

NOTES ON MENGES'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY
OF ĤALİŞ'S STORY OF İBRĀHİM

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In volume LIV (1977) of *Der Islam* K. H. Menges devotes eleven pages to a review of my edition of *The Story of İbrāhīm*, a Central Asian Turkic work by a certain Ĥālīş. His review is in the form of an article with the vague title "Zu einem spät-čayatajischen Gedicht" (As Regards a Late Chagatay Poem). Only from a footnote does the reader learn that it is "gleichzeitig" (at the same time) a discussion of my book. This arrangement is unfortunate because it limits the accessibility of the review. It is also inappropriate because, as we shall see, the article is not in fact what it purports to be.

In the course of his discussion Menges recommends more than a hundred corrections to my edition. Of this total only three, all misprints or clerical errors, are valid. The rest of his recommendations, as will be shown, are erroneous, unfounded, or inapplicable. Before discussing them in detail, however, I want to touch upon Menges's general attitude to Ĥālīş's poem and to my critical edition of it because it is there that most of the differences in our views have their roots.

1. Menges did not realize the linguistic and literary value of Ĥālīş's poem. For him Late Chagatay, the language of *The Story of İbrāhīm*, is a "nicht mehr so gutes, nachklassisches, teilweise sogar schlechtes, popularisiertes Čayatajisch" (no longer so good, post-classical, in parts even bad (!), popularized Chagatay) in which there existed "keinerlei bekannte, nennenswerte Literatur" (no known and noteworthy [!] literature). Lacking any appreciation of popular works in Late Chagatay, Menges, of course, could not say anything about the importance of our document for the history of Central Asian Turkic literature or the history of the Turkic languages.

I cannot share Menges's negative attitude. In my view popular Islamic works in general and Ĥālīş's poem in particular are vital sources

for linguistic and literary research. As a linguistic document *The Story of Ibrāhīm* reflects the colloquial layer of Chagatay: It was written in a popular style for a broad audience. Its language had, therefore, to be simple, very close to the spoken idiom, if indeed it was not the spoken idiom itself in the polished and disciplined form required by the topic and the rules of prosody. Furthermore, this work is a primary source also in the sense that its author composed it in his own idiom, in a language he himself spoke and in which, therefore, he was fully competent, unlike poets of the high style literature who used an artificial idiom which they could not always master. The importance of such a work for grammatical and lexical studies is obvious.

As a literary work Ḥālīş's poem represents the rich and colorful popular religious literature of the Central Asian Turks, and Ḥālīş, with his *Story of Ibrāhīm* and his recently discovered *hikmats* (K. Erarslan, "Halis'in hikmetleri [The Aphorisms of Ḥālīş], " *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, XX [1973], 105–156) continues the great tradition of Aḥmad Yasavī (the author of the *Dīvān-i Hikmat*), 'Alī (the author of the *Qişsa-i Yūsuf*), and Maḥmūd Yüknāgī (the author of the *'Atabatul-ḥaqa'iq*). The discovery of his works is significant especially because it enables us to learn more about the silenced or forgotten Islamic heritage of the Turks of Central Asia.

2. From the expectations that Menges expresses at several points it is obvious that he did not understand the objectives of my text edition. In *The Story of Ibrāhīm* he wanted to see applied the same principles we find in his edition of New Uygur texts from Katanov's notes (*Volkskundliche Texte aus Ost-Türkistan* [Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1976]), that is, (a) emphasis on historicolinguistic curiosities with very little interest in language description, (b) emphasis on the original or etymological meanings of words in the interpretation of the text with little regard to their contextual meanings. These principles, however, were unsuitable for the double purpose of my edition: (a) to provide source material for those interested in popular Islamic literature—the English translation was meant to make this source available also for those with no knowledge of the Chagatay language; (b) to provide a source for lexicographic studies, more specifically, for a much needed Eastern Middle-Turkic-English Dictionary which my research group has undertaken.

In order to achieve these objectives I took a different course from the one Menges followed in his *Volkskundliche Texte* [(a) On the basis

of a descriptive analysis of the language of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* I attempted to produce a translation of the work which accurately conveys the author's intention. (b) On the basis of this translation I compiled a glossary with special attention to phrases, idioms, and set expressions and to their exact meanings. (c) On the basis of this glossary I prepared an English-Turkic word index to the poem in order to facilitate access to the lexical material for the work. (d) I included a normalized transcription of the text for convenience but also attached the original in facsimile because I regard it as the final authority in textual problems. All references are made according to the facsimile. I did not intend to settle unsolved issues of Altaic linguistics or to ruminate on those that others had already solved.

3. In his review Menges very rarely addresses himself to issues relevant to the poem. Instead, casting about for opportunities to reiterate favorite topics and ideas from his book *The Turkic Languages and Peoples* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), he, quite frequently, manages to find a place for them by absurd inferences, misquotations, and falsifications.

Now I will comment on Menges's critical remarks in the sequence in which they occur in his review.

General issues

Did Chagatay die or was it eliminated?— In the introductory part of his review Menges characterizes the Chagatay language as a supra-national literary language, employed by the Turks in East and West Turkistan, which in its late period deteriorated completely and was replaced by what he calls national languages of the area such as Uzbek, Karakalpak, and so on. This view has two unacceptable implications: One is that *The Story of Ibrāhīm*, being in late and, therefore, bad Chagatay, is worthless as a linguistic or literary document, an issue that I have treated above. The other is that the disappearance of a literary idiom common to the Turks of Central Asia was the natural consequence of its decay and was unrelated to Soviet colonization policy. This view overlooks the fact that Soviet authorities banned Chagatay in all its forms in order to prevent any movement toward unification among the Turks of the Soviet Union.

The central theme of the poem.— On the second page of his paper Menges devotes a paragraph to a discussion of the subject matter of Ḥālīṣ's poem. Without any direct reference, Menges partly repeats what I

say in my book, partly deviates in essence from the view that I presented there. It is the latter that should interest us. Menges maintains that the central theme of the work is the highly dramatic decision that Muḥammad was forced to make between the life of his son Ibrāhīm and the guardianship of his young (?) Community and that God put his prophet to this test in order to try his "Hingabe an seine geistliche Pflicht" (devotion to his spiritual obligation).

This interpretation is inaccurate and superficial. As I have indicated in my book, God imposed not one, but two tests on his prophet. Furthermore it was not Muḥammad's devotion to his spiritual obligation that the Most High wanted to test. That had been accomplished during the Prophet's previous visit to Hell where, forced to choose between his parents and his Community, he had decided for the latter.

In *The Story of Ibrahim* the two tests were imposed on Muḥammad with different objectives. With the first test God sought to determine whether Muḥammad was trustworthy enough to qualify for the guardianship of the Community, whether he could manage what had been entrusted to him (*amānat*) with the necessary care (*ṣiyanat*), resisting any temptation to commit a fraud (*hiyānat*). He asked Muḥammad to offer up the soul of one of three children: Ibrāhīm, his own child, or either Ḥasan or Ḥusayn, the children entrusted to his care. The Prophet thus had to choose between his own property and property deposited with him. He decided to sacrifice his own child rather than one of the others, saying

amānatgä qılalmas män hiyānat
amānatgä keräk bizdin ṣiyanat

"I cannot violate the trust of (those who) have entrusted something to me. One must protect what has been left to one in trust!" Muḥammad passed the test by demonstrating that he was worthy of being entrusted with the care of his Community. God, satisfied with the Prophet's answer, would not have insisted on carrying out the sacrifice. This can be inferred from the fact that up to this point the whole case was handled through the mediation of Gabriel.

The need for a second test appears when the Prophet manifests his fatherly attachment to Ibrāhīm and creates the impression that for him nothing is more important than his own child. Displeased with this development, God decides that the test Muḥammad had passed during his visit to Hell must be repeated: The Prophet must now choose

between his son and the Community. This time He commissions Qābīzu'l-arvāḥ, the Soultaker Angel, to communicate His intent to Muḥammad.

Muḥammad, without hesitation, again makes the right choice. The incident that has befallen him, however, makes him realize how easy it is for one to lapse into one's weakness— a danger to which the members of his Community are exposed at every moment. In an attempt to guard his Community against damnation, the Prophet asks God for the right to intercede with Him for his Community on the Day of Resurrection. Menges's suggestion later in his article (page 318) that the Prophet asked God to grant "das Recht der Vorwegnahme" (right of preemption) for his Community, is an error that comes from Menges's misunderstanding of the word *šifā'at*.

The image of the Angel of Death.— In the same section of his paper Menges presents a distorted image of the Angel of Death. According to him Qābīz appears here as an "unheimlich" (eerie) figure who "in sadistischer Weise" (in a sadistic manner) thrusts his claw into the soul of the child and finds this act sweeter than honey. The suggestion that the Death Angel acted in the manner of a sadist shows that Menges misunderstood the phrase "sweeter than honey." Furthermore, in our text the Death Angel appears as a stern but patient and understanding figure, who, in carrying out his duty, grants Muḥammad and his son a number of favors he would never grant to anyone else. He himself says:

munuṅ teg šafqatī heč kingä qilmam
ki män šāh gadānī hēč bilmäm

"I do not show such kindness to anyone else, for I do not distinguish between king and beggar."

Menges misunderstood the phrasal verb /-ğa/ *čang sal-*, which here does not mean "to thrust one's claw into s. th." but rather "to seize, to lay a hand on s. th." as it does in Modern Uzbek (A.K. Borovkov, *Uzbeksko-russkii slovar'* [Moscow: State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries, 1959], p. 515a). I based my translation "At that moment 'Izrā'il put his claw on Ibrāhīm's soul" on this meaning.

The Soultaker Angel generally appears as God's indifferent agent. His clients, however, experience the act he is ordered to carry out as either smooth or painful according to whether or not they were good Muslims. Menges's edition of Katanov's notes has an interesting des-

cription of an incident when Qābiz takes the soul of a person who was had Muslim because he neglected his ritual purification and prayer:

bī-namāzdin cān alur
 tōmür čängälni salur
 qiyin birlän cān alur
 ay qorqmaýan bī-namāz,

“The Soultaker reaches out with his iron claw and from the unclean one takes his soul, inflicting great pain as he does so. Hark ye, Unclean One, who Have no Fear!”

(*Volkskundliche Texte*, II. 60. Menges did not realize that the quatrain describes the Death Angel's task).

The expression “sweeter than honey.”—As I have indicated above, this phrase is not used here as the expression of sadistic pleasures the Death Angel experiences at the moment of taking Ibrāhīm's soul. When Qābiz says *bu cān almaq ‘asaldin ham sücüg dur* “this soultaking is sweeter than honey” he hints at how easy it was for him to carry out his task since Ibrāhīm willingly yielded up his precious soul. Qābiz's statement is associated with the expression “sweet (= precious) soul” (*tatlī cān*, *cān-i širin*, and so on) commonly used in Turkic and Persian literatures.

The phrases “‘āšī ummat” and “camī‘-i ‘āšīlar.”—In the same passage Menges quotes from my text the phrases *‘āšī ummat* and *camī‘ ‘āšīlar* both of which he translates as “die sündige Gemeinde” (the sinful Community). I, however, translate the second as “the Community of Sinners.”

Phonemic Structure

Graphemes and phonemes.—Menges's remarks on the phonemic structure of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* stem from the misconception that Latin transcriptions of Eastern Middle Turkic texts in the Arabic script can reproduce the phonetic form of the language or dialect in which they were written. Menges expects us to call to life a spoken form of a language with the same accuracy that we would describe a modern dialect with the help of native informants. His expectation is absurd. We do not know the exact pronunciation of a great many lexical items in Turkic texts written in the Arabic script because (a) the Arabic writing system does not fully reveal the phonetic form of the language, and (b) the scribes who produced our manuscript were concerned not with single phonemes, but with whole words.

This situation has two implications. One is that an Arabic grapheme, even in languages with a well-established orthography and more so in Turkic where the orthography was not so stable, lends itself to a great variety of readings. In fact, people competent in different dialects of the same language would read the same Arabic grapheme differently: accordingly *امانه* was probably read as *amānat*, *āmānāt*, *ūmanāt*, and so on. The speaker of one dialect would certainly also read *The Story of Ibrāhīm* with a different pronunciation from the speaker of another. It is obvious, then, that the orthography of our manuscript alone would never allow us to establish precisely the phonetic form of the language of our document. This we could do only if we also knew what dialect Ḥālīş spoke and for which language community he created his work. Unfortunately we do not.

The second implication is that the scribes who copied our manuscripts were not trained phoneticians eager to provide us with a detailed picture of the phonemic structure of their language. Their immediate goal was to provide only the graphic detail necessary for the reader to recognize the word as a whole. Therefore, the omission of a *mater lectionis* or the suppression of some diacritics were not necessarily errors, but simply the result of efforts at economy. This explains why Eastern Middle-Turkic—contrary to Menges's view—had no firmly established orthography and also why orthographical inconsistencies in manuscripts should not uncritically be taken as evidence for phenomena within the language.

Chagatay, a supranational literary idiom.—While the fact that the Arabic writing system as applied to Turkic did not record the exact phonetic form of any particular dialect and permitted variety in the phonetic realization of the texts produced in it may appear to students of Turkic historical phonetics as an imperfection, it was in fact a great advantage for the Turks of Central Asia. It played a vital role in shaping the “supranational” character of Chagatay literature: every literate Turk, regardless of tribe or nationality, could read Chagatay works in the pronunciation of his native dialect. Thus the Classical Chagatay language—which Menges regards as a literary idiom detached from the colloquial tongue of the broader masses and used only by the elite—was a homogeneous literary idiom, strictly speaking, only in writing.

