She said, "Go now, because his eyes are fixed on the road.[408] The ears of that destitute are listening for the sounds [of approaching footsteps].'

Män ewdäki ḫādimlarïdïn sorar ärdim kim özi kečä yatmas mu? (NF190,15) 'I asked from his servants in the house: "Does'nt he ever lie down at night?"'

4.3.3.4.4. Complex Sentences with an Attributive Clause

An attributive clause modifies [expands, restricts or specifies] the meaning of a noun in the main sentence. This noun is mostly part of the subject, less frequently, of the predicate. As conjunctions **ki** and **kim** 'who, that, which' are used. The noun modified can be specified by **ol, ušol, bu**, or **ušbu**. E.g.,

Bu madḥï ol qaṣīdağa qïldïm cavāb kim tün zulfïnï kesärdä tutup ṣubḥ ḫancarï. (Sayf182v:1) 'I have created this panegyric poem in answer to the ode [the author of which] took the sword to cut the tresses of the night.'[409]

Men ol bulbul emäs men, ay gul-andām, ki bir dam bargsïz tapğay men ārām. (DN244v:6) 'I am not that nightingale, O Slender Sweetheart, that could find rest without rose leaves even for a moment.'

Umēdim ol dur, ay sarv-i saman bar, ki yetgäy vaṣl bāğïdïn manga bar. (DN245r:2) 'My hope is, O Jasmin-Bosomed Cypress, that I get a share from the fruit of the garden of union.'

Qïzïl altun ki vaṣfïn qïlsa bolmas, anï küydürmägінčä bilsä bolmas. (DN247r:10) 'The red gold the quality of which cannot be established by description, cannot be recognized until you burn it.'[410]

Nä bulbul teg ki bolmas šarmï ḫāʾil, bolur bir nečä kün bir gulgä māʾil. (DN254r:11) 'Unlike the nightingale that is not restrained by shame and in every few days it desires another rose.'

[408] In expectation

[409] The author of the ***qaṣīda*** this line refers to was Khwārizmī, who also wrote the *Maḥabbatnāma*.

4.3.3.4.5. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Time [Temporal Clauses]

A temporal clause gives the time frame of the action contained in the main sentence by producing another action which occurs before, after, or simultaneously with the main action.

4.3.3.4.5.1. Simultaneous Actions

In such sentences the action of the temporal clause occurs at the same time [during or parallel with] as the action of the main sentence. (Case of simultaneity). The conjunctions are not mandatory but **qačan, qačan kim, har qačan, čon** may be used. E.g.,

Altun qanatïn ačtï esä ṣubḥ sonqarï, kök kölgä battï cumla kavākib kabūtarï. (Sayf 181v:6) 'When the falcon of the dawn spread her wings, all the doves of the stars went down in the blue lake.'

Män ol ṣubḥ-i saʿādat män ki Cingīz kökidin toğdum, qačan kim täbräsäm yel teg Tīmūr šamʿï učar mändïn. (ShD120r:3-4) 'I am the dawn of felicity born from the roots of Chingiz: 'When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Tīmūr goes out as I pass.'

Čon köngülär ölgäy, anïng köngli ölmägäy. (NNMp.111) 'When hearts [of others] die, his heart will not die.'

Ču qoysang ol ḫarāb allïda gāmē, bitigni tēz tegür, bizdin salāmē. (DN246v:5) 'When you put your foot in front of that ruin,[411] give him the letter right away and convey to him a greeting from us.'

Ravān qïldï falak čon cām-i Camšēd, ačïqlanïp qïzarïp čïqtï ḫwaršēd. (DN242r:11) 'When the sky sent around the cup of Jamshid, the sun came out embarrassed and turned red.'

Ču körgüzdi maḥabbatnï yüz alvān, tükätti nāmanï va qïldï ʿunvān. (DN246v:2) 'Having shown [her] love in a hundred ways she completed the letter and wrote the address on it.'

[410] Probing it with *aqua regia*.

[411] I.e., when you come to the presence of that wretched person

Qalam tili čōn fārīğ boldï andïn, davāt ağzïnï yaptï tarcumāndïn. (DN259r:4) 'When the tip of the pen was through [writing], the inkholder that the interpreter was using closed its mouth.'

Note: The main clause and the subordinate clause can also be connected asyndetically, especially if the verb of the subordinate clause is in the temporal-conditional form. The temporal clause can be dependent on more than one sentences. E.g.,

Gulāb ïdï ki kelsä yüz čevürmä. Anïng ol ḫidmatïn yüzigä urma. (DN244r:5) 'When the scent of rose water wafts toward you, do not turn your face away, do not refuse[412] its services.'

4.3.3.4.5.2. The Action of the Subordinate Clause Occurs Before the Action of the Main Clause. (Case of Anteriority).

The following conjunctions introduce the subordinate clause: **andïn bärü kim, ki tā, tā** 'since, ever since'.

Andïn bärü kim aldï ušol dilrubā köngül, küydi cafāda körmädi hargiz vafā kongül. (AM 192v:5) 'Since that heartravisher took [my] heart, the heart suffered cruelty and did not ever experience any mercy.'

Yüz alvān šēvalig šōḫ-i šakarḫand, ki tā kördi labïngnï eridi qand. (DN243v:5) 'You are a mischiefmaker with a sweet smile and with a hundred feats of coquetry. Since the rock candy saw your lips, it began to melt.'[413]

Tüšüp tur tā ešiking gardï közgä, körünmäp tur közümgä surma özgä. (DN257r:6) 'Since the dust at your threshold got into [my] eyes, nothing else is used as collyrium for my eyes.'

Körüp tur tā yangaqïng sarï dïda, bolup tur almadïn könglüm guzīda. (DN257r:7) 'Ever since the eye[414] looked toward your face, my heart has been a more preferred simile [to express joy and sadness] than the apple.'[415]

4.3.3.4.5.3. The Action of the Subordinate Clause Occurs After the Action of the Main Clause. (Case of Posteriority).

The conjunctions used are **andïn burun kim, ol qadar kim, tā, avval ki** 'before, ere.' E.g.,

[412] Lit., Do not throw it back into its face.
[413] The candy was so overwhelmed by the sweetness of your lips.
[414] The first person singular and plural possessive suffixes are often omitted
[415] The apple has two colors, the sincere heart has only one. Cf. Sayf *dōst vidā'ï n qïlïp turur magar alma? Bir ṭarafï za'farān biri ḫamrā.* 'Maybe the apple is saying good-bye to a friend: one of its sides is saffron, the other is wine[-colored].'

Ḫayr qïl, ay niʿmatï köp ḫwāca sän andïn burun, kim yürip degāy munādī qalmadï ḫwāca fulān. (Sayf19r:8-9) 'Be generous,[416] O Wealthy Lord, before the street-crier goes around saying: "Lord So-and-so passed away."'

Kämäči ol qadar ṣabr etti kim yigit kämä yipin elinä čörgädi. (Sayf101r12) 'The boatman waited until the youth reeled the rope of the boat around his hand.'

4.3.3.4.6. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Place

[Local Clause]

In sentences of this group the place of the action of the main sentence is expressed by a clause. The conjunctions used are **qanda kim, ne yergä kim, har qayda kim, ne yerdä kim** 'wherever', **qayda, ne yerdä, ne yergä** 'where'.

E.g.,

Qanda kim tatlï su aqar bolsa, qurt va quš balïq andan eksilmäs. (Sayf22r:11) 'Wherever sweet water flows, there is no shortage of wolves, birds and fish.'

Qayda barsa ol saʿādat aḫtarï hamrāhï män. (HBD204:1) 'Wherever that star of felicity goes I am his companion.'

Ne yergä kim ärišsä ʿālim anda bilürlär qīmatïn arï guhar teg. (Sayf97v:9) 'Wherever a wise man goes, people would know his value exactly as they know the value of a real pearl.'

Ne yerdä gul bar anda tikän bar. (Sayf158r:3) 'Where there are roses, there are [also] thorns.'

Ay gul ḫaddïngnï bil dağï lāf urma, čōn seni har qayda kim yoluqsa ṣabā ḫwaš tutar qučar. (GD48-4) 'O, Rose, be aware of your limits and do not brag because no matter where it meets you, the morning wind keeps you happy and embraces you.'

Ne yerdä kim qadīmī dīvār körsä biläk quvvatï bilän yïqïp kečär. (Sayf149r3) 'Where he sees an ancient wall he demolishes it with the force of his arm.'

4.3.3.4.7. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Manner

[Modal Clause]

The modal clause expresses the manner by which the action of the main sentence is executed. The following conjuctions are used: **kim, ki, andağ kim**. The adverb **andağ** may join the main senence to anticipate the modal clause. Its usual place is before the verb. E.g.,

[416] I.e., do good deeds

Payğambar sunnatïnï andağ tergüzgäy sän kim sändin oza ham bir kim ärsä andağ tergüzmiš bolmağay. (NF192,5) 'You will arrange the traditions of the Prophet so that no one else before you has ever arranged them in that fashion.'

Törtinč kün qatïğ uruštïlar andağ kim payğambar ekindü namāzï taqï aḫšam namāzï qïlu bilmädi. (NF30,15).'For four days they fought so hard that the Prophet was not able to carry out his afternoon prayer and his evening prayer.'

Män taqï ağzïmnï ačtïm ärsä ağzïmda tüfkürdi, andağ kim mubārak todaqï mänim ağzïmğa tegdi. (NF202,12-13). 'When I opened my mouth, he spat into my mouth in such a way that his blessed lips touched my mouth.'

Män taqï oyğandïm taqï engän säwündüm šād boldum andaq kim sävüngänimni hēč ṣifat qïlu bilmäz män. (NF271,15) 'I also woke up and rejoiced very much and was so happy that I am not able to characterize my happiness.'

Note: Adverbials of manner are preferably expressed by verbal adverbs [gerunds]. E.g.,

Aḥvālï qatïğ boldï, zār zār yïğlayu Ḥaqq taʿālâqa munācāt qïlu cān berdi. (NF95,17) 'His situation was very grave, crying bitterly, reciting a soliloqui to God the Most High, he gave up his soul.'

4.3.3.4.8. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Degree

The clause of degree indicates the extent or measure of the action of the main verb. The conjunction used is **kim**. In the main sentence the phrases **ol qadar** and **az bas ki** may anticipate the clause. E.g.,

Ol qadar muhmalātdan sözlädi kim dağï sözlämägä macālï qalmadï. (Sayf92v:12) 'He produced so much idle talk that he had no power left to talk.'

Sačïm az bas ki özin urdï barham, säning ḥālïng bigin dur vaqte darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'

Dostqa ol qadar yārï qïlğïl kim dušman bolsa sanga ẓafar tapmağay. (Sayf39v:9) 'Help your friend [only] to the extent that if he becomes your enemy he will not overcome you.'

Ol qadar qattïlïq etmägil kim sändän toyğaylar. (Sayf164r:11) 'Do not be so harsh that people get fed up with you.'

Ol qadar yumšaq bolmağïl kim seni ayaq altïnda qoyğaylar. (Sayf164r:12) 'Do not be so soft that peopl e squash you under their feet.'

4.3.3.4.9. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Cause

[Causal Clause]

The causal complex sentence consists of a main clause and a causal clause. The causal clause expresses the cause, reason, or motive for the action of the main clause. Conjunctions used in the causal clause are: **čon** [short, in poetry **ču**], **kim, ki** [Persian], **andïn kim, nedin kim, negä kim, ne üčün kim, nečün kim, mundaq kim** 'because' [real, actual, objective cause], for, since [the speaker's subjective view], owing to.'

