THE UZBEK DIALECT OF QILICH
(RUSSIAN TURKESTAN)
WITH TEXTS AND GLOSSARY

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PREFACE.

This investigation of the Uzbek dialect of Qilich in Russian Turkestan was made by me during a stay in Srinagar, Kashmir, June—October 1935. Originally I was on the way to Chinese Turkestan in order to make further investigations into Eastern Turki. Owing to political difficulties in Turkestan I was retained in Kashmir, and after some time compelled to give up all thought of getting over to Kashgar. After having obtained permission from the Afghan government I then went to Kabul and Afghan Turkestan, where I made an investigation into the Uzbek dialect of Andkhui and made a collection of texts, which will soon be published. During my unexpected stay in Srinagar I was however lucky enough to be able to devote my time to the study of Eastern Turki, as there was a numerous colony of fugitives from Kashgar, Yarkand and Khotan, who had come down a short time before. The materials collected by me there will appear later.

I take the opportunity to express my gratitude to the »Humanistiska fonden« (Humanistic Fund) Stockholm for a travelling scholarship, which enabled me to make this journey, and also to the University of Lund for the Dickson travelling scholarship.

Lund in March 1937.

Gunnar Jarring.
The Classification of the Uzbek Dialects.

The Uzbek dialects, spoken in Russian and Afghan Turkestan, are to a considerable extent unknown, despite the very useful investigations made latterly by Polivanov and Menges (cf. List of works quoted). The literary Uzbek language of Russian Turkestan is now normalized and possesses a flourishing literature in Latin script. For the use of the linguist there are also some good dictionaries. The conditions of the innumerable dialects spoken in the vast territories of Central Asia are however rather unknown. Above all we lack texts of folk-literature in good phonetic record.

The texts given here were taken down by me in September 1935 in Srinagar, Kashmir, from an Uzbek by name Ahmad Jan from the village (qīšlaq) of Qilich (qīlič), not far from the little town of Kasan, some 40 kilometres to the north of Namangan in Russian Turkestan. Ahmad Jan had run away one year before from Turkestan, and after having stayed some time in Afghanistan he at last reached India. He himself was a peasant, but his father was a mullah of their native village. Five years earlier he also had left his native country owing to the persecution of the Muhammadan clergy by the antireligious leagues. Now they were both staying in Srinagar together with some other Turks from Russian Turkestan. Ahmad Jan was 21 years old.

According to the classification of the Uzbek dialects spoken in Russian Turkestan made by Polivanov,\(^1\) this dialect of Qilich

\(^1\) E. I. Polivanov, Образцы не-прилизованных говоров узбекского языка. 1—3 (1929—31). Cf. also his articles «Образцы не-снижармоницических (прилизованых) говоров узбекского языка».

I have not been able to get information from Russia, whether the materials from the linguistic expedition of 1929 are yet printed. (Cf. Menges, p. 144.) In Zur Geschichte Tadschikistans und Ethnologie Usbekistans, p. 44 Menges also gives valuable details about the work of this expedition.
no doubt belongs to the intermediate dialects of Ferghana, not yet having reached a complete state of iranization. It may also be regarded as an unlaute or Kashgarized dialect according to a later statement of Polivanov (v. p. 13, where a full account of this is given). The dialect is spoken in the country, where the pure language is better preserved than in the towns. There the Iranian influence (mainly from Tajik) preponderates.

The classification of Polivanov has its basis upon the amount the dialect is influenced by Iranian and so he gets two main groups: iranized Uzbek dialects and non-iranized. The former dialects are all spoken in the towns and the latter in the country.

Among the iranized dialects there are two subdivisions: the Tashkent-Bukhara-group and the intermediate dialects of Ferghana. To the former belong the dialects of the towns of Tashkent, Jizaq, Samarkand, Katta-Qurghan, Ura-Töbe, Qarshi (nowadays Beg-Budi) and Bukhara. (Of course Polivanov does not intend these boundaries to be definite. The amount of material collected is still too small, and all towns are not yet investigated.) The main feature of iranization is that the vowel-harmony is entirely lost. The vowel-system consists of 6 phonemes instead of 9. There is one subdivision in the Tashkent-Bukhara-group: the Samarkand-Bukhara-sub-group, which i. a. has the dative-suffix -ga ~ -ka ~ -qa instead of the locative in -dax ~ -tx.

To the second subdivision of the first (main) group, the intermediate dialects of Ferghana, belong the dialects of Andijan, Kokand and other towns and also villages of Ferghana. Polivanov does not enumerate them in his treatise. The main feature in the Andijan-Kokand-group (a subdivision) is that the vowel system consists of at least 7 phonemes. In some dialects, especially those of the villages, the vowel-harmony is not entirely lost in the suffixes. For this reason Polivanov has called this group the «intermediate» dialects of Ferghana. These dialects are however almost unknown. Our supply of texts consists of seven short stories, collected by Menges.2

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1 The geographical names are transcribed according to the rules of the Royal Geographical Society. (Gleichen & Reynolds, Alphabets of foreign languages, p. 64 sq.)

2 Menges, p. 167—69.
The second main group of Uzbek dialects comprises the non-iranized dialects. These have all preserved the vowel-harmony.

There are three subdivisions in this group: the Qipchaq or proper Uzbek group, the non-turkmenized northern Uzbek dialects and the turkmenized dialects of Iqan and Qara-bulaq and of the town of Khiva.

To the first group belong most of the dialects of the villages and the country of Uzbekistan and all the semi-nomadic Uzbeks. The Qipchaq-group belongs to the north-west-group of Turk languages according to the classification of Samoilovich, i.e. the final -γ is changed to -ʊ or is lost (тαγ > тαʊ »mountain»). Among phonetic changes in the Qipchaq-group there are further to be mentioned: initial ј > ʤ (жеди > джеди »he ate»), the alternation of consonants in the following suffixes: -nar < -lar after nasal (адам-нар < адам-лар, тағ-нар < тағ-лар etc.), -ди < -ни (Acc.) and -диγ < -миγ (Gen.) after r, l and ʢ; -ти and -тиγ after unvoiced consonants, and finally the change of x > q.

As it is possible to understand from the name, the non-turkmenized dialects are not exposed to the influence of the Turkmen language. The last group, the turkmenized dialects of Iqan, Qara-bulaq and Khiva shows a strong Turkmen influence in regard to the vowels. In these dialects there occurs a series of long vowels under the same conditions as in Turkmen, as for example а:д »name», қ:т »fire», туз »salt» (examples from different dialects).

No doubt the conditions of the Uzbek dialects of Russian Central Asia are very confused. The classification made by Polivanov cannot be regarded as the last word in this matter, except in its main lines: iranized and non-iranized dialects. The work on Uzbek dialectology must however be carried on without delay. The improved communications and not least the radio do their best for a levelling (and confusing) of the differences between the dialects, and so of course does the literary language of the newspapers. It is to be hoped that the Russian and Uzbek linguists of Tashkent and Samarkand will make collections of texts and phonetic descriptions of these dialects soon.

1 Са́мойлович, А.. Некоторые осположения к классификации турецких языков, p. 9 sq.
In the following I give a description of the dialect of Qilich, belonging to the intermediate dialects of Ferghana. From the beginning I am anxious to emphasize that this description cannot be considered as a full one. The remarks given refer mainly to the texts.

**Phonetic Remarks.**

**Vowels.**

The vowel-system contains 6 palatal, 4 velar vowels and 1 undifferentiated vowel.

- **Palatal:** ə, e, i, ü, ū, ō.
- **Velar:** a, ï, u, o.
- **Undifferentiated (reduced):** ə.

- **Close:** i, ï, ü, ū, u.
- **Half-close:** e, ō.
- **Half-open:** e.
- **Open:** a, o.

Long vowels occur in some cases (a, e, i and o, see below). Extra short vowels are represented by small letters above the line.

The vowel-system accords with that of some kishlaks in the neighbourhood of Kokand,¹ where ő and ū are preserved and do not coincide with o and u.

a is more rounded than the a occurring for instance in Eastern Turki,² but it is not the ă of MENGES for the Ferghana-dialect or the ă of POLIVANOV for other Uzbek dialects. In unstressed suffixes and syllables it is a normal a.

A long a: occurs in pure Turkish words in some cases, above all in ba: ~ ba:r »there is«, where it is regular. In ba:r- «to go» it alternates with a, so for example in the conditional tense I: 24 ėiqba:sam, I: 27, 35, 48 ba:rsam, but I: 38, 40, 44 bar-sam. Then occasional sal:di (I: 258) and ja:rilıp (I: 281). The long a: in I: 88 ta:tip can be explained as caused by the dropped

¹ POLIVANOV, 1929, p. 512. The names of these villages are not given.
² JARRING, Studien, p. 39.
Another case of length caused by a dropped consonant occurs in I: 133 uzadlan < uzaylan. The length in I: 254 a: - open! - may be explained from the fact that the imperative is especially stressed: a: χουνι αγιζινι! - Open the mouth of the jar! - The same explanation may be employed for the length in I: 183 padza:q padza:q. Cf. further p. 20.

A long a occurs only once in ‘Andijan‘: I: 128 undza:nge. The normal forms in the text are undzan.

In loan-words the long a: when original is usually preserved, so for example I: 1, 10, 11, 352 pa:disa: - pa:disa: - pa:disa:, I: 32, 33, 56 dza:n, I: 209 tama:m etc., but lost in for example bazar (< ba:za:r) and I: 355 ažiri (< a:žiri).

The preserved a without change towards o together with u and the later mentioned traces of an i-umlaut (cf. p. 12) makes this dialect resemble Eastern Turki.

e (ü) is the normal vowel occurring in the Turk languages. In some cases it is near to x (as in English ‘man‘), particularly in Arabic loan-words with velar sounds, so for example in I: 357 meqsedige.

In many cases an a stands for normal e, and invertedly, especially in the personal pronouns men → I and sen → you. In forms without suffix they are replaced by man and san, so I: 259 χουνι içide man ba:r, I: 327 pažalni içide man ba: edim, I: 322, 350 etc. man, I: 12 san bilurmusen. Exception I: 9, 14 men miy ažiz. In forms with suffix or in the 1st person of tenses men and sen usually stand, so I: 104 menge, I: 295 meni, I: 17, 103, 134 senge, I: 6, 14, 17 beriir men, I: 19 alurmen, I: 68, 70, 72 sirmajmen, I: 262 dejsen. Exceptions in I: 253 sanga and possibly in I: 62 jeiverip man, I: 73 ketip man, I: 204 gap man and I: 285 ketip man. In one case I heard e instead of e, viz. I: 290 seni < sen-ni (gen.). This e is not so close as the common e of the dialect.

e is the common e. A long e: occurs only once in the texts, I: 298 je:rgd. It may be occasional.

