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LUNDS UNIVERSITETS ÅRSSKRIFT. N. F. Avd. 1. Bd 33. Nr 3.

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

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OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

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PRINTED BY HÅKAN OHLSSON
1937

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 АХМАД ЖАН from the village (*qışlaq*) of Qilich (*qilič*), not far from the little town of Kasan, some 40 kilometres to the north of Namangan in Russian Turkestan. АХМАД ЖАН 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. АХМАД ЖАН 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 Е. Д. Поливанов, *Образцы не-нормализованных говоров узбекского языка*. 1—3 (1929—31). Cf. also his articles «*Образцы не-сингармонистических (нормализованных) 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 *umlauted* 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,¹ 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 *-da* ~ *-ta*.

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

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,¹ i. e. the final *-γ* is changed to *-u* or is lost (*tay* > *tau* »mountain«). Among phonetic changes in the Qipchaq-group there are further to be mentioned: initial *j*- > *dʒ*- (*jedi* > *dʒedi* »he ate«), the alternation of consonants in the following suffixes: *-nar* < *-lar* after nasal (*adam-nar* < *adam-lar*, *tay-nar* < *tay-lar* etc.), *-di* < *-ni* (Acc.) and *-diy* < *-niy* (Gen.) after *r*, *l* and *z*; *-ti* and *-tiy* 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 *a:d* »name«, *o:t* »fire«, *tu:z* »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 Самойлович, А., *Некоторые дополнения к классификации тюркских языков*, р. 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: ε , e , i , \acute{i} , \ddot{u} , \ddot{o} .

Velar: a , \check{i} , u , o .

Undifferentiated (reduced): ε .

Close: i , \check{i} , \acute{i} , \ddot{u} , u .

Half-close: e , \ddot{o} .

Half-open: ε .

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 \ddot{o} and \ddot{u} 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 \acute{a} of MENGES for the Ferghana-dialect or the \circ 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 $\check{e}qeba:sam$, I: 27, 35, 48 $ba:rsam$, but I: 38, 40, 44 $bar-sam$. Then occasional $sal:di$ (I: 258) and $ja:ril\check{z}p$ (I: 281). The long $a:$ in I: 88 $ta:t\check{i}p$ 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.

r (< *tartip*). Another case of length caused by a dropped consonant occurs in I: 133 *uza:dan* < *uzaydan*. The length in I: 254 *a:č* »open!« may be explained from the fact that the imperative is especially stressed: *a:č xumni ayzini!* »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 *andza:ngε*. The normal forms in the text are *andzan*.

In loan-words the long *a*: when original is usually preserved, so for example I: 1, 10, 11, 352 *pa:diša:* ~ *pa:dša:* ~ *pa:tša:*, I: 32, 33, 56 *dza:n*, I: 209 *tama:m* etc., but lost in for example *bazar* (< *ba:zar*) and I: 355 *aξiri* (< *a:ξiri*).

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

ε (*ä*) is the normal vowel occurring in the Turk languages. In some cases it is near to *æ* (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 *ε*, 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 *xumni içide man bar*, I: 327 *paçalni içide man ba: edim*, I: 322, 350 etc. *man*, I: 12 *san bilurmusen*. Exception I: 9, 14 *men miğ ayiz*. 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 *berür men*, I: 19 *alürmen*, I: 68, 70, 72 *süymajmen*, I: 262 *dejsen*. Exceptions in I: 253 *sanga* and possibly in I: 62 *jeiverip man*, I: 73 *ketip man*, I: 204 *qap man* and I: 285 *ketip man*. In one case I heard *e* instead of *ε*, 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:rgε*. It may be occasional.

Both palatal and velar *i* (*i* and *ï*) occur. The *i*-vowels are very often reduced. I represent a reduced *i*-vowel by the sign *z*, which mostly occurs in suffixes particularly as vowel-element in the *-p*-forms of the verb (*barzıp*, *alzıp* etc.).

i mostly occurs in root-syllables or suffixes with velar consonants, so I: 25, 42 *siniq siniq*, I: 136 *qilip*, I: 25, 26 *tiiyi*. *i* changes to a palatal *i* or the reduced *ɜ* in suffixes, also in the vicinity of other velar sounds, so I: 2, 3 *qizii*, but I: 17 *qizimmi*, I: 63 *qaranim*, I: 203 *qiziqip*, I: 146, 164 *tarigqi*, I: 163 *bardim*, I: 164 *barɜp* etc. Rules cannot be laid down. The alternation *i/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 *ɜ*, 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 *ki:n*, but I: 223 *keinidin*. *i ~ i* in suffixes sometimes appear as *ɛ* or *a*, so I: 80 *ša:qeni* (< *ša:qini*), I: 82 *qulayeni* (< *qulayini*), I: 159, 280 *zerbeden* (< *zerbiden*), I: 246 *ayzani* (< *ayzini*) etc.

o is the common *o* occurring in the Turk dialects and used with the same significance by MENGES and POLIVANOV.

ö is the common Turkish *ö*.

In some cases it is replaced by *o*, thus in the common *kop* »much, many» (I: 168 *kop*, I: 324 *kopke*) and *korpe* (II: 13, 15). The Persian *kuhna* appears as *köne* (I: 126), despite other loan-words like I: 36 etc. *koze ~ ko:ze*. In the last case however the preserved *o* may be due to the original vowel-length.

The common Turkish *ö* in I: 124 *töpesige* and I: 303 *töpege* is often replaced by *ɛ*, thus I: 76, 122, 127 *tepesige*, I: 76 *tepeni*. In one case I: 224 we have *uj* instead of the common *öj*.

u is the common Turkish *u*. There is a change *u > i* in *bijan* < *bu jan* (I: 296, but I: 117—19 *ujan bujan*).

The palatal *ü*, which is the common Turkish *ü*, seldom occurs in this dialect and is to a large extent replaced by *u*, as in Eastern Turki. The verb *tüsmek* regularly has *ü* in the root-syllable, thus I: 294, 304, 306, 329 *tüsüp*, I: 197 *tüsürüp*, I: 308

tüstük. Only once does *ü* also appear in the suffix, I: 110 *tüsüp*. In II: 2 etc. *bilekzük* < *bilek üzük* the common *ü* is preserved, and as an exception in the distributive *üšte* (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 *sürmedi*, I: 189 *jürüpti*, I: 110 *kün, jüzüm*, I: 6, 14 *berür*, I: 57 *qajnateverdük*, I: 36, 41 *üšte*, I: 31 *üče*.

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 *uč* »three», I: 24, 28, 139 *ušte* and I: 12 *bilurmusen*. 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 *dzuna-* »to walk»: I: 194 *dzünedim*, I: 332 *dzü'nešti*, but I: 149 *dzunedum*.

The common word for »boot», *ötek*, which appears in regular forms as I: 91 *ötegümni*, I: 93 *ötegümge*, I: 98 *öteklerimni*, has in some cases an *ü* in the second syllable, when the word is suffixed, thus I: 102, 107 *ötügüm*, I: 102 *ötügem*, I: 107, 115 *ötügemni*. The phenomenon can be explained from the fact that the *ü* of the suffix (poss. suffix, 1st pers.) together with the *ö* of the first syllable has influenced the *ε* 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*, *ölip*, *bolup*, *qilip*, *jatip* etc. There are however also here a lot of exceptions, thus III: 3 *söziydin*, I: 249 *qojij*. We very often find forms as *barup*, *ačup*, *alup*, *salup* and *jubarup* along with *barip*, *ačip*, *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'valdzq*) and I: 108 *jattum*.