E.g.,

Vafāsïzlïq ḫaṭṭïnï tartma köp bitimäs čon firišta ol gunāhïm. (DN257v:10) 'Do not draw seven lines on my grave to obtain for me forgiveness for my being unfaithful[417], because the angel does not record that transgression of mine.'

Sävünmäk yoq körüp dušman ölüsin, kälisär čon bizä ol davr ayaqï. (Sayf46r:6-7) 'There is no use to rejoice upon seeing the demise of [our] enemy, because the very cup that goes around will definitely come to us [one day].'

Ḫiyālïm yolïdïn közüngni alma ču boldum cān sanga könglüngni salma! (DN248r:5) 'Do not take off your eyes from the road of my phantom images. Since I have become your life, do not cast away your heart.'

Netük men ävüräyin öz ğamïmdïn, ki pūlād erigäy otluğ damïmdïn. (DN256v:8) 'How would I turn away from my own sadness, since [even] the steel melts from my fiery breath.'

Daryā ʿišqingni kezip hargiz ki pāyān tapmadïm, män mubtalā gardābïda qaldïm ki darmān tapmadïm. (ShD108r:8-9) 'I roamed the sea of your love because I did not find its boundaries. Afflicted I was left in its vortex becauseI found no remedy.'

Ay Šabānī čon berip tur fatḥ va nuṣrat kardgār, sar ba-sar alsang Ḫurāsān mayl-i Tabrēz äyläbän. (ShD132r:1-2) 'O Shaban since the Creator has granted you victory and taking cities, you should take Khorasan piece by piece on your way to Tabriz.'

Kabāb otqa tüšär nākāmlïqïtïn, kim andïn vahm etär el ḫāmlïqïtïn. (DN247r:11) 'The [raw] meat falls into the fire in disappointment, because people are apprehensive of its rawness.'

Manga raḥm et ki köp boldï nafïrim muʿanbar zulfnï qïl dastgïrim. (DN256v:11) 'Have mercy on me, because my complaint has become overwhelming. Make the scented tress be my helper.'

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[417] This idiom is based on P. *ḫaṭṭ ba qabr kašīdan* 'to draw, after internment, seven lines on a tomb, believed to secure forgiveness to the dead' (Steingass, p. 466b).

Qalamlardïn durust ermäs rivāyat, ki sïğmas tillärigä ol ḥikāyat. (DN248v:4) 'It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.'[418]
Kiring učmaḥqa ol sabab birlä kim dunyadā edgü ʿamallar qïlur erdingiz. (NF99r:8) 'Enter Paradise on the account that you have done good works in this world.'

Notes: (1) After verbs expressing fear, anxiety, or concern [e.g., **qorq-** 'to fear', **asra-** 'to protect', **ḥafv et-** 'to be afraid'; **andēša qïl-** to be concerned'] the reason for these feelings is indicated by a causal clause. E.g.,

Özini asradï ol ṣāfmašrab ki bar erdi qamar allïda ʿaqrab. (DN 258r:7) 'That pure-hearted one protected herself because one of the Moon's mansions was confronting Scorpio.'[419]
ʿİšq otïnïng šuʿlasï tüssä Harīgä nāgahān, qorqaram emdi Harïning mulkï vērān olmasun. (ShD139r:11-12) 'When the flames of the fire of love suddenly engulfs Herat, I fear that the kingdom of Heart will turn into ruins.'

(2) After interjections the clause introduced by **ki** or **kim** is a causal clause. E.g.,

Yoq tur cānïma ṭāqat, bar könglümä yüz miḥnat, yā Rabb ki fidā bolsun anga bu yoq va barïm.[420] (ShD107v:1) 'My soul has no patience, there are a hundred miseries in my heart. O Lord, may what I have and what I don't have be sacrificed to you.'
Āh u vāvaylā ki dilbar äylämiš ʿazm-ī ʿIraq; qoyğusï dur bizni zār ū ḥasta dar band-ī firāq. (GD111,1) 'O Dear me! [There is a rumor that] my Heart-ravisher decided to move to ʿIraq. She will for sure put me, mournful and sick, into he fetters of separation.]

The conjunctions **ki** or **kim** may be missing. E.g.,

Har tünlä falak yüzin āhïm tütüni tuttï, yā Rabb, tïra bolmasun ol āʾïna-ruḥsārïm. (ShD107r:13) 'Every night the smoke of my sighs clouds the surface of the sky. O Lord, may my mirrorlike cheeks not become troubled [thereby].'

[418] I.e., the nib of the pen
[419] Cf. P. *qamar dar ʿaqrab* lit. 'Moon in the Scorpion.' Astrologers use this term for the passage of the moon in which one of its mansions confronts the Scorpio (Haim II, p. 372). This situation is deemed by astrologers to have evil consequences.
[420] Lit., My existence and nonexistence.' I.e., all that I was before I annihilated my Carnal Soul and all that remained after I did.'

4.3.3.4.10. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Result

[Consecutive Clause]

A clause of result indicates the consequences of the action expressed in the main clause. The conjunctions **kim** or **ki** 'so that' are used to attach it to the main sentence.Sometimes the conjunction is omitted and the two clauses are joined assyndetically. In the main clause a demonstrative adverb [**andaq, anča, äylä** 'so, so much'] or an adverbial phrase [such as **anïng teg** 'so much'] may anticipate the clause of result. E.g.,

Qašïm čandān säning fïkringni qïldï, ki qayğudïn boyï ya teg egildi. (DN259v:11) 'My eyebrow had thought so much about you that from sorrow its body became bent like the bow of an arrow.'
Anïng teg oqudï šiʿr-i nihānī, ki toymay qaldï ol elning yamānï. (DN258r:8) 'She was reciting a cabalistic poem in such a way that the evil people would not comprehend it.'
Anïng teg bizni ḫwaš kör kim begänsün ʿaql rūḥ anï. (Sayf 179v:4) 'Look at us in such a pleasant way that intellect and spirit may approve of it.'
Anča asay men seni kim ingirä. (AC327v:3) 'I will hang you up [and leave you alone until] you[r gourds] crack.'[421]
Tanbūra deg yüzni qïlay paymāl, äylädi oğlanlar anï dastmāl. (AC324r:8) 'I will trample a face like Ṭanbūra's under foot so that servants will [be needed to] scoop it up with their hands.'
Ol yigit maḥabbat tängizinä äylä mustağraq bolup turur edi kim sözlämägä macālï yoq edi. (Sayf114v:5) 'That youth was so much immersed in the sea of love that he was not able to talk.'
Anïng teg bolmïšam ḫayrān sanga kim körünmäs közümäʿālam-da diyār. (GD82:5) 'I admire you so much that I do not see the cities of this world.'[422]
Közümdin anča sayl aqtï aqïndïn toldï bu ʿālam. (Sayf183r:13) 'Such flood burst forth from my eyes that this world was filled with raging water.'
Män yätiz ʿālim boldum, Abū Ḥanīfagä iḥtiyācïm qalmadï. (NF193:17) 'I have become a fine scholar. I have no need of Abū Ḥanīfa [any longer].'

4.3.3.4.11. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Comparison

[Comparative Clause]

A clause of comparison indicates that the action of the main clause takes place in the same fashion, with the same intensity or degre as the action

[421] Says Tanbura to Kingira, a musical instrument in the heat of a debate. Cf. Aḥmadī, *A Contest of the String Instruments* (327v:3).
[422] Meaning: And therefore I wander alone in the desert like Macnūn.

of the comparative clause. The conjunctions **ki**, or **kim, netük kim, nečük kim, nätäg kim** 'as, just as, like' are used in the subordinate clause. If the comparison is not complete, the conjunctions **gōyā, gōyā ki** 'as if' are used. E.g.,

Tüzälip sarv boyung ešikimdin kirip kelgäy netük kim tangä cānï. (DN251v:1) 'May your cypress-like body rise at my door and enter like soul enters the body.'

Ḫān ham kelip Aḫsïni qapap edi, nečük kim maẓkūr boldï. (Bābur 31v:10) 'The Khan also arrived and besieged Akhsi, as was mentioned [above].'

Bešnamāz gunāhïngïznï yup ketärür andaq kim arïq suyï badanning kirini kitärür. (RM25v:2) 'The five prayers wash away your sins just as the water of the canal removes the dirt from your body.'

Rūḥ-i qudsī dur Gadāning sözi, gōyā kim tamām fayż-i anfāsï Kalāmu'llāh bayānï kör nä dur. (GD68,7) Gadā'ï's words are the Holy Spirit as if the benefit of all his was equal to the message of the Qur'ān. Behold, what it is!'

Note: (a) If the main close contains an adjective in the comparative degree, the comparative clause is introduced by **ki** or **kim**. E.g,

Mänim halākligim yaḫšïraq andan kim yazuqsuz qan tökülgünčä. (Sayf33v:12) 'My destruction [by this disease] is preferable than to shed the blood of an innocent person.'

4.3.3.4.12. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Purpose

[Final clause].

A final clause expresses the purpose of the action in the main sentence. It is attached to the main clause by the conjunctions **kim, ki, ki tā, tā kim, tā ān ki** 'that, so that, in order that.'

E.g.,

Camāling nūr salgay tofrağïmğa söyüngäy qālibim rūḥ u ravānï. (DN251r:11) 'May the beauty of your face throw light upon my grave so that the soul and spirit of my body could rejoice.'

Kečär cānïdïn avval suda ğavvāṣ, ki tā aḫar bolur bir durrgä ol ḫāṣṣ. (DN253v:7) 'First the diver risks his life in the sea so that later he could be the exclusive owner of a single[423] pearl.'

Kesär köp šāḫnï dihqān tiliki, ki tā bir mēvagä yetär eligi. (DN 253v:9) 'The farmer cuts in many branches with his grafting knife so that his hands obtain [some] fruit.'

[423] In the sense of 'unique'.

Ṣabā allïngda barïp tartmay āh, ki qatïğ kelmäsün könglüngä nāgāh. (DN256v:7) 'The Zephyr comes to your presence but does not heave a sigh so that your heart be not aggravated.'

Āh közüm, sen ʿišq sirrin kizlä, ṭufān bolmasun. Bu źaʿïf cismingdä ʿišqning baḥrï ṭuğyān olmasun. (ShD130r:7-8) 'O My Eye, hide the secret of love, so that tempest will not arise, so that the sea of love in my fragile body will not overflow and cause a deluge.'

Bäyiktin sāya körgüzür humāyē, ki tā davlat tapar andïn gadāyē (DN258v:10) 'From high above Phoenix casts his shadow so that through it the beggar may obtain a kingdom.'[424]

Kök üstindin salur ay yergä nūrïn, ki tā kasb etär andïn yer ḥuẓūrïn. (DN258v:9) 'From the top of the sky the moon projects its light down upon the earth in order to capture the presence of the earth thereby.'

Bir qul kentgä bardï kim tuz ketürgäy. (Sayf31r:1) 'A servant went to town to bring some salt.'

Yüzüng közgü dur, ay ḥusn ičrä māhïm, ḥaẓar qïl kim anï tutmasun āhïm. (DN257v:5) 'Your face is a mirror, O My Moon Among Beauties! Beware lest my sighs may fog over that [mirror].'

Yuqarïdïn inip yamğur tüšär pāk, ki tā andïn tirilir ḫār ḫāšāk. (DN 258v:11) 'Descending from above the rain falls evenly[425] so that thorn and rubbish may come to life.'

Barïp men tā tišing fikridä özdin, salïp men sihr ara gavharnï közdin. (DN257r:8) 'In the thought about your teeth I have been beside myself to such an extent that as if being under a spell I have had no eyes for[426] [genuine] pearls.'