Both palatal and velar i (i and ì) occur. The i-vowels are very often reduced. I represent a reduced i-vowel by the sign ñ, which mostly occurs in suffixes particularly as vowel-element in the -p-forms of the verb (barzîp, alzîp etc.).
\(i\) mostly occurs in root-syllables or suffixes with velar consonants, so I: 25, 42 \(si\)niq \(si\)niq, I: 136 \(qil\)ip, I: 25, 26 \(ti\)yi. \(i\) changes to a palatal \(i\) or the reduced \(z\) in suffixes, also in the vicinity of other velar sounds, so I: 2, 3 \(qi\)zi, but I: 17 \(qi\)zimni, I: 63 \(qar\)nim. I: 203 \(qi\)ziqip, I: 146, 164 \(tar\)iqn, I: 163 \(bard\)im, I: 164 \(bar\)i\(p\) etc. Rules cannot be laid down. The alternation \(i/\dot{i}\) is no doubt due to the character of the dialect as an intermediate one, more and more losing its vowel-harmony. A thorough investigation of the \(i\)-sounds of this dialect, as of many others of the Turk dialects of Central Asia, would have as result a series of intermediate vowels, changing in accordance to the adjacent sounds. The indistinct vowel \(z\), especially when occurring in suffixes, is to be explained as a product of a very fast pronunciation.

A long \(i\): I noted only in I: 288 \(k\)i\(n\)u, but I: 223 \(ke\)nimdin. \(i/\dot{i}\) in suffixes sometimes appear as \(e\) or \(a\), so I: 80 \(sag\)eni (<\(sag\)ini), I: 82 \(gul\)ayen (<\(gul\)ayini), I: 159, 280 \(zer\)beden (<\(zer\)-\(b\)den), I: 246 \(ay\)zani (<\(ay\)zini) etc.

\(o\) is the common \(o\) occurring in the Turk dialects and used with the same significance by Menges and Polivanov.

\(\ddot{o}\) is the common Turkish \(\ddot{\text{o}}\).

In some cases it is replaced by \(o\), thus in the common \(kop\) »much, many« (I: 168 \(kop\), I: 324 \(kop\)ke) and \(korpe\) (II: 13, 15). The Persian \(ku\)\(h\)na appears as \(k\)\(o\)\(n\)e (I: 126), despite other loan-words like I: 36 etc. \(ko\)\(z\)e \(\sim\) \(ko\)\(ze\). In the last case however the preserved \(o\) may be due to the original vowel-length.

The common Turkish \(\ddot{\text{o}}\) in I: 124 \(t\)\(op\)esige and I: 303 \(t\)\(op\)ege is often replaced by \(e\), thus I: 76, 122, 127 \(tep\)esige, I: 76 \(tep\)eni. In one case I: 224 we have \(uj\) instead of the common \(\ddot{\text{o}}j\).

\(u\) is the common Turkish \(u\). There is a change \(u/\dot{i}\) in \(hi\)\(jan\) < \(hu\)\(jan\) (I: 296, but I: 117—19 \(u\)an \(h\)u\(jan\)).

The palatal \(\ddot{\text{u}}\), which is the common Turkish \(\ddot{\text{u}}\), seldom occurs in this dialect and is to a large extent replaced by \(\ddot{\text{u}}\), as in Eastern Turki. The verb \(t\)\(u\)\(sm\)ek regularly has \(\ddot{\text{u}}\) in the root-syllable, thus I: 294, 304, 306, 329 \(t\)\(u\)\(s\)ip, I: 197 \(t\)\(u\)\(s\)urip, I: 308
Only once does ü also appear in the suffix, I:110 tüşüp. In II:2 etc. bileküzük < bilek üzük the common ü is preserved, and as an exception in the distributive üste (I:45, 49).

ü (Swedish palatal u in 'hus') is very frequent in this dialect, being strongly reminiscent of the vowel-conditions in Eastern Turki, where also this vowel is very frequent. In both cases it stands for the common Turkish ü. ü appears in all positions, which is evident from the following examples: I:50 üstüni, I:103 sürdi, I:104, 105 sûrmedi, I:189 jurüpti, I:110 kün, jızüm, I:6, 14 berür, I:57 qajnateverdük, I:36, 41 üste, I:31 üçe.

In some cases the palatal ü can be replaced by u. I consider this as a sign of iranization (lost vowel-harmony). I noted I:23 üc »three«, I:24, 28, 139 üste and I:12 bilirmusesen. In the last word it may be the influence of the velar u in the interrogative suffix mu that has caused the change ü > u. There is an alternation ü ~ u in forms of the verb dzûna- »to walk«: I:194 dzûnedim, I:332 dzû'neşti, but I:149 dzûnedum.

The common word for »boot«, ölek, which appears in regular forms as I:91 öteğimus, I:93 öteğime, I:98 öteklerimmi, has in some cases an ü in the second syllable, when the word is suffixed, thus I:102, 107 öüğüm, I:102 öüğem, I:107, 115 öüğemeni. The phenomenon can be explained from the fact that the ü of the suffix (poss. suffix, 1st pers.) together with the ò of the first syllable has influenced the e of the second syllable and caused the change.

Vowel-harmony.

The dialect of Qilich, being one of the intermediate dialects of Ferghana, shows many signs of the destruction of the vowel-harmony. With the suffixes there is often a great irregularity and suffixes with palatal vowels are often added to the words of the velar class and vice versa. The main tendency is however, that suffixes of the palatal class are preferred, when according to common-Turkish rules there should occur a suffix of the velar class. Examples can be taken from the chapter »Morphological Remarks«, p. 20. Only the velar q seems to withstand the
destructive forces, when suffixes are added to a word ending in this consonant, cf. for example the dative-suffix, p. 21.

There is a regular labial vowel-harmony in most cases, so atim, közöm, ńlip, bolup, qilip, jatip etc. There are however also here a lot of exceptions, thus III: 3 sāziydn, I: 249 qoqip. We very often find forms as barup, acüp, alup, salup and jubarup along with barip, acip, alip, salip and jubarip. The fact that a of this dialect is a little more rounded than the common a may have caused the -up-forms, which follow the labial vowel-harmony. We have traces of this tendency towards labial vowel-harmony also in I: 23 qalduq, I: 39 eli'valduq, I: 43 ali'valduq (but I: 47 ali'valdagq) and I: 108 jattum.

The regular form köterip in I: 101 occurs as köterep. This change (i > e ~ e) is the same as for example in the accusative-suffix -ni (v. p. 21).

The form öldörgen (I: 56) instead of öldürgen must until further notice be regarded as occasional.

\[\text{i-umlaut.}\]

A very important feature of this dialect is a tendency to i-umlaut of the type known to exist in Eastern Turki.\(^1\) This umlaut and the preserved a (cf. p. 7) seem to indicate, that this Uzbek dialect is closely related to Eastern Turki. I am tempted to count the occurrence of an ū in this dialect — previously known to exist i. a. in Eastern Turki and Qazaq\(^2\) — as a matter of connection between these two dialects. But an ū may of course exist also in other Uzbek dialects without any resemblance to Eastern Turki.

The rule for the i-umlaut is that a > e when followed by an i (i̯) in the next syllable. I quote the following examples from the texts: I: 39 eli'valduq (I: 43 ali'valduq, I: 47 ali'valdag), I: 86 elip (< alip), I: 61 beliỳni (< baliỳn), I: 316 elišni (< ališni). As in Eastern Turki the forms with umlaut and those without occur parallel. The umlauted forms no doubt belong to the colloquial language.

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\(^1\) Jarring, Studien, p. 90 sq.

\(^2\) Menges & Şakir, Qazaqisch, p. 4.
In a short note in a review of my work *Studien zu einer östtürkischen Lautlehre* Polivanov mentions two new groups in his system of classification of Uzbek dialects. The first he calls 4 A, the umlaut-group or the Kashgarized group of Uzbek Chagataic. This group is influenced by the Turki of the Taranchis of Ili and the Turki of Kashgar. The dialects of it are said to be spoken in the kishlaks in the neighbourhood of Namangan and Narin and are iranianized (have lost the vowel-harmony). The second group, called 5, contains the non-iranized dialects of Ferghana, which thus have preserved their vowel-harmony. As I have not yet seen a more detailed report about these additional groups, I count only with the 'intermediate dialects of Ferghana' until further notice. It seems as if this dialect of Qilich should be an intermediate group between 4 A and 5 of Polivanov, not having lost its vowel-harmony entirely but with i-umlaut. It is however evident that the last word about classification of the Uzbek dialects is not yet said.

Diphthongization.

In II: 12 *opus* (II: 10 *opuč*) and I: 126 *eski* (*eski*) I noted a diphthongization of the type recorded by Polivanov for the dialects of Qirq and Nur Ata and some others of the Uzbek dialects proper. Half-close initial vowels are subject to this diphthongization. Polivanov further quotes *et* (*et*), *ot* (*ot*) and *öz* (*öz*). In one case I noted the same phenomenon in Eastern Turki, in the Kashgar dialect (*ot* < *ot*).

Vowel-elision.

The common elision of the vowel in the last syllable of disyllabic words when suffixes are added, occurs also in this dialect, thus II: 16 *qojumde* (*qojunumde*), I: 106, 111, 160 *orunudan* (*orunumdan*), I: 246 *ayzani*, I: 254, 256 *ayzini* (*ayzini*).

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2 I must not neglect to mention von Almasy's statement in KSz. 3, 1902, p. 183, that the dialect of the Uzbek of Ferghana very much resembles that of Kashgar and of the Taranchis!

3 Polivanov, 1929, p. 529 and Polivanov, 1931, p. 106.
By loss of an i pa:di:ša: is shortened to pa:dša: (I: 11) or pa:tša: (I: 350, 352).

**Dropping of vowels.**

i is dropped when standing in the vicinity of ĝ or š, thus very often in the colloquial language in forms of ěq: (I: 66 ěqaj), in pićaq and kiši which is usually pronounced as kiši. In qrq *forty* i as a rule is dropped.

**Alternation between initial vowel and consonant.**

The verb *send* alternates between initial e ~ i and j. The following forms appear: I: 298 ibarsam, I: 326 e'bardi, III: 6 jubarsamde, III: 7 jubar, jubarmes and III: 8 jubarsa.

**Consonants.**

The consonant-system of this dialect agrees in the main with the common-Turkish. It is however to be noted that the velar q is not pronounced so far back as the Eastern Turki q. This may be due to the general tendency of weakening the velar sounds very marked for example in i > i (cf. p. 10). 1 is the usual l and r the common rolled r. In loan-words the semi-vowel ü (as in English wild) occurs, thus I: 47 hağuz, I: 113 ayal, I: 155 ayaz etc. y is the common velar nasal.

The consonants of this dialect are subject to a lot of interesting changes.

**Consonant Alternations.**

q ~ y

q and y alternate as final consonants and also when suffixes are added, without any regularity. As examples I quote: I: 25 siniq sinüq, I: 42 sinüq sinüq, I: 24 pičaq, I: 26 pičaynî, I: 56 pičay, I: 135 tarıq, I: 209 tarıqyi, I: 323 ayırraq, I: 114 jumşaqray etc.

k ~ q

\( n \sim l \)

\( n \) and \( l \) alternate in the word köjnek, I: 227, 284 köjnek and III: 9 köjlek.

**Consonant Changes.**

\( q > \chi \)

This change occurs in forms of čiqmaq as I: 76 čiksem, I: 77 čiçmegin and I: 78 čiçmagan.