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

The form *öldörgeñ* (I: 56) instead of *öldürgeñ* must until further notice be regarded as occasional.

***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 *ü* in this dialect — previously known to exist i. a. in Eastern Turki and Qazaq² — as a matter of connection between these two dialects. But an *ü* may of course exist also in other Uzbek dialects without any resemblance to Eastern Turki.

The rule for the *i-umlaut* is that $a > \epsilon$ when followed by an $i (\sim \ddot{i})$ in the next syllable. I quote the following examples from the texts: I: 39 *eli'valduq* (I: 43 *ali'valduq*, I: 47 *ali'valdzq*), I: 86 *elip* (< *alip*), I: 61 *beliyni* (< *baliyni*), 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.

¹ JARRING, Studien, p. 90 sq.

² MENGES & ŠĀKIR, Qazaqisch, p. 4.

In a short note in a review of my work »Studien zu einer osttürkischen Lautlehre» POLIVANOV¹ 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 iranized (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.²

Diphthongization.

In II: 12 *vopuš* (II: 10 *opuč*) and I: 126 *'eski* (< *eski*) I noted a diphthongization of the type recorded by POLIVANOV³ 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 (*uot* < *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 *qojnumde* (< **qojnumde*), I: 106, 111, 160 *ormundan* (< **orumundan*), I: 246 *ayzani*, I: 254, 256 *ayzini* (< **ayizini*).

¹ *Социалистическая наука и техника*. 1934: 1—2, p. 153.

² I must not neglect to mention VON ALMASY's statement in KSz. 3, 1902, p. 183, that the dialect of the Uzbeks 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:diša:* 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 *č* or *š*, thus very often in the colloquial language in forms of *čiq-* (I: 66 *čqaj*), in *pičaq* and *kiši* which is usually pronounced as *kši*. 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 *ju-ba:rsamde*, 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 *ï > i* (cf. p. 10). *l* is the usual *l* and *r* the common rolled *r*. In loan-words the semi-vowel *u* (as in English wild) occurs, thus I: 47 *hawuz*, I: 113 *aual*, I: 155 *auaz* etc. *ɣ* is the common velar nasal.

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

Consonant Alternations.

q ~ *ɣ*

q and *ɣ* alternate as final consonants and also when suffixes are added, without any regularity. As examples I quote: I: 25 *siniq* *siniq*, I: 42 *siniɣ* *siniɣ*, I: 24 *pičaq*, I: 26 *pi'čayni*, I: 56 *pi'čay*, I: 135 *tariq*, I: 209 *tariɣni*, I: 323 *aɣirraq*, I: 114 *jumšaqray* etc.

k ~ *g*

k and *g* very seldom alternate. I note I: 297 *ešegni* and I: 32 *ölüg* *ölüg* against I: 232 *işik*, I: 71 *tünekke*, I: 98 *öteklerimni*.

$n \sim l$

n and l alternate in the word *köjnək*, I: 227, 284 *köjnək* and III: 9 *köjlək*.

Consonant Changes.

$q > \chi$

This change occurs in forms of *čiqmaq* as I: 76 *čiqsem*, I: 77 *čiqmegen* and I: 78 *čiqmagan*.

$\chi > q$

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 *ötəgiy*, I: 116 *ötügümnü*, I: 107 *ötügem* ~ *ötügüm* etc., but I: 98 *ötəklərümnü*. The same change in II: 2 *bilekzügümnü*, II: 4 *bilekzügüynü*.

Initial k in $-ki > g$ in *helgi* ~ *halgi*. 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* (< *ašavermeknü*). It may be an accidental change, as we have I: 58 *qajnatmaqni*. MENGES¹ noted the same change for the Khiva-dialect.

$\check{c} > \check{s}$

This change occurs mostly in *üš* ~ *uš* ~ *üč* (I: 24, 28, 36 etc. *üšte* ~ *üşte*, I: 31 *üčte*) and in II: 12 *vopuš* against II: 10 *opuč*.

$b > v$

The common change $b > v$, 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 *varzıpti* (< *barıpti*).

In compound verb-forms of the type *alival-*, *tutuväl-* 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 (**jeib ber- > *jeiber- > jeiver-*).

d > t 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

<i>q + d > qt</i>	I: 216	<i>hejranliqta</i> (> <i>hejranliq-da</i>)
<i>k + d > kt</i>	I: 315	<i>işikten</i> (> <i>işik-den</i>)
<i>p + d > pt</i>	I: 146	<i>qapta</i> (< <i>qap-da</i>)
<i>t + d > tt</i>	I: 176	<i>attin</i> (< <i>at-din</i>)
<i>č + d > čt</i>	I: 31	<i>üčte</i> (< <i>üč-dε</i>)
<i>s + d > st</i>	I: 209	<i>satmastin</i> (< <i>satmas-din</i>)
<i>š + d > št</i>	I: 308	<i>tüštük</i> (< <i>tüš-dük</i>)

g > k

<i>k + g > kl</i>	I: 66	<i>işikke</i> (< <i>işik-gε</i>)
<i>p + g > pk</i>	I: 324	<i>kopke</i> (< <i>kop-gε</i>)
<i>t + g > tk</i>	I: 332	<i>atke</i> (< <i>at-gε</i>)
<i>č + g > čk</i>	I: 193	<i>ičküsüp</i> (< <i>ič-güsüp</i>)

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 *čiqeba:sam* (< *čiqeba:rsam*) and in I: 88 *ta:tip* (< *ta:rtip*), 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 *deja* < *derja*.

In I: 133 *uza:dan* *γ* is dropped and may have caused the long *a*.

Final *t* in *gušt* is dropped once viz. I: 89 *guš*, and as a rule dropped in *pest*, I: 276, 278 *pes*. Both are Persian loan-words.

Final *h* is always dropped in *pa:diša:* (< Pers. *pa:diša:h*) and intervocalic *h* in I: 126 *köne* (< Pers. *kuhna*).

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 *nεrge* (< *ne jεrge*) 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 *manε* (< *man-ni*), I: 295 *meni* (< *men-ni*), I: 290 *seni* (< *sen-ni*), I: 176 *kini* (< *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 *qujušqani* (< *qujušqan-ni*) and *-qq-* > *-q-* in I: 310 *qorqanimdan* (< *qorq-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. *'bεr-mi* or *'bεr-mu* »is there?«. The only mentioned exception from the main rule of POLIVANOV, is *bε'radi* »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.

VYATKIN¹ also says the accent rests upon the last syllable, with exception of a few words, above all words ending in *-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 *či'tanlik* or *pi'ëaq*. 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 *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 *Этюды по татарскому и тюркскому языкознанию* (1933) and in *Введение в татарское языкознание . . .* (1934). KRAELITZ-GREIFENHORST in his treatise »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 *šul 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'čayni ali'valdim*, there is a pronounced stress on the second syllable of *pičaq* and on the third of *alival-*, i. e. on the first syllable of the second part in the compound verb *alival-* (*alip*+*al-*). There is however no rule that *pičaq* 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», *či'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 *ali'val-*. So I heard *ali'valdim*, *ali'valdiq*, *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'rrupti*, but one may as many times be able to hear *ketipti* or *turrupti*.

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

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 *džu'nešti*, *či'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

¹ Op. cit., p. 11.