Sačïm az bas ki özin urdï barham, säning ḥalïng bigin dur vaqte darham. (DN260r:1) 'My hair, inasmuch as it unraveled itself, became messed up like the state [of your heart].'

4.3.3.4.13. Complex Sentences with a Clause of Condition

The conditional clause in complex sentences expresses the condition under which the action of the main verb materializes. The classical division of conditional sentences in Indo-European languages, with somewhat less stricture, applies also in Chagatay. So we distinguish

[424] Reference to the Persian legend according to which the person upon whom the fabulous bird *humā* casts a its shadow will become a king.

[425] The Creator bestows His grace upon everyone without distinction. Cf., Saʿdī *Anïng sansïz sağïšsïz raḥmatïnïng yağmurï barčağa yätip turur* 'The rain of His countless and boundless grace reaches everyone.'

[426] I.e., I don't take interest in...

conditional sentences with real conditions, potential conditions and unreal conditions.

4.3.3.4.13.1. Complex Conditional Sentences with Real Conditions

The conditional clause states a fact as the condition for the action in the main sentence. Since the condition, expressed by the present conditional, is real there is no doubt that the action of the main sentence, indicated by the present tense of the aorist, will occur. Sentences of this type come very close to temporal sentences. E.g.,

Bu ʿādat ḫwaš yïğačlar šēvasïdïn, ki taš atsang berürlär mēvasïdïn. (DN247v:8) 'This observation was made on the nature of fruit trees: If you throw stones [at them] they give you some of their fruit.'

Muʿallim bolmasa haybatlï, ay yār, saqalïndan tutup oğlanlar oynar. (Sayf141v:8) 'If the teacher has no authority, O Friend, the pupils will grab his beard and dance [around him].'

Nāgahān bavvāb va it körsä ğarīb, bu yaqasïn ol etägin bek tutar. (Sayf29r:6) 'When suddenly a doorman and a dog discover a stranger [at the gate], the former grabs him by the collar, while the latter, by the skirt.'

Ay Ḫurāsān ahlï Šaybān bir avuč tofraq edi. Kimgä Ḥaqq qïlsa ʿināyat ḫān va ham sulṭān bolur. (ShD42r:9-10) 'O, People of Khurasan realize that [once] I was a handful of dust.The one whom God blesses with his Divine Aid, will become a Khan or a Sultan.'

4.3.3.4.13.2. Complex Conditional Sentences with Potential Conditions

The condition expressed in the conditional clause is potential: it may or may not happen. If it does, the action of the main sentence will for sure occur. The conjunctions **agar, gar** to introduce the conditional sentence is frequent in this group. These conjunctions do not necessarily require the verb to be in the conditional form.

E.g.,

Sening kōyungdïn, ay körk ičrä bāğïm, bašïm gar barsa barmağay ayağïm. (DN244v:5) 'From your quarter, O, My Garden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.'

Ne boldï gōy agar arż etti ḥālïn, dedi sargaštalikdin öz malālïn? (DN244v:2) 'What would happen if the polo ball told us about how it feels? If it revealed its distress caused by its running hither and thither?'

Agar sendin öčär elning čirāğï, manga sendin yarur ummēd bāğï (DN249v:4) 'If people's candle goes out because of you[427], for me, because of you, the garden of hope will light up.'

Zamāna ḫublarïn qïlsaq ḥikāyat, cihanda qalmağay hargiz šikāyat. (ShD25r:2) 'If I talk about the beauties of our days, no complaint whatsoever will remain in this world.'

Bularğa bir nafas qïlsaq tafakkur, ušandïn ačïlur nūr-i hidāyat. (ShD25r:12) 'If I meditate on this matters even for a moment, the light of guidance emerges from my thoughts.'

Ğamïmdïn gar desä ičimdäki dāğ, bulut teg yïğlağay ün tartïban dāğ. (DN256v:10) 'If the pain I feel talked about my sorrow, the mountain would cry aloud shedding tears copiously like clouds.'

Šabānī seväridin sorsa kim netkäy sensizin, özüngdä har nä ki bar mendin özgäni sal! - där. (ShD56v:5-6) 'If Shabānī asks his beloved: "What can I do without you?" She replies, "Cast away all that is in you other than I.'

Tüzälmäsün yüzüm dïn qiblasïna, gar özgä sarï bolsa rōy u rāhïm. (DN257v:9) 'My face should not turn to the qibla of [our] religion if my face and the road I walk are directed toward others.'[428]

Qutulmay qayğudïn gar furqatïngda ğamïngdïn özgä bolsa ʿuẓr-ḫwāhïm. (DN257v:8) 'I do not wish to rid myself from sadness if in your absence other than grief because of you is my apologist.'

Agar bu kečä munda qalsaq, halāk bolur miz. (NF16v:2) 'If we stay here tonight, we will perish.'

Agar sūsmār säning payğambarlïqïnga tanuqluq bersä, män sanga ïnanur män. (NF18r:10-11) 'If the lizard bears witness to your being the Prophet, I will believe in you.'

Agar cān tartsam cāndïn ne ḥāṣil, körünmäs közgä ol andïn ne ḥāṣil? (DN250v:4) 'If my soul suffers, what is the yield of the soul? If it does not show in front of my eyes, what is the use of it?

Ne der sen munda gar keltürsäm anï, nihufta ündäsäm ol bēnavānï? (DN258v:7) 'What would you say if I brought him here? If I secretly invited that miserable person?'

Agar sen anda körsäng nāgah āzār, men ešitip bolur men munda afğār. (DN260r:3) 'If you suddenly suffer an injury there, I will be wounded as soon as I hear about it.'

Agar tandïn desäm bir ḫāksārē, ne körüngäy ešikingdä ğubārē. (DN250v:5) 'If I tell about a person that he is humble, how would a speck of dust look at your threshold?'

[427] Cf. Sayf, *Gulistān bi't-turkī* [172v:11]

[428] The Sufī notion of *mā sivā'llāh* 'other than God' is used in this distich. The heart should be emptied from all other than God and only then can it be filled with God.

4.3.3.4.13.2. Complex Conditional Sentences with Unreal Conditions

The conditional clause contains a hypothetical, contrary to fact statement expressed by the past tense form of the conditional. The main clause speculates what would have happened had the unreal condition come true. For this he past tense of the optative mood or the gerund in **-gunča** are used. E.g.,

> **Agar bu äšäk bolmasa edi, bayṭār qatïna barmağay edi.** (Sayf 147r:13). 'Had he not been an ass, he would not have gone to see a veterinarian [for eye treatment].'
>
> **Yïlan tapsa edi yaḫšï ol oğlannï toğurğunča.** (Sayf146r:3) 'It would have been better for her to come upon a snake than to give birth to that child.'
>
> **Agar män tangrïdan äylä qorqsam edi kim sän sulṭāndan qorqar sän, ṣiddīqlär cumlasïndan bolğay edim.** (Sayf41r:4-6) 'If I had been afraid of God as you are afraid of the Sultan, I would have been one of His closest friends.'
>
> **Ayağïng tofrağïn gar tapsam erdi, anï elning közidin yapsam erdi, yüzüm altunğa tutğay erdi anï, közidä asrağay erdi nihānī.** (DN150v:9-10) 'Had I but got hold of the dust your feet were walking on, had I but covered it from people's eyes, my face would have treasured it as gold and would have kept it secretly in the eyes.[429]

4.3.3.4.14. Complex Sentences with a Concessive Clause

A concessive clause expresses a condition which even if granted, does not take away the validity of the predication made by the main sentence. In other words, the action or state expressed in the main sentence will take place or will continue to exists even in the presence of the condition stipulated by the concessive clause. The conjunctions used are **agarči, garči** 'although' and, less frequently, the phrasal conjunctions **bā vucūd kim, bā vucūd-i ol kim** 'in spite of, despite, notwithstanding'. The main sentence can be introduce by **valē, valēkin**, or **ammā** 'but'.

Predication in both the concessive and the main clauses can be achieved by nominal sentences in the present tense. The most frequently used tense form in the concessive clause, however, is the present conditional, although the definite past may also occur. In the main clause the aorist, the gerund **-ban/-bän**[430] or the future tense of the optative mood[431] are used. E.g.,

[429] For *közidä* cf. P. *ba-čašm*.
[430] In predicative function. See 3.6.7.2.3.
[431] See 3.6.5.5.1.

> **Dedi, "Dam urmay atlanmaq keräk sen, agarči yel sen yanmaq keräk sen".** (DN246v:4) 'She said, "You must be on your way without resting. Although you are a wind, you must turn around and come back [this ime]."'
>
> **Agarči dard evining maḫramï men, ğamïngda nālalarnïng hamdamï men.** (DN251r:5) 'Although I am intimate with the house of pain[432], in sorrow for you I am a confidant of complaints.'[433]
>
> **Men ol it men ki gar yüz qatla sürsäng, yüz evürmän agarči yüz evürsäng.** (DN251r:3) 'I am that dog that even if you chase away a hundred times, does not turn away its head[434] although you turn away[435] yours.'
>
> **Bu Šabānī garči hān oldï gadāyïng dur sening. Kim fidā äylär sanga yüz ming munung dek taḫt u tāc.** 'Although this Shabānī has become an emperor, he has remained a beggar at your door who is ready to sacrifice for You a hundred thousand thrones and crowns like this.'
>
> **Garči közümdin yïraq boldung köngüldä bar sen, šīša-i könglüm ara šīrīn zulālïng saqladïm.** (ShD100v:12-13) 'Although you were far from my eyes, you were inside my heart. I kept safe your sweet and limpid water in the bottle of my heart.'
>
> **Boyung zulfung ağïzdïn tapïban kām, ulašmas garčï tanvïn va alif lām.** (DN256r:8) 'Your figure and your tresses obtain gratification from the mouth[436], although the [strokes of the] *tanvīn* and the letters *alif-lām* [in this sequence] never touch.'[437]

Note: (1) The conditional conjunctions **agar, gar** 'if' can also be used to introduce concessive clauses. E.g.,

> **Agar salsam naẓarnï köz yašïna, ne bolğay qaṭrae daryā qašïna?** (DN 250v:7) 'Suppose I cast a glance at the tears,[438] what is the value of a single drop against [the waters of] a river?'[439]
>
> **Sening köyungdïn, ay körk ičrä bāğïm, bašïm gar barsa barmağay ayağïm.** (DN244v:5) 'From your quarter O, My Garden [in the realm] of Beauty, even if my head goes, my feet will not leave.'

[432] A hint at Jacob's 'House f sorrow'.
[433] I complain a great deal.
[434] A sign of disobedience.
[435] In disregard, or contempt
[436] People praise them.
[437] To appreciate the image please consider that *alif* stands for the figure of the Beloved, straight like the character *alif*, and *lām* represents her hair, curled up at the end like the letter *lām*. These characters in this sequence are not connected in writing and the strokes of the *tanvīn* never touch.
[438] If I take notice of or consider the value or significance of...
[439] Rivers and seas are considered infinite sources of wealth [fishing, pearls, transportation; symbol of the vast and the infinite.

Gabr agar yüz yïl ot yaqar bolsa ičinä tüšicäk küyär fï'l-ḥāl. (Sayf24r:7) 'Even if the fireworshipper tends the fire for a hundred years, the fire will burn him in no time when he falls into it.'

(2) Concessive clauses occur also without a conjunction. Such clauses, however, must have their verbal predicates in the conditional form. E.g.,

Ḥarīṣ yesä cihānnï hanūz ač va faqīr. (Sayf166v:6) 'Even if the greedy person eats up the entire world, he still is hungry and poor.'