\( \chi > q \)

This change occurs only in the Persian loan-word ša:χ «branch», here represented by ša:q (I: 78, 80).

\( k > g \)

Final \( k > g \) when a suffix beginning with a vowel is added, so I: 134 öteği, I: 116 ötiğümni, I: 107 ötiğem ~ ötiğüm etc., but I: 98 öteklerimni. The same change in II: 2 bilekzügümnü, II: 4 bilekzügügni.

Initial \( k \) in -ki \( > g \) in helği ~ halği. The same change when -ki is added to a word ending in a vowel, thus I: 341 sajdege, I: 265 qaptege. An exception is I: 178 dejadeki.

\( k > j \)

In one case \( k > j \), viz. I: 159 ašavermejni (<ašavermekni). It may be an accidental change, as we have I: 58 qajnatmaqni. **MENGES**\(^1\) noted the same change for the Khiva-dialect.

\( ĉ > ŋ \)

This change occurs mostly in ĩš ~ uš ~ üč (I: 24, 28, 36 etc. ĩste ~ üste, I: 31 učte) and in II: 12 copuš against II: 10 opuç.

\( b > r \)

The common change \( b > r \), which one can find in several other dialects, occurs in I: 145 arava (<araba) and I: 148, 161, 170 a aravage. Occasionally I noted this change in I: 159 varzpti (<baripti).

In compound verb-forms of the type alival-, tutuval- or jeiver- (<*alib al-, *tutub al-, *jeib ber-) the change takes place regularly. As in araba an intervocalic \( b \) is changed to \( v \). *jeib ber- > jeiver-

\(^1\) MENGES, p. 155.
follows the same rule. After monophthongization of the double consonant \( -bb - \), \( b \) becomes intervocalic and the change occurs regularly (*jei\( \bar{e} \) ber \( \rightarrow \) jei\( \overline{b} \)er \( \rightarrow \) je\( \overline{e} \)ver*).

\[ d > t \text{ and } g > k \]

The change of voiced consonants into unvoiced as a result of different combinations follows the rules common to other Turk languages. I note the changes \( d > t \) and \( g > k \) in the consonant-combinations occurring in my texts:

\[ d > t \]
- \( q + d > qt \) I: 216 he\( \overline{j} \)ranliqta (> he\( \overline{j} \)ranliq-da)
- \( k + d > kt \) I: 315 i\( \acute{s} \)ikten (> i\( \acute{s} \)ik-de)
- \( p + d > pt \) I: 146 qapta (< qap-da)
- \( t + d > tt \) I: 176 attin (< at-din)
- \( \ddot{c} + d > \ddot{c}t \) I: 31 i\( \ddot{u} \)\( \ddot{c} \)te (< i\( \ddot{u} \)-de)
- \( s + d > st \) I: 209 satmastin (< satmas-din)
- \( s + d > st \) I: 308 ti\( \ddot{u} \)\( \ddot{s} \)tk (< ti\( \ddot{u} \)-d\( \ddot{u} \)k)

\[ g > k \]
- \( k + g > kk \) I: 66 i\( \ddot{s} \)ikke (< i\( \ddot{s} \)ik-ge)
- \( p + g > pk \) I: 324 kopke (< kop-ge)
- \( t + g > tk \) I: 332 atke (< at-ge)
- \( \ddot{c} + g > \ddot{c}k \) I: 193 i\( \acute{c} \)k\( \ddot{u} \)s\( \ddot{u} \)p (< i\( \ddot{c} \)-g\( \ddot{u} \)s\( \ddot{u} \)p)

**Dropping of consonants.**

There is a tendency towards dropping final \( r \) in \( ba:r \), thus I: 1, 8, 238, 327 ba:. The \( r \) is further dropped in I: 24 \( \ddot{c} \)i\( \ddot{g} \)e\( \ddot{b} \)a:sa\( \ddot{m} \) (< \( \ddot{c} \)i\( \ddot{g} \)e\( \ddot{b} \)a:rsa\( \ddot{m} \) and in I: 88 ta:ti\( \ddot{p} \) (< ta:rti\( \ddot{p} \) ), but only in the last case one may expect the dropped \( r \) to have caused the long vowel (Ersatzdehnung). As a rule \( r \) is dropped in d\( \ddot{e} \)ja < d\( \ddot{e} \)rja.

In I: 133 uza:da\( \ddot{n} \) \( \gamma \) is dropped and may have caused the long \( a \).

Final \( t \) in gu\( \ddot{u} \)\( \ddot{t} \)st is dropped once viz. I: 89 gu\( \ddot{u} \), and as a rule dropped in pest, I: 276, 278 pes. Both are Persian loan-words.

Final \( h \) is always dropped in pa:di\( \ddot{a} \):a: (< Pers. pa:di\( \ddot{a} \)a:h) and intervocalic \( h \) in I: 126 k\( \ddot{o} \)\( \ddot{m} \)e (< Pers. kuh\( \ddot{n} \)a).
Contractions.

The perfect participle in -p is sometimes contracted to a monosyllabic word, thus qalip > qap (I: 110, 175, 204) and alip > ap (I: 196 apkirip).

The common contraction nerge (< ne jerge) occurs once, viz. I: 83.

The town-name Andijan is as a rule contracted to andzan (< andidza:n).

Simplification of Double-Consonantism.

When a suffix with initial n is added to a word with final n there occurs a simplification in some cases. Thus we have I: 133, 305, 306 mane (< man-ni), I: 295 meni (< men-ni), I: 290 seni (< sen-ni), I: 176 kuni (< kun-ni). In these words simplification appears to be the rule — as a matter of fact these words very commonly occur. I noted simplification of the same type in I: 304 qujuşqani (< qujuşqan-ni) and -qq- > -q- in I: 310 gorganimdan (< gorg-qanimdan).

Accent.

The main rules for the accent in Uzbek are given by Polivanov in his manual of the Uzbek language, T. 1, p. 27 sq.¹ According to these rules most of the Uzbek words have the accent on the last syllable. If suffixes are added the accent is transferred to the last syllable of the suffixed word. Only some of the suffixes do not get the accent and among these suffixes Polivanov mentions the interrogative suffix -mu or -mi. When this suffix is added the accent remains on the last syllable of the preceding word, e.g. 'bor-mi or 'bor-mu »is there?». The only mentioned exception from the main rule of Polivanov, is bjradi »he goes».

¹ Введение в изучение узбекского языка. 1—3 (1925—27). Additions in Краткая грамматика узбекского языка. Ч. 1. 1926, where also other exceptions to the main rule are enumerated.
Vyatkin\(^1\) also says the accent rests upon the last syllable, with exception of a few words, above all words ending in -\textit{au}, where the accent lies on the paenultima.

Raquette has shown that the old theory of Turkish being accented on the last syllable of the word is wrong.\(^2\) His theory about the accent in Turkish in its main features also applies to Eastern Turki — with a lot of exceptions of course. The accent in Uzbek (at least as I have heard it in the dialects of Tashkent, Andijan, Osh and in the Uzbek dialect of Afghanistan, and in the dialect of Qilich, described here by me) as a rule does not fall on the last syllable of the word. Instead of accent there is in most cases a high tone on the last syllable, and I presume this to be the common-Turkish accentuation. The accent-rules of the different Turk languages and dialects are as a matter of fact not at all clear, because most of those who have investigated these languages have neglected the accent. The common conception is that the Turk languages are accentuated on the last syllable of the word, but I consider this to be wrong.

The rule for accentuation of this text from Qilich is that there is a rising tone on the last syllable of the word or on the last syllable of a composition of words which have to be read together in a sentence. There is a falling tone on the last syllable of the last word in the sentence. Then there occurs a strong stress in special cases, see below. As a whole it means that all the words of a sentence are unaccented, except in some special cases which are treated below. The intonation no doubt mostly resembles that of French.

I give the texts unaccented except in cases where I heard a special strong stress, so for example čit\'anlik or pilčaq. This does not mean that such words are always accented in this way. It depends mainly on their position in the sentence. I think it is necessary to make a distinction between the accent of an

\(^1\) 
Vyatkin \textit{Учебник узбекского языка для русских}. 1928, p. 11.

\(^2\) The accent problem in Turkish. P. 3—11 contain a review of former opinions about accent in Turkish. Cf. further the investigations about accent and tone in the Tatar language, made by Bogoroditski, in \textit{Итоги по татарскому и узбекскому языкознанию} (1933) and in \textit{Введение в татарское языкознание ...} (1934). Kraelitz-Greifenhorst in his treatise \textit{Studien zur Lautlehre der Kasan-tatarischen Sprache} (1930—31) also gives rules for the accentuation of Tatar words.
isolated word and a word within a sentence. In the latter case the accent depends upon the intonation as a whole.

As an example of a sentence accented in the common way with a rising tone on each word or word-composition and with a falling tone on the last syllable of the last word we can take *sul adam xizr eken*. There is no distinct stress on any of the words in this sentence. But in such a sentence as *tiyi joq pi'cayni alivaldim*, there is a pronounced stress on the second syllable of *pi'caq* and on the third of *alival-*, i.e. on the first syllable of the second part in the compound verb *alival-* (*alip+a*). There is however no rule that *pi'caq* should always be accented in this way, but there is a tendency towards a strong accentuation of an a in the last syllable, e.g. *qa'zan* »kettle«, *pa'xal* »rice-straw«, *\*a'tan* »basket« and others. But this is no rule, only a tendency.

I found a regular strong accent on the first syllable of the second verb in compound verbs of the type *alival-*. So I heard *alivaldim*, *alivaldiq*, *jei'verdim*, *jei'verip*, *tutu'valdim* and so on.

There is a tendency towards a strong pronounced accent in such compounds as *ke'tipti* or *tu'rupti*, but one may as many times be able to hear *ketipti* or *turupti*.

The potential-suffix *-al-* is as a rule accented, thus *qi'lamaj*, *de'almad*.

In Eastern Turki the participle *eken* of *ermek* always has a strong end-accent (*e'ken*). In the Uzbek dialect of Qilich there is however no trace of a strong marked accent in this specific case. *eken* is pronounced with the usual high tone on the last syllable.

There are several other examples of a pronounced accent on one or other syllable of a word. This is evident from the text given by me, where one can find such forms as *dzu'nestii*, *ci'qarip* or *i'bardim*. Naturally I am far from arranging any accent-rules for the dialect, owing to the small amount of texts collected by me. I hope however that someone at the linguistic institutes of Uzbekistan will soon take up the question as it is of real importance.

Vyatkin's statement⁠¹ that Arabic and Persian loan-words

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have the accent on the last syllable cannot be applied to the dialect of Qilich, nor I presume, to any other Uzbek dialect. Such an accentuation is possible only when the word in its original Arabic or Persian form ends in a long vowel, as for example \( \chiula: \) or \( \textit{ila:d}z \). But in such cases the accent is due to the long final vowel. As a rule a syllable with a long vowel in an Arabic or Persian loan-word is accented. This of course does not hinder a high tone on the last syllable. So for example the following words have a clear accent on the first syllable: \( 'ha:let \), \( 'ma:qol \). In other loan-words of the same kind but without a long vowel, my main rule about a high tone on the last syllable may be applied.