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 *χuda:* or *ila:dʒ*. 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 I: 254 *a:č χumni ayzini* and I: 183 *padʒa:q padʒa: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

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. I: 2 *eniy bir qizi ba:r 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*.² It is not evident from the description of POLIVANOV of the intermediate dialects of Ferghana if the genitive there has the *-niy*-

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 *kembeyaldi* (< *kembeyal-ni*) and III:6 *čirvande* (< *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 *ε* 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 *erge*, I: 71 *tinεkke*, I: 265 *unge*, I: 153 *otke*), which is added to both velar and palatal words. Only words ending with the velar *-q* always get the suffix *-qa*, thus I: 30 *ariqqa*, I: 54 *odzaqqa*, I: 141 *jirtiqqa*, 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 *senge*. 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 *vaxtida*, I: 192 *dzajda*, I: 215 *janimda*, I: 216 *hejranliqta*) and the first for words of both classes (I: 55 *ko:zede*, I: 77 *tegide*, I: 189 *juzide*, 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 *işikten* etc.) *-dan* is used only for words of the velar class (as loc. *-da*), so I: 55 *hayuzdan*, I: 133 *uza:dan*, I: 310 *qorqanimdan* etc. There is one exception to this rule, viz. I: 214 *jerdan* (against I: 121 *jerden*, I: 331 *jeriden*).

The suffix *-din* ~ *-tin* occurs in the following cases: I: 61 *qa'zandin*, I: 176 *attin*, I: 209 *satmastin*, I: 240 *uxlagandin*, I: 223 *keinidin*, II: 13 *tizedin*, III: 1 *sendin*, III: 3 *söziydin*. The presence of *-din*, *-tin* alternating with *-den*, *-ten* ~ *-dan*, *-tan* can be a relict

¹ MENGES, p. 177.

from the old Chaghataic or it can be a sign of the above mentioned Kashgarization¹ of this dialect. *-din* as ablative-suffix occurs for the rest in the dialect of the town of Turkistan, but not together with *-den* ~ *-dan*.²

In two cases II: 1 and II: 3 *bojinde* an *-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 *birisiḡ* and I: 278 *bunusini*. Similar forms also appear in other Turk dialects and they are according to BROCKELMANN³ due to illusory analogy with numerals ending in vowels. GRÖNBECH⁴ 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 *kečesi* »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 *-a* or *-ε* to the root. The personal forms of it agree with the common Turkish forms, thus *alaman*, *keledur*. When the root ends in a vowel the semivowel *j* is added, thus *jıylajdur*, *dejmən*. The negative is formed regularly, thus *sıymajmən*, *turmajdur*.

The present-future II is formed by adding vowel + *r* to the root, thus *berür*, *alar* or *alır* etc.

Instead of *kettim* I noted the enlarged form *ki'ittim*, in I: 228 *kirip ki'ittim* and I: 345 *qačıp ki'ittim*, but I: 241 *kirip kettim*.

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

¹ Cf. p. 13.

² POLIVANOV, 1929, p. 519.

³ ZDMG 70, p. 210, n. 3.

⁴ Der türkische Sprachbau, 1, p. 95, 96.

Imperative.

The imperative is formed after the following scheme:

	Sing.	Plur.
2nd person	<i>al</i>	—
	<i>aliŋ</i>	<i>aliŋlar</i>
	<i>algin</i>	—
	<i>alsunlar</i>	—
3rd person	<i>alsun</i>	<i>alsunlar</i>

The direct imperative *al!* »Take!« is most in use. The second form *aliŋ!* occurs only once, viz. I: 249 *jerde qojiy!* »Put it on the ground!«, and the plural of it also once, viz. I: 320 *tamde öziŋler taşlap aliŋler!* »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 bilekzügümnü*, II: 13 *sen nerak turgin* and III: 2 *qulaq salgin*. MENGES however noted the imperative in *-γəl ~ -qəl* for the Khiva-dialect also for a plain tale.¹ 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, dadasi! baqqa jürsünler* and I: 229 *baqqa kelsünler*. I compare these forms with the Eastern Turki polite imperative in *-seŋer*, for example *kelseŋer!* or *kelse!* »Please come«, being originally the 3rd person plural of the conditional tense.²

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 bolseŋ*, *salar bolseŋ*, *alar bolseŋ* etc.

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*, *berěj* etc.

In the poetry there appear the forms *bo'lajin*, *ba'rajin*, *sa'lajin* and *qi'lajin* (with a strong stress on the *a*). VÁMBÉRY 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 *Täji bilä Zohra*, ed. RAQUETTE, p. 51, *ayrılajın* and *sanjılayın*.

Participles.

There occur the two present participles in *-a ~ -ε* 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. *urε* in I: 291 *χatunini urε bašledi*.

The negative of the 1st present participle in *-a ~ -ε* is *-maj ~ -mej*, which will best be translated by »without . . .», thus for example I: 284—285 *ištan köjnekke qaramej öjni tamige çiqip ketip 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 satmastin*.

The most used perfect participle is formed with the suffix *-gan ~ -gen*, thus *qalğan*, *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 *deja:ni lebi kop salkin eken*, I: 264 *şul adam χizr eken*. In other cases it stands as copula.

¹ VÁMBÉRY, Čag. Sprachstudien, p. 24.

The present-future participle in *-durgan* occurs in the form *saladurgan*, viz. I: 238 and 241 *bir katta un saladurgan çum 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 çiqip ketip man*)
- gerund + *dur* (I: 59 *suyekleri hal hal bolup ketiptur*)
- gerund + *di* (I: 24 *bir dzajge çiqeba:sam ušte p'çaq turupti*)
- gerund + *eken* (I: 266 *bul sapar çizr nazar qilip eken*)
- gerund + *di* + *eken* (I: 312 *bir qançe şali paçalni basıp qojıpti 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 *jıylajdur*, but I: 200 *jıylajdi*, III: 9 *jelpulejdi, qimillejdi*.

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 *maryulanıçe qarap dzunedum* »I went in the direction of Marghelan». 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 *bermakçi boldi*, viz. I: 3 *qızını erge bermakçi boldi* »It was his intention to give his girl to a man» and I: 177 *su içmakçi boldi* »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 balani tašlap ketiši jene bilmej alɓ 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 *qüzini bermeslikke ila:dɓ qil'almaɓ*.

Compound verbs.

The following compound verbs occur:

1) verb in the basic form + *al-* (*alival-* < *alip-al-* etc.):

ali'val- I: 26 *ali'valdim*, I: 39 *eli'valduɓ*, I: 43 *ali'valduɓ*,

I: 47 *ali'valdɓq*

kii'val- I: 138 *kii'valdim*

qošu'val- I: 170 a *qošu'valɓp*

tutu'val- I: 289 *tutu'valɓp*, I: 295 *tutu'valɛdur*

jükle'val- I: 171 *jükle'valɓp*, I: 162 *jükle'valdim*

2) verb in the basic form + *-ber-* > *-ver-* (*jeiver-* < *jeip-ber-* etc.):

jei'ver- I: 61 *jei'verdim*, I: 62 *jei'verip*

qajnatever- I: 57 *qajnateverdik*

ašaver- I: 158 *ašaveripti*, I: 159 *ašavermejni*

The Texts.

The folk-tale (I) belongs to an Euro-Asiatic group of tales, called novels (romantic tales) by AARNE,¹ and arranged by him in his classification under No. 852. In BOLTE-POLÍVKA² there are enumerated a lot of variants. The man or boy afflicted with Favus (here *kal* ~ *kel*, in Eastern Turki *taɓ*) is known among the people as especially deceitfull 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 *Čagataische Sprachstudien*.

¹ AARNE, The types of the folk-tale.