4.3.3.4.15. Complex Sentences with a Universal Concessive Clause

The concessive clause in a universal concessive sentence indicates a free choice of any number of conditions which even if granted would not change the validity of the main clause.

The conjunctions used are **nečä, nečä kim, har nečä, har nečä kim, har čand** 'however much; no matter how much', **har ne, har ne ki** 'no matter what, whatsoever', **har nečük** 'however', **har ki, har kim** 'whoever, no matter who'. E.g,

Berür tağ ādamï karlïğ nišānï, ki <u>har ne desäng</u> aytur ol ham anï. (DN248r:4) 'The man of the mountain[440] displays the sign of deafness. Whatever you say, he says the same thing.'

Qamïš ham ḫālī ermäs kim berü[r] qand, <u>nečä ayïrsang</u> anïng bandïdïn band. (DN247v:10) 'Also, the sugar cane is never empty but dispenses sugar no matter how you tear it up joint by joint.[441]

Bu Harïning dāniš ahlï <u>har nečä ʿayb etsängiz</u>, qayda kim bolsa Šabānī ol Samarqand ārzūlar. (ShD42v:7-8). 'No matter how much you blame me, people of Hari: Wherever Shaybani is, he will always long for Samarqand.'

Hacr ara küygän köngül ḫālïnï bilmäs dur kiši: <u>har ki yansa</u> ʿūd teg ol ḫwaš nafas dur dūd emäs. (ShD64v:8-9) 'One does not know the state of the heart burning in the fire of separation. Whoever burns like the aloe wood emits a fragrant breath, not smoke.'

<u>Ne kim čïqsa</u> tilidin cān talašur, ačïq söz tatlïğ ağïzğa yarašur. (DN243r:6) 'Whatever comes from her tongue, thrusts one into agony. Bitter words becomes the sweet mouth.'

<u>Nečä kim</u> cannat havāsï bolsa al-ḥaqq dilgušāy, bolmağusï dur valē Bāğ-ī Ḫiyāvāndïn laṭīf. (GD101,6) 'No matter how refreshing is indeed the air in Paradise, it is not as charming as the Promenade by the Hiyavan canal.'

Tang nasïmi luṭf ilä har nečä kim cānbaḫš erür, bolmağay hargiz valē paygām-i cānāndïn laṭīf. (GD101,2) 'No matter how life bestowing is the morning breeze with [its] grace, it will never be more gracious than a message from the Beloved.'

[440] I.e., echo.

[441] I.e., Even if you destroy the form, the essence remains. You must destroy the form to get to the essence.

4.4. THE WORD ORDER

By the position of subject and predicate, the two main components of the sentence, we distinguish direct [S + P] and inverted [P + S] word orders.

4.4.1. Direct Word Order

In a direct word order the subject precedes the predicate. E.g.,

Fiğānïm tïndï. 'My sobbings ceased.'

Firyād učtï. 'My call for help took off.'

Ṭarab keldi. 'Merriment has arrived.'

Ğam fï'l-ḥāl köčti. 'Sadness at once departed'

in the chain of the coordinated compound sentence:

Fiğānïm tïndï va firyād učtï, ṭarab keldi va ğam fï'l-ḥāl köčtï. (DN249r:3)

Note: If the subject is not expressed by a noun or pronoun and is indicated only by the finite form of the verb, the direct object that begins the sentence and precedes the verb must be in the marked accusative case. E.g.,

<u>Sabā elini</u> öptüm qoyuban baš, anga iḫlāṣ nūrïn etibän fāš. (DN 249v:1) 'I kissed the hand of the Morning breeze bowing my head and showing her the light of perfect sincerity.'

4.4.2. Inversion

In sentences with inverted word order the verbal predicate precedes the subject. Most of the time they are side by side with no other sentence elements between them. Other parts of the sentence may precede or follow the Predicate + Subject group, or come between the predicate and the subject. E.g.,

<u>Ayrïlğay ğam atï</u> cān daftarïndïn, köngül camʿïna <u>tartïlğay raqamlar</u>. (DN248v:1) 'The name of sorrow will be deleted[442] from the journal of life. The numbers will be drawn to the total of the heart.[443]

[442] Lit., will depart

[443] The partial results will total to the serenity of the heart.

Qalamlardïn durust ermäs rivāyat, ki sïğmas tillärigä ol hikāyat. (DN248v:4) 'It is not right for pens to [attempt to] produce a narrative, because the story does not fit into their tongues.[444]

Farāğat rūdïdïn tegdi sadāyē, bašarat kökidin yetti navāyē. (DN 249r:4) 'From the instrument of leisure there came a voice. From the heaven of the good tidings there came a tune.'

Tikip mü dur közin ḫālïmğa ol yār, agarči ʿaynğa yoq nuqta darkār. (DN252r:9) 'Has that friend kept staring at my beauty spot even though the dot has no use for the eye.[445]

Alarnïng čon bu sözgä tüšti rāyï, arağa kirdi rağbat kadḫudāyï. (DN259r:1) 'When those two achieved consensus on this, the desire to act entered the scene as an arbitrator.'

Tüzätip kečälär egri teg ünin, ačïp tïrnaqï birlän ğam tügünïn. (DN259v:6) 'At nights he tunes his voice, as you tune a guitar. [Picking the guitar] with his fingernails he unties the knots of grief.'[446]

4.4.3. Word Order of Phrasal Verbs

Phrasal verbs consist of a nominal element and an auxiliary verb. In prose works this is their normal sequence. In poetry, however, elements of phrasal verbs can be separated by other sentence elements. Also, their sequence can be reversed. E.g., **paydā qïl-** 'to disclose' and **huvaydā et-** 'to make visible in:

Qïlïp ay teg yüzüng nūrïnï paydā, etip kün ẓarrağa mihrin huvaydā. (DN250v:2) 'Your moonlike face revealed its light. The sun manifested its love to a speck of dust.'[447]

or **muqābil bol-** 'to face s.th.' and **qābil tüš-** 'to become capable' in

Bolur bir ayğa har kün muqābil, tüšüp tur ol naẓar ʿilmidä qābil. (DN254r:6) 'He is facing a moon every day and has become an expert in the skill of observation.'

or **munavvar qïl-** 'to light up, illuminate'

Közin saldï anga ol māhpaykar, šabistān šamʿdïn qïldï munavvar. (DN258r:5) 'That moon-faced beauty took a look at that and illuminated it with the candle of the night-chamber.'

[444] I.e., the nib of the pen

[445] To write "eye" in Arabic you don't need a dot above the letter *ʿayn*.

[446] In Shaybānī's *Risāla-i Maʿārif* at night Satan ties knots [*tügün bağlar*] on the head of the believer while he is sleeping (20r:6). They are removed ["untied"] by the believer's mentioning God's name, carrying out the ablution and performing the morning prayer.

[447] The sunrays make the invisible particles in the air shine.

5. Lexicon

The vocabulary of Chagatay is extraordinarily rich and diverse. It has many Arabic and Persian loan elements--words, phrases, idioms--both from the literary and the popular levels. Although borrowings have changed to some degree the status of Turkish elements, [distribution in semantic fields, participation in developing idioms, shift in word formation] they did not replace them. Parallel use of native and borrowed words increased the lexical expression of the language. The cultural impact of Arabic, the language of Islam, and Persian, the language of an impressive classical literature enriched the paremiologic content of Chagatay making it a suitable tool for literary expression.

5.1. Sample Vocabulary

This list of select Turkish words gives an idea of the nature of Turkish elements present in the Chagatay language:

ačïğ (MM199r:14) 'bitterness'
ačïqla- (BN90r:10) 'to implore'
adar- (MM193r:3) 'to renounce'
ağ (MM183v:13) 'net, snare'
ağ- (MM193v:4) 'to rise'
aḫï (RM6r:2) 'brother'
anuq (MM187r:1) 'correct [answer]'
ang- (MM186r:11) 'to remember'
aqar- (RM37r:5) 'to turn white'
aqï (MM183r:14) 'generous'
aqta (MM190r:11) 'gelded horse'
arman (Ḫ79v:11) 'disappointment'
arïğ (MM176v:3) 'pure, clean'
armaq (DN265r:10) 'a race horse'
arqan (MM188r:17) 'upon his back'
artuqsï (RM40r:5) 'beyond a certain limit'
asïğ (MM180r:2) 'benefit, use'
aš- (MM193v:10) 'to go beyond'
ašuqup (RN45r:8) 'in a hurry'
ata- (MM185v:3) 'to count [by names]'
atïq- (RM18r:10) 'to be named'
aw (MM179v:5) 'game animal'
ayla- (BN89r:2) 'to return'
aylan- (BN92r:9) 'to spin around'
az bučuq (RM35v:7) 'some, a little'
azğaš- (MM183v:12) 'to get lost'

azraq (MM188r:14) 'injury'
ažun (MM197r:8) 'world'

äčä (MM190v:11) 'elder brother'
ägäči (MM192r:14) 'elder sister'
ägrilig (RB8r:6) 'frail'
äkin (MM188v:4) 'sown area'
ärtä (MM185v:14) 'morning'
äsän (MM198r:12) 'beneficial'
äsänä- (MM185v:10) 'to correct'

ban- (MM198v:2) 'to bind oneself'
barlïq (MM198v:15) 'existence'
basa (RM1r:6) 'furthermore'
bašaq (MM197v:1) 'arrowhead'
bat (RB7v:8) 'suddenly, at once'
bäyik (DN261v:5) 'altitude'
begat (RM441v:1) 'governors, begs'
birik- (RM18r:6) 'to come together'
bol- (DN270v:4) 'to be, to become'
bola (Ḫ79v:11) 'great'
borč (RM39r:6) 'debt'
bölnäk (MM193r:15) 'share'
bulğaš- (RM25v:4) 'to become dirtied [with sin]'
burnağï (RB8r:7) 'former, primeval'
busağa (AC327r:9) 'threshold'
bušïq (RB8r:2) 'grief'
buzağu (MM189v:7) 'calf'

čağïr (RM2v:10) 'wine'
čap- (Ḫ78v:1)'to gallop, trot, rup'
čaqïštur- (RM3r:3) 'to set one person against another'
čarča- (Ḫ79v:10) 'to get tired'
čaruq (AC325r:4) 'leather sandal'
čerig (RM2r:7) 'military forces'
čïda- (AC325v:8) 'to feel like doing something'
čïğay (MM176v:7) 'dependent [upon God]'
čïq- (Ḫ76r:1) 'to go out'
čïray (Ḫ75v:11) face'
čïraylïq (AC325v:11) 'beauty'
čura- (AC325v:11) 'to wear through, get a hole in'

edgülük (DN271v:7) 'goodness'
eg- (MM 185r:2) 'to bend'
ekinči (MM193r:15) 'sower'
emdi (Ḫ7v:8) 'now'
engän (MM187v:15) 'very much'
erän (RM9r:9) 'a pious man'
ev- (RB5r:4) 'to turn [intransitive]'

ğuṣṣalïq (RM36r:2) '[food] that chokes'

ḫān [for **ḫwān**] (DN267r:4) 'table, carpet [with spread]'
ḫwaḫla- (Ḫ79r:6) 'to wish, desire'