In some cases a very pronounced accent can change a short vowel into a long. I quote 1:254 \( a: \dot{\varepsilon} \chiumni ayzini \) and 1:183 \( pad\dot{\varepsilon}a:q \; pad\dot{\varepsilon}a:q \), where I suppose the long \( a \) to be due to the strong stress. A similar phenomenon has been noted by Polivanov and Menges. The latter ascribes such long vowels to the falling tone on the last syllable (according to the intonation). They occur in all Uzbek dialects.\(^1\)

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**Morphological Remarks.**

**Nouns.**

The genitive-suffix is always — without alteration to the vowel-harmony — \( -ni \) and thus the same as the accusative suffix. There is only one exception to this rule, viz. 1:2 \( \textit{eniy bir qizi ba}:r \; \textit{edi} \), but I suppose this \( -ni \)-form to be literary, no doubt influenced by the speaker's wish to keep to the high literary language in the beginning of his story.

Menges in his Ferghana-text noted the genitive in \( -niy.\)

It is not evident from the description of Polivanov of the intermediate dialects of Ferghana if the genitive there has the \( -niy-\)

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\(^1\) Menges, p. 175 "Eine mit der Satzintonation zusammenhängende Länge kann man allenthalben im fallenden Ton der letzten Silbe im Satz feststellen, eine für das Gesamtgebiet des Özbekischen charakteristische Erscheinung."

\(^2\) Menges, p. 176.
or -ni-suffix. Apparently there are differences in the use of this suffix even in the dialects of the different villages.

The accusative is as a rule formed regularly with -ni-suffix. There is a tendency towards -di, viz. III: 5 kembeyal idi (kembeyal-ni) and III: 6 čirvandı (<čirvandi <čirvan-ni).

The accusative and genitive of man ~ men «I», is often mane =manne (in the texts I: 133, 306 mane = acc.; I: 305, II: 16 mane = gen.). These genitive- and accusative-forms in -ne correspond to the accusative-forms in -nä, -ne observed by Menges in the Ferghana-dialect.¹ The vowel e in -de as accusative-suffix conforms to that of -ne as accusative- and genitive-suffix.

The dative is formed by the suffix -ge ~ -ke (I: 3 ेरे, I: 71 ुै कक्के, I: 265 ुंगे, I: 153 ोट्टे), which is added to both velar and palatal words. Only words ending with the velar -q always get the suffix -qa, thus I: 30 ariqqqa, I: 54 odzæqqa, I: 141 jërtiqqqa, I: 143 joqqa, I: 221, 229 baqqa. This is no doubt due to the overwhelming velarity of q being more felt than that of other velar sounds.

The dative of san ~ sen «you» in one case (I: 253) has the form sanga instead of the normal sange. The vowel-harmony is however not preserved in other words with a in the last syllable.

The locative-suffix is -de, -te ~ -da, -ta, of which the two last are used for words of the velar class only (I: 146 qapta, I: 151 jolda, I: 155, I: 188 vaştida, I: 192 dżajda, I: 215 janimida, I: 216 hejranliqtga) and the first for words of both classes (I: 55 ko:zede, I: 77 tegide, I: 189 jüzide, I: 244 qapte etc.).

The ablative-suffix is -den, -ten ~ -dan, -tan or -din, -tin. The most usual is -den, -ten, which is used for words both of velar and palatal class (I: 22 ataden, I: 121 jerden, I: 315 išikten etc.) -dan is used only for words of the velar class (as loc. -da), so I: 55 hayûzdan, I: 133 uza:dan, I: 310 gorganimdan etc. There is one exception to this rule, viz. I: 214 jerdan (against I: 121 jerden, I: 331 jeriden).


¹ Menges, p. 177.
from the old Chaghataic or it can be a sign of the above mentioned Kashgarization\(^1\) of this dialect. \(-\text{din}\) as ablative-suffix occurs for the rest in the dialect of the town of Turkistan, but not together with \(-\text{den} \sim \text{-dan}.\(^2\)

In two cases II: 1 and II: 3 boqinde an \(-\text{n}\) is inserted between the root + 3rd person possessive suffix and the locative suffix. This is against the rules of the Eastern Turk dialects, but happens occasionally in Uzbek and Eastern Turki, cf. MENGES, p. 158.

In two cases there appear forms with double article, viz. I: 94 \textit{birisige} and I: 278 bunasini. Similar forms also appear in other Turk dialects and they are according to BROCKELMANN\(^3\) due to illusory analogy with numerals ending in vowels. GRÖNEBECH\(^4\) gives a lot of examples from other dialects. In accordance with him I use the term »article« instead of possessive suffix.

The article is used in determinations of time in the following cases: I: 96 \textit{kečes}i »in the night« and III: 2 kečeleri »in the nights«.

**Verbs.**

**Indicative.**

There occur two present-futures in this dialect, which I call I and II.

The present-future I is formed by adding an \(-\text{a} \) or \(-\text{e}\) to the root. The personal forms of it agree with the common Turkish forms, thus \textit{alam}an, \textit{keled}ur. When the root ends in a vowel the semivowel \(j\) is added, thus \textit{jiy}la\textit{d}ur, \textit{dejem}en. The negative is formed regularly, thus \textit{s}i\textit{ymaj}men, turmajdur.

The present-future II is formed by adding vowel + \(r\) to the root, thus \textit{ber}fur, \textit{alar} or \textit{alur} etc.

Instead of \textit{kettim} I noted the enlarged form \textit{ki'ittim}, in I: 228 \textit{kirip kir}i\textit{ttim} and I: 345 \textit{qa}z\textit{ip k}i\textit{ttim}, but I: 241 \textit{kirip k}ettim.

Compound tenses are formed from the participles and the gerund, v. below.

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\(^1\) Cf. p. 13.

\(^2\) POLIVANOV, 1929, p. 519.

\(^3\) ZDMG 70, p. 210, n. 3.

\(^4\) Der türkische Sprachbau, 1, p. 95, 96.
The imperative is formed after the following scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sing.</th>
<th>Plur.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>al</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aliy</td>
<td>aliyler</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>algin</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alsunlar</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>alsun</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The direct imperative *al! Take!* is most in use. The second form *aliy!* occurs only once, viz. I: 249 *jerde qojiy! Put it on the ground!* and the plural of it also once, viz. I: 320 *tamde öziyler taslap aliyler! Take yourself from (on) the roof!*. 

I suppose the *algin*-imperative to be quite high-literary, occurring only in the poetry II and III and not in the tale. Thus I noted II: 2, 6, 10, 14 *bergin bilekzugümni*, II: 13 *sen nerak turgin* and III: 2 *qulaq salgin*. Menges however noted the imperative in *-qal ~ -qal salgin* for the Khiva-dialect also for a plain tale. After more texts have been collected it will be possible to make up further rules for the use of the different imperative-forms, and also other verb-forms.

The second plural in *-sunlar ~ -sünler* is used for the second person sing. in two cases, viz. I: 221 *vaj, dadası! bagqa jürsünler* and I: 229 *bagqa kelsünler*. I compare these forms with the Eastern Turki polite imperative in *-seler*, for example *kelseler! or kelsle! Please come!*, being originally the 3rd person plural of the conditional tense.

The form *alsun*, 3rd person, occurs regularly in a lot of cases.

**Conditional.**

The conditional tense is formed regularly in *-sa ~ -se*. Sometimes there occur compound forms with *bol*, thus, II: 15, 16 *keler bolse, salar bolse, alar bolse* etc.

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1 Menges, p. 160.
2 Raquette, Eastern Turki grammar, II, p. 16.
Subjunctive.

The optative is formed regularly by adding -aj ~ -ej to the root, thus jataj, berej etc.

In the poetry there appear the forms bolajin, bu'rajin, sa'lajin and qilajin (with a strong stress on the a). VĂMBEŘY and others consider these forms in -ajin to be the imperative 1st person sing., bara-jin »ich möge gehen«. 1 I consider them as pure optative forms. These forms occur sometimes in Eastern Turki (archaistic), thus for example in Tâji bilâ Zohra, ed. RAQUETTE, p. 51, ayrılanı̨n and sanjiłayın.

Participles.

There occur the two present participles in -a ~ -e and vowel + r, being the basis of the present-future I and II. Only in one case did I note a present participle in its ordinary function, viz. ure in I: 291 xatunini ure bašledi.

The negative of the 1st present participle in -a ~ -e is -maj ~ -mej, which will best be translated by »without ...«, thus for example I: 284—285 ıstan köjnekke qaramej öjıni tamıge çiqip ketıp man »without seeing to (my) trousers and shirt I went up on the roof of the house». The form in -mas ~ -mes may be regarded as the negative of the second participle in vowel + r. This can take case-suffixes, thus I: 209 bir alma satmastın.

The most used perfect participle is formed with the suffix -gan ~ -gen, thus galgan, kelgen etc. The velar form of the suffix, -yan, is entirely lost in this dialect. This may be due to the general tendency of palatalization mentioned above, v. p. 14. This perfect participle in most cases stands as a verbal noun. Only in two cases does it form a tense together with eken, thus I: 145 and I: 297 turgen eken »there stood».

eken is very frequent as a historic perfect, meaning the same as edi, thus I: 152 dejami lebi kop salkın eken, I: 264 ısl adam ﾝィｩ eken. In other cases it stands as copula.

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The present-future participle in -durgan occurs in the form salahdurgan, viz. I: 238 and 241 bir katta un salahdurgan yum ba: 'there is a big jar for keeping flour'.

Gerund.

The common gerund in vowel + p is very frequent and also forms compound tenses, together with personal suffixes or forms of 'to be'. All these compound tenses have perfect sense. Thus we have:

- gerund + man, san etc. (I: 285 öjni tamige čiqip ketip man)
- gerund + dur (I: 59 suyekleri hal hal bolup ketiptur)
- gerund + di (I: 24 bir dzajge čiqeba: sam uşte p'čaq turupti)
- gerund + eken (I: 266 bul sapar ẓizr nazar qilip eken)
- gerund + di + eken (I: 312 bir qanče salı pažalni basıp qojoqti eken).

The forms of the type turupti are the most common in the texts, especially in the tale, but they occur parallel with forms in -tur, thus I: 59 ketiptur, I: 226 qojuptur etc. We have the same change in the present future I, thus I: 210 jiyłąjdur, but I: 200 jiyłąjadi, III: 9 jelpulejadi, qimillejadi.

The gerund of qara- 'to look' qarap has changed almost to the value of a postposition with the meaning 'in the direction of'. Thus I note I: 132 andzange qarap dzunedum «I went in the direction of Andijan» and I: 149 marşulange qarap dzunedum «I went in the direction of Margbelan». We have examples of the same change from other Turk dialects, cf. Grönbech, Der türkische Sprachbau, I, p. 40 sq. 'Verbalformen als Adverbia und Postpositionen'.

Other verbal forms.