In the late thirties Stalin sought to destroy the cohesive force that the Arabic script exerted on the various Turkic nationalities of the So-

viet Union by replacing it with a different version of the Cyrillic script for each Turkic language.

Chagatay in the Arabic script was for most Turkic peoples not a different language but only a different style, the difference being mostly in choice of words and, to some extent, in a few morphological features. Thus when the Anagolian poet Mehmed, the author of the *'Işq-nâma*, came upon an Eastern Middle Turkic work, which he called Tatar, he could read it without difficulty. He observed that its language differed from his native Old Anatolian only in a few forms such as *algay*, *bolğay*, and in simplicity of expression (S. Yüksel, *Mehmed Işk-nâme* [Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1965], p. 72). The closeness of their literary idiom to Chagatay enabled poets in Anatolia to write poems in Chagatay (see O. Sertkaya, "Osmanlı şâirlerinin Çağatayca Şiirleri IV, *TDED*, XXIII [1977], 169-189). Chagatay works in the Arabic script constituted a common literary stock for the peoples of different Turkic nationalities. To this stock belonged Hâliş's *Story of Ibrâhîm*. It was "supranational" in the Arabic script, but "multinational" as it was recited, that is, it was pronounced according to the native dialect of the person who recited it.

Normalized transcriptions.— To properly reflect what the Arabic script reveals, it is traditional in publications of Eastern Turkic documents to produce a normalized Latin transcription of texts in Arabic characters. This transcription is not a *phonetic* rendering of the Turkic text, but a *phonemic* interpretation of the Arabic script and is carried out according to a set of rules of normalization. These rules may vary somewhat from editor to editor. In my publications I follow these principles: Arabic and Persian words are transcribed according to their classical phonemic value. Turkic words are transcribed according to their phonemic value as it is in the literature established for the period in question by the historical and comparative method.

This transcription, even on the phonemic level, operates with different degrees of certainty. In *amânat-gä*, for example, the nature of the consonants and the length of the vowels are more or less certain. The quality of the short vowels, on the other hand, is more difficult to determine. But this is as close as we can come. Menges's speculations to the effect that *amânat-gä* is "phonetisch falsch" (phonetically incorrect), that the /a/ in *küdak* cannot be a back vowel, or that Persian *yaksar* must have been pronounced *yäksär* indicate that he did not understand the objectives and the nature of the normalized transcription,

Since he treats my normalized Latin version of the text as if it were a phonetic transcription of the poem, his conclusions are not relevant.

The prosodic value of the izāfat -i.—At the end of this part of his discussion Menges asks me why the *izāfat* marker *-i* is sometimes long, sometimes short in my transcription. Here is my answer: In Classical Persian prosody, the rules of which also apply in Eastern Middle Turkic, certain vowels in certain functions are *anceps*, that is, either long /—/ or short /◡ /, depending on metrical requirements. Among these vowels is the *izāfat* marker *-i* (see C. Saleman and V. Shukovski, *Persische Grammatik* [Berlin: Verlag von Reuther & Reichard, 1925], pp. 99–102, or other elementary Persian grammars which treat prosody). Following the practice of such outstanding orientalists as J. Eckmann, C. Saleman, and V. Shukovski, I use long *-i* for an *izāfat* marker only in those places in the poem where the meter of the line requires it. Elsewhere in my book—in the glossary, index, and so on—I do not do so because it is not inherent in the phonemic structure of the language.

Morphology

In his discussion of my notes on the morphology of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* Menges fails to address himself to actual issues. Instead, he repeats from his *Turkic Languages* some of his idiosyncratic views on Turkic grammar (on, for example, iterative verbs in *-a*, compound verbs, Ottomanisms in Chagatay, and so on), uses them as norms, and then assigns blame where he observes disagreement with them. None of his recommendations are acceptable.

The accusative suffix -n.—In my discussion of the morphology of Ḥālīs's work I state that the accusative case ending *-ni* / *-nī* is shortened to *-n* when it appears on nouns with the third person singular possessive suffix. Menges interprets this descriptive statement to mean that the suffix *-n* developed historically from *-nī* / *ni* and takes issue with this view. While I did not intend to discuss this issue in my edition of *The Story of Ibrāhīm*, now that he has brought it up I will take the opportunity to say a few words about it.

The origin of the accusative marker *-n* on nouns with a third person singular possessive suffix and its relationship to the more generally used accusative marker *-ni* is a controversial issue in Turkic philology. Menges himself has held various views on it. His earliest ("Die Aralokaspische Gruppe," *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1959], p. 466) was that *-n* is not a case suffix

but the pure pronominal stem **in-*. Later (*Turkic Languages*, p. 114) he regards it as the contracted form of **in-in*, that is, the stem form of **i-* plus the accusative case ending *-in*. Here, in his review of *The Story of Ibrāhīm*, he comes up with something new: He claims that *-n* is a case suffix, more precisely, the old form of the accusative case ending. He also tells us that *-n* is a survival in the later Oghuz and Kipchak languages and an archaism in Chagatay where it was "gern zu metrischen Zwecken verwendet" (often used for metrical purposes).

Menges's latest view, in which he follows Brockelmann (*Osttürkische Grammatik*, p. 76) and others, is probably correct in regard to the origin of *-n* on nouns with a third person singular possessive suffix. Whether such accusative forms in later dialects are survivals, archaisms, or shortened variants of those in *-nī* with which they coexist, is still an open question.

It is a fact, however, that, contrary to Menges's view, the accusative ending *-n* on nouns with a third person singular possessive suffix is not an archaism in Chagatay but a free variant of *-nī* in the same position in both high style and low style and that its use here is not restricted to poetry. In prose we may cite the following examples: Bābur: *'israt paymānalarin toldurup* "They filled the goblets used at the feast" (*Bāburnāma*, selection in Eckmann's *Chagatay Manual*, p. 254); Navā'i: *pādšsāh aning hāli kayfiyatın sorup* "The king asked him how he was" (*Tārīh-i Anbiyā*, in Eckmann's *Chagatay Manual*, p. 263); Yūsuf Amīri: *hamdamlik da'vāsın qılur ārdi* "He claimed closeness to him" (*Bang u çagır* 337a:6 from R. Jaekel's forthcoming edition, *Yūsuf Amīri's Bhang and Wine A Popular Fifteenth Century Chagatay Work*). Thus there are no grounds for suggesting that *-n* was used in Chagatay for metrical purposes alone.

The genitive case ending -nī.— Menges remarks that *-nī* occurs "in heutigen özbekischen Dialekten, vor allem aber dem von Taskent" (in the Uzbek dialects of today, most of all in that of Tashkent). His statement is inaccurate and incomplete: (a) Today not all Uzbek dialects have the genitive form in *-nī*. Borovkov says that it occurs "in a number of Uzbek dialects" (*Grammatika sovremennogo uzbekskogo literaturnogo yazıka* [Moscow: Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1960], p. 91). Eckmann states that it is present "in some uzbek dialects of today" *Chagatay manual* [The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966], p. 83). (b) This suffix is much more widely used. It is attested in Chagatay (*ibid.*, p. 83), in Kumük (Benzing,

“Das Kumükische,” *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1959], p. 399), and in New Uygur (O. Pritzak, “Das Neuuygurische,” *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1969], p. 546).

Case forms in -i and -a.— Menges's view that in *The Story of Ibrāhīm* the accusative form *sizi* and the dative forms *sizlārā*, *cavāba*, are Ottomanisms must also be rejected. Such forms are found in Eastern Middle Turkic documents written long before Ḥāliš's poem, even before Ottoman became an established literary idiom. For example, the *Mu'īnu'l-murīd* (1313) has the forms *sizā*, *bizā*, *yüzā*, *közā*, the *Mahabbatnāma* (1353), the forms *sizā*, *ancāma*, *yāra*. Even assuming the possibility of such borrowing, why would a pious Central Asian minstrel turn to Ottoman for a few anomalous case forms? It is more probable that such forms were borrowed from the Azeri or Turkmen dialects with which Central Asian authors were in direct contact.

The phrase *cavāba turdī*, incidentally, does not mean “er stand auf zur Antwort” (he stood up to answer). It simply means “he answered” but with the implication that his answer was delivered in response to a challenge. Menges is wrong in stating that the Persian equivalent of this phrase is *bar cavāb bar hāst*. He should have acquiesced in the form I gave, that is, *ba cavāb bar hāst* because according to the rules of Persian *bar hāstan* takes its nominal complement with the preposition *ba*, for example, *ba munāza'at bar hāstand* “they rose in rebellion” (J. Platts, *The Gulistan of Shaikh Muslihu'd din Sa'dī of Shirāz* [2nd ed.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1874], p. 20). Menges's *bar cavāb bar hāst* does not exist in Persian.

Demonstrative pronouns.— Menges warms up Bang's view that Turkic once had a demonstrative pronoun *an-* which in the early history of this language was replaced by *ol* or *o* in the nominative case but survived in other case forms and in adverbial forms such as *andağ*. This theory was never convincingly proven. Along with Munkácsy (*Keleti Szemle* XVIII, p. 132), Brockelmann (*Osttürkische Grammatik der Islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954], p. 77), and others I believe that forms such as *alar*, *anlar*, or *andağ* have nothing to do with a demonstrative *an-* but were formed from the oblique case root of the demonstrative pronoun *ol*.

Postpositions.— In discussing my chapter on postpositions Menges defines Turkic secondary postpositions inadequately. He says secondary postpositions are “Nomina, die in postpositionaler Funktion auf-

treten können" (nouns that can appear in postpositional function). He disregards the nature of the grammatical structure in which secondary postpositions occur. Furthermore, when he says nouns he means only words which, by way of etymology, can be traced back to nouns. His understanding of secondary postpositions is erroneous because it mixes functional criteria with etymological considerations and is useless for descriptive purposes. To illustrate: Menges puts both *üst* and *üçün* in the category of secondary postpositions, because *üst* is itself a noun and because *üçün* etymologically is derived from a noun, *uç*. But this interpretation does not account for the differences in the grammatical construction of the phrases in which *üst* and *üçün* occur. The absurdity of Menges's concept of postpositions emerges clearly when he is unable to put *birlä* or *bilän* into one of his categories because the etymologies of these words have not yet been established!

In my definition of primary and secondary postpositions I follow the generally accepted view of grammarians of Turkic: Primary postpositions follow the nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative, or locative cases of the noun they govern without themselves undergoing a morphological change, for example, *üçün* in *'āšī ummatlar üçün* "for the sake of the sinful Community." Secondary postpositions, on the other hand, follow the nominative or genitive cases of the noun they govern and have a possessive suffix plus the dative, locative, or ablative case endings, depending on the relationship they express, for example, *üst* in *taht üstidü* "on the throne." The key point in this distinction is that secondary postpositions require a possessive suffix, primary postpositions do not. This distinction assigns different places for *üçün* and *üst* in the classification, which is in full agreement with their grammatical use.

Menges errs also in details. *Dek* is not an enclitic but a primary postposition. It does not derive from the verb *täg-* "to reach," but from *te-* "to call, to refer to as" through the derivation suffix *-g*, as Brockelmann has shown (*Ost-türkische Grammatik*, p. 172). *Sarı* does not derive from *sīngari*, but from the noun *sar* "direction" (see *ibid.*, p. 171). *Ara* in our document occurs only as a primary postposition and, in reference to the language of this document, can only be described as such.

"*Tufayl*".— Our text has this word both as a Turkic postposition and as a Persian preposition in a Persian phrase. Menges asks me for a lexico-semantic explanation which I now provide: First of all, *tufayl*

is not a preposition in Arabic and does not mean "for the sake of" in that language, as Menges suggests. The meaning and function of this word in the language of *The Story of Ibrāhīm*, Modern Uzbek, or Tajik derives from the colloquial Persian spoken in India. Phillott's *Higher Persian Grammar* (Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press, 1919) has it in the example *zindagī-yi man bi-tufayl-i šuma mahfūz mānda ast* "my life has been saved by your means" (p. 338), Vullers includes it in his *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* (Bonnae ad Rhenum: Impensis Adolphi Marci, 1855) "ling. vulg. Hind. 'caussa', in app. 'for the sake [of]'" (II, 544) as Platts did in his *Hindustan Dictionary* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1884) "cause, means, instrumentality, intervention, (syn. *wasīla*, *zarī'a*)" (II, 73a).

The information that Menges volunteers from Steingass's dictionary, that is, that *Tufayl* was the name of a poet from Kufa, and so on, has no relevance to the use of *tufayl* in our text. Neither do I share his concern that non-Arabists may not "ohne weiteres" know about this curiosity. They, too, may have chanced to read the first anecdotes in Brünow-Fisher's chrestomathy or may themselves look up this word in Steingass.

Augmented verbs.—Some of Menges's criticisms stem from his failure to recognize the nature of certain linguistic phenomena or from his failure to keep up with the latest research. This was the case with augmented verbs.

As is known, Middle Turkic has a group of verbs which have two stems, a shorter one with a final consonant, and a longer one with an *-a*, *-i*, or *-u* extension. Since there is no traceable semantic or functional difference between the two forms, the longer forms are conventionally referred to as augmented or extended variants of the shorter stems, or simply, augmented stems. Brockelmann uses the term "Stamm-erweiterung" for this phenomenon and lists twenty-one such verbs (*Osttürkische Grammatik*, pp. 199–200). I have discovered five more: *sana*— "to count" (< *san*-); *sosa*— "to stretch" (< *soz*-); *tālbārā*— "to talk nonsense" (< *tālbār*-); *yīgra*— "to be angry with" (< *yīgīr*-); *yulu*— "to tear off" (< *yul*-).