ïnğïr- (AC327v:3) 'to crack'
ïraq (RM43r:4) 'far [from]'
ïrğa- (MM194r:8) 'to shake'
ïsïğ (RM18r:7) 'warm'
ïsïrğa (MM188r:7) 'earring'
ïy- (Ḫ74v:6) 'to send'

ibär- (MS2r:1) 'to send'
iči (MM192r:14) 'father's brother'
igä (Ḫ77v:8) 'lord'
indä- (H76r:7) 'to call'
intiq- (AC322v:1) 'to desire strongly'
iring (MM181r:11) 'pus'
iš (Ḫ77r:10) 'work'
itür- (RB8r:3) 'to lose'

kärtülä- (MM192v:7) 'to pronounce the divorce formula in earnest.'
keč (Ḫ80r:2) 'night' [cf., Uzbek кеч)]
keng (RM43r:9) 'liberal'
kengit- (MM184v:9) 'to extend [a row]'
ker- (AC325r:7) 'to stretch out'
kesäk (RM12r:10) 'a piece of stone or clay'
kök (MM179v:10) 'heaven'
kökän (RM26r:8) 'pillar'
kölük (MM179v:5) 'riding animal'
köp$_1$ (Ḫ75v:1) 'community'
köp$_2$ (Ḫ80v:9) 'many'
körsät- (BN97r:2) 'to show, manifest'

köyük (MM197r:11) 'firewood'
kün (RB7v:5-6) 'relatives'
küy- v. (DN244v:7). 'to be consumed by fire'

mang- (RM15r:5) 'to walk'
maqta- (RM13r:) 'to praise or command for'
ma u man (AC328r:1) 'conceit, bragging'
mängzä- (RM5r:9) to resemble'
mïšqïr- (MS6r:1) 'to blow one's nose'
mung (Ḫ79v:7) 'sorrow'
mün- (MM188v:16) 'to ride'

oğul-qïz (MM187r:3) 'children' [cf. Uzbek *ўғил-қиз*]
oğurluq (RM34v:9) 'theft'
oḫša- (RM25r:7) 'to resemble, be like'
oqul- (RM29r:10) 'to be recited'
oruč (MM186v:1) 'fast'
orun (MS13r:1) 'place'
ot (Ḫ75v:8) 'fire'
otlağ (MM188v:15) 'pasture'
oyna- (MM181v:6) 'to play'
oz- (AC322v:3) 'to overcome'
ozdur- (RM6v:7) 'to go beyond a certain point'

ög- (MM176v:8) 'to praise'
ögdü (MM176v:8) 'hymn'
ögür- (BN87v:3) 'to turn'
ögüz (MM188v:4) 'river'
öksük (25v:7) 'less'
ökün- (Ḫ76r:5) 'to grieve'
ökünč (MM193r:9) 'regret'
örgän- (MS8r:3) 'to learn'
örgät- (Ḫ76v:8) 'to teach'
örüng (BN92v:8) 'white'
ötkär- (BN85v:10) 1. 'to forgive' 2. (RM19r:1) 'to spend time'
ötmäk (MS15v:1) 'bread'
öwlä (RM2v:4) 'noon'
öy (MS8v:) 'house'
özä (MM299r:11) 'to desire s.th. ardently'

qamčï (RM23r:1) 'whip'
qapsa- (MM182r:14) 'to grasp'

qaq- (MS5v5) 'to splash'
qara- (Ḫ76r:6) 'to look'
qarğu (MM192r:12) 'compensation for a present'
qarï- (RM3r:5) 'to age, grow old'
qat- (RB9v:5) 'to endow s.o. with s.th.'
qatïğlan- (MM193v:3) 'to strengthen oneself'
qayaš (MM192r:12) 'a relative'
qayruvan (DN272r:2-3) 'caravan'
qïsraq (MM190r:12) 'mare'
qolğu (MM199v:1) 'request'
qoš (AC328v:1) 'a pair of cup filled with wine'
qoyun (RM18r:8) 'embrace'
qu- (RM14r:3) 'to pour'
quduğ (MM191r:14) 'well'
qulan (MM191r:15) 'wild donkey'
qulun (Ḫ77v:6) 'foal'
qurağ (MM193r:10)'tent'
qurğan (RM6r:6) 'stronghold'
quvan- (Ḫ76v:7) 'to rejoice'

sağïr- (DN266v:1) 'to lament'
sağu (MM192r:4) 'a measure of grain'
sana- (MM184r:12) 'to count'
sarğa- (RM31r:7) 'to become yellow'
satḫaš- (MM182r:4) 'to meet'
savur- (BN87r:1) 'to scatter'
sazan (AC327r:4) 'veil'
säčig (MM198v:14) 'choice'
sevüglük (RB6v:7) 'love'
sezik (MM184r:6) 'choice'
sïnağ (MM177v:9) 'attempt'
sïqtamaq (RM21r:5) 'sobbing'
silä- (RM3r:1) 'to love, prefer, caress'
silik (MM197r:14) 'smooth [words]'
sol- v.i. (Ḫ77r:6) 'to wither'
sora- v.t. (Ḫ76r:2) 'to ask'
soraq (MS3v:3) 'question, inquiry'
söy- (Ḫ74v:1) 'to love'
süčüg (Ḫ81v:2) 'sweet'
sül- (AC327r:5) 'to cut'
süsüm (MM193v:2) 'sorting [of the good from the bad]'

šamuša (MM188r:7) 'ornament'
šeš- (MM194r:6) 'to untie [one's belt]'
šiš- (RM31r:7) 'to swell'

tamuğ (MM179v:3) 'hell'
tan- (BN88v:8) 'to give up'
tanuq (MM189r:1) 'evidence'
tanglasï (RM32r9) 'the next morning'
tapšur- (AC326v:2) 'to entrust [s.th. to s.o.]'
tapuğ (MM194v:2) 'service'
tart- (RM29r:4) 'to pull'
tälbä (MM196v:8) 'ignorant'
tälbärä- (BN9v:11) 'to talk nonsense'
tebrä- (RM36r:9) 'to move from'
tegiš (RM44r:4) 'treatment'
tirgüz- (RM9v:7) 'to resurrect'
toğ- (MM180r:7) 'to arise'
toğ (MS15r:4) 'dust'
ton (RM30v:1) 'mantle'
törä (Ḫ78r:8) 'official'
töšäk (RM18r:7) 'mattress'
tuš (RM29v:10) 'the equal [of]'
tutuš (MM198r:15) 'always'
tügün- (Ḫ75rL10) 'to renounce'
tükäl (RM2r:2) 'all'
tüläk (MM199v:12) 'haven'
tüšä- (MM182r:3) 'to pass the night'
tüzäl- (AC324v:3) 'to shape up'

ulašu (MM176v:12) 'constantly'
uluğ (RM43r:4) 'great'
ulus (Sayf17r:6) 'people'
unu- (RM29v:3) 'to pledge obedience'
unut- (Ḫ77r:3) 'to forget'
uq- (MS16v:3) 'to master (a book, s.o.'s teachings)'
uquš (MM196v:14) 'understanding'
uruğ (MM193r:11) 'seeds'
ušaq (RM41v:5) 'apprentice'
uštmaḫ (RM25r:1) Paradise'
uya (MM182v:6) 'brother'
uyat (Ḫ78r:1) 'shame'

uyğağ (RM37r:9) 'awake'
uyğan- (RM10r:10) 'to wake up'
uyqu (RM10r:7) 'sleep'

üküš (MM179r:10) 'much, many'
ülüš (RM37v:6) 'part, share'
ülüng (MM197v:1) 'shaft of an arrow'
üyür- (MS16v:3) 'to braid [one's hair]'
üyük (MM197r:11) 'a mound of earth'
üzük (MS2r:6) 'seal ring'

yafraq (RM23r:2) 'leaf'
yağač (MS9v:4) '*yaghach*, a measure of distance'
yalavač (RM6v:5) 'prophet'
yalğuz (Ḫ77v:7) 'alone'
yaman (RM34v:8) 'evil'
yana- (MM184r:12) 'to add'

yanglïğ (MM198r:16) 'alone'
yapuš- (RM29r:4) 'to take hold [of]'
yaq- (MS15v:3) 1.'to come in contact with'; (Ḫ74v:6) 2. 'to like'
yarağ (MS6r:5) 'ability'
yaraš- (AC328v:5) 'to reconcile with'
yaraša (RM40r:4) 'in accordance with'
yaratğan (MM175v:6) 'creator'
yarlïqa- (RM4v:2) 'to forgive'
yartu (RM37v:5) 'half'
yastuq (RM10v:8) 'pillow'
yatsïğ (RM2v:3) 'the prayer two hours after sunset'
yavurğan (RM18r:7) 'blanket'
yayğa- (MM18v:16) 'to rinse'
yätiš- (RB2v:1) 'to reach a place gradually'
yibär- (RM31r:9) 'to send'
yit- (RM32v:6) 'to slip out [of one's hands]'
yïğač (RM27v:1) 'tree'
yïğil- (RB4v:4) 'to avoid'
yïra- (RB3v:13) 'to move away from'
yor- (MM200r:14) 'to interpret'
yulduz (RM28v:9) 'star'
yunuğ (MM181v:5) 'ritual ablution'
yupqa (6r:10) 'thin'
yügür- (Ḫ76r:8) 'to run'

yükün- (AC328r:7) 'to make a bow'
yüzlän- (RM26v:3) 'to face toward'

5.2. Phraseology [Idioms, Set Expressions]
The Chagatay language is rich in idioms, phrases, and set expressions. These elements of the lexicon constitute the paremiological content of the vocabulary. They reflect the erudition of the speakers of the language in historical depth and make up a significant part of the cultural heritage of the language community. A student of Chagatay must be aware of this aspect of the language. Without a thorough knowledge of the cultural content of the language full understanding of Chagatay on a higher level is hardly possible.

Efforts to attain the level and nature of erudition of Central Asian authors will definitely take us closer to a fuller appreciation of Chagatay literary works and perceive the authors'message often garbed in proverbs, quotes, sayings, hints, references and made next to inacessible through an intricate set of prosodic devices. To reach that level takes a life-time of study. For practical purposes, however, the reader must be familiar with Islam, its basic tenets and practices, with the major works of classical Persian literature, with Central Asian folklore, especially legends and the epic poetry of the Cenral Asuan Turks.
Below is a selective list of idioms and set expressions.

Aradïn boynïn uzat- 'to rise, make oneself visible' (< 'to stretch one's neck out from among the crowd'). E.g.,

> **Čang aradïn boynïn uzatïp ravān, tüšti ušal laḥza tümän ming fiğān.** (AC324r:2) 'Suddenly Chang stretched his neck out from among the contestants, and, at the very same moment, struck up a tune of ten thousand thousand complaints.'

Aranï üz- 'to interrupt'. E.g.,

> **Bir künigä ikki ay tutar rōza aranï üzmäyin ki har rōza.** (MS 16r:5) '[As penitence] he must fast one day after another without missing a day for a total of two months for every [single] day [that he omitted or violated his fast.]'

Balā dastïda qal- 'to be captive in the hands of misery, to be in constant trouble.' E.g.,

> **Ol kiši kim seni čalar bilgüčä, qaldï balā dastïda ol ölgüčä.** (AC 327r:2) 'The person who learns to play you will be captive in the hands of misery until he dies.'

Bašqa qoš tut- 'to raise a pair of goblets to one's head, to reconcile.' E.g.,

> **Pīr dedi Ṭanbūrağa, "Gōš tut! Bir birigä bašqa birär qoš tut."** (AC328v:1) 'Then he addressed Ṭanbūra, "Take my warning and realize your error! Raise a pair of goblets to your head (and make up with your friends) one by one.'"

Bēzār bol- 'to become free [from].' E.g.,

> **Bolsa ḥayż u nifāsdïn bēzār ğusl vācib bolur, biling, nāčār.** (MS 8v:3) 'Know that [a woman who] has become free from the annoyance of her menstrual discharge, that is whose period has ended, or [who has completed] the forty-day period after giving birth must of necessity perform he Ghusl.'[448]

Boyunğa al- 'to take [an obligation] upon one's shoulder.' E.g.,

> **Ne kim ol aydï anï qïlğu käräk. Ṭā'atïnï boyunğa alğu käräk.** (MS2r:2) 'One must do whatever He has commanded. One must [willingly] put one's neck [in the yoke of] obedience to him.'