Imperfectum conatus occurs in the form bermakći bolći, viz. I: 3 gizini erge bermakći bolći »It was his intention to give his girl to a man» and I: 177 su ictimakći bolći »It was his (its) intention to drink water», i. e. »he wanted to drink water». 
There occurs a verbal noun in vowel + š added to the root in the form ketiš or better the compound tašlap ketiš = a throwing away. I: 212 and 213 halgi halâni tašlap ketiši jene bilmej alzp ketiši jene bilmej.

From the negative participle in -mas ~ -mes there is formed a noun in -maslik ~ -meslik, which occurs once in the texts viz. I: 354 qızıni berneslikke ila:dz qil’almaj.

**Compound verbs.**

The following compound verbs occur:

1) verb in the basic form + al- (alıval- < alıp-al- etc.):
   - alıval- I: 26 alıvaldim, I: 39 elıvalduq, I: 43 elıvalduq, I: 47 elıvaldızq
   - kiiival- I: 138 kiiivaldim
   - gošuval- I: 170 a gošuvalızq
   - tutuval- I: 289 tutuvalızq, I: 295 tutuvaledur
   - jükleval- I: 171 jüklevalızq, I: 162 jüklevaldim

2) verb in the basic form + -ber- = -ver- (jeıver- < jeıp-ber- etc.):
   - jeıver- I: 61 jeıverdim, I: 62 jeıverip
   - qajnatever- I: 57 qajnateverdiık
   - ašaver- I: 158 ašaverıpti, I: 159 ašavermejni

**The Texts.**

The folk-tale (I) belongs to an Euro-Asiatic group of tales, called novels (romantic tales) by **Aarne,** and arranged by him in his classification under No. 852. In **Bölte-Polívka** there are enumerated a lot of variants. The man or boy afflicted with Favus (here kal ~ kel, in Eastern Turki taz) is known among the people as especially deceitful and there are a lot of tales relating just to these moral qualities of his.

The poetry (II—III) has no doubt literary origin and may be compared with that collected by **Vámbéry** in his Ҫagataische Sprachstudien.

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1 **Aarne,** The types of the folk-tale.
2 II, p. 506 sq.

1 arıq. 
2 arıqqa. 
3 balıq.
ali'valdaş. 48. mundan bir džajge barsam 49. üstte öij turupti. 50. ikkisi bozuy bozuy birini üstini joq. 51. üstini joq üjje kirsem 52. üstte odzq turupti. 53. ikkisi bozuy bozuy birini möresi joq. 54. möresi joq odzqqa tegi joq ga'zanni asip 55. nem joq haunz- dan tegi joq kö:ze:de altıp kelgen suni qujup 56. tiji joq pü'çay birlen öldörgen dža:ni joq bali'yni gazange salıp 57. qajnatverdük qajnatverdük qajnatverdük. 58. qajnatmaqni zerbiden dža:ni joq bali'yni garasam 59. suyekleri hal hal bolup ketiptur. 60. guştige tapt ötmępti. 61. helgi belyi ga'zandın altıp jej'verdim. 62. jej've- rıp man bir vázte qarasam 63. garinim zundek bolup ketipti. 64. xeberim joq. 65. šundan turup 66. išikke čgaj desem 67. išikke barsam 68. šiymajmen. 69. mörege barsam 70. šiymajmen. 71. tünekkе barsam 72. šiymajmen. 73. lókuda:nden urup čiqıp ketip man 74. madengenи xeberi joq. 75. mundan čiqıp 76. bir tepeni tepesiğe čiqšem 77. bir čiğmenen šua:qni tegide bir tuymagan¹ gujanni balasi jatıpti. 78. čiğmagan šua:qni ša:giden sindurup alip 79. bir qamışni tüpek qilip 80. šua:qni ša:qeni salıp 81. tuymagan gujanni balasige qarap attım. 82. qulayeni tegide teșip 83. nærge jaqaden ölip ketipti xeberim joq. 84. šundan barup 85. tuymagan gujanni balasını südürap 86. bir džajge člip barup 87. teresini adzretip 88. guști ğayini ta:tip körsem 89. altımış ča:rek guș qildi. 90. jet misogyn ča:rek ğay qildi. 91. »šundan öteğümni bir jaylap gojaj« dep 92. jaylasem 93. bir öteğümge jetti. 94. birisige heč nerse joq. 95. bir džajge barup 96. keçesi bolup qaldi. 97. »šu džajde jataj« dep 98. öteklerimi ješip 99. bašimge qojup jatsam 100. tapa tipi džendzlal tapa tipi džendzlal. 101. »neme džendzlal« dep bašimni köterep qarasam 102. jayļiy öüğem birlen jaysiz öüğüüm uruš jattı. 103. »senge jay sürdı. 104. menge sur- medi« dedi. 105. »jay sürmedi« dep 106. ornumdan turup 107. jaysiz öüğüm birlen jayļiy öüğemmi bir şepa:du:n urдум 108. jene jattum. 109. erte bilen qarasam 110. jüziğme kınler tüşüp

¹ almost tuymagan.

1 topesiğe.
235. «дадаси гаъдир эди?» десем 236. «тегъурнанг кетип эди» деди.
keləp 302. kötərip turup taşlap əbərdim. 303. töpege kötərənənimde
304. qujuşqanı boynumge tüşüb qalıp eken 305. mane əzəbarim joq.
306. halqı toqom mane həm sildərəp tüşüb ketti. 307. toqom birən
ikimiz jergə gumbeləp 308. jergə tüşük. 309. halqı dizəde er ve
xatun adəzəri ip ketdi. 310. qorqanımından su dizəden şəxslər 311.
örnənən turup 312. ənə bir balaşanəni təpesige bir qanəcə səli
paşələri bəşər qoşqəti eken. 313. bir baq paşələri arasıge kərip
kettim. 314. emdi kirip turəm 315. isıkən mənəpler keləp 316.
şəhər palancı! elişni su alıb ketti. 317. paşəl ber» dep 318. ayaq
qildi. 319. halqı xatunı eri »ane: paşəl bolsa 320. tamda özəyler
taşləp alıyler» dedi. 321. bir jigit dərəçə taməğə cəzə 322. halqı
man jatkan paşələri kötərip 323. »su avərraq eken 324. kopke
oxşəjdur» dep 325. kötərip turup 326. jergə taşləp əbərdi. 327.
paşələr içide man ba: edim. 328. olırmə xabarı joq. 329. tamən
tüşüb üc kišiləşəp 330. halqı paşələri avraməcə ələsəp 331. üc
jeridən məhhəm bağladılər. 332. şəndən bir katta atke artərap
düznesəti. 333. joldə kətip barəp 334. kəllənmə paşələri arasıändə
cığarəp qərasəm 335. atını əstə kopúk əlib ketiptür. 336. olırmə
xabarı joq. 337. bir dizə əzə barəp 338. jolidə bir katta saj ucrədi.
339. halqı sajni qatrə ənəm joq. 340. ənəm joq sajge atını salaq
əbərərəp edı. 341. nem joq xərəqə su atını kömür ketti. 342. halqı
dizəndə suni içide pişəlip qaləp 343. oler hə:letke jetip 344. paşələr
arasıändə cığarəp 345. ənəm joq xərəqə suni təqidən qaçəp ki'ittim.
346. bulənə xabarı joq. 347. suni təqidən bir neçə kün qaçəp
348. axirə bir dizə əzə kəlip 349. közəmmə açır qərasəm 350. pa:tsa:ni
aldıdə jəni həzərələrinə aldıleridə oturupman» dedi. 351. şəndə
ekənə əyəp tüyədi. 352. pa:tsa: hejran qaləp 353. bu kənə əyəp
tahsin və a:ferinler qilip 354. qızını berməlikke ilə:dz qiyəlməj
355. axirə qvə kün toj ta'masılar birən keləgə qızını berdi. 356.
halqı kel qızını alıb 357. mura:dl meqsədiyə jetti.
II.
bejt

1. saj bojinde turgan jigit 
   xoš közőyni sözgen jigit
2. bilekszügümini¹ algen jigit
   alsey bergin bilekszügümini
3. su bojinde turganım joq
   qaš közömni sözgenim joq
4. bilekszügüni alğanım joq
   algan bersün bilekszügüni
5. kök atýne dzıl bolajin
   çarbaycęge gul bolajin
6. özöm senge gul bolajin
   alsay bergin bilekszügümini
7. kök atýne dzıl kerekmes
   çarbaycęmge gul kerekmes
8. özöm qulmen gul kerekmes
   algan bersün bilekszügüni
9. haşa hayage düz kelürmu
   adam adämge xoš kelürmu
10. sujinçisi opuç bolurmu
    alsay bergin bilekszügümini
11. haşa hayage düz kel'elmes
    adam adämge xoš kel'elmes

¹ bilekszük < bilek üzük
12. sujuncisi vopuş bolalmas algan bersin bilekzügümni
13. sen nerək turgin men barajin tizedin korpe men salajin
14. bir keçe kiylûymi jóš qilajinalsey bergin bilekzügümni
15. men nerək turaj keler bolsey tizede korpe salar bolsey
16. bir keçe kiylûymi alar bolsey al bilekzüküy mane gojnumde

III.
a:şiq mêsûq

1. bir körənde a:şiq boldum sen qiza sendin başqa dža:na:n körümmes köza
2. keçeleri za:r jıylajmen hədərində erzim ejtej qulaq salgin sen qiza
3. söziydin ayləsəm ej dža:na:n jıgit süjər bolsey ata anam birən ala:qa et
4. ata anam birən ala:qa tutup her künde qun aşade kelip ket
5. ata anayəx bargenim züp e`mes bizek kembyəldi nəzərə ilmes
6. džauči juba:rsamde čirvande sorər čirvan degen nerse bize džiq e`mes
7. džauči jubar čirva:nıy kerekmes ata anam meni satıp jubarmes
8. ata anam meni satıp jubarsa zekse degen džajde dževa:b berelməs
9. atlas köylək jelpulejdi kigende
badanleri qimillejdi jurgende

10. alip beren patiykegiz ta:r ekan
bojime muna:sip jaszı ja:r ekan

11. jasasun jasasun apay jasasun
zeksedegi xalda:r apay jasasun
TRANSLATION.