One verb from this list, *sora*— "to ask" (< *sor*-), occurs in *The Story of Ibrāhīm*. I thought it worth mentioning in my notes on morphology.

Menges did not realize that I was discussing a well-known and elementary fact of Middle Turkic and speculated that "Bei dem vom

Verfasser gewählten Ausdruck dächte man an ein Augment, wie Gr. ἘΦΕΡΟυ, Skr. á-b'aram 'ich trug', was ja in einer altajischen Sprache nicht in Frage kommen kann" (with the term chosen by the author one would think of an augment as Greek ἘΦΕΡΟυ, Sanskrit *abharam* [which Menges spells with an 'ayn as *ab'aram*] "I carried" which, however, is out of the question in the Altaic languages). For the same reason he also thought that I had invented the category of augmented verbs simply to account for the single verb *sora-*.

First to Menges's speculation about the meaning of the term "augmented verbs." The basic meaning of the English verb "to augment" is "to make greater in size, number, amount, degree... to increase, enlarge, extend" and not the specific act of forming the imperfect in Sanskrit or Greek. Menges was aware of this: In this *Turkic Languages* (p. 116) he also uses the derivative of the same verb when he describes what are generally called intensive adjectives as "adnominal nouns" with an augmentative [thank God, even *Webster's Third International* had the good sense not to record this word!] formation." I do not believe that he expected us, on reading his "augmentative," to muse on Sanskrit or Greek morphology. Therefore, I do not think that Menges in his remarks on my use of "augmented verbs" is consistent, or even serious.

"*Sora-*" an iterative verb?—Menges does not accept the category of augmented verbs. He insists that *sora-* is an iterative verb, that is, a verb expressing something like "to ask frequently, keep on asking," derived from *sor-* "to ask" by means of what he calls the iterative formant *-a/ -ä*. On the basis of the text of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* he attempts to establish a contrast—*sor-* for a single action versus *sora-* for a repeated action. His attempt fails: The distribution of the two forms in the text does not show any semantic contrast whatsoever: A single event is expressed by *sora-* (76r:2 and 79v: 7) as well as by *sor-* (74v: 10 and 74v: 11). The iterative meaning that Menges observes for *sora-* in 79v:7 is achieved by the adverbial phrase *her zamān* "always, every time," not by the verb alone, in the same way as *bir bir* "one by one, one after the other," conveys the iterative meaning with *sor-* in 81v: 11, where Menges observes only a single action. In 76v:3 it is the adverbial phrase *sorap izlāp* that suggests an iterative sense. Incidentally, in 76r: 3, one of the three places Menges cites in an attempt to prove that *sora-* is used iteratively, neither *sora-* nor *sor-* occur.

Modern dialects also fail to support Menges's view: Not a single

one has *sora-* in an iterative sense independently of or in contrast to *sor-* as the verb for a single, noniterative action. While Uzbek, which, incidentally, Menges does not mention; has both *sora-* and *sor-*, the former in standard usage, the latter as a provincial term, the two verbs do not differ in meaning (see Borovkov, *Uzbeksko-ruski slovar*, p. 394 p.v. *sora-*, and *sor-*, respectively). Bashkir, which is also missing from Menges's list, has only *hora-* and that only in a noniterative sense (See Ahmerov, *Bashkirsko-ruskiĭ Slovar*, [Moscow: State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries, 1958], p. 630a) New Uygur *sura-* is also noniterative. Menges himself translates it as such in his recent reprint of his articles on Katanov's notes: *bir balesi tola bolgan kiši u adämđin buğuday surap kälđi* "Ein kinderreicher Mann bot ihn um Weizen" (A man with many children asked him for wheat) (*Volkskundliche Texte* II, 72). Elsewhere in his translation Menges even emphasizes that *sora-* refers to a single action: *bir kiši uluğ kišidin suredi: 'Tüşümdä azān oquđum' dep* "Ein Mann fragte [einmal] einen Grossen: 'Ich habe im Traum zum Gebet gerufen!'" (A man [once] asked a great man, 'In my dream I was giving the call to prayer. [What is the meaning of my dream?]) (ibid., II, 107).

Let it be noted here that Turkic philology has never demonstrated the existence of an iterative verb formed by means of the *-a / -ä* suffix.

Descriptive verbs.— In his comments on what I call descriptive verbs Menges repeats his old mistake (*The Turkic Languages*, pp. 145, 157) of applying the term "verbal" composition" to the process of forming verbal phrases and grammatical structures including verbs. The result of this process is not a compound word and the fact that Menges connects the elements with a hyphen (*qorqup-oltursang*, ibid., p. 151) does not make them so. Often the constituents of such phrases are separated by other elements of the sentence, as for example, in Bashkir *gazeta uqıp yä radio tınglap ultırdıng mı argäğä kilap yatä* "Whenever you were reading the papers or listening to the radio she would come up [to you]." In order to regard [*uqıp + tınglap*] + *ultırdıng* as a compound, Menges must postulate that each element in a compound may have its own separate complements, which may come between the elements of the compound. But how could such a formation be called a compound? Because the components of such structures may have separate complements, they would not qualify even for what Brugmann calls "Fernkomposita" (distant compounds).

Phrasal verbs.— Nor can I agree with Menges's inadequate descrip-

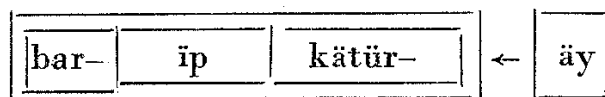
tion of phrasal verbs of the type *cavâb bâr-* "to answer." The nominal part of such phrases is not, contrary to what Menges says, necessarily a loan word. The very earliest Turkic literature contains phrasal verbs with Turkic nouns or adjectives as the nominal element, for example, *taş et-* "to lose" (*Gulistân bi't-turki*, 89v:3), *yanut qıl-* "to answer" (Arat, *Atebetü'l-hakayık* [Istanbul: Ateş Basımevi, 1951], p. lxxi). This formation was, therefore, not alien to Turkic. It is also erroneous to label the verbal elements of such phrases as auxiliary verbs. Here they do not complement or modify the meaning of a main verb, but form a verb from a noun or adjective. The result, *cavâb bâr-*, *takallum äylä-* and so on, is a derivative phrase with verbal function, which I refer to as a phrasal verb. *Takallum äylä-*, incidentally, does not mean "anreden" (to address), as Menges claims, but simply "to speak, to talk" (see J.W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon* [Constantinople: H. Matteosian, 1921], p. (83).

Verbal phrases to express modality.— Menges contests the widely held view that a verbal phrase consisting of an *-a* gerund plus *al-* "to take," *bâr-* "to give," or *bol-* "to be/become" expresses modality. He maintains that it (again, he calls it, wrongly, "Kompositum" [compound] expresses aspect. He insists that such a phrase can only have a modal function if it expresses what is conditional, unreal, or potential. The three phrases in question are *tâqat qılalmay* (< *qıla almay*) "he cannot endure (it)," *aza bolmanğ* "[that] you may not fail," and *dikäy* (~ *tükä-y*) *bärmäs* "she will never tire (of telling you)."

Menges confuses the concepts "aspectual" and "modal." Aspect is "a category that indicates whether the action or state denoted by the verb is viewed as completed or in progress, as instantaneous or enduring, as momentary or habitual, etc." (M. Pei and Frank Geynor, *Dictionary of Linguistics* [Totowa: Littlefield, Adams & Co., p. 19]; a more complete listing of aspects will be found in O. Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar* [New York, The Norton Library, 1965], pp. 286–289). The three phrasal verbs above do not belong in this category. Menges's modal category, with the subcategories conditional, unreal (I would prefer to call it hypothetical), and potential, on the other hand, is very narrow as well as illogical. It does not include national moods containing an element of will such as the jussive, compulsive, permissive, desiderative, and so on, and of those containing no element of will it includes only three. But even his brief list has a place for *tâqat qılalmay* and *aza bolmanğ*, which belong in the subcategory called potential.

Mood is a much broader category than Menges thinks. It expresses "certain attitudes of the mind of the speaker toward the contents of the sentence" (*ibid.*, p. 313). The speaker may regard an action or a state feasible or not feasible, possible or impossible, permitted or not permitted, directed to the subject or to something other than the subject, and so on. Our *dikäy bärmäs* belongs to the latter subcategory. I think it was the same confusion about mood and aspect that led Menges in his *Turkic Languages* to concoct such weird grammatical terms as "imperative finite forms" (p. 149), or "nomen verbale temporis . . . with a slight inchoative tinge" p. 156).

Barip in emphatic use.— Menges does not agree with my statement that *barip* with a verb in the imperative, voluntative, or optative form constitutes a verbal phrase in which it has an emphatic function conveying the meaning "go now, mind that, [I] surely would" and the like. He takes up only one example, *barip kätüräy* "(permit me) to bring him here," and says that here the emphasis "durch den Imperative ausgedrückt ist, nicht aber durch die Verbalkomposition" (is expressed through the imperative and not through the verbal compound). Here, as so frequently in his review, Menges has trouble identifying grammatical categories: *kätüräy* is not an imperative but a voluntative form in the first person singular. Furthermore, *barip kätüräy* is not a verbal compound but a verbal phrase based on a syntactic structure of coordination: The first constituent *bar-* "to go" is coordinated with *kätüräy* by means of the *-p* gerund marker, yielding the structure



For my translating this phrase as "(permit me) to bring him here" two further facts should be noted: (a) From the two coordinated verbs only the second, the nonconstant member of the structure, plays the role of the main verb— as will be illustrated below. (b) The voluntative form, which Menges inappropriately calls "jussivischer Form (jussive form), beyond indicating the subject's will or readiness to perform an action, is also used to request permission to carry out the action of the main verb.

Menges neglected to tell his readers that *barip kätüräy* is not the only occurrence of *barip* in *The Story of Ibrāhīm*: We also have *barip aytiṅg* "go [now] and tell" (79r:4), and *barip aygöl* id, (82v: /).

Three occurrences of this phrase structure in such a short text

suggest that we have here not an occasional construction in which each member displays its full meaning, but rather a grammatical model a meaning quite different from the sum total of the meanings of its constituents. That this is indeed the case can be best demonstrated with the following example from another work also from the colloquial level, Aḥmad's *Baraq-nāma: Haqq bilān barīp keliškā sān bu kūn* lit. "You should go [now] and meet your God today" (88v:3). Here the complement is governed not by the verb *bar-*, which would give us *Haqqa barīp*, but by *keliš* and, therefore, we have *Haqq bilān*. The gerund *barīp*, then, appears not in the function of a main verb, but rather as a modifier of *keliš*- yielding "go [now] and meet" > "you should meet." This phenomenon is identical with combinations of *kel* "come!" with the imperative form of another verb, as in *kel emdi saqīngil tafakkur bilā inanmaq ravā mu but tīngu yelā* "Come now, and meditate deeply on whether it is proper to put one's faith in this single-breath of wind" (*Mu'īnu'l-murīd* 179r: 15) or *valē kel āšitgil ayā 'āqil er: netāglār kārāk bilgū mu'min iši* "But come [now] and hear, O Wise Man, what one should consider the task of the believer" (177r:16). Here "come" urges the person addressed to carry out the action of the verb expressed in the imperative form.

"*Ār-*" and "*bol-*" in inflectional role.- Menges notes that in my list of descriptive verbs I have overlooked *ār-* and *bol-* as they occur "in temporalen Funktion, 'zusammengesetzte Tempora'" (in temporal function, as compound tenses). These verbs, however, in such function are not descriptive verbs: They do not modify the content of the verb (s) with which they are coordinated but rather express time relationship in the paradigm of verbal inflection. Their function, therefore, is not descriptive but inflectional.

Forms of the preterite of the aorist.- Menges suggests that the form *tökārdi* is a contraction of *tökār* plus *ārdi*. I, on the other hand, regard it as the aorist stem plus the definite past marker *-di*, just as it is in *baqārdi*, *aqārdi*, and so on. The contraction that Menges refers to is a historical phenomenon which accounts only for the development of the aorist stem plus *-di* form. It is not a phenomenon that is evident in the language of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* where such forms occur parallel with aorist stem plus *ārdi* structures, such as *oynar erdi*, *oqur erdi*, *söyār erdi*, and so on, with no apparent reason for contracting one and not the other. It would be much more appropriate to say that in this document the preterite of the aorist occurs in two forms: either aorist stem plus suffix *-di* or aorist stem plus the auxiliary verb *ār-* in the past tense.

The state of research on decriptive verbs.— Menges disagrees with my assessment that “descriptive verbs in the Eastern Turkic Languages have not yet been fully investigated.” He says there are eight “grund-sätzliche Darstellungen” (fundamental descriptions)— four of them his own—which I should have considered. Menges, again, countradicts himself. In his most recent major publication, *The Turkic Languages*, quite in accord with my view, he writes, “The verbal composition in Altajic (he means “Altaic”) and with that (he means “as well as”) in Turkic—not yet treated thoroughly so far, but worthy of an exhaustive investigation—is basically of two types...” (p. 145) which echoes his words of ten years earlier: “Formen der Verbelkomposition, die dringend einer systematischen Darstellung bedürfte...” (forms of verbal compounds which urgently need a systematic description) (*Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta* I [Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1959], p. 477). Since his *Turkic Languages* is chronologically the last item in his list of “fundamental descriptions” on this issue, his negative statement in it means that he himself did not regard at least seven of those works as treating descriptive verbs adequately. I do not see any reason, not even the sketchy treatment of “verbal compositions” in his *Turkic Languages*, for Menges to change his mind on this issue.