Cāndïn ba tang kel- 'to be deeply distressed.' E.g.,

> **Keldim ušal ḥālda cāndïn ba tang.** (AC322v:5). 'There in that situation I was deeply distressed.'

Cāndïn toy- 'to have enough, to be fed up with.' E.g.,

> **Barčasï ğayrat otï birlä küyüp. Baḥṣ va maqāmātta cāndïn toyup.** (AC327v:9) 'They were all tormented by the fire of jealousy. They had had enough of arguing and playing *maqāms*.'

Day čillasïndïn čïq- 'to be safely past the crises, to be over the hump' [< to leave the forty day cold behind]. E.g.,

> **Bu kündin songra ačïldï cihānïng, savuq day cillasïndïn čïqtï cānïng.** (DN266r:5) 'From this day on your world is in bloom; your life is out of the forty day cold.'

Dilgīr bol- 'to be filled with horror'. E.g.,

> **Qïlmağïl sen namāzda taqṣīr. Tā Qiyāmatda bolğa sen dilgīr.** (MS3v:4) 'Do not be remiss in your prayers. Have a care or you will be filled with horror on the day of Resurrection.'

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[448] Name of the total ablution.

Eldin rahā ber- 'to abandon, give up.' E.g.,
Bandalïq ṭavrïn Šabānī bermägil eldin rahā. (BH16r:9) 'Shabānī do not abandon[449] the conduct of a [humble] servant].'

Elgä özini sat- 'to sell oneself to people, to seek people's attention and respect (without deserving them).' E.g.,
Daᶜvâ-i dāniš mu qïlur sen yatïp. Lāf urup sen elgä özüngni satïp. (AC325v:7) 'Are you making a claim to knowledge by lying on the ground like that and selling yourself to people by talking nonsense?'

Ešik bāz qïl- 'to open wide the gate (in order to let s.th. lose)'. E.g.,
Pardada ol murğ-i suḥansāz men. Fitna ešigin qïlayïn bāz men. (AC323v:8) 'In (singing) melodies I am that (fabulous) bird with a beguiling voice. I can open wide the gate of calamity!'

Fiᶜli aš- 'for one's temper to boil over, to lose one's temper.' E.g.,
Ṭanburaning fiᶜli ašïp ol zamān.Dedi, "Nä der sen yatïp, ay yatuğan!" (AC325v:6) 'At these words, Ṭanbura's temper boiled over. He said, "Lying on the ground like that, what are you talking about, O Yatuğan!'

Gōštāb ber- 'to twist (a student's) ears (punishment), to correct.' E.g.,
Munča dilārām sanga gōštāb berdi, tüzälmäding ayā hēč bāb. (AC324v:3) 'Although ever so many heart-soothing beauties have twisted your ears, you see, you have still not shaped up at all.

Gunāh sor- 'to call s.o. to account for his sins.' E.g.,
ᶜAdl ilän sorma gunāhïmnï. Uyatlïq qïlmağïl. (BH22v:4) 'Do not exercise Your [harsh] justice when questioning me about my sins. Do not make me ashamed.'

Guẓar yoq 'cannot outdo' [lit. 'cannot pass by']. E.g.,
Barča muṣāḥib manga šām saḥar. Yoq ẓurafā ahlïna mendin guẓar. (AC324v:10) '(Princes) are all my companions from evening to dawn. People of sharp wit cannot outdo me.'

İkki yar- 'to split in two.' E.g.,
Aynï ikki yar, dedilär kufr ahlï. (BH7v:6) 'Split the moon in two, said the *kāfirs.*

[449] Lit., Do not let slip away from your hands...

Ḫirqasïdïn baš čïqar- 'to raise one's head from under one's cloak, to be ready to speak (after long contemplation).' E.g.,
Ḫirqasïdïn baš čïqarïp Rabāb dedi, "Man am faqr ilä ᶜālïcanāb. (AC326r:2). 'Thrusting his head out from under his cloak, Rabab said, "In poverty, I am of the highest rank."'

Ḫiyāl bağla- 'to take s.th. into one's head.' E.g.,
Ušbu kečä Ṭanbūra bağlap ḫiyāl, barčamïza berdi basē infiᶜāl. (AC328r:5) 'This very night Ṭanbura took into his head to do his best to humiliate us all.'

İšni köndür- 'to put one's affairs in order.' E.g.,
Bu dam bu dam dur: Köndürüng išni. (BH21r:5). 'The suitable time is now: Put your affairs in order [right now].'

Mangla ač- 'to put aside one's anger, to be reconciled' [lit., 'to smooth the wrinkles on one's forehead.' E.g.,
Ol yüräklik laškar-i İslāmnïng manglayï tur, kim ğażab üstidä qïlğay ᶜafv ačğay mangla. (BH14v:5-6) 'The advance guard [lit., 'the forehead'] of the Army of Islam are those brave men who, when they become angry, are [soon] forgiving and smooth the wrinkles on their foreheads [i.e., set aside their anger].'

Nidā sal- 'to declare'. E.g.,
Rōzanï Tängri özigä aldï. Ana uczī bihi nidä saldï. (MS14v:1) 'God [has promised to] accept the believers' fast. He has declared, I shall reward him for keeping it.'

Niyāz qïl- 'to serve [God] with humility.' E.g.,
Ābdast u namāz qïlğïl sen. Ḥaqqa tün kün niyāz qïlğïl sen. (MS 3v:2) 'Perform the abdast and the prayer. Serve God with humility night and day.'

Ortada kel- 'to come forth.' E.g.,
Ortada käldi Qobuz-i bēqarār, dedi mening teg qanï bir pīr kār. (AC324v:6) 'The restless Qobuz stepped forward and said, "Where (in the world) is there another experienced person like me?"'

Özini bil- 'to come to one's senses.' E,g,
Degin nargiskä kim bilsün özini, ḫumār uyqusïdïn ačsun közini. (DN266v:10) 'Tell the narcissus that it should come to its senses and open its eyes from the languishing sleep.'

Pardasïn yïrt- 'to expose s.o. by ripping off his veil, to unmask.' E.g.,
Ṭanbūranïng bāṭila parvardasïn yïrtayïn ol baštïn ayaq pardasïn. (AC325v:3) 'I will expose Ṭanbūra, who has been brought up to do useless things, by ripping off his veil from head to toe.'

Pīrahan yaqasïnï čāk äylä- 'to tear open the collar of the shirt of s.th., to be unable to take or endure.' E.g.,
ʿAql huvaydā bolup äylädi pāk, pīrahan-i ṣabr yaqasïnï čāk. (AC 322r:11) 'Reason emerged and, no longer able to endure it, [tore open the collar of the shirt of patience].'

Qādir bol- (-ğa) 'to obtain.' E.g.,
Bolsa qādir agar kiši suğa... (MS9r:4) 'When a person is able to obtain water...'

Qahqaha birlä kül- 'to laugh.' E.g.,
Qahqaha birlä külsä qïlsa namāz, sïndï ṭārat. Ṭahārat alğïl bāz. (MS6r:6) 'If one laughs while at prayer, [one's state of] ritual purity will be violated. [Should this occur,] perform the ṭahārat again.'

Qararïp teprä- 'to become obscure and move away.' E.g.,
Köngüldin učtï ğam tün quzğunï teg, qararïp teprädï ḥacrān künï teg. (DN267v:2) 'The night raven of sorrow took off from the heart; it became obscure and moved away like the day of separation.'

Rōy keltür- 'to turn to s.o.' E.g.,
Ṭanbūra-i ğamzagar-i fitnacōy macmaʿ-i ol sāzğa keltürdi rōy. (AC323r:4) 'The coquettish and quarrelsome Ṭanbūra turned to the assembled string instruments.'

Rōzanï ye- 'to eat on a fast day.' E.g.,
Har kim ol yedi rōzanï ʿamdā. (MS16r:1) 'Anyone who purposely eats on a fast day...'

Šaʿaf qïl- 'to make one's heart sick with love.' E.g.,
Ṭanbūra dedi, "Hala qïlma šaʿaf, murtaddak-i dar ba-dar-i bad-ʿalaf. (AC326r:10) 'Ṭanbūra replied, "Listen do not make your heart sick with love, you unclean, itinerant renegade.'

Takallumda käl- 'to join in the conversation.' E.g.,
Käldi takallumda yatup yatuğan, Dedi, "Mening dek qanï bir ṭurfa cān?" (AC325r:9) 'Yatughan, lying on the ground, joined in the debate. He said, "Where can one find a peerless soul like me?'

Takbīr bağla- 'to commit oneself by pronouncing a *takbīr*'
Bağlamaqïng namāz üčün takbīr (MS10v:2) '...your reciting the orison "God is Most Great" by which you commit yourself to performing the prayer.'

Tavfïq ara tut- '[for God] to assist s.o.' E.g.,
ʿĀciz u miskīn qara qulungnï tut tavfïq ara. (BH18v:4) 'Keep [me], Your weak and needy servant, within [the sphere of] Your assistance.'

Til birlä ay- 'to tell or pronounce eloquently' [cf. **tiši birlâ ay-** 'to speak with authority']. E.g.,
Tengrigä til birlä ayğïl, ay Köngül, ḥamd u ṣanā. (BH1v:1) 'O Heart, pronounce eloquently praises and salutations to God.'

Ummēd tut- 'to hope or expect s.th. from s.o.' E.g.,
Aždahāning fiʿlï kūž dur. Nä ummēd tutsun kiši? (BH17v:7) 'The acts of the dragon [, i.e., the Carnal Soul] are treacherous. What good can one hope from it?'

Yaḫšï yaman 'everybody' [< 'the good and the bad'], E.g.,
Čïqïp ḫākī teg āhï har dam andïn, yïraq tašlap anï yaḫšï yamandïn. (DN265v:11) 'Since then her humble sighs emerged every moment and alienated her from everybody else.'[450]

Zahrasï bardï 'he is scared, has lost his courage.' E.g.,
Aning üčün mu qïla dur siz fiğān; bardï mening zahram va köčti cihān. (AC328r:2) 'Is that why you are making this clamor that drives my heart into my boots and forces the neighbors to pack up and leave?'