² II, p. 506 sq.

TEXT.

I.

1. bir pa:diša: ba: edi. 2. eniḡ bir qizī ba:r edi. 3. qizini erge bermakçi boldi. 4. dedi ki 5. »har kim miḡ ayiz jalıan söz dep berse 6. şunge berür men» dep edi. 7. heç kim miḡ ayiz jalıan söz dealmadi. 8. bir kel ba: edi. 9. şu »men miḡ ayiz jalıan söz dejmen» dep 10. pa:diša:ni aldige kirdi. 11. pa:dša: ejdi 12. san bilürmüsen?» 13. kel ejdi 14. »men miḡ ayiz jalıan söz dep berür men». 15. pa:diša: ejdi 16. »eger miḡ ayiz jalıan söz deseḡ 17. seḡge qizimni berür men. 18. eger dealmaseḡ 19. başıḡni alur men» dedi. 20. emdi kel sözni başledi. 21. kelni sözi emdi. 22. »ataden bir edim. 23. ölüp ölüp uç qalduḡ. 24. bir dzajge çüqeba:sam ušte p'çaq turupti. 25. ikkisi siniḡ siniḡ birini tiḡi joḡ. 26. tiḡi joḡ p'içayni ali'valdim. 27. munday bir dzajge ba:rsam 28. ušte ariḡ¹ turupti. 29. ikkisi quruḡ quruḡ bitesini nemi joḡ. 30. nem joḡ ariḡqa² qaragam 31. üçte balıḡ³ turupti. 32. ikkisi ölüḡ ölüḡ bitesini dza:ni joḡ. 33. şu dza:ni joḡ balıḡni alıp 34. tiḡi joḡ p'çaq birlen soḡup aldim. 35. munday bir dzajge ba:rsam 36. ušte koze turupti. 37. ikkisi padzaḡ padzaḡ birini teḡi joḡ. 38. munday bir dzajge barsam 39. teḡi joḡni eli'valduḡ. 40. mundan bir dzajge barsam 41. ušte qazan turupti. 42. ikkisi siniḡ siniḡ birini teḡi joḡ. 43. teḡi joḡ qa'zanni ali'valduḡ. 44. mundan bir dzajge barsam 45. ušte haıuz turupti. 46. ikkisi quruḡ quruḡ birini nemi joḡ. 47. nemi joḡ haıuzden teḡi joḡ kozeḡe suni tolatıp

¹ ariḡ.

² ariḡqa.

³ balıḡ.

ali'valdzq. 48. *mundan bir dzajge barsam* 49. *üste öj turupti.*
 50. *ikkisi bozuy bozuy birini üstini joq.* 51. *üstini joq öjge kirsem*
 52. *üste odzاق turupti.* 53. *ikkisi bozuy bozuy birini möresi joq.*
 54. *möresi joq odzاقqa tegi joq qa'zanni asip* 55. *nem joq hauz-*
dan tegi joq ko:zedde alzp kelgen suni qujup 56. *tiyi joq pi'çay*
birlen öldörge dzani joq baliyni qazange salzp 57. *qajnateverdük*
qajnateverdük qajnateverdük. 58. *qajnatmaqni zerbiden dzani joy*
baliyni qarasam 59. *supekleri hal hal bolup ketiptur.* 60. *guştige*
tapt ötmepiti. 61. *helgi beliyi qa'zandin alzp jei'verdim.* 62. *jei've-*
rip man bir vaxte qarasam 63. *qaranim xumdek bolup ketipti.*
 64. *xeberim joq.* 65. *şundan turup* 66. *işikke çqaj desem* 67. *işikke*
barsam 68. *sıymajmen.* 69. *mörege barsam* 70. *sıymajmen.* 71.
tinekke barsam 72. *sıymajmen.* 73. *löküda:nden urup çiqip ketip*
man 74. *madengeni xeberi joq.* 75. *mundan çiqip* 76. *bir tepeni*
tepesige çixsem 77. *bir çixmegen şua:qni tegide bir tuymagan*¹
qujanni balasi jatipti. 78. *çixmagan şua:yni şa:qiden sindurup*
alip 79. *bir qamişni tüpek qilip* 80. *şua:yni şa:qeni salip* 81.
tuymagan qujanni balasige qarap attim. 82. *qulayeni tegide teşip*
 83. *nerge jaqaden ötüp ketipti xeberim joq.* 84. *şundan barup*
 85. *tuymagan qujanni balasini südürap* 86. *bir dzajge elip barup*
 87. *teresini adzretip* 88. *guşti jayini ta:tip körsem* 89. *altmäs*
ça:rek guş qildi. 90. *jetmiş ça:rek jay qildi.* 91. *»şundan öteğümni*
bir jaylap qojaj» dep 92. *jaylasem* 93. *bir öteğümge jetti.* 94.
birisige heç nerse joq. 95. *bir dzajge barup* 96. *keçesi bolup qaldi.*
 97. *»şu dzajde jataj» dep* 98. *öteklerimni jeşip* 99. *başimge qojup*
jatsam 100. *tapa tüpi dzendzal tapa tüpi dzendzal.* 101. *»neme*
dzendzal» dep başimni köterep qarasam 102. *jaylıy ötügem birlen*
jaysiz ötügüm uruş jatti. 103. *»senge jay sürdi.* 104. *menge sür-*
medi» dedi. 105. *»jay sürmedi» dep* 106. *ornumdan turup* 107.
jaysiz ötügüm birlen jaylıy ötügemni bir şepa:tiden urdum 108.
jene jattum. 109. *erte bilen qarasam* 110. *jüzümge kinler tüşüp*

¹ almost *tuymageni*.

qapti. 111. *šašilip ornumdan turup* 112. *ajayimge paj tabeni urap*
 113. *jayliy öteğimni aqal kidim.* 114. *»jumšağray» dep ikkindzi*
jene ajayimge paj tabeni urap 115. *»jaysiz ötüğemni kiaj» dep*
qarasam 116. *jaysiz ötüğimni heç dzajde xəberi joq.* 117. *ujan*
qaradim. 118. *joq.* 119. *bujan qaradim.* 120. *joq.* 121. *heç jerdən*
deregi joq. 122. *oyğay tayni tepesige¹ çiqip qaradim.* 123. *körün-*
medi. 124. *boz bi tayni töpesige çiqip qaradim.* 125. *joq.* 126.
katta anamizdan qalğan bir köne 'eski piltə savat bar edi. 127.
šuni tepesige çiqip qarasam 128. *andzangə barup* 129. *kapangə*
serdar bolup turupti. 130. *šundan atamdan qalğan bir bajtal bar*
edi. 131. *bajtalni minip* 132. *andzangə qarap dzunədum.* 133.
barsam mane uza:dan körüp 134. *»senge jayliy öteğiy neme qilip*
berdi? 135. *man jetmiş patman tariq jiyip qojdum* 136. *della:lçilik*
qilip man». 137. *derray »siz yaxşı» dep.* 138. *ajayimge ki'valdim.*
 139. *ušte qap tapip keldim.* 140. *ikkisi jirtiq jirtiq birini tegi joq.*
 141. *jirtiy jirtiqqa salsam* 142. *turmajdur.* 143. *tegi joqqa salsam*
 144. *turmajdur.* 145. *bir çit'anlik arava turğen eken.* 146. *qapta*
turmagen tariqni çit'enge salsam 147. *çip turup qaldi.* 148. *baj-*
talimni aravagə qoşup 149. *maryulangə qarap dzunədum.* 150.
ketip tursam 151. *jolda bir de:ja:ji-əzim ru: be ru: keldi.* 152. *de:ja:ni*
lebi kop salkin eken. 153. *atimni otke qojup barup* 154. *özöm*
salkinde uxlap qaldim. 155. *bir vaxtida »haj! haj!» degən ayaz*
keledur. 156. *közömnü ačup qarasam* 157. *dejadan bir su at çiqıp*
 158. *bajtalimge ašaveripti.* 159. *ašavermejni zerb'den tuğdurup*
varəpti. 160. *šašilip ornumdan turup* 161. *balasini aravagə qoşup*
 162. *anasini tepesige jükle'valdim.* 163. *šundan maryulangə bardim.*
 164. *maryulangə barəp tariqni sattim.* 165. *bajtalimni sattim.*
 166. *hamasini puligə alma aldim.* 167. *andzandə körüp edim*
 168. *alma kop pul edi.* 169. *»pajda qilej» dep* 170. *alma aldim.*
 170 a. *tajimni aravagə qoşu'valəp* 171. *almani jükle'valəp* 172.
andzangə qarap jol saldim. 173. *jolde ketip tursam* 174. *bir de:ja:ji*