As to the “reading list” he recommends, I may note that most of the eight works in it are useful contributions to various areas of Turkic studies, but, with the exception of von Gabain’s “Verbalkompositionen im Türkischen” (Verbal Compositions in Turkic) (*Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* [1953], pp. 1–155), none of them directly addresses our issue and her work deals only with Turkish at different historical stages and does not treat Eastern Turkic material at all.

Menges’s list, however, is far from complete. Let me just mention a few additional works which I have also considered: J. Eckmann’s *Chagatay Manual* (Mouton: The Hague, 1966) and C. Brockelmann’s *Osttürkische Grammatik der Islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954). These authors, mostly on the basis of primary sources, made important contributions to our knowledge of descriptive verbs.

Syntax

Tajik–Persian influence on Turkic.— In my section on the syntax of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* I state: “The syntax as well as the morphology indicates that the language of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* is significantly in-

fluenced by the colloquial layer of Uzbek, which in turn shows traces of interference from Tajik." The implication of this statement is that Ḥālīs's poem was written in low style, close to what was probably the spoken idiom in the author's time. An indication of this is that the language shares morphological and syntactic features with colloquial Uzbek, features which in Uzbek had developed under Tajik influence.

On the basis of this statement Menges, partly because of his failure to comprehend this point or in disregard of it, partly by misquotations from my work, addresses himself to a broader issue, the interference of the Iranian languages with Turkic, and makes it a basis for his criticism. Before I take up his view on this issue and respond to it let me first correct what he gives as quotations from my work: (a) I do not call Persian "meisst Tāžik" (mostly Tajik). What I call Tajik is Tajik and what I call Persian is Persian. (b) I do not say that "dieser iranische Einfluss aus dem umgangssprachlichen Schicht des Özbekischen stammt" (this Iranian influence [Menges means the influence of various Iranian languages such as Pahlavi and Sogdian on Turkic from Classical Uyghur onward] originates from the colloquial layer of Uzbek). What I say is that the language of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* was influenced by the colloquial layer of Uzbek which had traces of a Tajik influence.

Menges's view on the interference of the Turkic and Iranian languages is confused and erroneous. He does not realize that Iranian interfered with Turkic on both the colloquial and literary levels. In the first case the languages involved were in direct contact in bilingual communities or in areas where Persian was used as a *lingua franca*. In the second, Persian exercised another very its influence as the prestige language in the area.

He also fails to realize that changes produced in one language by the influence of another very often enable us to discover whether the influence came through the literary or the colloquial layer of the language, that is, in most cases one may recognize whether a new phenomenon in the phonemic system or a new form in the morphology or lexicon comes from the everyday language, from the contemporary polished style, or from the language of the classical literature.

Menges is not aware that the Turkic literatures of the Classical period were not homogeneous. Works in high style existed side by side with popular compositions in low style which were meant for a bro-

ader, less sophisticated audience and the language of which was therefore simple and close to the spoken idiom. Works in the first group were apt to borrow from the standard literary Persian of their own day and the language of the classical Persian literature. Those in the second group were much more open to the influence of colloquial Persian.

Menges's periodization of the Eastern Middle Turkic literatures here is unacceptable. He speaks of a "vorklassische Čayatajische Periode" (pre-Classical Chagatay period) and of a "Vor-Čayatajisch" (pre-Chagatay) because he does not accept the terms Karakhanid and Khorazmian which are in general use for these periods. His categories suggest that the history of Eastern Middle Turkic from "Pre-Chagatay" to Classical Chagatay was linear and progressive. This is entirely wrong. Karakhanid, Khorazmian, and Chagatay—that is, what he calls Pre-Chagatay, Pre-Classical Chagatay, and Classical Chagatay—arose in different geographical areas and under different sociocultural conditions. While they emerged at different times, Khorazmian is not a direct continuation of Karakhanid, and Chagatay is not a direct outgrowth of Khorazmian.

It is also a mistake to claim that works in Karakhanid or Khorazmian are less mature than those in Chagatay. The fact is that, throughout the history of Turkic, there were popular works written in a simple style, for example, the *‘Atabatu’l-ḥaqā’iq* of Aḥmad bin Maḥmūd Yūknākī in Karakhanid; the *Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf* of ‘Alī in Khorazmian; and the *Baraq-nāma* of Aḥmad or the *Bang u čagīr* of Yūsuf Amīrī in Chagatay. But there were also in all periods works written in a more polished style, such as the *Qutadḡu Bilig* of Yūsuf Ḥāṣṣ Ḥācib Balasagūnī, the poems of Sayf of Sarāy found at the end of his *Gulistān bi-t-turki*, the *Dīvān* of Gadā’ī, and so on.

Menges says that the further we go back in history "desto mehr der iranische Einfluss auf die Literatursprache beschränkt gewesen sein muss" (the more the influence of Iranian must have been restricted to the literary language). He argues that (1) "über die Umgangsprachen in Turkistan vor der Zeit der russischen Eroberung wissen wir nichts" (we do not know anything about the vernaculars spoken in Turkistan before the Russian occupation) implying that we cannot tell whether they were influenced by Persian or not, and that (2) some Modern Turkic languages, such as Turkmen, Kazak, and Kirgiz, show no Persian influence—as Menges puts it, the Persian influence in them

is "weitgehend" (far-reachingly, extensively [?]) absent—because they did not have a standard literary idiom!

These arguments are without foundation. (1) We are not completely ignorant of the colloquial languages of Central Asia as they existed before the Russian invasion. Travelers' notes, glossaries, popular literary works, and various genres of folk literature reveal many colloquial elements of these languages. In addition, the basic characteristics of the spoken languages survived both the Tsarist conquest and Soviet subjugation of the peoples of Central Asia. Thus a modern spoken language can teach us much about its earlier historical stages.

(2) Contrary to Menges's statement Kazak, Kirgiz, and Turkmen were not exempt from Persian influence. Modern dictionaries of these languages reveal many Persian (and, of course, Arabic) loans. Moreover, the forms and semantic fields of these loans indicate that they were borrowed mainly from the colloquial layers of Persian or Tajik, whichever of the two was in everyday contact with the Turkic-speaking peoples in question. Let us take a look at the following list of five words as they occur in Kazak, Turkmen, Kirgiz, and Bashkir. Forms marked with an asterisk show phonetic changes—devoicing of voiced plosives and simplification of consonant clusters in word final position—characteristic of these same words as they occur in modern colloquial Persian or Tajik.

<u>Kazak</u>	<u>Turkmen</u>	<u>Kirgiz</u>	<u>Bashkir</u>	
šat*	šat*	šat*	šat*	"merry"
gül	gül	gül	göl	"flower"
ras*	ras*	iras*	raθ	"true"
durīs*	durs*	durus*	döröθ	"correct"
dos*	dost	dos*	duθ	"friend"

In my view colloquial Tajik and Persian had a greater influence on Turkic than the literary forms of these languages wherever the speakers of these languages were in everyday contact.

"*Conjunctives*" and "*conjunctive particles*."—Menges objects to my use of these terms. Mistakenly identifying the English term "conjunctive" with the German "Konjunktiv"—a term used in that language for a mode of verbal inflection—he thinks that two terms could be confused. My answer is that (1) the terms "conjunctive particles" or "conjunctives" are standard grammatical terms in English and will be found in Web-

ster's or any other standard English dictionary. (2) Only Germans whose knowledge of English leaves something to be desired are in danger of confusing "conjunctive" and "Konjunktiv." Others will know that the equivalent of German "Konjunktiv" is English "subjunctive."

Tenses as a means of subordination.—Menges states that finite forms in either *-ğay*, *-sa*, or *-a* appear in subordinate clauses mechanically as a means of subordination. He compares this situation with the use of the subjunctive in French and even considers it the result of French influence. This is totally wrong. The rules governing the use of tenses in subordinate clauses in Middle Turkic are basically the same as those in classical or colloquial Persian or Tajik. That is why we have the indicative in *kördi kim bir kämi içindä camâ'at halq safar yaraqin qilip olturur edi* "He saw that a group of people, prepared for the journey were sitting in the boat" (Sayf 100r: 13) and the optative in *tilämän kim qiyâmat kün mänim qanîma giriftâr bolğay sän* "For killing me I do not want you to be condemned on the Day of Resurrection" (Sayf 34v:3). I will return to this question in a separate paper. Menges's term "subordinative conjunction" (*The Turkic Languages*, p. 105) is a solecism. I prefer the more standard term "subordinating conjunction."

Finite forms in -ğay/-ğäy.—Menges surprises us by calling verbal forms in *-ğay/-ğäy* verbal nouns. This is a serious error: Verbal forms in *-ğay/-ğäy* only have qualities peculiar to finite verbs; they do not share the qualities of nominal forms, as do, for example, verbal forms in *-ğan/-gän*. The sentence *Ahmad cannatqa kirgän* "Ahmad went to Heaven" can be transformed into nominal phrases such as *cannatqa kirgän Ahmad*, where *kirgän* is an adjective, and *Ahmadnîng cannatqa kirgäni*, where *kirgän* is a noun. The sentence (*tilär män kim*) *Ahmad cannatqa kirgäy* "(I wish) Ahmad would go to Heaven," however, does not permit similar transformation with *kirgäy* because the latter has no nominal qualities, that is, it cannot serve as a noun or as an adjective. Thus, modification and possessive structures such as **cannatqa kirgäy Ahmad* or **Ahmadnîng cannatqa kirgäyi*, suggested by the term Menges uses, are impossible.

Subordination or juxtaposition of object clauses.—Menges and I also have different views on subordinate clauses. In *The Story of Ibrâhîm* I analyzed *halq-i 'âlam bilîngizlär män anî nabîrasî* "People of this world, realize that I am (also) one of (Ismâ'il's descendants)" a complex sentence consisting of a main clause, *halq-i 'âlam bilîngizlär*, and a subordinate clause *män anî nabîrasî*. Menges, introducing his own irrelevant punctuation,

claims that there is no subordination in the above sentence that what I call the main clause and the subordinate clause are "juxtaponierte, beigeordnete Sätze" (coordinated sentences in juxtaposition), because, he argues, the second one is a direct quote. This is a strange view, for no matter where he puts his *Kommata*, the fact that the two sentences are juxtaposed and that the second one is a direct quote does not change their interrelationship, which is that of a subordinate clause to its main clause: *Halq-i 'ālam bilingizlār* alone is semantically incomplete, it requires a verbal complement—the direct object—which is formulated in a separate clause *mān anīng nabīrasī*. Applied to German, Menges's sentence analysis would regard "Er sagte: 'Ich bin krank gewesen'" as two coordinated sentences. Nonsense, of course. Judging from the punctuation that Menges introduced in the Turkic sentence, he probably thought of *bilingizlār*, within commas, as an inserted word similar to the speech tic "you know" with no organic connection with the text. The difficulty with this view is that if we remove *bilingizlār* from our sentence, the rest remains incomplete both grammatically and semantically.

"*Halq-i 'ālam.*"—In reference to the same line Menges suggests that the *izāfat* structure *halq-i 'ālam* should be *halq-i 'ālam*, thus correcting a clerical error on page 14. Elsewhere in the book (pp. 29 and 49) I have *halq-i 'ālam*, in consistency with the principles of the prosodic use of the *izāfat -i* as I explained earlier in this paper. Let me note here that the phrase *halq-i 'ālam* does not occur in line 80r:6 as indicated in the entry "*'ālam*" on page 49 but in line 81r:5.

The orthography of "bil-."—Instead of *bil ki* in *dedi bil ki kišidä hurr ata dur* (For) he instructed me saying, 'Know full well that among people a father is like a tomcat (among cats)'" Menges reads *balki*, which he takes in the sense of "bestimmt, sicherlich, vielleicht" (certain, sure, perhaps). He argues that the manuscript has بلكه whereas *bil ki* would appear in Chagatay as بيل که I do not agree: (1) Our copyist had the habit of joining *ki* and *kim*—in the function of both particles and pronouns—with the word they follow, for example, *dedi kim* (74v:5), *hēč kim* (74v: 11), *erdi ki* (*Baraq-nāma*, a work written in the same hand as *The Story of Ibrāhīm* [89r:5]). We must thus regard our بلكه as having the particle *ki* as one of its constituents.

(2) The orthography of the syllable *bil-* in Eastern Middle Turkic varies depending on whether it stands alone, in which case it occurs mostly as بيل or whether it is part of a longer grapheme, in which case

we also find بیل. The words *bilgil*, *bilig*, and so on, are very often written بيلك ، بيلك (See these words in the 'Atabatu'l-ḥaqā'iq Quṣb's *Husrav u Širīn*, and so on). Thus in the بلك of our manuscript we may have the syllable *bil-*, written without a ي as the first part of the grapheme.

3) *Balki* is semantically inappropriate to the line. It is either an adverb meaning "perhaps, maybe," or a conjunction, "but rather." The meanings "bestimmt, sicherlich" (certain, sure) that Menges gives for *balki* exist only in his Chagatay idiolect. The conjunctival meaning of *balki* would make no sense in our example. As for its adverbial meaning, it is very unlikely that such an admission would begin with "maybe" or "perhaps."