5.3. Loan Translations

Chagatay has many loan translations. They mostly come from Persian. Often only the verbal element of a phrase is translated into Turkish while the rest is left as it was in the source language. E.g.,

[450] Lit., from the good and the bad

amalïnï kūtah ät- (RB7v:3) 'to cease to expect' [< *amal-i ḫudrā kūtah kardan*]
ba kamāl yätiš- (RB4v:11) 'to reach perfection' [< *ba kamāl rasīdan*]
bayān qïl- (Sayf98v:11) 'to explain' [< *bayān kardan*]
cān ber- (Sayf90r:7) 'to die' [< *cān dādan*]
dast ber- (DN270r:8) 'to come upon' [< *dast dādan*]
dōst tut- (RB4v:11) 'to love s.o.' [< *dōst dāštan*]
dunyādïn öt- (Ḫ79v:2) 'to die' [< *az dunyā raftan*]
dil bağla- (Ḫ73v:6) 'to be attached to' [< *dil bastan*]
elig ber- (DN269r:1) 'to happen, occur' [< *dast dādan*]
elig uzat- (DN267r:4) 'to reach out; to be aggressive' [< *dast darāz kardan*]
guẓar qïl- (Sayf76v:7) 'to pass' [< *guẓar kardan*]
himmat qurïn beligä bağla - (Ḫ80r8) 'to prepare resolutely for an undertaking' [< *kamar bastan*]
ḫukm yürüt- (Ḫ79r:9) 'to enforce one's authority' [< *ḫukm rāndan*]
ičï küy- (75r:5) 'to suffer' [< *dil sōḫtan*]
iš (DN267v:6) 'service' [< *kār*]
köngli su dur (RB6v:8) 'confused' [< *dilaš āb šud*]
köngül sora- (Ḫ79v:7) 'to share one's sorrows' [< *dil custan*]
közdin yït- (Ḫ79v:1) 'to disappear' [< *az naẓar mahv šudan*]
mātam tut- (Ḫ82r:11) 'to mourn s.o.' [< *mātam giriftan*]
marʿī tut- (RB10v:6) 'to observe' [< *marʿī dāštan*]
namāz qïl- (Sayf19v:2) 'to pray' [< *namāz kardan*]
özidin ket- (Ḫ82r;3) 'to be deeply moved' (< *az ḫud raftan*]
qadam ranca qïl- (Ḫ76r:10) 'to take the trouble to come' (< *qadam ranca kardan*]
qïzlar (DN269v:5) 'wine' [< *duḫtar-i raz*]
qolïğa al- (Ḫ78r:2) 'to seize, obtain' [< *ba dast āwardan*)
qol yu- (Ḫ75v:3) 'to renounce' [< *dast šustan az*]
quruq qal- (DN266v:1) 'to come away empty-handed' [< *ḫālī māndan*]
rōza tut- (RM26r:4) 'to keep the fast' [< *rōza dāštan*]
tavba qïl- (RM22v:3) 'to repent' (< *tavba kardan*)
tegür- (DN266v:8) 'to promp, to remind' [< *rasāndan*]
vuqūʿ tap- (RB4r:2) 'to occur' [< *vuqūʿ yāftan*]
vuṣūl tap- (RB6r:9) 'to obtain union' [< *vuṣūl yāftan*]
yād al- (RB5r:12) 'to impress upon one's mind' [< *yād giriftan*]
yïraq tašla- (DN265v:11 'to throw away' [< *dūr andāḫtan*]
yol körsät- (RB2r:2) 'to show a way' [< *rāh namūdan*]
yüz ber- (Sayf268v:1) 'to come forth, appear' [< *ruḫ dādan*]
yüz qaytar- (Sayf22v:11) 'to turn away' [< *rū gardānīdan*]

5.4. Proverbs

Proverbs and sayings constitute a rich and important segment of the paremiotic content of Chagatay. Among them we find the oldest concrete and fully identifiable entities of cultural values of the peoples of Central Asia, the Tajiks and the Turks. Most of them are still in use in some of the modern idioms of this region. Some spread even beyond that. The following is a selective list of proverbs presented here for the sake of illustration. E.g.,

1. **It hürär kārvān köčär.** (ShD11r:5) 'The dog barks the caravan passes.'
2. **Ičäling bādanï gullar solïsar, tanïmïz ʿāqibat topraq bolïsar.** (ḪM 309v8) 'Let us drink wine because roses will wither and our bodies will turn to dust at the end.'
3. **Masʾala bilmäk ičrä bol rāğib.** (MS11r:2) 'Be eager to find answers [to your questions].'
4. **ʿUmr qïlmaq talaf ḫaṭā ermiš.** (MS7v:3) 'To waste one's life is a [grievous] error.'
5. **Ṭaqat-i vasʿ barïča aymaq täk turup qalmaqïdïn avlâraq.** (MS3v:6). 'To speak in the measure of one's ability is better than to remain silent.'
6. **Örgänip ʿilmni ʿamal qïlğïl.** (MS12v:6) 'Having learned [something] put your knowlege into practice.'
7. **Keldi bu ḫilʿat anïng boyïğa ḫub.** (RB5r:8) 'He obtained what he deserved.'
8. **Bolur āsān bara bara muškil.** (RB5v:6) 'Step by step what is difficult will become easy.'
9. **Qïlmağay sen ʿamalïngnï ẓāʾiʿ.** (RB3v:6) 'Do not let your services be for naught.'
10. **Baqmağïl sözlägüčining özigä. Özini qoy, naẓar etgil sözigä.** (RB 2v:4) 'Pay no heed to the person who is speaking, disregard him. Consider (only) what he says.'

6. STYLE

The style of Chagatay works varies. We must distinguish, above all, between the style of prose works and that of poetry. In prose the *normal narrative style* is simple and transparent, grammatically as well as lexically. Original Turkish words are likely to occur in greater frequency. In *learned didactic prose* professional jargon [technical terms, idioms and set expressions] prevails which influences the choice of words and the use of grammar. Arabic and Persian loans could be more numerous. Some degree of paremiologic knowledge may be required to the complete understanding of works of this type [see above]. The *translation prose*

often follows the original, Persian or Arabic in sentence patterns or choice of words. It contains foreign borrowings and loan translations in lexicon and to some extent in grammar.

In poems we must distinguish between versified prose (*nazm*) and poetry (*ši'r*). In the first group we find didactic works written in prosodic form for easy memorization. The prosodic features rarely go beyond rhyme, with or without a radif and meter. The second group contains pieces of real poetry produced according to the rules of Classical Arabic-Persian versification. Literary perfection, difficulty level varies according to the genre, objective, and the poet's erudition.

7. SAMPLE TEXTS

7.1. Poems

7.1.1. Ši'r [poetry]

Muḥabbat Shaibanī Khān [1451-1510]

Agar davlat čirāğïnï yarutsam hēč
if empire-O-GEN lantern-POSS-3SG-ACC rekindle-COND-1ST-SG at all
tang etmäs,
amazement do-AOR-NEG-3D-SG
Ki öčkän Čingīzī šam'ï, biling,
since die-PASTP the house of Chingis-O-GEN candle-POSS-3SG know-IMP-PL
beglär, yanar mendin.
lord-PL-NOM flare up-AOR-3SG I-ABL
Män ol ṣubḥ-i sa'ādat män ki Čingīs kökidin
I that dawn-IZ felicity am CONJ Chingis-O-GEN root-POSS-3SG-ABL
toğdum.
be born-DEF.PAST-1SG
Qačan kim täbräsäm yel teg, Tīmūr šam'ï
When-conj breeze by-TEMP-1SG wind like-POSTP Timur-O-GEN candle-POSS-3SG
öčär mendin.
go out-AOR-3SG I-ABL

['When I rekindle the lantern of the empire no one ever should be amazed since as you lords full well know, through me the dying candle of the House of Chingis flares up again. I am the dawn of felicity rising from the [Eastern] sky of Chingis. / When I breeze by [gently and bringing good news] like the [morning] wind, the candle of Tīmūr goes out as I pass.'] **(Dīvān 120r:1-4)**

8.1.2. Naẓm [versified didactic works]

Ẓahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur [1483-1530]

Emdi aytay sanga tahaccud ešit
now say-VOL-1SG you-DAT night prayer-O-ACC listen-IMP-2SG
Tengriğa qïlsang ta'abbud, ešit
God-DAT make-CON-2SG devotion-O-ACC listen-IMP-2SG
tün yarïmïnda uyqudïn uyğan
night-O-GEN half-POS-3SG-LOC sleep-ABL wake up-IMP-2SG
qïl tahaccud namāzïnï ol
make-IMP-2SG nght prayer-O-GEN prayer-POS-3SG-ACC that-PRON-NOM
ān. Bil tahaccudnï farż
moment-NOM-SG know-IMP-2SG night prayer-ACC mandatory duty-O-ACC
Ḥażratqa sunnat oldï valēk
Majesty-DAT traditional duty-NOM-SG become-DEF.PAST-3SG but-CONJ
ummatqa.
community-DAT

(Mubayyan 62r:4-7)

'Now I wish to tell you about the night prayer, listen [well]. If you make [acts of] devotions to God, listen well. At midnight wake up from sleep and do the night prayer at that time. Know that the night prayer is a mandatory duty for [His] Majesty [,the Prophet]. But for members of the Community it has become a traditional obligation.'

8.2. Prose [nasr]

8.2.1. Learned Didactic Prose

Muḥammad Shaybānī Khān [1451--1510]

Taqï ongdïn murād šarī'at 'ibādatï turur. Soldïn
CONJ right-ABL intent-NOM law-OGEN service-POSS 3SG is-AOR 3SG left-ABL
išārat siyāsat qamčïsï turur. Šarī'at birlä
meaning-NOM punishment-0GEN whip-POSS 3SG is-AOR 3SG Law-NOM with-POSTP
'amal qïlïp 'ibādat qïlsa öz badanïnga va
act-PHRVB-GER serve-PHRVB COND 3SG own body-POSS 3rd-DAT and-CONJ
ahl-'iyālïngä va ra'īyatğa siyāsat qamčïsïn
family-subject-POSS 2SG DAT and-CONJ subject--DAT punishment-0GEN whip-POSS 3SG
elikkä alïp 'adl qïlsang, har āyina Ḫudāy išingni
hand-DAT take-GER exercise justice-PHRVB COND 3SG verily-ADV God-NOM work-POSS
kündin küngä arturur. Va yana ičkidin išārat
2SG ACC day-ABL day-DAT increase-AOR 3SG and-CONJ again-ADV drink-ABL meaning-NOM
ruḥung turur. Ol Qādir-i Lam Yazaldïn 'ināyat-i
soul-POSS 2SG is-AOR 3SG that-PRON allmighty-IZ everlasting-ABL grace-IZ

azalī bolup nuṣrat-i abadīsi rūḥunga ṣamadiyasï birlä
ever-existing-ADJ is-GER victory-IZ ever-lasting soul-POSS 2SG DAT fruit-POSS 3SG POSTP
madad qïlsa ḫavāṭir tafriqasïnï va ḥirṣ
help-PHRVB COND 3SG thoughts-0GER distraction-POSS 3SG ACC and-CONJ greed+
va havāngnï kitärür Va yana yataqdïn murād
and desire-POSS 2SG ACC disperse-AOR 3SG and-CONJ again-ADV mattress-ABL intent-NOM
köngül turur. Ol Pādšāh-i ʿālamnïng atïn köngüldä
heart-NOM ia-AOR 3SG that-RON king-NOM+IZ world-GEN name-Poss 3SG LOC
saqlasang va bu čandavul teg uyuqlamay
keep-COND 2SG and-CONJ this-PRON rearguard-NOM like-POSTP sleep-NEG GER
āgāh tursang, Anïng ẓikrining nūrï säning
alert-ADJ be-COND 2SG he+ GEN recollection-POSS 3SG GEN light-POSS 3SG you+GEN
nafs-i ammāranïng ẓulmatïn bu tün dek
soul+IZ commanding-ADJ GEN darkness-POSS 3SG ACC this-PRON night-NOM like-POSTP
qavlap ṣubh dek köngülning tangï atsa,
drive–GER dawn-NOM like-POSTP heart-GEN dawn-POSS 3SG break-COND 3SG
Ḫudāynïng bārān-i raḥmatïda ʿacīb va ğarīb
God-GEN rain+IZ mercy-POSS 3SG LOC surprising+ and-CONJ strange-ADJ
ermäs.
is-NEG AOR 3SG

(Dīvān 50v:7-51r:4)

'[Know] also [that] "right" stands for serving according to the *sharīʿa*. "Left" means the whip of punishment. If you serve according to the *sharīʿa* and with the whip of punishment in your hand, exercise justice to your own person, to your family, and to your subjects, God will promote your work day by day. Furthermore, "wine" stands for your soul. If the Almighty Whose Power Never Declines, moved by His Ever-existing grace, comes, in His Majesty to the aid of your soul, granting you ever lasting victory, He will disperse your distracting thoughts, your greed, and your [carnal] desires. And the "mattress" is here for your heart. If you keep in your heart the name of the King of the World, and like a rearguard [of the King's army], you do not fall asleep but stay alert, the light of the Recollection of Him will drive away the darkness of your Commanding Soul as the [day drives on] the night. If, then, the dawn of your heart opens and spreads like dawn before sunrise, there should be no surprise or amazement in [beholding] God's mercy as copious as early summer rain.'