¹ *töpəsigə.*

ezim ru: be ru: keldi. 175. sərətanni künide alte jarim qulaç muzlap qapti. 176. küni issiyleriden su attin bolgan tajim kop çayqap ketipti. 177. su içməkci boldi. 178. deyədəki muz balta birlen ursam 179. jarilmadi. 180. teşə birlen ursam 181. jarilmadi. 182. kəl kalam birlen ursam 183. padza:q padza:q bolup ketti. 184. u janimgə qarasam 185. kalam joq. 186. bu janimgə qarasam 187. kalam joq. 188. bir vaxtida qarasam 189. kalam deya:ni o jüzide ojnəp jürüpti. 190. barzəp kallamni bir şapalaq ursam 191. kalam xolasinikigə kirip ketipti. 192. şu dzajda neçə maşaqat birlen kallamni sogurup aldim. 193. helgi tajimgə suni içküsiüp aləp 194. andzangə qarəp dzünədim. 195. andzangə barzəp 196. almani bazargə apkirip 197. bər dzajgə tüsiürüp tursam 198. bər xatun perəndzəni içide bər balani köterəp kirdi. 199. »vaj dadasi! şu balay sizni aldiyizde tursun» dedi. 200. »ul balay jiylyajdi» desəm 201. »vaj dadasi! bər alma berip qojşaler 202. alməgə avunup turar» dedi. 203. dadasi degenigə qiziqip ketip 204. halgi balani aləp qəp man. 205. bir almani berdim. 206. jəp jənə jiylyadi. 207. ikkini berdim 208. jəp bolup jənə jiylyadi. 209. ala hasil bir alma satmastin jetmiş patman tariyni puligə bir atni puligə algen almani tama:m tügetip boldi. 210. qarasam jənə jiylyajdur. 211. »pajdani bu jerdə qıldim ku» dep 212. halgi balani taşlap ketişi jənə bilmej 213. aləp ketişi jənə bilmej 214. başqa jerdan alma aləp berəj desəm 215. janimda bir pulum joq. 216. hejranliqta qalip tursam 217. bir jattim. 218. anasi kelip qaldi. 219. »ej dzallap! balayni al! 220. almani tamam tügetip boldi» desəm 221. anasi »vaj dadasi! baqqa jürsünler» dedi. 222. »almani pajdasini bu jüzden alaman 223. şekillik» dep keinidin ergeşip barsam 224. ijigə başlap kirdi. 225. kirip qarasam 226. körpeni tize boji qilip salip qojuptur. 227. derha:l köjneq iştanlerni jeşip taşlap 228. körpeni içigə kirip ki'ittim. 229. »vaj xanim! baqqa kelsünler!» desəm 230. qazande dzezi dziz körpede sizi biz dedi. 231. şundaq dep turup edi. 232. işik tarəq ejtip qaldi. 233. »kim keldi?» desəm 234. »vaj dadasi kelip qaldi» dedi.

235. »dadasi qajde edi?» desem 236. »tegiurmange ketip edi» dedi.
237. »manə! nema qıla siz?» desem 238. »bu dzajde bir katta un
saladurgan xum ba:» dedi. 239. »sungə sizni salup qojurman» dedi.
240. »erim uzlagandin soy sizni çiqazıp jubarurmen» dedi. 241.
»ma:qol» dep helgi katta un saladurgan xumni içige kirip kettim.
242. xatun barup 243. işikni açup qojdi. 244. eri bir katta qapte
un alup keliptur. 245. xatunige dedi 246. »ε xatun! xumni ayzani
açıp qoj!» dedi. 247. »unni xumge salup qojaj» dedi. 248. xatuni
ejdi 249. »jerde qojiy! 250. erte birlen xumge salıp berür siz»
dedi. 251. eri ejdi 252. »ε dzellap! erte birlen jana un juki bolup
253. sangə un salıp berürmedim. 254. a:ç xumni ayzini!» dedi.
255. xatuni kelip 256. xumni ayzini açup qojdi. 257. unni alıp
kelip 258. xumge sa:ldi. 259. xumni içide man ba:r. 260. qapteki
un jarim bolmaj tolup qaldi. 261. xatunige ejdi 262. »ε xatun!
neme dejsen? 263. jolde bir kši uçurap edim. 264. şul adam xizr
eken. 265. har sapar şu qaptege unge xum tolmas edi. 266. bul
sapar xizr nazar qilip eken. 267. qap jarim bolmaj xum tolup
qaldi. 268. emdi oyur destani alup kel!» dedi. 269. xatuni barup
270. bir qapte oyur destasi ba:r eken. 271. alıp keldi. 272. eri
oyur destani alıp 273. »unni qatirip 274. qalganini tepesige salup
qojej» dep 275. bir jelkemge bir urdi. 276. bu jelkemni pes qıldim.
277. jana bu jelkemge urdi. 278. bunusini hem pes qıldim. 279.
kel kallamge zor birlen birni urup edi. 280. oyur destani zerbeden
bir usurup ibardim. 281. xum ja:rilıp 282. butun un öj içige
çaçılıp ketti. 283. helgi dzajden qaçıp 284. iştan köjnekke qaramej
285. öjni tamige çiqıp ketip man. 286. işikni tapalməj 287. tamge
çiqıp qarap tursam 288. un çanı basilgenden ki:n 289. eri xatu-
nini tutu'valıp 290. »seni ojnaşiy ba: eken» dep 291. xatunini
urə başledi. 292. helgi dzajde turup 293. xatunge rehmem qilip
294. tamden tüsüp adzretip qojaj desem 295. meni hem tutu'valədur.
296. ujan bijan qarasam 297. tamde bir eşegni toqomi turgen eken.
298. şuni je:rge taşlap ibarsam 299. qorqup ketıp 300. ikkilesi
adzraşıp keter mekin dep 301. halgi toqomni tamni lebige alıp