(4) Stylistically our sentence is built up on the pattern of sentences such as *bilgil kim ne yerdä gul bar anda tikän bar* "Know that wherever there are roses there are also thorns" (Sayf 13r: 12), or *bil ki tört miñg qadam erür bir mül* "Know that four thousand *qadams* make one *mül*" (*Muqaddimatu's šalāt*, 9v:3), that is, sentences introduced by an injunction.

The "mr" that isn't there.— In the line discussed above, before the final ي of *dedi*, Menges discovers what he thinks is an *mr* which in fact is a final ʾ apparently crossed through by the copyist when he realized that this grapheme would follow later in the line as part of the word کشیده. My policy in a critical edition is to disregard obvious scribal errors that the copyist himself had corrected. Menges has no explanation for his *mr*.

The Arabic words "hurr 'lion'" and "hirr 'tomcat.'"— Menges translates both words as "Kater" (tomcat), remarks that they are very rare, and they would be "ganz unerwartet" (completely unexpected) in such a text. The fact is that these words are in common use both in Classical and Modern Arabic and are also found in most Classical and in some modern Turkic and Persian dictionaries. Their occurrence in *The Story of Ibrāhīm* is not strange at all: We may expect "tomcat" or "lion" in any text which, to illustrate a moral for a seven-year-old child, requires a simile from the animal world. Since *hirr* and *hurr* are monosyllabic words, for metrical reasons they were preferable in poetry to Turkic *arsalan* or *ärkäk pişik*.

The expression of real conditions.— Menges says that the sentence *ikki kiši desäm köptin qalur män* expresses an unreal condition and, for no obvious reason, refers to Kononov's Uzbek grammar (pp. 412-414)

for information on "grammatische Subordination" (grammatical subordination [?]). The place he refers to, however, only discusses conditional sentences in Uzbek, not the high-sounding topic that Menges mentions. Nonetheless the reference is useful and Menges himself should read it to learn that sentences such as *ikki kiši desäm köptin qalur män* express real conditions and not, as he thinks, "unreal" ones. (Menges was apparently led to the wrong conclusion by the hypothetical clause "If I had chosen the two of them . . ." which I used in the English version for the sake of smooth narration. A literal translation of this sentence, however, is "[I said to myself] 'If I choose the two [that is, my father and my mother] I will be separated from many others.'" That is, the condition expressed by the conditional clause *ikki kiši desäm* is a real one.

Suffixless dative in Turkic?—Menges says that I should have mentioned "das Vorkommen von einem suffixlosen Dativus" (the occurrence of a suffixless dative case) in the phrase *bardī maktab* "he went to school." This phrase did not escape my attention. Since, however, it is a loan translation from the colloquial Tajik-Persian *raft maktab* I mention it as such in the Glossary under *bar-* [*bardī maktab* "he went to the school" (see Persian *raft maktab*)] (p. 51) and under *maktab* (p. 60).

The noun *maktab*, as it occurs in this phrase, is not a suffixless dative. There is no such thing in Turkic: As a loan translation, *bardī maktab* cannot be analyzed as a Turkic morphological phenomenon. The word *maktab*, or any noun indicating place, conveys the idea of a directive only in conjunction with *bar-*, *käl-*, or *yetiš-*, and so on (see Brockelmann's examples in *Osttürkische Grammatik*, p. 350) and preferably in the word order V + N. Kononov's example to which Menges refers also has the verb *bar-* as the verbal element, and the phrase *Tāškant bārdī* "he went to Tashkent" in Kononov's *Grammatika uzbekskogo yazika* to which Menges refers is, in Uzbek, also a loan translation from Tajik. In using this example from Kononov's grammar Menges should have mentioned that such forms are not common in Modern Uzbek since Kononov observed them only "in proverbs, sayings and sometimes in the colloquial style." Kononov's observation also corroborates my view that the borrowing took place on the colloquial level.

The form *maktab raft* which Menges made up in Persian to compare it to our *bardī maktab*, is grammatically incorrect. The preposition *ba* cannot be omitted in N + V word order but only in the V + N word order and then only in colloquial style. Thus the correct equivalent to

bardī maktab is Persian *raft maktab* (see G. Lazard, *Grammaire du Persian contemporain* [Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1957], pp. 190–191). Strangely enough, Menges refers to the *ba* in the *ba maktab raft* as a “Praeposition resp. Praefix” (preposition or prefix), that is, for him the preposition *ba* and the verbal prefix *bi-* are the same. His remarks on the Uzbek proverb *yār haydasaṅg kuz hayda* “if you plough the ground, plough it in autumn,” that is, if you do something do it at the right time, are meant as a criticism— not a just one— of Kononov’s explanation of *kuz* and have no bearing on our issue. The Uzbek form *kuz* in this proverb and Turkish *ol kün, bu yıl*, which Menges also mentions, are not “suffixlose accusativi temporis” (suffixless accusative forms expressing time) but indefinite cases in adverbial use. It was apparently the German equivalent “jeden Tag” and “dies Jahr” that led Menges to conclude that *kuz, ol kün, bu yıl* are in the accusative case.

Vocabulary

Tajik-Persian influence on the lexicon.—In his remarks on my chapter on the vocabulary of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* Menges, echoing New Grammmarian views, states that when a language becomes subject to external influences, the lexicon is affected first, the phonology next, then the syntax, and finally the morphology. Therefore, he concludes, there is a contradiction in my statement that the language of our document preserved native lexical elements but also borrowed elements from the morphology of Tajik. The point he wants to make is that the interference of Tajik with Turkic on the level of morphology alone, that is, with no influence on the lexicon, is inconceivable.

The contradiction Menges sees does not exist. Menges trumped it up by misrepresenting what I say in my work. On page 7 I remark, “The syntax and lexicon of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* exhibit strong Tajik influences,” and on p. 13, “The syntax as well as morphology indicates that the language of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* was significantly influenced by the colloquial layer of Uzbek, which, in turn shows traces of interference from Tajik.” Thus in my understanding the lexicon of our document, as well as its morphology and syntax, were exposed to considerable Tajik influence. This is the very opposite of the view Menges attributes to me, that is, that the lexicon was not influenced by the Tajik language.

Although this clarification eliminates the need for Menges to recite New Grammmarian views on borrowings, I would like to take the

opportunity to comment on some of his statements in this regard. First, the interference of the Uzbek and Tajik languages is not a case for what Menges calls external influences on the language, but rather the mutual effect of the two languages on one another in a bilingual community. Under such special conditions the contact of the languages involved is much closer, more permanent, and extends to broader social layers of the spoken idiom. It is not single words, isolated phonemes, or morphemes that slip from one language into the other. It is rather the phonemic, grammatical, and lexical systems of the two languages that meet at contact points and interfere with one another. The New Grammatical thesis, especially in Menges's rigid wording, does not apply to such cases.

Second, changes brought about in various segments of one language by the influence of another cannot always be restricted to the phonemic system, morphology, syntax, or lexicon. Changes in one may introduce a change in the other. For example, the borrowing of Arabic-Persian words with long vowels or initial *z-*, *g-*, and so on, into Turkic, a lexical phenomenon, introduces a change also in the phonemic system, where, now, long vowels, or initial *z-*, *g-* will also occur (see Gy. Németh, "A kevert nyelvrondszer kérdéséhez" [On the Question of Mixed Language Structure] *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Irodalmi Osztályának Közleményei*, II [1952], 313-332). The borrowing of verbal phrases, again a lexical phenomenon, also introduces changes in morphology.

The limits of statistics.—Menges recommends that in cases of bilingualism the statistical method be applied to assess the influence of one language upon the other. This method is valuable in research on living languages where the corpus of data is practically unlimited. In single but large linguistic documents it can only supply figures for general orientation, as Hazai's book *Das Osmanisch-Türkische im XVII Jahrhundert* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), which Menges and I both reviewed, clearly shows. For small documents, such as *The Story of Ibrāhīm*, the statistical method has no practical value.

Regional and social conditions.—When Menges created the contradiction discussed above, he also prepared a solution for it—or vice versa. He says that in order to account for linguistic features in *The Story of Ibrāhīm* we must consider "regionale und soziale Verhältnisse" (social and regional conditions) and suggests that the text or its author may have originated in the northern part of the Uzbek-speaking areas

and did not belong to the "stark iranisierte städtische Schichten" (strongly Iranicized urban layers). This, of course, is mere speculation and that also on the wrong line. It is not the absence of Iranian influence, but rather the presence of the various forms of the influence of Tajik that require an explanation. This explanation, as far as social and regional conditions are concerned, is in the fact that Uzbeks and Tajiks were living in a bilingual community.

Nouns and adjectives in Turkic.— Addressing himself to details in my chapter on the vocabulary Menges remarks that the separate treatment of nouns and adjectives in my list of Eastern Turkic words is "morphologisch und damit auch semantisch nicht gerechtfertigt" (morphologically and therefore also semantically not justified).

While many Turcologists have observed that the dividing line between noun and adjective in Turkic is very fine, grammarians of both the classical Turkic language (for example, Eckmann, Deny) and Modern dialects (for example, Lewis, Kononov), have felt it necessary to maintain the separate categories. Menges, as he has shown in his *Turkic Languages* (p. 115), does not recognize Turkic adjectives as a separate category but treats them as nouns, and, in cases where a differentiation is unavoidable, he calls them, even those with a derivational suffix characteristic of adjectives, "nouns in adnominal function" or "adnominal nouns." Thus he in fact also arrives at two groups of words. Had he taken just one more step and checked the interchangeability of functions, he would have realized the absurdity of his classification. For while most adjectives can be used as nouns, few nouns, and then only those in special structures, can be used as adjectives. Nouns cannot, for example, be employed in the comparative or superlative, cannot occur freely in attributive position, or be premodified by adverbs. Menges does not want to accept the fact that the class of adjectives in Turkish comprises items that have similar syntactic functions rather than merely a resemblance in form. If he were right, we could replace the words *qarī*, *köp*, and *bahālī* in the following sentences with nouns: (1) *bāzānīp bir qarī ḥatun tiši az* "an old woman who had only a few teeth left has adorned herself;" (2) *ḥarācī yer ersä 'ušur yoq anġa 'acam mulki köpräk ḥarācī bu ter* "If the land is subject to a land-tax, no tithe is due on it: he [that is, Abū Ḥanīfa] says that a plot of land may be subjected to *ḥarāc* even if it is larger than the Persian kingdom itself;" (3) *sözlärimniġ cavharin 'arif körüp qadrin bilip köp bahālī durr bigin dā'im qulaqında tutar* "the mystic discovers the essence of

my words, realizes its value and keeps it like precious pearls in his ear." No noun would fit. Only words of a special group, let us employ the traditional term "adjectives," can serve as replacements: *bir özdäng hatun. yahşıraq, or köp türlü durr.*

Etymological excursions.—Menges also suggests that "einige etymologische Bemerkungen" (a few etymological remarks) should have been added to some of the items in my list. In my view, however, etymological excursions in text editions are justified only if the research on the lexical material reveals new etymologies or disproves existing ones. "Etymological remarks" which only repeat what has long been established or spell out what is self-explanatory, are useless and distracting. In this category belong, for example the information that Menges provides about *hwähla-*, *čarča-*, *öy*, *törä*, or *arman*.

The use of yaq-.—Menges recommends that this word as it occurs in *hudāga yaqmadī bu mihribānlik* "God did not approve of (His prophet's) attachment (to his son)" should be translated as "to be liked, to please." The first is definitely wrong: *yaq-* is not a passive verb, and the context does not suggest a passive construction. His second recommendation, "to please," is good if he had the intransitive verb in mind in the sense of "to be pleasing, be agreeable to" But this would mean the same thing as my intransitive "to like" which I preferred in the list of Eastern Turkic words because of the similarity of its grammatical use (for example, it likes me not) to that of the Turkic word (*-qa yaqmadī*). Thus, no correction is necessary in the list of verbs. In the glossary, however, the abbreviation "v.t." after *yaq-* is an error, it should be replaced by "v.i."

**Idä*—common proto-form of "igä" and "idi"?—Menges claims that *igä* "lord" is "die neuere und moderne Form" (the more recent and modern form) of *idi* that both forms derive from a common **idä*. The relationship of *idi* and *igä*, however, as Clauson recently pointed out (*An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972], p. 41), is a problematic issue. The two forms might just be two separate, independent words. In addition, the existence of an **idä*, a proto-form for both, has not been proven and Menges's statement that *igä* is a more recent form, is not true.

The variants "munġ" and "buġ."—Menges insists that along with *munġ* "sorrow" I should have given *buġ* in my list of Eastern Turkic words. I do not think so: *buġ* is not Eastern Turkic.

"*Bola* 'great'" or "*tola* 'total?'"—Menges hyperbolically states that *bola* is "bestimmt eine irrigte Lesung für *tola*" (definitely a misreading of *tola*). True, the undotted Arabic grapheme we have in the text could be read *tola*, but this does not fit the context (see my discussion of this issue in the section on Transcription later in this article).