1. There was a king. 2. He had a girl. 3. He wanted to give his girl to some man. 4. He said: 5. «Everyone who can say one thousand untrue words,¹ 6. to him will I give her». 7. No one was able to say one thousand untrue words. 8. There was a scald-head.² 9. «I will say one thousand untrue words», he said, 10. and entered into the presence of the king. 11. The king said: 12. «Do you know? (how to do it)». 13. The scald-head said: 14. «I will say one thousand untrue words». 15. The king said: 16. «If you say one thousand untrue words, 17. I will give my girl to you. 18. If you are not able to say them, 19. I will take your head». 20. Now the scald-head began the words. 21. Now the words of the scald-head. 22. «I was alone after my father's death). 23. Having died (several times) we were three. 24. When I went out to a place, there were three knives. 25. Two were broken and one had no blade. 26. I took away the knife without a blade. 27. When I then went to a place, 28. there were three water-channels. 29. Two were dry and one had no humidity. 30. When I looked into the water-channel without humidity 31. there were three fishes. 32. Two of them were dead and one had no life. 33. I took the fish without life 34. and killed it with the knife without a blade. 35. When I then went to a place, 36. there were three pitchers. 37. Two were broken and one had no bottom. 38. When I went to a place, 39. I ³ took away the one without a bottom. 40 When I went from there to a place, 41. there were three kettles. 42. Two were all broken, one had no bottom 43. I ³ took away the kettle without a bottom. 44. When I went from there to a place, 45. there

¹ lit. 'one thousand mouths of untrue words', so also in the following.
² kšl a man afflicted with Favus, »scald-head».
³ lit. 'we'.
were three cisterns. 46. Two were all dry and one had no humidity. 47. Having filled the pitcher without a bottom with water from the cistern without humidity, I took it away. 48. When I went from there to a place, 49. there were three houses. 50. Two were all in ruins, one had no upper part (roof). 51. When I entered the house without an upper part, 52. there were three fire-places. 53. Two were all in ruins, one had no chimney. 54. Having hung the kettle without a bottom in the fireplace without chimney, 55. and after having poured in it the water brought in the pitcher without a bottom from the cistern without humidity, 56. and after having put the fish without life killed with the knife without a blade in the kettle, 57. I boiled it and boiled it and boiled it. 58. When I looked at the fish without life in the violence of the boiling (water), 59. its bones were dissolved. 60. The heat did not pass into its flesh. 61. Having taken the mentioned fish from the kettle I ate it. 62. Having eaten it I observed some time later 63. that my belly had become like a jar. 64. I did not know how. 65. Rising from there, 66. when I said »I will go out through the door«, 67. when I went to the door, 68. I have no room. 69. When I went to the skylight 72. I have no room. 73. Having beaten myself through the wooden lock. 74. there was nothing said about the madeng. 75. When, having gone away from there, 76. I went out to the top of a hill. 77. there was lying under a bush of Artemisia, ungrown, one child of a hare unborn. 78. Having broken one of the branches of the ungrown bush of Artemisia. 79. and having made a reed into a musket. 80. and having loaded it with the branch of the bush of Artemisia 81. I shot the unborn child of the hare. 82. Having made a hole under its ear. 83. it is not known where it (the bullet) went out from the (other) side. I do not know how. 84. Having gone from there 85. and having dragged away the unborn child of the hare. 86. and taken it to a place. 87. and taken off the skin. 88. when I (then) weighed its meat and fat. 89. it was 60 chareks of meat. 90. It was 70 chareks

1 lit. 'we'.
2 madeng a wooden lock on the door.
3 lit. having aimed at...
4 charek a weight, different at different places, according to Yudakhin in Ferghana 3 7/8 — 4 Russian pounds = 14.35 — 16.14 kg., according to Raquette 8.96 kg. in Eastern Turkestan.
of fat. 91. When I said, "I will grease my boots from that," 92. and when I greased, 93. it was enough for one of my boots. 94. For one there was nothing. 95. Having gone to a place, 96. it was night. 97. Saying "I will stay (lie down) here", 98. I loosened my boots, 99. and when I lay down with the boots at my head 100. there was a noise.¹ 101. When I raised my head saying "What noise is that?", 102. my greased boot was in fight with the boot without fat. 103. "He smeared fat on you. 104. He did not smear me", it said. 105. Saying "He did not smear on fat", 106. I got up from my bedplace, 107. and beat my greased boot with my not-greased boot with the flat sides once, 108. and lay down again. 109. When I looked up in the morning 110. the sun(-beams) were falling into my face. 111. I got up from my bedplace in a hurry, 112. and having rolled up the shoe-sock on my foot 113. I first put on my greased boot. 114. Saying "it is a little softer" I rolled up the second shoe-sock on my (other) foot, 115. and when I looked round saying "I will put on my boot that is not greased", 116. my boot, that had not been greased, was not to be found anywhere. 117. I looked to that side. 118. It was not there. 119. I looked to this side. 120. It was not there. 121. There were no news of it anywhere. 122. I went up to the top of the Ong-ghagh-mountain ² and looked. 123. It was not visible. 124. I went up to the top of the Boz Bi-mountain ³ and looked. 125. It was not there. 126. There was an old, worn-out basket for cotton-thread, that was left from my grandmother. 127. When I went up to the top of it and looked, 128. it (the boot) had gone to Andijan, 129. and become a manager ⁴ at the market-place.⁵ 130. Then there was a mare, that was left from my father. 131. I mounted the mare 132. and went in the direction of Andijan. 133. As I went it (the boot) saw me from far away (and said), 134. "What

¹ tapa tipi onomatopoeic to indicate the sound of two walking boots; dzendzal 'a noise, uproar'.
² oγγαγ tαγ a mountain near Kasan.
³ boz bi tαγ a mountain near Kasan.
⁴ sərdar (P. سُرِدُار) lit. a captain, a general.
⁵ kapan (< A. كَاًيُون, P. قِبان) a large public weighing-machine, an office where there is a public weighing-machine for wholesale commodities, also market, market-place. Cf. further WB 2:408 kapan die Niederlage, Halle, Markt, Marktzoll.
did your greased boot do for you? 135. I collected seventy

\textit{patman}^1 \textit{of millet.} 136. I bargained. 137. Saying (to my boot)

»You are all right«. 138. I immediately put it on my foot. 139. I

fetched three sacks. 140. Two were all in holes, one had no

bottom. 141. If I put it in the one all in holes 142. it (the millet)
did not remain there. 143. If I put it in the one without bottom

144. it did not remain. 145. There was standing there a cart with

a hay-basket. 146. When I put the millet, that did not remain in

the sack, into the basket, 147. it remained well there. 148. I put the

mare in the cart, 149. and went in the direction of Marghelan.

150. When I was on the way, 151. there came a mighty river in

sight on the road. 152. The edge of the river was very cool.

153. I put my horse to grass^2 154. and slept myself in the coolness.

155. Then there came a voice, saying »ah! ah!« 156. When I

opened my eyes and looked, 157. there came out a water-horse^3

from the river 158. and horsed my mare. 159. Having caused

her to bear owing to the force of horsing he went away. 160. In

a hurry I went up from my place 161. and put her youngster in

the cart 162. and put its mother on the top (back) of it. 163. From

there I went to Marghelan. 164. Having gone to Marghelan I sold

the millet. 165. I sold my mare. 166. I bought apples for the

money I got for them all. 167. In Andijan I had seen 168. that

apples were very expensive.\(^4\) 169. Saying »I will make profit«,

170. I bought apples. 170 a. Having put my foal in the cart

171. and having loaded the apples 172. I made my way in the

direction of Andijan. 173. When I was on the way 174. a mighty

river came in sight. 175. In the days of the first summer month it

was frozen 6\(\frac{1}{2}\) fathoms. 176. Owing to the heat from the sun (or

\footnotesize{\textit{\textsuperscript{1} patman} a weight in Russian Turkestan from 131 to 180.2 kg. (\textit{Schwarz},

Turkestan, p. 313); in Eastern Turkestan 573.44 kg. (\textit{Raquette}, Eastern Turki

grammar, 1, p. 35).}

\footnotesize{\textit{\textsuperscript{2} lit. 'I put my horse away to the grass'.}

\textit{\textsuperscript{3} su \textit{at} lit. 'water-horse'. According to \textit{Ostrov}\textit{mov} (\textit{Carpath,} 2, p. 175)

a 'water-horse' called \textit{asp-i-abi} (Pers.) is known to the Sarts of Russian Turke-}

\textit{\textsuperscript{4} the \textit{\textsuperscript{4} lit. 'that apples were much money'.}}
of the day) my foal from the water-horse was very thirsty. 177. It
wanted to drink water. 178. When I struck the ice on the river
with an axe, 179. it did not split. 180. When I struck with an
adze. 181. it did not split. 182. When I struck with my scald-head
183. it went all in pieces. 184. When I looked to that side of me,
185. my head was not there. 186. When I looked to this side,
187. my head was not there. 188. When I looked once more
189. my head was playing on the other side of the river. 190. When
I went and cuffed my head, 191. it entered my aunt’s (arse).
192. With how many troubles did I (not) draw it out from this
place. 193. Having given my just mentioned foal water 194. I
went in the direction of Andijan. 195. Having gone to Andijan
196. and brought the apples to the bazaar, 197. when I stood
there in a place having put them down, 198. there came a woman
in with a child inside the veil. 199. She said »Oh, father of it
(the child)! This child of yours may stand here before you.»
200. When I said »That child of yours is crying» she said:
201. »Oh, father. If you give an apple to it, 202. it will be calm
(when eating) the apple.» 203. »His father» got excited by what
she said 204. and I stood there with the mentioned child. 205. I
gave it one apple. 206. Having eaten it, it wept again. 207. I gave
it a second. 208. Having eaten it, it wept again. 209. Finally,
without my selling a single apple, it wholly finished the apples
I had bought for the money I had obtained for seventy patmans
of millet and for one horse. 210. When I looked, it wept again.
211. Saying »I made just a good profit at this place», 212. and
not knowing where to throw away the mentioned child, 213. and
not knowing where to go with it, 214. when I said »I will buy
apples from another place», 215. I had no money. 216. When I
was staying there astonished, 217. I lay down a little. 218. Its
mother came back. 219. When I said: »Ah, whore! Take your
child! 220. It has completely finished my apples!», 221. its mother
said: »ah, its father, please go to the garden». 222. When, saying
»I will take the profit of the (lost) apples from this point of view,
223. upon my word». I followed after her. 224. She conducted
me to her house. 225. When I entered and looked round, 226. she
was spreading out mattresses up to the knees. 227. At once I loose-
ned the (my) shirt and trousers. 228. and went into the mattresses.
229. When I said, »Oh, mistress! Please enter the garden!» 230. it
said "jazi jez" in the kettle and "sizi biz" in the mattress. 231. So it said. 232. There was a rumble at the door. 233. When I said "Who came?" 234. she said: "Oh, its father arrived." 235. When I said: "Where was its father?", 236. she said: "He has been away to the mill." 237. When I said: "Ho! What will you do now?", 238. she said: "At this place there is a big jar for keeping flour. 239. I will put you in it" she said. 240. "After my husband is asleep, I will release you and send you away", she said. 241. I agreed and entered the just mentioned big jar for keeping flour. 242. The woman went 243. and opened the door. 244. Her husband brought flour in a big sack. 245. He said to his wife: 246. "Ah, wife! Open the mouth of the jar. 247. I will put the flour in the jar". 248. His wife said: 249. "Put it on the ground! 250. To morrow you will put it in the jar." 251. Her husband said: 252. "Ah, whore! To-morrow it will still be a burden of flour. 253. I shall not give you the flour. 254. Open the mouth of the jar!" 255. His wife came 256. and opened the mouth of the jar. 257. He brought the flour 258. and put it into the jar. 259. In the jar I was. 260. The flour in the sack that (filled) it half filled it (completely). 261. He said to his wife: 262. "Ah, wife! What do you say? 263. In the road I met with a person. 264. That man was Khizr. 1 265. Every time the jar has not been filled up with the flour in the sack. 266. This time Khizr has looked (favourably) at it. 267. The sack not being half-full, the jar was (all) filled up. 268. Now bring the mortar-pestle! 2 269. He said. 269. His wife went. 270. and the mortar-pestle was in a sack. 271. She brought it. 272. Her husband took the mortar-pestle. 273. and saying "I will pack together the flour 274. and put the remaining part of it on the top", 275. he struck me once on one of my shoulders. 276. I lowered this shoulder of mine. 277. Again he struck this 3 my shoulder. 278. I also lowered this one. 279. Then he violently struck my scald-head once. 280. Owing to the force (of the blow) of the mortar-pestle I farted once. 281. The jar was rent 282. and all the flour was spilled in the room. 283. I flew away from that house 284. without regard to trousers and shirt. 285. and went up on the

1 Khizr is thought to bring the one who sees him consolation and good luck.

2 the pestle for pounding rice in the rice-mortar.