kelüp 302. köterip turup taşlap e'bardim. 303. töpege kötergenimde
304. qujuşqanı bojnıumge tüşüp qalıp eken 305. mane xəbarım joq.
306. halgi toqom mane həm süderep tüşüp ketti. 307. toqom birlen
ikimiz jerge gumbelap 308. jerge tüştük. 309. halgi dzajde er ve
xatun adzreşip ketipti. 310. qorqanımdan su dzajden şaşızlıp 311.
ornımdan turup 312. jana bir balaxaneni tepesige bir qançe şalı
paçalni basıp qojzpti eken. 313. bir baq paçalni arasige kirip
kettim. 314. emdi kirip tursem 315. işikten miraxpler kelüp 316.
»hoj pa'lançi! elişni su alıp ketti. 317. paçal ber» dep 318. ayaz
qıldı. 319. halgi xatunı eri »ane: paçal bolsa 320. tamde öziyler
taşlap aliylər» dedi. 321. bir jigıt derraı tamge özqıp 322. halgi
man jatkan paçalni köterip 323. »şu ayırraq eken 324. kopke
oxşajdur» dep 325. köterip turup 326. jerge taşlap e'bardi. 327.
pa'çalni içide man ba: edim. 328. olerni xəbarı joq. 329. tamden
tüşüp üç kişileşip 330. halgi paçalni ayramçıge salıp 331. üç
jeriden mahkam bayladiler. 332. şunden bir katta atke artıp
dzü'neşti. 333. jolde ketip barıp 334. kallamni paçalni arasiden
çiqarıp qarasam 335. atini çati kopiklep ketiptur. 336. olerni
xəbarı joq. 337. bir dzajge barıp 338. jolide bir katta saj uçredi.
339. halgi sajni qatre nemi joq. 340. nemi joq sajge atini salıp
jubarup edi. 341. nem joq sajdege su atni kömüp ketti. 342. halgi
dzajdan suni içide pişilip qalıp 343. oler ha:letke jetip 344. paçalni
arasiden çiqip 345. nemi joq sajdege suni tegiden qaçıp ki'ittim.
346. bulerni xəbarı joq. 347. suni tegiden bir neçe kün qaçıp
348. axiri bir dzajge kelip 349. közömmi açıp qarasam 350. pa:tşanı
aldide jani hazretlerini aldileride olturupman» dedi. 351. şunde
kelni gepi tügedi. 352. pa:tşa: hejra:n qalıp 353. bu kelni gepige
tahsin ve a:ferinler qılıp 354. qızını bermeslikke ila:dz qıl'almaı
355. axiri qıq kün toj ta'maşaler birlen kelge qızını berdi. 356.
halgi kel qızni alıp 357. mura:d meqsedige jetti.

II.

bejt

1. *saj bojinde turgan jigir
xoš közöyni sözgen jigir*
2. *bilekzügümnü¹ algen jigir
alsay bergin bilekzügümnü*
3. *su bojinde turganim joq
qaş közömnü sözgenim joq*
4. *bilekzügüynü alganim joq
algan bersün bilekzügüynü*
5. *kök atıyge dżil bo'lajin
čarbayčeyge gul bo'lajin*
6. *özöm senge gul bo'lajin
alsay bergin bilekzügümnü*
7. *kök atıyge dżil kerekmes
čarbayčemge gul kerekmes*
8. *özöm qulmen gul kerekmes
algan bersün bilekzügüynü*
9. *hayıa hayıage düč kelürmu
adam adamge xoš kelürmu*
10. *sujinčisi opuč bolurmu
alsay bergin bilekzügümnü*
11. *hayıa hayıage düč kel'elmes
adam adamge xoš kel'elmes*

¹ *bilekzük < bilek üzük*. سولتان ره حانقولى ۋه عبءوره حمان كهرهه. بيلهك اوزك (بله زوك)
روسجه - ئوز بيكچه موكه مهه لوغته. *emp. 42 брѣ.рем.*

12. *sujunčisi vopuš bol'almas
algan bersün bilekzügümni*
13. *sen nerak turgin men barajin
tizedin korpe men salajin*
14. *bir keče küyliyni hoş qilajin
alsey bergin bilekzügümni*
15. *men nerak turaj keler bolsey
tizede korpe salar bolsey*
16. *bir keče küylimni alar bolsey
al bilekzüküy mane qojnumde*

III.

a:šiq mešuuq

1. *bir körgende a:šiq boldum sen qıza
sendin başqa dza:na:n körünmes köza*
2. *keçeleri za:r jıylajmen hedzriyde
erzim ejtej qulaq salgin sen qıza*
3. *söziydin aylaštım ej dza:na:n jigit
söjer bolsey ata anam birlen ala:qa et*
4. *ata anam birlen ala:qa tutup
her künde küñ ašade kelip ket*
5. *ata anayge bargenim xup e'mes
bizdek kembeyaldi nezrge i'lmes*
6. *dzauči juba:rsamde čirvande sorer
čirvan degen nerse bizde dzıq e'mes*
7. *dzauči jubar čirva:nıy kerəkmes
ata anam meni satıp jubarmes*
8. *ata anam meni satıp jubarsa
zekse degen dzajde dzera:b berelməs*

9. *atlas köjlek jelpulejdi kigende
badanleri qimillejdi jürgende*
10. *alip bergen patiykegiz ta:r ekan
bojimgе muna:sip jaxsi ja:r ekan*
11. *jašasun jašasun apay jašasun
zeksedeги xalda:r apay jašasun*

TRANSLATION.

I.

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. I³ 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. I³ 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 *kæl* 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, I¹ 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. I¹ 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 chimney. 70. I have no room. 71. 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*.² 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 shot³ 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*⁴ 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 1/2—4 Russian pounds = 14,35—16,4 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-mountain² and looked. 123. It was not visible. 124. I went up to the top of the Boz Bi-mountain³ 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 manager⁴ 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 tüpi* onomatopoeic to indicate the sound of two walking boots; *dʒɛndʒal* 'a noise, uproar'.

² *oŋŋay tay* a mountain near Kasan.

³ *boz bi tay* a mountain near Kasan.

⁴ *sɛrda:r* (P. سردار) lit. a captain, a general.

⁵ *kapan* (<A. قبان, P. کبان) 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 *patman*¹ 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 grass² 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-horse³ 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 1/2 fathoms. 176. Owing to the heat from the sun (or

¹ *patman* a weight in Russian Turkestan from 131 to 180,2 kg. (SCHWARZ, Turkestan, p. 313); in Eastern Turkestan 573,44 kg. (RAQUETTE, Eastern Turki grammar, I, p. 35).

² lit. 'I put my horse away to the grass'.

³ *su at* lit. 'water-horse'. According to OSTROUMOV (*Кармы*, 2, p. 175) a 'water-horse' called *asp-i-abi* (Pers.) is known to the Sarts of Russian Turkestan. Cf. further O. OLUFSEN, Through the unknown Pamirs, p. 202, »The lakes are believed to be full of sea-horses, especially lake Shiva in Badakshan and lake Yashilkul in High Pamir. During the night these sea-horses come out of the water to graze, and they then pair with the horses in the fields, and this crossing is said to be very good for the breed».

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 loosened 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 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 this³ 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 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 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 316. »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

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 approbated 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 ¹ 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.

¹ *sujiñci*, YUDAKHIN, 388, *подарок за сообщенные радостной вестью* 'a present when delivering good news'.

5. It is not good that I go to your parents.¹
They do not take such a poor man as me into consideration.
6. If I send a match-maker, she asks for money.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*.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 ⁴ at the marriage-office!

¹ i. e. »they do not like it».

² lit. 'chervonets', Russian *червонец*, which is equal to 10 Soviet-rubles.

³ lit. »there cannot be given answer at the place . . .» *zεkεε* or *zεkise* is the Russian *ЗАГС* = *запись актов гражданского состояния* 'registry-office' in this case for marriages.