The adverb "yalğuzun."—Since Menges does not accept the existence in Turkic of a category of adverbs, he, naturally, regards *yalğuzun* as a case form, rather than an adverb. He thus ignores almost five hundred years of development in Turkic morphology and word formation. In the language of the inscriptions and in Uygur, nouns with an *-n* suffix were members of the paradigm of nominal inflection. This situation, in a somewhat restricted distribution, prevailed in Karakhanid and, to some extent, in Khorazmian. Later, however, forms in *-n* ceased to be case forms and to participate in noun inflection. They survived as adverbs and served as patterns for forming other adverbs. Lexicographic works such as *Türkçe Sözlük* of the Turkish Linguistic Society, or grammars, such as Borovkov's grammatical sketch in his Uzbek-Russian dictionary list such derivatives as adverbs.

Loan translations.—Menges does not accept as loan translations many of the items I list as such because his view of loan translation differs from mine in the following vital points: Menges disregards the importance of the actual circumstances in which a borrowing takes place. Also, he does not realize that lexical borrowing in bilingual communities is in many ways different from borrowing from, say, a prestige language. Therefore, the parallel he draws between loan translations in the languages of bilingual communities and those in various European languages is entirely irrelevant. And when he suggests that if borrowing takes place in bilingual communities then every borrowing should be indicative of the existence of a bilingual community, one wonders whether he is serious.

In bilingual communities two languages are in close contact. The members of such communities are competent in both languages: They have internalized both languages equally. Thus they are able to form a structure in one language with the elements from the other, for example, Eastern Turkic *bardī maktab* which reflects Tajik *raft maktab* (see above in the section on Syntax). They understand and accept such structures on the basis of the norms in the language from which they have been borrowed.

To establish what is a true loan translation in a Turkic language

is a long and complicated process. The first step is to locate and describe in every single Turkic work words, phrases, and idioms that in form or semantic coverage reflect Persian or Tajik counterparts. This is how far a text edition such as *The Story of Ibrāhīm* can and should go. Further research, however, must proceed in an entirely different direction from what Menges indicates. Rather than comparing such items to words or phrases in an unrelated language, as Menges compares Turkic *ādam balasī* to German "Menschenkind," in order to claim something universal in their meanings, we must consider the following: (a) Is the item in question a native Turkic element or not? (b) Does it have a Persian or Tajik equivalent? (c) Was this lexical item needed in Turkic? (d) Could this item have been borrowed from Persian or Tajik? (e) Under what circumstances did the borrowing take place: (f) To which layer of Persian or Tajik does the item belong?

The use of mātam tut-.—Here Menges, as so often in his review, falsifies what I say. On page 19 I have: "*mātam tut-* / ġa / 'to mourn s.o.' 82r:11. See Cl. *Persian mātam būdan* 'to mourn; to be afflicted' (also construed with *dāštan*, *giriftan*, and so on)' (F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1892], 1137a). Tajik *mātam giriftan*, *mātam dāštan* id. (Rahimi-Uspenskaya, 429a)." This passage demonstrates that since Turkic *mātam tut-* has both a Classical Persian and Tajik equivalent we may regard it as a loan translation. Menges, however, denies this fact. He says, "*mātam tut-* 'to mourn' kommt immer nur in dieser Form in den meisten türkischen Sprachen vor, während, wie Vf. angibt, es im Klassisch-Persischen mit *būdan* und im Tajik mit *giriftan* (= *tut-*) und *dāštan* komponiert wird; also auch keine echte Lehnübersetzung" (*mātam tut-* 'to mourn' occurs always only in this form in most of the Turkic languages, while, as the author states [!] it is combined with *būdan* in Classical Persian and with *giriftan* [= *tut-*] and *dāštan* in Tajik; therefore it is also not a real loan translation). There are several things wrong with Menges's argument. (1) Nowhere do I "state" that *mātam* forms a phrasal verb only with *būdan* in Classical Persian. I say that in Classical Persian *mātam* is also used with *dāštan* and *giriftan*. (2) Whatever the situation in Classical Persian, the Tajik forms *mātam giriftan* or *mātam dāštan* are sufficient proof that *mātam tut-* is a loan translation (3) Not only *giriftan*, as Menges indicates, but, depending on the meaning, *dāštan* also is equivalent to Turkic *tut-*. (4) *Mātam* in Turkic is also used with *ātmäk* (Zenker, *Dictionnaire turc-arabe-persan* [Leipzig; Wilhelm Engelmann, 1866], p. 799a).

"*Ādam balasī*", "*kōngül sora-*," and "*qolīga al-*."— Erroneous are Menges's remarks on these loan translations: *Ādam balasī* is not "Menschenkind" (son of man) in literal translation, but rather "son of Adam." *Kōngül sora-* does mean the same thing as Persian *dil custan*, as Tajik *dilcoy* "consoling, soothing" shows, *Qolīga al-* as an idiom means "to seize, obtain, get possession of" and not "in die hand nehmen" (to take in one's hand).

Loan translations and their Persian models.— Menges compares some of my phrases from the list of loan translations to the Persian phrases which I give and finds that they are not equivalent. The cases he cites do not prove his point. Persian *raftan* "to depart" in *az dunyā raftan* is equivalent to *öt-* "to leave, pass" in *dunyādīn öt-*. Also, the phrasal verb *mahv šudan* "to disappear" in *az nazar mahv šudan* is equivalent to Turkic *yit-* "to disappear, get lost" in *kōzdīn yit-*. The idiom *raht kašīdan (ba)* "to move (to a place)" in *raht ba sarāy-i āhīrat kašīdan* is equivalent to Turkic */qa/ bar-* "to so to a (place)" in *āhīratqa bar-*

Transcription

In the passage devoted to the transcription of *The Story of Ibrāhīm* Menges suggests more than two dozen corrections. Only one— the irregular *örgätär* for the common *örgätür*, on the basis of the orthography can tentatively be accepted.

The phrases "rasūl-i 'ālamain' anol "rasūl-i 'ālamīn."— Menges notes that in *rasūl-i 'ālamain* "The Prophet of the Two Worlds" (73v: 8) the final element should be the plural form *'ālamīn*, and, as proof, cites the Qur'ānic *rabbī'l- 'ālamīn* (sic). He adds that I should have justified my reading "unter islamistischem [islamitischem?] Gesichtspunkte" (under [sic] an Islamistic [sic] point of view). Let me note first, from an Islamistic point of view, that the correct form of the phrase Menges quotes is *rabbū'l- 'ālamīn* and that in the Qur'ān it refers to God, not to his Prophet.

It is true that رسول عالمين which I read *rasūl-i 'ālamain* "the Prophet of the Two Worlds" may also be read *rasūl-i 'ālamīn* "the Prophet of the Universe" "the Prophet of all Nations," I chose the former because elsewhere in the poem (73v:1) we find the same epithet in the form *rasūl-i ikki 'ālam*. Here the Turkic numeral *ikki* "two" instead of the dual form of *'ālam* leaves no doubt as to the meaning. It expresses the same idea as 'Aṭṭār's *Muḥammad muqtadâ-yi har du 'ālam* "Muḥammad is the exemplar of the two worlds" (Fu'ād Rūhānī, *Ilāhī-*

nāma-i Shaikh Farīduddīn ‘Aṭṭār Nishāpūri [2d impression; Tahrān: Kitābfurūshī Zavvār, 1351 H.], p. 114).

The phrase *rasūl-i ‘ālamīn* in other texts is based on Qur. 21, 107 *va mā arsalunāka illā raḥmatan li-l- ‘ālamīna* "And We have not sent thee but as a mercy for the nations" (Maulana Muhammad Ali, *The Holy Qur’ān* [Chicago: Specialty Promotions Co. Inc., 1973], p. 644). The *Latāfat-nāma* of Khujandī makes reference to this verse: *Muḥammad raḥmatan li-l ‘ālamīn ol* (E.I. Fazylov, *Khojandī Latāfat-nāma* [Tashkent: The Publishing House "FAN" of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, 1976], p. 37).

Vowel qualities and rhyme.— Several times in his discussion of the transcription of our text Menges sets out to establish vowel qualities on the basis of rhyming words, on the assumption that rhyme in Classical Turkic prosody was achieved by words or syllables with phonemes identical both qualitatively and quantitatively. Thus for him *waw* as a *mater lectionis* constitutes a rhyme only in rhyming words with the following rounded vowels: *o* with *o*, *u* with *u*, *ö* with *ö*, and *ü* with *ü*. He therefore concludes that *söydüm*, because it rhymes with *qoydum*, cannot be correct and must be *soydum* "die weitgehend depalatalisierte voll-iranisierte Form" (a considerably [sic] depalatalized, fully Iranicized form). With some inconsistency even in regard to his own principle (he just could not face a form such as **koydī*), he also claims that *köydi*, not *küydi*, is the correct form because it rhymes with *qoydī*. (This is one of Menges's old mistakes: he has *köy-* in his *Volkskundliche Texte* [II.80] in spite of New Uygur *küy-*). And *dīn-* Menges argues— is correct because it rhymes with a word with the ablative case ending *-din*: *Cibra’ıldin*.

The "rule" that Menges applies here is not applicable to Classical Turkic prosody. His attempt is an abortive imitation of what Iranists had tried, with more justification and some success, in the prosody of early Classical Persian literary works: to establish the difference between *machūl* and *ma‘rūf* vowels. For example, they tried to answer questions such as does *šer* "lion" rhyme with *šir* "milk," and so on. In Classical Turkic, however, it is the characters and not the sounds that form the rhyme, that is, *waw* rhymes with a *waw*, *alif* rhymes with *alif*, and so on, without regard to the quality (back-front, high-middle-low) of the vowels they represent. In the above example *küy-* is correct because the comparative method has established it as such: Bashkir has it as *köy-* through the Tatar vowel shift $\ddot{u} > \ddot{o}$. *Söy-* is also correct:

it is the standard form of the word in Chagatay and there is no evidence that our author had an Iranicized pronunciation in mind when he wrote سویدوم. The form *dīn* may be accounted for by the fact that this word was borrowed into Central Asian dialects from Persian through Arabic. That is why for example, Tajik has *dīn* rather *dēn*. In my normalized transcription I used *dēn* for the sake of consistency with other Iranian words with *ē*.

Orthographic anomalies or linguistic phenomena?— Menges does not accept my transcription of the words *qīlġan*, *yūġäydim*, and *ħudāġa*. He thinks, as I have indicated above in the section on Phonemic Structure, that Eastern Turkic orthography is, within the limits of the Arabic writing system, strictly phoneme-oriented, that the writer or scribe who employed it, was above all concerned with single phonemes within a word and did his best to reflect them. Therefore Menges regards deviations from the normal orthography and inconsistencies in the use of characters representative of linguistic phenomena. Thus, when, for example, the grapheme قیلکان occurs only once along with several occurrences of قیلغان Menges would require us to read *qīlġan* in the first case and *qīlġan* in the second, suggesting that the scribe or writer, for no obvious reason, now pronounced this word with a voiced palatal stop /g/, now with a voiced velar spirant /g/.

Menges's view is untenable. It does not allow for scribal errors or the idiosyncratic orthographic habits of authors both of which are quite frequent, especially in low style popular works. Rather, it takes orthographic variants or mistakes for phonetic or morphological changes and litters the road of the history of Turkic with bogus rules and false observations. How can, for example, *ġilġändur* be phonetically correct? In a language with palatal harmony in a row of three syllables with velar vowels why would the one in the middle turn into a palatal vowel in one single example? Or why should *ħudā* in one place have the dative case with palatal /g/ as *ħudāġü* (which, by the way, occurs not in the line Menges indicates but in 74:2) and in other places with the velar spirant /ġ/ as *ħudāġa* (75r: 6)?

Orthographic inconsistencies, must, of course, be considered in any manuscript and in any writing system. Our efforts, however, should be devoted to determining to what extent a given orthography reflects linguistically relevant features. In this process we must consider several factors: the frequency of occurrence and its relation to the number of "regular" cases, the nature of the suggested phenomenon and its com-

patibility with the structure of the language, evidence from historical and contemporary material, and so on. Consideration of such factors led me to reject the forms *qilgän* and *hudägä* and accept the possibility of the form *yügäydim*. There is no proof for *qilgän* or *hudägä*, but *yügäydim* is suggested by an analogous form that appears in several Turkic dialects (cf. *yümäk* in *Türkiyede Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi* [Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Matbaası, 1947], III, 1559a) and by an analogous phenomenon widely attested in such cases as *yum-* > *yüm-* "to close one's eyes."

"*Tügün-* 'to renounce.'"— In *agar ummat desä andin tügünsün* "if he chooses the Community, he must renounce [his parents]" Menges identifies the verb *tügün-* as a derivative of Jarring's *tögül-*, *tüge-* / *tügö-* / *tügü-* (G. Jarring, *An Eastern Turki-English Dialect Dictionary* [Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1964]) and suggests that it should read *tögün-* and be defined as "to come to an end." A few pages later in a discussion of the glossary he returns to this issue: First he falsifies my data by indicating that I have *tügän-* in my glossary (I have *tügün-*). Then, forgetful of *tögün* which he recommended above, he suggests that the verb is *tögän-* or *tügän-*. This time he refers to Jarring's *tögä-* / *tügä-* "to come to an end" and says that this form is the result of the contamination of *tük-ä-* "to be exhausted" and *tög-ä-* "to come to an end." And, *tögän-* or *tügän-*, of course, is what he calls the "Medium" (the medial form) of this verb.

The verb *tögün-* which Menges recommends on the first occasion does not fit the context. It would give us the following translation for the line in question, "if he chooses the Community, he should come to an end from / because of it (= his choice, the Community or his parents)." Nonsense.