3 'this' — while speaking he points out which shoulder was hit.
roof of the house. 286. When I, as I was not able to find the door, 287. stood on the roof 288. after having been covered with flour-dust, 289. the husband took his wife 290. and saying »You have 291. a gallant« 291. began to beat his wife. 292. Then standing on the mentioned place, 293. and pitying the woman 294. I said: »(When) I will go down from the roof and separate them, 295. he will take 296. me also«. 296. When I looked in that direction and this direction 297. there was standing a donkey’s saddle on the roof. 298. Saying »If I could throw that down to the ground, 299. I wonder if they might be frightened 300. and separate from each other,« 301. I took the mentioned saddle to the edge of the roof 302. lifted it up and threw it down. 303. When I lifted it up 304. the crupper fell round my neck, 305. and I do not know any more. 306. The mentioned saddle dragged me also (with it) down. 307. Together with the donkey’s saddle falling to the ground with a thud, 308. we fell to the ground. 309. At the mentioned place man and wife separated from each other. 310. In fear of them I hurried away from this place 311. and went from my place. 312. Then on a balcony there had been put some (bundles of) rice-straw. 313. I went into a bundle of straw. 314. When I now went in there, 315. the mirabs 1 were coming through the door 318. and shouted 319. »Oh, somebody here! The water has taken what there is to take. 317. Give some rice-straw!« 2 319. The husband of the woman said: »Oh, if you want straw, 320. take yourself from the roof.« 321. A young man went immediately up on the roof 322. and lifted the straw(-bundle) where I was lying 323. and saying »this is rather heavy, 324. there seems to be much in it« 325. he lifted it 326. and threw it down on the ground. 327. I was in the bundle of straw. 328. I know nothing more about them (the man and his wife). 329. Having fallen down from the roof the three persons together 330. put a rope round the mentioned straw 331. and bound it together at three places strongly. 332. Then he loaded it on a big horse and went away. 333. When I on the road 334. stretched out my head from the straw and looked 335. the groin of the horse had got covered with lather. 336. I know nothing more about them (the three persons). 337. Going to a

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1 mirab A. P. mir-ab supervisor of the irrigation-system.
2 The straw of rice is used for building dams in the channels.
place, 338. he met a big river-bed on the road. 339. This river-bed had not a drop of humidity. 340. He sent the horse down in the river-bed without humidity. 341. The water in the river-bed without humidity buried the horse. 342. Having got drenched in the water of this place, 343. and after they had reached their destination, 344. I went out from (the bundle of) rice-straw 345. and ran away under the water of the river without humidity. 346. I know nothing more about them. 347. A lot of days I went away along the bottom of the water 348. and came at last to a place. 349. When I opened my eyes and looked, 350. I was sitting before the king, that is to say before your Excellency.» 351. Here the scald-head's talk came to an end. 352. The king was astonished 353. and approved and praised the talk of the scald-head, 354. and as he was not able not to give his girl (to him) 355. at last he gave his girl to the scald-head with forty days' wedding and spectacles. 356. The mentioned scald-head took the girl, and 357. reached his object and wishes.

II.

A verse.

1. Young man who stood at the bank of the river!
   Young man who blinked with your beautiful eyes!

2. Young man who have taken my bracelet!
   If you have taken it, give my bracelet back.

3. I have not stood on the bank of the river.
   I have not blinked with my eyes.

4. I have not taken your bracelet.
   He who has taken your bracelet may give it back.

5. I will be a covering for your roan.
   I will be a flower for your garden.

6. I myself will be a slave to you.
   If you have taken it, give my bracelet back!

7. I do not need a covering for my roan.
   I do not need a flower for my garden.
8. I am a slave myself and need no slave. He who has taken your bracelet may give it back.

9. Does the wind meet the wind? Does one man like another?

10. Is the gift for good news a kiss? If you have taken it, give my bracelet back.

11. The wind cannot meet the wind. One man cannot like another.

12. The gift for good news is not a kiss. He who has taken your bracelet may give it back.

13. Wherever you may be! I will go (there)! I will spread out covers (bed-cloths) higher than to the knees.

14. One night I shall make you happy. If you have taken it, give my bracelet back.

15. If you come and I even should be far away, and if you spread covers to the knees,

16. and if you make my heart happy one night, take it! Your bracelet is in my coat.

III.

A lover and the object of his love.

1. When seeing you only one time, I fell in love with you, girl! No other sweetheart than you is now visible for the eye.

2. In the nights I lament in sorrow separated from you. I will tell my complaint. Listen, oh girl!

3. I understood you from your words, oh charming young man! If you love me, enter into connection with my parents.

4. When you have entered into connection with my parents, come and eat with us every day.

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1 sujina, Yudakhin, 388, подарок за сообщение радостной вести 'a present when delivering good news'.
5. It is not good that I go to your parents.\textsuperscript{1} They do not take such a poor man as me into consideration.

6. If I send a match-maker, she asks for money.\textsuperscript{2} Of that thing they call chervonets do I not possess much.

7. Send a match-maker! It is not necessary with your chervonets. My parents do not sell me away.

8. And if my parents should sell me. There will be no allowance at the place called zaksa.\textsuperscript{3}

9. The atlas-shirt trembles as she puts it on. Her body (her hips) rocks when she walks.

10. The boots I bought you are tight. There is a good friend just suited for my age.

11. Long live your sister! Long live your sister \textsuperscript{4} at the marriage-office!

\textsuperscript{1} i.e. 'they do not like it'.

\textsuperscript{2} lit. 'chervonets', Russian \textit{червонец}, which is equal to 10 Soviet-rubles.

\textsuperscript{3} lit. 'there cannot be given answer at the place ...' \textit{zekse} or \textit{zekise} is the Russian \textit{ЗАГС = записи актов гражданского состояния} 'registry-office' in this case for marriages.

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{apa} 'elder sister' here said about the lady-official at the marriage office. I have left \textit{γαλδα:ρ} in the second line untranslated, as I am not quite sure about the meaning. \textit{γαλδα:ρ} usually means 'spotted' or 'speckled'. May be it refers to the appearance of the local authority mentioned or it is a name.
GLOSSARY.

A. = Arabic; P. = Persian; R. = Russian.

ać- (~ a:č-) to open; açip (~ açup) qoj- to open.

Adam A. man.

adźras- to separate from one another; adźrasip ket- ditto.
adźret- to divide, to put asunder; tereni adźret- to skin, to take off the skin; adźretip qoj- to separate.

aferin P. praising; a. qil- to praise.

ayîr heavy.

ayiż mouth.

ayramâci rope.

axiri A. last, at last.

ajay foot.
al- to take, to buy; elip bar- to take; alzp ber- to take, to buy; alzp (~ alip ~ alup) kel- to bring; alzp ket- to take away, to go away with; alival- ~ elival- to take, to take away; apkir- (< alip kir-) to bring.

ala hazîl [A. الحاصل] in short, in one word, finally.

alî front; aldide, aldileride, aldiyizde in front of, before; aldigê into his presence, before.


alma apple.
alte six.

allmiś sixty.
amã mother; katta a. grandmother.

andzan (~ andza:n) the town of Andijan in Russian Turkestan. ane: oh!

aylaš- to understand.
apa sister, elder sister.
apkîr- v. al-

ara space middle, midst; arasige into (its middle); arasiden from, out from (its middle).
arava a cart; çeťanlik a. a cart with a wooden basket placed on it for transport of hay or straw. A picture of it is given in SYKES & SYKES, Through deserts and oases of Central Asia, p. 26.

arîq ~ arq channel, water-channel.
art- to load.
as- to hang.

așa in kuün așade (III: 4) < așa- to eat.

așaver- to mount, to cover, to horse.
a:šiq A. in love, a lover: a. bol- to fall in love.
at horse; su a. water-horse, cf. p. 39, n. 3.
at- to throw, to shoot.
ata father; ata ana parents.
atlas A. atlas (stuff).
avun- to calm, to still; avunup tur- to be calm.
aval A. first.
avaz P. noise, sound, voice; a. qil- to make noise, to shout.

e ah!
eger P. if.
ej ah! oh!
ej- to say, to tell.
ejt- to say, to tell.
elival- alival- v. a1.
erz A. complaint.
etim A. great, mighty.

badan A. body.
bay ~ baq P. garden.
bayla- to bind.
bajtal mare.
bala younger, child.
bala xane P. an upper chamber, a balcony.
baliq ~ beliq fish.
balta axe.
bao bundle.
bay ~ ba: there is.
bar- (~ bar-) to go.
bas- to press together, to make into bundles.
basin- to be covered.
bas head.
basla- to begin, to lead the way, to direct, to conduct; baslap kir- to conduct.
basqa other.
bazar P. bazaar.
be P. to; ru: be ru: face to face, in sight.
bejt A. verse.
ber- to give.
bijan (< bu jan) this side, this direction.
bil- to know.
 bilezkük bracelet.

bir ~ bar one, a, once; bir jattim I lay down a little.
birlen with.
bite one.
biz we.
boj length, stature, age; edge; saj boji bank of a river.
bojun neck.
bol- to be, to get, to be finished;
 jep bol- to finish eating.
boz bi tay a mountain near Kasan.
bozuq in ruins, in decay; b. b. all in ruins.

bu this.
bul this.
butun all.

čacıl- to be spilled.
čay dust.
čayqa- to be thirsty; čayqap ket- to be thirsty.
čarbayçe P. garden.
čarrek P. weight, different in different places, cf. p. 37, n. 4.
čat the groin.
čip ‘well’ in čip turup qaldı, intensifying particle. Cf. YUDA-KHIN p. 250 čip čirajlik very beautiful.
čiq- ~ čiq- to go out, to go away, to go up; to come out, to grow up; čiqba:v- (< čiqiq ba:v-) to go out. čiqar- to cause to go out, to put out, to stretch out. čiqaz- to cause to go out, to release. čirvan ~ čirva:n R. (nesbene) chervonets, cf. p. 45, n. 2. čil tan a wooden basket placed on the arava for transport of hay or straw; č.-lik arava v. arava.

dada father.
dėja ~ dėja P. river.
dek like.
delal:čilik [A. ulla + či + lik] brokerage; d. qıl- to act as a broker, to bargain.
derek intelligence, news. Cf. Yudakhin, p. 305 with further examples.
derhal: P. A. immediately, at once.
derray P. immediately.
desta P. a large wooden pestle for pounding rice.
dė- to say.
duč P. meeting; d. kei- to meet.

džaj P. place.
džallap ~ džellap A. prostitute, whore.
dža:n P. soul, life.
dža:na:n P. charming, sweetheart.
džauci matchmaker.
džendžal noise, uproar; tapa tüpi dž. v. p. 38, n. 1.
dževa:b A. answer, allowance.

džezi džiz onomatopoeic (a creaking sound).
džil A. covering, a horse's covering.
džig much, many.
džune- ~ džune- to go, to walk.
džuneš- to go together.