⁴ *apa* 'elder sister' here said about the lady-official at the marriage office. I have left *χalda:r* in the second line untranslated, as I am not quite sure about the meaning. *χalda:r* 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.

- ač-* (~ *a:č-*) to open; *ačip* (~ *ačup*) *alma* apple.
qoj- to open. *alte* six.
adam A. man. *altmiš* sixty.
adgraš- to separate from one *ana* mother; *katta a.* grandmother.
 another; *adgrašip ket-* ditto. *andžan* (~ *andža:n*) the town of
adzret- to divide, to put asunder; Andijan in Russian Turkestan.
tereni adzret- to skin, to take *ane:* oh!
 off the skin; *adzretip qoj-* to *aylaš-* to understand.
 separate. *apa* sister, elder sister.
a:ferin P. praising; *a. qil-* to praise. *apkir-* v. *al-*.
ayir heavy. *ara* space middle, midst; *arasige*
ayiz mouth. into (its middle); *arasiden* from,
ayramči rope. out from (its middle).
axiri A. last, at last. *arava* a cart; *č'itanlik a.* a cart
ajay foot. with a wooden basket placed on
 it for transport of hay or straw.
al- to take, to buy; *elip bar-* to A picture of it is given in SYKES
 take; *alžp ber-* to take, to buy; & SYKES, Through deserts and
alžp (~ *alip* ~ *alup*) *kel-* to bring; oases of Central Asia, p. 26.
alžp ket- to take away, to go *ariq* ~ *aržq* channel, water-channel.
 away with; *alival-* ~ *elival-* to *art-* to load.
 take, to take away; *apkir-* (< *alip* *as-* to hang.
kir-) to bring. *aša* in *kin ašade* (III: 4) < *aša-*
ala hazil [A. الحاصل] in short, in to eat.
 one word, finally. *ašaver-* to mount, to cover, to horse.
ald front; *aldide*, *aldileride*, *al-* *a:šiq* A. in love, a lover; *a. bol-*
diyizde in front of, before; *aldige* to fall in love.
aldirde into his presence, before.
ala:qa [A. علاقة] connection, tie, *at* horse; *su a.* water-horse, cf.
 relationship. 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.
ayal A. first.
ayaz P. noise, sound, voice; *a. qil-*
to make noise, to shout.

ε ah!

eger P. if.

ej ah! oh!

ej- to say, to tell.

ejt- to say, to tell.

elival- ~ *alival-* v. *al-*.

erz A. complaint.

ezim A. great, mighty.

badan A. body.

bay ~ *baq* P. garden.

bayla- to bind.

bajtal mare.

bala youngster, child.

bala xane P. an upper chamber, a
balcony.

balıq ~ *belıq* fish.

balta axe.

baq bundle.

ba:r ~ *ba:* there is.

bar- (~ *ba:r-*) to go.

bas- to press together, to make into
bundles.

basıl- to be covered.

baš head.

bašla- to begin, to lead the way,
to direct, to conduct; *bašlap kir-*
to conduct.

bašqa 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.

bilekzük 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.

bozuy in ruins, in decay; *b. b.* all
in ruins.

bu this.

bul this.

butun all.

čačıl- to be spilled.

čaγ dust.

čayqa- to be thirsty; *čayqap ket-*
to be thirsty.

čarbayče P. garden.

ča:rek P. weight, different in diffe-
rent places, cf. p. 37, n. 4.

čat the groin.

čip 'well' in *čip turup qaldi*, in-
tensifying particle. Cf. YUDA-
KHIN p. 250 *čip čirajlik* very
beautiful.

čiq- ~ čəq- to go out, to go away, to go up; to come out, to grow up; *čiqəbar-* (< *čiqip bar-*) 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. (*чирвоуеи*) chervonets, cf. p. 45, n. 2.

čit'an a wooden basket placed on the *arava* for transport of hay or straw; *č.lik arava* v. *arava*.

dada father.

deja: ~ *deja* P. river.

-dek like.

dellal:čilik [A. دلال + *či* + *lik*]
brokerage; *d. qil-* to act as a broker, to bargain.

derek intelligence, news. Cf. YUDAKHIN, p. 305 with further examples.

derha:l P. A. immediately, at once.

derrau P. immediately.

desta P. a large wooden pestle for pounding rice.

de- to say.

diuč P. meeting; *d. kel-* to meet.

dzaj P. place.

dzallap ~ dzellap A. prostitute, whore.

dza:n P. soul, life.

dza:n:n P. charming, sweetheart.

džauči matchmaker.

džendžal noise, uproar; *tapa tipi*

dž. v. p. 38, n. 1.

dževa:b A. answer, allowance.

džezi džiz onomatopoeic (a creaking sound).

džil A. covering, a horse's covering.

džiq much, many.

džunə- ~ džünə- to go, to walk.

džunəš- to go together.

e- to be.

ebar- to send, cf. *ibar-*, *jubar-*.

emdi now.

er man, husband.

ergəš- to follow; *ergəšip bar-* to follow.

erte morning.

ešek donkey.

ieski worn out.

et- to do, to make.

gep P. talk, speech.

gul P. flower.

gumbela- to fall with a thud.

gušt ~ 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.

hayuz A. cistern.

hazret A. an exalted personage;

h. -leri Your Excellency.

hejran A. astonished; *h. qal-* to be astonished; *h. -liq* astonishment.

- helgi* ~ *halgi* [A. حال + *ki*] the just mentioned, the present, that, this, the.
- hem* P. also.
- heč* P. no, no one; *heč nerse* nothing; *heč kim* no one.
- hedžr* A. separation.
- hoj* Oh!
- ħalda:r* P. spotted, speckled, cf. p. 45, n. 4.
- ħanim* miss, mistress.
- ħatun* woman, wife.
- ħeber* A. knowledge, information; *ħ. -im joq* I do not know.
- ħizr* A. the prophet Khizr, cf. p. 41, n. 1.
- ħola* [A. خال] aunt (maternal).
- ħoš* P. pleasant, beautiful, happy; *ħ. kel-* to like.
- ħum* P. a jar, large vessel.
- ħup* P. good.
- issiy* warm, heat.
- ibar-* to send away.
- ič-* to drink.
- ič* inside; *ičide* in; *ičige* into.
- ičkus-* to cause to drink, to give water.
- ikki* two.
- ikkindži* second.
- il-* to hang up; *nežrge i.* to take into consideration.
- ila:dž* A. remedy.
- išik* door.
- ištan* [R. штаны] trousers.
- jay* fat.
- jayla-* to grease; *jaylap qoj-* to grease.
- jayliy* greased.
- jaysiz* without fat.
- jaχši* good, all right.
- jalyan* untrue.
- jan* side, direction.
- jana* again, cf. *jene*.
- jani* [A. يعنى] 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.
- ješ-* to loosen.
- jet-* to reach, to be enough.
- jetmiš* seventy.
- jiy-* to collect, to gather; *jiyip qoj-* to collect.
- jiyla-* to cry.
- jiřtiq* torn, ragged, in holes; *j. j.* all in holes.
- jigit* young man.
- jol* road, way; *j sal-* to make one's way.
- joq* is not, was not.
- jubar-* ~ *jubar:r-* to send, to send away, cf. *ebar-*, *ibar-*.
- juk* burden.
- jukleval-* to load, to put on.