The verb *tögän-* or *tügän-* which Menges recommends later and which he defines as "to come to an end" does not occur in *The Story of Ibrāhīm*. Thus what his contamination theory should explain is the form *tügün-* or *tögün-*. But on the basis of Jarring's data how would Menges know from the Arabic script whether our text has *tögünsün*, *tökünsün*, or *tükünsün*, *tügünsün*? Then how could he tell whether indeed a contamination has taken place? And if *tögünsün*, and so on, is the result of contamination, what has happened to the stem vowel *-a* in both *tükä-* and *tögä-*?

Incredible as it may seem, Menges believes, and he emphasizes it with hyphens, that the contamination of *tük-ä* with *tög-ä* took place

in the roots $\sqrt{tük}$ and $\sqrt{tög}$, and that the medial form in $-n$ was directly formed from these roots and not from the stem derived from them. Blatant nonsense.

The verb we have here is in fact *tügün-* which, with a complement in the ablative case, means "to renounce." This interpretation fits the context well. The verb itself is a derivative of *tüg-* "to tie, bind," among other things, the opening of a tent, or the door of a house. The $-n$ suffix indicates that the action takes place in the interest of the subject (Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*, p. 293). The image of closing one's door in the face of a relative, that is, not granting him entry, was used to convey the meaning of renouncing one's kin and thus expressed the same idea as Classical Persian *qaṭ'i raḥim* or Khorazmian *raḥim qaṭ'i* "the alienation of [one's] kinsfolk."

Persian "*āwā*" and its bound form "*āwāy*."—Menges asks me to identify *اوزبیلان اوای* at the end of line 76v: 4. It is the phrase *söz bilän āwāyī* (and not just *söz bilän*, as Menges says) which the scribe has inadvertently written twice. For *āwāyī* Menges tentatively suggests *āwāsī*, but neither of the graphemes in the repeated section permits such a reading. He also suggests that the glossary should have *āwāy* instead of *āwā*. As an entry the form *āwāy*, however, would create the impression that *āwāy* is a free morpheme in our text, which it is not. It is a bound form and occurs as such only with possessive suffixes. For a more complete representation of the lexical material, of course, the form *āwāyī* "his sound" can be included within the entry *āwā*.

The phrase "*şifātini te-*."—In line 77v: 10 *dedi Ḥālīş küyüp cānī rasūl oğlı vafātini; qiyāmatkā tükänmäy dur agar tesām şifātini* "(I) Ḥālīş (the poet), with burning soul, have been telling of the death of the Prophet's son. If I were to describe this event in full detail, I would be unable to finish (my) description (even) by the Day of Resurrection" Menges disapproves of the form *tesām*, declaring it utterly improbable that the Uyghur form *ti- / te-* was preserved in so late a Chagatay text. Menges has forgotten that *te-* is not exclusively an Uyghur form and still exists in several Central Asian Turkic dialects (Bashkir, for example) and could easily have found its way into a popular work such as *The Story of Ibrāhīm*. On the other hand, it is difficult to say whether indeed *ت* or *د* each indicated a different phoneme, or whether both were used to render the dental voiced plosive *d* // . Cases where these symbols are used for */d/* abound in the *Atabatu'l-ḥaqā'iq* (MS C in Arat's edition) and other Middle Turkic works.

For *tesäm* in the above sentence Menges reads *bitisäm* and translates it "if I write, describe." His recommendation, however, must be rejected: (1) the grapheme in the manuscript does not permit such a reading; (2) the word *bitisäm* violates the prosody of the line: it leaves us with an extra syllable; (3) the verb *biti-* does not mean "to describe," but rather, "to carve, to commit to writing"; (4) I have observed that in Eastern Middle Turkic someone's attributes (*şifāt*) in a description (*vaşf*) are either stated (*ay-*, *ayt-*), said (*te-*), or recited (*oqu-*), rather than written. See, for example, Sayf's *oqur şifātiniŋ bu Sayf-i şaydā*. "Sayf, [your] longing [lover], recites your attributes" (185r: 9), or Islām's *özi vaşfin aysa tümän til arar* "he who seeks to describe him (adequately) requires ten thousand tongues" (*Mu'īnu'l-murīd*, 200r: 13).

The verb "tükän-."— In the same distich Menges suggests *tükät-mäy dur* for my *tükänmäy dur*. His grammatical analysis is faulty. My reading *qiyāmatkä tükänmäy dur agar tesäm şifātini* (lit. "It will not end by the Day of Resurrection if I tell [you] about his attributes") takes the content of the conditional clause, equivalent to an *ol*, as the subject of *tükänmäy dur*, because *tükänmäy dur* is a finite verb in the third person singular. In prose this line might read *agar şifātini tesäm [ol] qiyāmatkä tükänmäy dur*. Menges's *tükätmäy dur*, however, would require the same subject as *tesäm*. For that we would need that verb also in the first person singular as *tükätmäy dur män*. Menges's sentence in prose would be *agar şifātini tesäm [män anī] qiyāmatkä tükätmäy dur [män]*. This, however, is impossible, because the text only provides a third person singular form, gerund + *dur*, and not gerund + *dur män*, which would be necessary if we were to accept Menges's reading.

The phrase "uyatini taşla-"— Menges remarks that *şilap* in line 78r:1 *madad har dam tilär andin yana şilap uyatini* "one puts aside one's shame; with every breath one asks him to prolong (one's stay on earth, but of no avail)" is "ganz deutlich" (quite clearly) *taşlap* "wegwerfend" (throwing away). The Arabic grapheme in question has no diacritics for a *t-* and what could be the first syllable in *taşlap* is an indistinct mark above the word *yana*. But still, although not quite so clearly, the grapheme can be read *taşlap*, a reading I had also considered. My preference for *şila-* "to put aside" was motivated by semantic considerations: *taşla-* "to throw down or away" implies that the subject disposes of something for good. *Şila-* implies that the subject sets aside something for a limited time. With the adverb *yana* "again," *şila-* makes better

sense: One does not dispose of one's shame once and for all, but sets it aside under certain conditions.

The merit of Menges's speculation that our text has *tašla-* and not *šila-* in the distich mentioned above cannot be decided on the basis of either orthography or semantics. We need –what Menges did not provide– the testimony of other similar texts, such as other works by the same Hāliš, published by K. Erarslan (“Hāliš'in hikmetleri” [The Aphorisms of Hāliš], *Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, XX [1973], 105–156). One of the *hikmats* has the following line: *madad har dam alardın izlänür taşlap uyatini* (p. 117) “One casts away one's shame, with every breath one seeks prolongation (of one's life) from him.” Further readings have convinced me that in *uyatini tašla-* we have a set expression meaning “to give up one's pride” or “to set aside one's shame.” The same expression also occurs in the following line: *Faṭima söz başladı, qanlıq közin yaşladı, uyatini taşladı, ayā babam dedi yā* (p. 138) “Faṭima began to speak, silently wept bloody tears, set aside her shame, and said, ‘Hark ye, Father!’” These examples argue for *tašla-* along with or instead of *šila-* in *The Story of Ibrāhīm*.

As I indicated in the introductory part of this paper, Menges has contempt for Late Chagatay works, but the emergence of the idiom *uyatini tašla-* may indicate how important such works are for lexical studies.

The phrase körmäy olsaq.— Concerning line 79: 2 *azaldın barçamiz kür bolsaq erdi sizi bu haldä körmäy olsaq erdi* “If only we had been blind from the very beginning of time and had been spared (the sorrow of) beholding you in this state” Menges recommends a number of changes. First of all, he suggests *körmay* instead of *körmäy*, without any further explanation. But why should a verbal stem with a front vowel be followed by a negative formant with a back vowel?

Also, Menges hesitates to accept the fact that the variants *bol-* and *ol-* can occur in one and the same distich and reiterates his belief that *ol-* “in der čayatajischen Verbalkomposition weniger oder nicht vorkommen scheint” (seems to occur rarely or not at all in Chagatay verbal compositions). That is a mistaken idea. The use of *ol-* and *bol-* in the same distich is quite frequent in Eastern Middle Turkic, for example, Khujandī's *kim olğay yārīdın āzār bolmaz seniṅ teq bir yolī bēzār bolmaz* (*Latāfat-nāma*, ed. Fazylov, 238) “Who does not become hurt by his beloved? (Every lover does.) (Yet he) would not even once

grow weary (of the suffering you make him endure), unlike you (who would grow weary of your lover's worship of you), "or Gadā'ī's *davlat-i didārīdīn yā rabb ki maḥrūm olğa men bā vucūd-i dard-i 'išqīnġ gar tilār bolsam davā* "O Lord, were I to ask for a remedy for the pain of His love, I would be deprived of the happiness of beholding Him" (*Dīvān*, 18.5), or in the *Muqaddīmatu's-ṣalāt, raḥmat-i Haqq mudām anġa bolġay tā qiyāmat qača mudām olġay* "May God's mercy always be directed to him. May it be with him always to the Day of Resurrection" (2v:1). The use of *ol-* and *bol-* in variation was a matter of style, not an accident, as Menges speculates. He would accept *ol-* and *bol-* in one and the same distich only on the analogy of *bunġ* and *munġ* – one a Southern, the other an Eastern Turkic form – which in our poem occur, if not in the same distich, yet very close to one another.

Unfounded is Menges's statement that *ol-* does not occur in what he calls verbal compositions. The use of *ol-*, as compared to *bol-*, is limited in Chagatay, but this limitation is not bound to lexical or grammatical functions. When *ol-* occurs, it can fulfil all the functions of its variant *bol-*. Thus, contrary to Menges's view, it can be an auxiliary verb in verbal inflection, as in Navā'ī's *ayitqil kim sen ḥud ittiġ cān daġi čġmaġta dur, bašīma yetkür va gar ḥud kelmäs olsa yalbaru* (Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 268) "Tell [my heart], [Now that] you have gone away, the soul [itself] is about to depart. Ask it to return to me, and if it does not do so, [then] implore it [to return]," or verbal elements in phrasal verbs as Bābur's *könġlüm bu ġaribliġta šād olmadī āh, ġurbatta sevünmäs emiš albatta kiši* (ibid., p. 271) "In this strange land my heart has not been happy, alas! But then of course a person is never happy in a strange land," and so on.

Menges doubts that *olsaq* is the proper reading in line 79r:2 quoted above. Not able to recognize the ligature of *ls'* written in a tilted position above the line, he reads *usaq* and says that "im Ms ist an der Stelle aber von einem *lām* keine Spur zu finden" (in the MS on that place there is no trace of a *lām*). The *lām* is there and indeed must be so, because our distich is built up on a *lām* rhyme, *kür bolsaq erdi / körmäy olsaq erdi*. Menges's *usaq* would leave us with no rhyme. Even more important, the use of *u-* as a verb went out of use long before *The Story of Ibrāhīm* was composed. The claim that it occurs here is nonsensical. The form *körmäy usaq* itself is clearly impossible. It suggests that the verb *u-* appears here as a descriptive verb with a negative gerund of the main verb. I wonder whether Menges has ever seen *u-* in such a combination?

It contradicts everything we know about the use of this verb, indeed, even what Menges says about it in his *Turkic Languages*.

“*Dikä-*” an iterative verb?— For 79v:8 *ham dikäy bärmäs iki ‘alamğa durra bunġini* “She will never tire of expressing all her sorrow (at the loss of) her (son, the) Pearl of the Two Worlds” Menges recommends an entirely different translation because he regards the verb *dikä-* as an iterative form derived from *dik-* by means of the suffix *-a*. For the form *dik-* he refers to the *Tuhfatu’z-zakiyya*, which he misquotes: *dik-* occurs not on page 115 but on page 165. For his iterative *dikä-* he has no single piece of direct evidence, but he postulates it from Turkmen *dikäl-* and *dikält-*. This view is untenable: (1) As indicated above, we know of no instances in Eastern Middle Turkic where the iterative is formed by means of *-a*. Menges himself, who promotes this idea, is unable to produce even one convincing example. (2) Turkmen *dikäl-* “to become straight, stand erect” is not a derivative of a nonexistent *dikä-*, iterative or not, and also has nothing to do with the verb *dik-* “to erect, stick (into the ground), set, plant.” It derives from the adjective *dik* “straight” through the suffix *-äl*, in the same way as *oňgal-* “to heal” (intransitive) derives from *oňg*, *tüzäl-*, “to get well” from *tüz*, and so on (see Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik*, pp. 218–219). (3) It is not a passive form, let alone the passive of an iterative, just as *dikält-* is not a passive causative, but simply a causative.

The meaning which Menges attributes to his imaginary iterative formation, comes from that of *dik-*. But whereas *dik-* occurs with concret meanings, Menges’s definition shifts from the concrete to the abstract, from “to put up’, erect, plant” to “to put up one’s sorrow,” whatever that may mean. He translates the above line, this time, unfortunately, into English as “she will not put up [for sale?] in the two worlds the Pearl’s sorrow” by which he apparently means that Ibrāhīm’s mother will not continue grieving for her son either here or in the hereafter. This contradicts the story in which Ibrāhīm himself predicts that his mother will live in grief in this world and asks his friends to come by her house and console her. Menges’s translation implies that Ibrāhīm’s mother also renounced her son, that is, carried out the same sacrifice for which only the Prophet was destined.