8.2.2. Narrative Prose

Ẓahīru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur [1483-1530]

Muḥarram ayï Farğāna vilāyatïdïn
PROP.N-0GEN month-POSS 3SG PROP.N-0GEN Province-POSS 3SG ABL
Ḫurāsān ʿazīmatï bilä Ayläk
PROP.N-0GEN destination-POSS 3SG with-POSTP PROP.N-0GEN
yaylağïda kim Ḥisār vilāyatïnïng
summer quarter-POSS 3SG LOC that-CONJ PROP.N-0GEN province-POSS 3SG GEN
yaylağlarïdïn dur kelip tüštüm.
summer quarter-PLUR POSS 3SG ABL is-AUX 3SG come-GER fall-DEF.PAST 1SG
Ušbu yurtta yigirmä üč yašnïng
this very-EMPH.PRON. camp-LOC twenty-NUM three-NUM age-GEN
ibtidāsïda yüzümgä ustïra qoydïm. Uluğ
beginning-POSS 3SG LOC face-POSS 1SG DAT razor-0ACC put-DEF.PAST 1SG big-ADJ
kičik mäni umēdvārlïq bilä erišïp yurd
small-ADJ I+PRON 1SG ACC hopefulness-NOM with- POSTP join-GER camp-0ACC
yidürgänlär iki yüzdïn köpräk üč
lose-PART.PLUR two-NUM hundred-NUM ABL much-ADJ.COMP three-NUM
yüzdin azraq bolğay edi. Akṣar
hundred-NUM ABL little-ADJ COMP be-OPT 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG most-ADJ
yayaq va elikläridä tayaq va
barefooted-ADJ and-CONJ hand-PLUR POSS 3PL LOC stick-NOM and-CONJ
ayaqlarïda čaruq va eginläridä
foot-PLUR.POSS 3PL LOC sandal-NOM and-CONJ shoulder-PLUR POSS 3SG LOC
čapan erdi ʿAsrat bu martaba
coat-NOM be-DEF.PAST 3SG hardship-NOM this-PRON degree-NOM
edi kim bizing arada iki čadïr
be-DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ we+GEN space-LOC two-NUM tent-NOM
edi. Mäning čadïrïm validamğa
be-DEF.PAST 3SG I+PRON GEN tent-POSS 1SG mother-POSS 1SG DAT
tikilür edi. Manga bir yurtta
pitch-PASS AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG I+PRON DAT one-NUM camp-LOC
alačuq yasar edilär. Alačuqda olturur
hut-0ACC make-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3PL hut-LOC sit-AOR 3SG
edim. Agarči Ḫurāsān ʿazīmatï
be-DEF.PAST 1SG although-CONJ PROP.N.-0GEN destination-POSS 3SG
qïlïlïp edi valī ušbu ḥāl bilä
make-PAS GER be-DEF.PAST 3 SG but-CONJ this very-PRON state-NOM with-POSTP
bu vilāyattïn va Ḫusraw Šāhnïng nūkarlarïdïn
this-PRON province-ABL and-CONJ PROP.N. king-GEN servant-PL.POSS ABL
umēdvārlïq bar erdi. Bir nečä kündä bir
hopefulness-NOM exists-PARTIC be-DEF.PAST one-NUM few-ADV day-LOC one-NUM

kiši kelip vilāyat-i yätiz va el va
person-NOM come-GER province+IZ perfect-ADJ and-CONJ people+ and-CONJ
ulusdïn sözlär taqrīr qïlur erdi kim
tribe-ABL word-PL description+ make-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ
mūcib-i umēdvārlïq bolur edi. Bu
cause+IZ hopefulness-NOM be-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST-3SG this-PRON
furṣatta Mulla Bābā Pašāğarīni kim Ḫusraw
time-LOC Mullah-NOM-APP PROP.N.ACC who-PRON PROP.N-NOM
Šāhqa elčilikkä yïbarïlïp edi keldi. Ḫusraw
king-DAT embassy-DAT send-PASS GER be-DEF.PAST 3SG come-DEF.P 3SG PROP.N.
Šāhdïn köngülgä yaqqu dek söz keltürmädi.
king-ABL heart-DAT please-VN like- POSTP word-0ACC bring-NEG.DEF.P 3SG
Valī el ulusdïn sözlär keltürdi.
But-CONJ people+ tribe-ABL word-PL.0ACC bring-DEF.P. 3SG

(Bāburnāma 120r:4-120v:1)

'In the month of Muharram from the Fergana province bound for Khurasan we came to and alighted in the summer pastures of Aylak which was one of the summer pastures of Ḥisār Province. In this very camp at the beginning of my twenty third year of age I put the razor to my face [> I shaved for the first time]. Great and small, those who had hope in me and followed me into exile were more than two hundred and less than three hundred. Most of them were on foot with a walking stick in their hands and a chapan on their shoulders. The misery was so great that we only had two tents with us. They put up my mother in my tent. For me at every station they set up a hut. I was staying in the hut. Although we intended to move into Khurasan, in the situation at hand there was some hope from [Ḥisār] Province and from the servants of Khusraw Shah. In every few days someone would come in from this perfect province and described the people and the tribe and rekindled our hope. At this time Mullah Bābā Pashagharī, whom we had sent to Khusraw Shah as our envoy, came. He did not bring any news likely to please the heart. But he brought encouraging news from the people and the tribes.'

8.2.3. Translation Prose

Mīr ʿAlī Šīr Navāʾī [1441-1501]

ʿİraqnïng Qūhistānïdïn dur. Dīnavarda bolur
Iraq-GEN Kuhistan-POSS 3SG ABL is-AUX 3SG Dinavar-LOC be-AOR 3SG
ermiš. Cunayd quddisa
was-AUX INDEF.PAST 3SG PROP.N-SG may be hallowed-PASS 3SG
sirruhunïng kibār aṣḥābïdïn. Va
grave-NOM POSS 3SG-GEN noble-ADJ companions-AR.PL.POSS 3SG LOC and-CONJ
anga mašhūr riyāżāt va maʿrūf
he+PRON 3SG famous-ADV ascetic discipline-PLUR and-CONJ known-ADJ
safarlar dur. Cunayd dep dur kī
pilgrimages-PLUR NOM is-AUX 3SG PROP.N. say-GER is-AUX 3SG that-CONJ
agar Abu Bakr-i Kisaʾī ʿİraqda bolmasa
if-CONJ.COND Abu Bakr-PROP.N.+IZ Kisaʿ-PROP.N. ADJ. Irak-LOC be-NEG COND 3SG
erdi, men İraqda bolmas erdim.
be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG I-PRON 1SG Irak-LOC be-NEG-COND 3SG be-AUX DEF.PAST
Cunayddin burunraq dunyādïn ötüp tur.
1SG PROP.N.-ABL before-ADV.DIM world-ABL pass-GER is-AUX 3SG
Cunayddin ming mesʾele bu ṭāʾifa ṭarīqïda
PROP.N.- ABL thousand-NUM problem-NOM this-PRON group-OGEN road-POSS 3SG
suʾāl qïlïp erdi va Cunayd
LOC ask-PHRVB GER be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG and-CONJ PROP.N.NOM
barčasïğa cavāb bitip erdi.
all-PRON POSS 3SG DAT response-OACC write-GER be-AUX DEF.PAST3SG
Anïng vafātï habarï Cunaydqa
he+PRON GEN passing-POSS 3rd SG OGEN news-POSS 3SG PROP.N.-DAT
yetkändä dedi kim kāš ol masāʾil
arrive-GER say- DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ I wish that-PRON problems-OGEN
cavābï kim men anga bitip erdim
answer-POSS 3SG that-CONJ I-PRON he+PRON DAT write-GER be-AUX DEF.PAST 1SG
yusa erdi. Va ḥāl
wash-COND 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG and-CONJ state-NOM
ol kim ol dunyādïn ötär čağda ol
that-PRON that-CONJ that-PRON world-ABL pass-VN age-LOC that-PRON
kāğïzlarnï yup erdi. Dedilär ki
Paper-PLUR ACC wash-GER be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG say-DEF.PAST 3PL that-CONJ
čon ol bu išni qïlïp ötti, Cunayd
when-CONJ he-PRON this work-ACC make-GER pass-DEF.PAST 3SG PROP.N.NOM
šādmān boldï Šayhu'l-İslām dep tur ki
happy-ADJ be-DEF.PAST 3SG PROP.N. NOM say-GER is-AUX 3SG that-CONJ
Cunayd andïn qorqmas erdi kim
PROP.N.NOM that+PRON ABL fear-AOR.NEG be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ

ol masā'il ʿavām eligigä, yā
that-PRON. problem-PLUR common people-PLUR OGEN hand-POS3SG-DAT or-CONJ
pādšāh-i zamān eligigä tüškäy. Andïn
king+IZ time-OGEN hand-POSS 3SG DAT fall-OPT 3SG that-PRON ABL
qorqar erdi kim ṣūfīlär eligigä
fear-AOR 3SG be-DEF.PAST 3SG that-CONJ sufī-PL OGEN hand-POS3SG DAT
tüškäy va andïn dukkānē yasağaylar söz
fall-OPT-3SG and-CONJ that-PRON-ABL shop-INDEF OACC make-OPT-PL word-OACC
aytmaqda va qabūl tilämäkdä. Šayḫ Abu'l-Ḫayr-i
say-VN-LOC and-CONJ acceptance-OACC wish-VN LOC šhaykh-APP Abu'l-Khayr+IZ
ʿAšqalānī dep dur ki Abū Bakr-i
ʿashqalanī PROP.N. say-GER is-AUX 3SG thar-CONJ Abu Bakr-PROP.N.+IZ
Kisā'ī uyusa erdi, kögsidin
Kisāʿī_PROP.N. sleep-COND be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG breast-PRON 1SG ABL
Qur'ān oquğan üni kelür erdi.
PROP.N-OACC read-PART voice-POSS 3SG come AOR 3SG be-AUX DEF.PAST 3SG

(Nasā'imu'l-Maḥabbat R74r:15-22)

'He is from Qōhistan of ʿIraq. He would stay in Dīnavar. He was one of the magnificent companions of Junayd, may his grave be hallowed. He had famous ascetic disciplines and known pilgrimages [on his credit]. Junayd had said that if Abu Bakr of Kisāʿ was not in ʿIraq I was not in ʿIraq. He passed from this world somewhat before Junayd did. In the practices of this group he would ask a thousand questions from Junayd and Junayd would write answers to all of them. When the news of his passing came to Junayd, he said "I hope he had erased all those answers that I wrote him to his questions." But the situation was that at the time he was leaving this world he washed those papers clear. It is reported that because he did that before his passing, Junayd was happy. The Chief Mufti said Junayd was not afraid because [the answers he had given to] those questions might fall into the hands of common people or into the hands of the ruling king. He was afraid that they may fall into the hands of Sufīs who would open a shop [to sell people the skill of] how to say things and how to request acceptance. Sheykh Abu'l-Khayr-i ʿAsqalanī had said that when Abu Bakr-i Kisāʿī was sleeping from his chest the sound of reciting the Qur'ān was heard.'

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