- jumsaq* soft; *jumsaqray* a little softer.
- jür-* to walk, to go.
- jüz* face, side, point of view (I: 222).
- kalla* P. head.
- kapan* A. P. market-place, cf. p. 38, n. 5.
- katta* big; *k. ana* grandmother.
- kəl* P. a person afflicted with Favus, scald-head.
- kəmbəyal* 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.
- kerək* 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).
- ki'it-* v. *ket-* and *kir-*.
- kim* who?
- ki:n* after.
- kir-* to enter; *kirip ki'it- ~ kirip ket-* to enter, to go into.
- kišileš-, üç kišileš-* to be three persons together (I: 329).
- kop* very, much.
- kopükle-* to get covered with lather (about a horse); *kopüklep ket-* ditto.
- korpe* v. *körpe*.
- koze ~ ko:ze* P. pitcher (earthen).
- köjlek* v. *köjnek*.
- köjnek* shirt.
- kök* blue; *k. at* roan.
- köm-* to bury; *kömüp ket-* to bury.
- köne* P. old.
- kör-* to see.
- körpe ~ korpe* mattress, cushion.
- körün-* to appear, to be visible.
- köter-* to raise, to lift.
- köz* eye.
- kši* (< *kiši*) a person; *bir k.* someone, anyone.
- kün* day, sun, sunbeam.
- küyül* heart.
- ku* but, and, even, just.
- leb* P. lip, edge, edge of a river.
- löküda:n* P. a wooden lock on the door; YUDAKHIN, 584, لؤکیدان
деревянный дверной замок.
- madəng* P. a wooden lock on the door, esp. the part of it fixed in the door.
- mahkam* A. firm, strong, firmly, strongly.
- man ~ men* I.
- manə* oh! ho!
- ma:qol* A. approved, acceptable; *m. de-* to agree.
- maryulan* the town of Marghelan in Russian Turkestan.
- mašaqat* A. distress, suffering, trouble.
- men ~ man* I.
- meqsəd* A. object.
- mešuq* A. with whom one is in love, object of love.
- mekin* 'I wonder?'
- min-* to mount.
- miŋ* thousand.
- mirayp* A. P. supervisor of the irrigation system.

möre 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.
nem P. humid, humidity.
nerak wherever.
nerge (< *ne jerge*) to what place?
where?
nerse thing, something, anything.
nezr v. *nazar*.
neçe how much, how many.
nema ~ *neme* what?

o ~ *u* he, she, it, that.
odzaq fire-place.
oyur a mortar in which rice is
pounded; *o. destasi* mortar-pestle.
oşsa- to be like, to seem.
ojna- to play.
ojnaş a gallant.
oler they.
oltur- to sit.
oğay tay mountain near Kasan.
opuč ~ *vopuş* kiss.
orun place, bedplace.
ot grass.

öj ~ *üj* house.
öl- to die.

öldör- (= *öldür-*) to kill.
ölüg dead.
öt- to pass.
ötek boot.
öz self.

pa:dişa: ~ *pa:dşa:* ~ *pa:tşa:* P. king.
pa:dşa: v. *pa:dişa:*.
padzaq ~ *padza:q* spoiled, destroyed,
in pieces; *p. p.* all in pieces.
pa P. foot; *paj tabe* shoe-sock.
pajda [A. فائده] profit, gain.
paxal straw, the long straw of
rice.
pa'lançi [A. فلان + çi] a certain,
so and so, somebody.
patiyke [R. ботынок] boot.
patman weight, cf. p. 39, n. 1.
pa:tşa: v. *pa:dişa:*.
perendze P. veil. A full descrip-
tion of this kind of veil is given
by YUDAKHIN, p. 123.
pes [P. پست] low; *p. qil-* to lower.
p'çaq ~ *piçaq* knife.
pilte cotton-thread of home-make.
pişil- to be drenched; *pişilip qal-*
to be drenched.
pul P. money.

qaç- to flee, to run away; *qaçıp*
ket- ditto.
qajde where?
qajnat- to cook; *qajnatever-* (< *qaj-*
natip ber-) to cook.
qal- to remain, to be; *qalip tur-*
to remain, to stay.
qamiş reed.
qançe how many?; *bir q.* some.

qap sack.
qara- to look at, to gaze at, to aim at; *qaraməj* without regard; *qarap* in the direction of, against.
qar'in stomach, belly.
qaš eyebrow.
qatir- to make hard, to pack together.
qatre 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, bosom, coat.
qorq- to fear, to be frightened; *qorqap ket-* ditto.
qoš- to add, to put the horse in; *qošuväl-* ditto.
qrq forty.
quj- to pour.
qujan hare.
qujušqan 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: kal-* 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.
sinig ~ *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.
soŋ 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.
suyek bone.
siv- to smear.
süder- ~ *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 ~ *šašlöp* in a hurry.
šepa:t palm, the flat of something
[VÁMBÉRY, Čag. Sprachst. 302
شآبات *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 شواق
šusak (Sart.) der Wermuth].
šul that etc., as *šu*.
šundan ~ *šunden* from there.
šundaq so.
šunde there.
tabe P. v. *paj t.* shoe-socks.
taj mountain.
tahsin A. approbation; *t. qil-* to
approve.
taj foal.
tam roof.
tama:m A. the whole, complete,
wholly.
ta'maša P. show, spectacle.
tap- to find; *tapip kel-* to find.
tapa tipi onomatopoeic for a noise,
cf. p. 38, n. 1.
tapt [P. تاب] heat.
ta:r narrow, tight.
taraq a rattle, rumble.
tariq millet.
tart- to draw, to pul, to weigh;
tartip (*ta:tip*) *kör-* to weigh.
tašla- to throw; *tašlap al-* to take;
tašlap ket- to throw away; *tašlap*
ibar- to throw down.
teg(i) bottom; *tegidε* under.
teğirman mill.
tepe ~ *töpe* top, upper side. a hill.
teše adze.
tere skin.
teš- to perforate, to make a hole in.
tij knife-blade.
tize knee.
toj wedding.
tol- to fill; *tolup qal-* to fill, to be
filled.
tolat- to fill.
toqom 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.
tutual- (< *tutup al-*) to take, to
grasp.
tüget- (cf. *tüge-*) to cause to come
to an end, to finish.
tünek skylight, window in the roof.
tüpek [P. تفك or تفنگ] a musket.
tipi v. *tapa*.
tüge- to come to an end.
tüs- to fall; *tüšüp ket-* to fall down;
tüšüp qal- to fall.
tüšür- to cause to fall down, to
put down.
u that.
učre- ~ *učura-* to meet, to encounter.

<i>uxla-</i> to sleep; <i>uxlap qal-</i> ditto.	<i>vaxt</i> A. time.
<i>ul</i> that.	<i>vaj</i> oh!
<i>un</i> flour.	<i>vε</i> A. and.
<i>ur-</i> to beat, to strike.	<i>vopuš ~ opuč</i> kiss.
<i>wra-</i> to roll up, to wrap up.	
<i>uruš</i> fight; <i>u. jat-</i> to be in fight.	<i>za:r</i> P. miserable, sorrowing, in sorrow.
<i>usur-</i> to fistle.	<i>zεkse</i> [R. <i>BAFC</i> , cf. p. 45, n. 3] marriage-office.
<i>uza:</i> (< <i>uza:γ</i>) far off, far away.	<i>zεrb</i> A. force, violence.
<i>üč</i> three.	<i>zor</i> P. force, strength, violence.
<i>üj ~ öj</i> house.	
<i>üstün</i> upper part, roof.	
<i>üš ~ uš ~ üš</i> three, cf. <i>üč</i> .	

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سولتان ره جانقولى وه عه بدوره حمان كهرهه، روسچه-ئوزبیکچه موكه
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