E- to be.
ebar- to send, cf. ibar-, jubar-.
emdi now.
эр man, husband.
ergeš- to follow; ergešip bar- to follow.
ere morning.
esek donkey.
etki worn out.
et- to do, to make.

gep P. talk, speech.
gul P. flower.
gumbela- to fall with a thud.
gušl ~ guš P. flesh, meat.

haj ah! oh!
hal hal [A. حال] who looses, who solves, who dissolves a substance; h. h. bol- to be dissolved.
ha:let A. destination.
halgi v. helgi.
hama P. all.
har P. every; har kim everyone who.
haya A. air, wind.
hayu A. cistern.
hazret A. an exalted personage; h.-leri Your Excellency.
hejran A. astonished; h. gal- to be astonished; h. -liq astonishment.
hēlgī ~ hālgī [A. حَال + ki] the just
mentioned, the present, that, this, the.

hem P. also.

heč P. no, no one; heč nere something; heč kim no one.

hedžr A. separation.
hoj Oh!

χανιμ miss, mistress.
χατυν woman, wife.
χεβερ A. knowledge, information;
χ. -im joq I do not know.
χιζρ A. the prophet Khizr, cf. p. 41, n. 1.
χολα [A. حَال] aunt (maternal).
χος P. pleasant, beautiful, happy;
χ. kel- to like.
χυμ P. a jar, large vessel.
χυπ P. good.

 ééniy warm, heat.

iβaɾ- to send away.

iç- to drink.

iç inside; içide in; içige into.
içkuis- to cause to drink, to give water.

ikki two.
iikindzi second.
iiators to hang up: nerezge i. to take into consideration.

iladʒ A. remedy.
išik door.
iştan [R. umanu] trousers.

jay fat.

jayla- to grease; jaylap goj- to grease.
jayliy greased.
jaysiz without fat.
jayşi good, all right.
jalyan untrue.
jan side, direction.
jana again, cf. jene.

jani [A. يَعِني] that means, that is to say.
jaqa side, direction.
ja:r P. friend.
jaril- ~ ja:ril- to be cleaved, to be split.
jarim half.
jaša- to live.
jat- to lie.
je- to eat: jeiver- (<jeip ber-) to eat.
jelke shoulder.
jelpule- to tremble.
jene again, cf. jana.
jer ~ je:r earth, place.
jes- to loosen.
jet- to reach, to be enough.
jetmiš seventy.
jiy- to collect, to gather; jiypress goj- to collect.
jiyla- to cry.
jurčīq torn, ragged, in holes; j. j. all in holes.

jigil young man.

jol road, way; j sal- to make one's way.

joq is not, was not.

jubar- ~ juba:r- to send, to send away, cf. ebar-, ibar-.

jik burden.

julkala- to load, to put on.
jumṣaq soft; jumṣaqray a little softer.
jiur- to walk, to go.
jüz face, side, point of view (I: 222).

kalla P. head.
katta big; k. ana grandmother.
kel P. a person afflicted with Favus, scald-head.

kembeyal P. poor, poor man.
keče night; kečesi in the night;
kečeleri in the nights.
kein back; keinidin after.
kel- to come; kelip qal- to come.
kerek necessary; k. e- to be necessary, to need.
ket- to go, to go away.
ki P. that.
ki- to put on (clothes); kiival-
(< kiip al-) to put on (clothes).
kiıt- v. ket- and kir-.

kim who?
ki:n after.
kir- to enter; kirip kiıt- ~ kirip ket-
to enter, to go into.

kišileš-, üc kišileš- to be three
persons together (I: 329).
kop very, much.
kopukle- to get covered with lather
(about a horse); kopuklep ket-
ditto.

körpe v. körpe.
kozə- koze P. pitcher (earthen).
köjleq v. köjnek.
köjnek shirt.
kök blue; k. at roan.
köm- to bury; kömıp ket- to bury.

köne P. old.
kör- to see.
körpe ~ körpe mattress, cushion.
körin- to appear, to be visible.
köter- to raise, to lift.
köz eye.
kşi (< kisi) a person; bir k. some-
one, anyone.

kiin day, sun, sunbeam.
kiyil heart.
ku but, and, even, just.

leb P. lip, edge, edge of a river.
lükuda:n P. a wooden lock on the
doors; YUDAKHIN, 584.

madeng P. a wooden lock on the
doors, esp. the part of it fixed
in the door.

mahkam A. firm, strong, firmly,
strongly.

man ~ men I.
mane oh! ho!

maqol A. approved, acceptable;
m. de- to agree.

maryulan the town of Marghelan
in Russian Turkestan.

mašaqat A. distress, suffering,
trouble.

men ~ man I.

meqsed A. object.

mešuq A. with whom one is in
love, object of love.

mekin ‘I wonder?’
min- to mount.

miy thousand.

mira:p A. P. supervisor of the ir-
rigation system.
mör Chimney.
muna:sip A. suitable, suited.
munday such, (then).
mundan from there.
mura:d A. desire, wish.
muz ice.
muzla- to freeze, to get frozen; muzlap qal- to be frozen.
nazar ~ nezr A. a (favourable) looking at, consideration; n. qil- to look favourably at; n. -ge il- to take into consideration.
ne'm P. humid, humidity.
nerak wherever.
nerge (< ne jerge) to what place? where?
nerse thing, something, anything.
nezr v. nazar.
neçé how much, how many.
néma ~ néme what?
o ~ u he, she, it, that.
odzaq fire-place.
oyaw a mortar in which rice is pounded: o. destasi mortar-pestle.
oxša- to be like, to seem.
ojna- to play.
ojnaš a gallant.
olef they.
oaltur- to sit.
oyyar tay mountain near Kasan.
opuč ~ vopus kiss.
orun place, bedplace.
ôt grass.
öj ~ ıj house.
öl- to die.
yap sack.
qara- to look at, to gaze at, to aim at; garumej without regard;
qarap in the direction of, against.
qarin stomach, belly.
qaś eyebrow.
qatir- to make hard, to pack together.
qatir A. a drop.
qazan kettle.
qil- to do, to make; qilip ber- ditto.
qimille- to move, to rock.
qiz girl.
qiziq- to get excited; qiziqip ket-ditto.
qoj- to put.
qojun the breast of the robe, bos-som, coat.
qorq- to fear, to be frightened;
qorqup ket-ditto.
qoʃ- to add, to put the horse in;
qoʃuval- ditto.
qrq forty.
quj- to pour.
qujan hare.
qujuʃgan a crupper.
qul slave.
qulač P. fathom.
qulaq ~ qulay ear; q. sal- to listen.
quruq dry.

rehm A. mercy, compassion, pity;
 r. qil- to pity.
ru: P. face; ru: be ru: face to face;
ru: be ru: kəl- to become visible, to come in sight.

saj river-bed, river (usually drying up at intervals owing to the lack
of water in the autumn and the winter).
sal- to put, to load, to keep; salip qoj- to put;
jol sal- to make one's way.
salkin fresh, cool, coolness.
san ~ sen you.
sapar [A. سفر] journey, travel, time; har s. every time.
sat- to sell.
savat [P. سبد] basket.
 sen ~ san you.
serdar [P. سردار] a chief, manager, director.
seretan A. the first summer-month.
siy- to have room, to get room.
sindur- to break; sindurup al- to break.
siniq ~ siniy broken.
siz you.
sizi biz onomatopoeic for some noise.
sogur- to draw out, to pull out;
sogurup al- ditto.
soj- to kill, to slaughter; sojup al-ditto.
søy after.
sor-~ sora- to ask.
söj- to love.
söz word.
söz- to blink, in köz söz- to blink with the eyes.
su water; su at water-horse.
sujinči a present when delivering good news, cf. p. 44, n. 1.
suʃek bone.
sir- to smear.
süber- ~ südura- to drag, to trail.
šali P. rice in the husk.
šapalaq box on the ear, cuff; š. ur-to cuff.
ša:q [P. شاخ] branch.
šašil- to be in a hurry, to hurry; šašilip ~ šašilap in a hurry.
šepa:t palm, the flat of something [VÁMBÉRY, Čag. Sprachst. 302 شاپات šappat die flache Hand].
šekillik [A. شكل ‘shape, figure’ + lik] shaped, figured, just as, ‘upon my word’.
šu this, that, he, she, it.
šua:q a spec. of Artemisia, bush of Artemisia [WB. 4:1095 شواقات šuak (Sart.) der Wermuth].
šul that etc., as šu.
šundan ~ šundən from there.
šundaq so.
šunde there.

tabē P. v. paj t. shoe-socks.
tay mountain.
tahsin A. approbation; t. qil- to approbate.
taj foal.
tam roof.
tama:m A. the whole, complete, wholly.
ta'maša P. show, spectacle.
tap- to find; tapip kel- to find.
tapt [P. تاب] heat.
tar narrow, tight.
taraq a rattle, rumble.
tariq millet.
tart- to draw, to pull, to weigh;
tartip (ta:tip) kör- to weigh.
tašla- to throw; tašlap al- to take; tašlap ket- to throw away; tašlap ıbar- to throw down.
teş(i) bottom; teğide under.
tegürman mill.
tep~ ~ tepe top, upper side. a hill.
tete adze.
tere skin.
tes- to perforate, to make a hole in.
tıy knife-blade.
tize knee.
toj wedding.
tol- to fill; tolup qal- to fill, to be filled.
tolat- to fill.
togom saddle.
töpe ~ tepe top.
tuy- to bear.
tuydur- to cause to bear; tuydurup var- (= bar-) to cause to bear.
tur- to stand, to be, to get up.
tutuval- (< tutup al-) to take, to grasp.
tüget (cf. tüge-) to cause to come to an end, to finish.
tünek skylight, window in the roof.
tıpèk [P. تپک or تپک] a musket.
tıpı v. tapa.
tüge- to come to an end.
tūš- to fall; tūšüp ket- to fall down; tūšüp qal- to fall.
tūşür- to cause to fall down, to put down.

u that.
ucre- ~ učura- to meet, to encounter.
uxla- to sleep; uxlap qal- ditto.
ul that.
un flour.
ur- to beat, to strike.
ura- to roll up, to wrap up.
uruš fight; u. jat- to be in fight.
usur- to fistle.
uz: (~uza:) far off, far away.
ùc three.
ùj ~ öj house.
ùstin upper part, roof.
ùš ~ us ~ ús three, cf. ùc.

vaxt A. time.
vaq oh!
ve A. and.
vopuš ~ opuč kiss.

zą:r P. miserable, sorrowing, in sorrow.
zerb A. force, violence.
zor P. force, strength, violence.
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