I think *dikä-* in the line above is a variant of *tükä-* “to come to an end.” The initial *ä-* may be an Oghuz form or, simply, an orthographical variant of *t-*. The form *tikä-* is attested in Kashgharī’s *Dīvān Luġat at-turk* (ibid., p. 207). The accusative *bunġini* in the line led me

to conclude that *dikä-* here is transitive. I see it differently now: The transitive verb which governs *bunġinī* is in the previous line. The logical subject of the intransitive *dikä-* is *bunġ*, which it modifies through the nominal form *dikäy bärmäs*, yielding the phrase *dikäy bärmäs bunġ* "a sorrow which never ceases." The literal translation of *o ham aytar sizlärä köngligä tolġan munġinī ham dikäy bärmäs iki 'ālamğa durra bunġinī* is "she will tell you of all the miseries that fill her heart and also of her unending sorrow (at the loss of) her (son, the) Pearl of the Two Worlds."

Vowel harmony of suffixes.— For *hukminī* in 79:8 Menges suggests *hukmini*, that is, suffixes with front /i/ vowels on a stem with a back vowel, but he does not explain why. The form he gives is an obvious error.

Persian izāfat indicated by a waw.— About line 79v:9 *banda män bē-čāra män cān-i cihānlar alvidā* "I am (his) servant, I have no recourse, dear ones, farewell!" Menges remarks that the manuscript has *cān-u cihānlar*, and he translates it into English as "all dear ones [!]." Menges loses sight of the elementary, In Middle Turkic the set expression that conveys the meaning of "dear one" is *cān-i cihān* or *cihān cānī* "the life of this world," that is, the one without whom this world is worthless. *The Story of Ibrāhīm* has the same *izāfat* structure. That *izāfat* is indicated by a *waw*, is not unusual in Eastern Middle Turkic. See, for example, *ياروغار* for *yār-i ġār* "companion in the ceve" (i.e., *Abū Bakr*) in the *Nahcu'l-farādis* (47v:4). For Menges's translation "all dear ones" there is no lexical or grammatical justification.

The transcription of Arabic ج.— Menges calls the symbol *c* for the voiced affricate as in *جان* "irreführend" (misleading) and insists on the use of *ž*—which he applied in his *Turkic Languages*, or *dž*—which he employed in his *Volkskundliche Texte*. But *ž* looks quite awkward in an English publication and *dž* violates the principle of one character for one phoneme. I prefer *c* chiefly because there is a modern Turkish language with a writing system which has this character for the same consonant and also because it is much more convenient for typing or printing.

"*Kögüs*" or "*köküs*?"— In line 79v:11 *ham anam kögsidä qalġay bola arman yigilip* "and the sorrow in my mother's heart will grow still more," Menges, with no explanation, recommends *köksidä* for *kögsidä*. Since the major sources have *kögüs*, I see no reason for accepting his suggestion.

“*Bola*” or “*tola?*”— For *bola* in the same line Menges recommends *tola* “gänzlich” (total or totally), without specifying whether it should be an adjective or an adverb. While *tola* is possible – the Arab grapheme has no diacritics – it does not fit the context. The structure of the sentence, which in prose would be *anam kögsidä bola arman yigilip qalgay*, requires an adjective, a modifier to *arman*, not an adverb. As an adjective, however, *tola* in *tola arman* “total/whole/entire sorrow” does not make sense.

The phoneme /l/.— Menges’s use of two different lateral phonemes, /l/ and /ʎ/, is not warranted for Middle Turkic. He is also inconsistent in his use of these symbols: he has /l/ in *tola* and /ʎ/ in *bola*.

“*Barisî*” or “*bisyâr?*”— In 80r:4 *barisî anda yiglattî közini* “all his friends wept,” Menges suggests *bisyâr* for *barisî*, but this word violates the prosody of the line, nor does the orthography itself permit us to read *bisyâr*. I have already pointed out that an *alif*, *yod*, or *waw* for an /a/, /i/, or /u/ in the first syllable may be omitted if the word is not monosyllabic.

Arabic ف [ف <] and its transcription.— Menges says that my reading *yaw* – for the grapheme ياف in line 81v:8 is “grundlos” (without foundation) and that the word is “2. sg. imperat. von *jap* – ‘zumachen, –decken’” (the second person singular of the imperative of *yap* – ‘to close, cover’). Menges did not realize that *yaw* – is a variant of *yap* –, the same verb he mentions (for the same phenomenon cf. *yawçur* – < *yapşur* –, *yawçun* – < *yapçun* –, and so on). As for my grounds for *yaw* –, the character is conventionally transcribed as /w/. It was frequently used in Eastern Middle Turkic orthography to indicate a bilabial spirant that had developed from a voiced bilabial plosive, see, for example, *ew* “house” (Old Turkic *äb* ~ *äv*) in the *Mu‘inu’l-murid*, and *suw* “water” (< Old Turkic *sub*) in the *Nahcu’l-faradis*. The verb *yaw* – (< *yap* –) in our text does not mean “to close, cover,” as Menges translates it, but only “(for God) to cover up (someone’s sins),” that is, “to forgive.”

The term şifâ‘at.— In his discussion of line 81v:6, Menges bases his criticism on his own falsification of my rendering. My text is *ilâhî umma-timgä äylä rahmat qiyâmat kün anî äyläy şifâ‘at* “O God, direct your mercy toward my Community! Grant me the power to intercede for its members on the Day of Resurrection!” and this is faithful to the manuscript. Menges quotes my line with a slight but decisive change: *äyläy şifâ‘at* has become *äylä şifâ‘at*, an imperative form has become the volutative of the first person singular. Now Muḥammad does not ex-

press to God his desire to intercede for the Community on the Day of Resurrection, but asks God to carry out the *šifā'at* Himself! But who would God intercede with?

Apparently puzzled by this, Menges interprets *šifā'at* as I indicated earlier in this paper, it is quite frequent in the works of *Gadā'i*, *Navā'i* *Bābur*, and many others.

Glossary

Menges recommends many corrections to the Glossary. Only two, however – both misprints – can be accepted: On page 57, under the entry *ḥalā'iq*, the word for “angels” should read *malā'ik*; on page 58 in the Glossary – and not in 81r:4 of the Text, as Menges indicates – the name of Abraham's son should read *Ismā'il*. Only the correct forms occur elsewhere in the book.

Since Menges's observations on the Glossary are presented haphazardly as casual remarks or conjectural asides to lexical items, I will discuss them according to the issues they touch upon.

Accuracy of definitions. – Menges suggests several incorrect definitions: *Tärmül*–, the metathetic variant of *tālmür*–, cannot mean “erwartungsvoll, sehnsüchtig, ängstlich herumschauen” (to look around with expectation, longing, eagerness) in our context unless we believe that the Death Angel wanted the Prophet to sit by and look around in expectation while he was snatching away *Ibrāhīm*'s soul. “To grieve bitterly” fits the context better (cf. Chagatay *tālmür*– “kummervoll dastehen” [to stand by in grief], Radl. III, 1091). It is also incorrect to say that *hargiz*, *hēc kim*, *hēc kiši*, and *hēc nemä* have negative meanings “nur mit dem negativen Aspekt beim Verb” “Vorrang” (priority), “Vorrecht” (privilege), or even “das Recht der Vorwegnahme” (the right of forestalling), meanings which he attributes to Redhouse's *Turkish and English Lexicon*. Thus, this time again into English, he translates the last part of the line: “Grant [my Community] priority on the Day of Resurrection.” Redhouse, however, has two basic meanings: “1. an interceding; intercession. 2. a claiming a right of preemption; the right of preemption” (1128b). Menges has chosen the second meaning which, however, relates to the right to purchase something before it is offered to others. This is not at issue here. Menges then mistranslates this very specific meaning into a German word with a much broader meaning: “Vorrang” (priority). But in accordance with the teachings of Islam *šifā'at* can only mean “intercession,” Redhouse's first meaning.

Menges is certainly correct when he points out that Islamic works must be translated with a knowledge of Islam.

Gerund in -p plus "ol."— In line 82v:7 *ḥabībim ḥāṭiri cam' qilsun qiyāmatda šifā'at qilip olsun* "(Tell) my friend to set his mind at ease and that on the Day of Resurrection he will intercede (for his Community)" Menges recommends *qilip alsun* instead of *qilip olsun*. A -p gerund plus *al-* structure, however, would suggest that the prophet will intercede with God for himself. That *ol-* "kommt als Auxiliare im Ča-yatajischen kaum oder nicht vor" (occurs rarely or not at all as an auxiliary in Chagatay) is a misconception. As (only with the negative aspect of the verb). In both Turkic and Persian the negative meaning is inherent in these words (see G. Lazard, *Grammaire du persian contemporain*, pp. 119–120; Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, pp. 113–119; and so on). The fact that the verb associated with them is negative is a question of grammar and has no reflection on the semantics of these words. Menges would be correct only if *hargiz*, *hēč kim*, *hēč kiši*, and *hēč nemä* had a positive meaning alone or in conjunction with a positive verb, that is, if, for example, *hēč kiši kelmädi* "nobody came" could be transformed into **hēč kiši keldi* with the meaning of **"somebody"* or "everybody came," which is not the case. Menges, when he speaks of the "negative aspect" of verbs, uses the term "aspect" improperly. Positive and negative forms of verbs are not aspects but statuses (see W.N. Francis, *The Structure of American English* [New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958], pp. 337–339). I do not understand what Menges intended to correct in regard to the item *marcān*. I define it as "coral" and his "Koralle" is the German equivalent. This word, which goes back to Greek *margaritos*, entered Middle Turkic through Persian. While it also occurs in Arabic, most lexicographers regard it as Persian (Steingass, Platts) or Arabic-Persian (Zenker). Menges's claim that the word came from India has no foundation.

Contextual meaning in the definition of words and idioms.— Menges loses sight of the principle in modern lexicography according to which items in the glossary to a literary document must be defined on the basis of the meaning they have in that document. Although data from other lexicographic sources should also be consulted, it is the context in that particular document that must determine the final definition. Menges, on the contrary, lays greater emphasis on basic or primary meanings suggested by the etymology of the word or by the derivational elements of which the word consists. By now he should have realized the disad-

vantages of his view since it very often led him to such fragrant mistranslations as his definition of *cazā-nahor* as "Leute . . . die nicht ihren Lohn (Vergeltung) erhalten haben" (people who did not receive the payment due them [recompense]) *Volkskundliche Texte*, II, 81) rather than "usurer," or his definition of *bāt-mähri* (<*bad-mahrī*) as "von schlechter Liebe" (out of a bad love [sic]) (ibid., II, 89) rather than "unkind." But whether he simply makes up these meanings, or takes them from Radloff, Steingass, or Redhouse, he never checks whether they are actually attested in primary sources. Thus for the word *dāg*, defined in my glossary as "suffering," he offers the correction "Brandmal" (scar from burning), one of the meanings in Redhouse. This gives us the following translation for our line, *dedi ay hamsabaqlar ġunča-i bāg nečük kün dur näčük söz dur näčük dāg* (78:1) "He (started) to speak, 'O classmates, flower-buds of (this) garden! What a day, what words, what a scar from burning!'"—perhaps an eyewitness report on the branding of the village bull, but certainly not the expression of a schoolboy's anxiety! "Suffering" is not only more appropriate for the context, it is also attested in other texts such as Sayf's *Gulistān bi't-turkī* (25v:4) and Modern dialects such as Tajik and Uzbek.

Since *ald* occurs in the text only as a postposition, I give it in the glossary only as such. Menges is, therefore, wrong when he calls it, as it occurs in our text, "ein regulärer Nomen" (a regular noun). The form *aldin*, which Menges mentions, is an adverb, not a noun in the instrumental case. Also, *qanī* in our text does not mean "wie? wieso?" (how? how come?) but rather "after all, well." This meaning occurs in Modern Turkish and in several Middle Turkic documents such as the *Mu'īnu'l-murīd. Tanu-* and *tani* are not the same verb but morphological variants, which our text has in two slightly different meanings. Our description must clearly reflect this situation. The Arabic plural *abrār*, a technical term in learned Islamic texts, means "sainted ones" or "saints" in the popular layer of the language (of. Tajik *abror* "pious, holy, saint" (Rastorgueva, *Tajiksko-russkii slovar'* [Moscow: State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries, 1954], p. 16a). Menges claims that the ver *kečür-* in our text is causative and must be translated as *such* but in fact it is transitive and means "to forgive," as it does in Uzbek (Borovkov, (11b) or in the language of the *'Atabatu'l-haqā'iq* (Arat, p. xxxiv), and in many other sources. Here, however, there is an error which escaped Menges's attention. In the glossary the definition of *keč-* "to give up, renounce" was mistakenly repeated for *kečür-*. This definition also found its way into the English index (p.

74 under "give" and p. 77 under "renounce"). *Keçür-* should be defined as "to forgive" in the glossary, and it should be under "forgive" in the English index. There is no need to correct the translation where, properly, we have "to forgive."

Word classes.— In some cases Menges fails to recognize word classes. He insists, for example, that *birlä* in the phrase *Hasan birlä Husayn* is not a conjunction but a postposition. Elementary grammars and lexicographic works of all Turkic dialects describe *birlä* as used here as a conjunction (see *Türkçe Sözlük*, s.v.). Indeed Menges himself translates *birlän* (a variant of *birlä*) as a conjunction in his *Volkskundliche Texte: Hasan birlän Husayn* "Hasan und Husayn" (I, 39). Earlier in this paper I discussed the verb *ol-* and indicated that, contrary to Menges's claim, it does occur in our text in the function of an auxiliary. *Biri* and *birisi* are pronouns of full value (see *Türkçe Sözlük*, s.v.) not "bedingt" (conditionally) so.

Etymological excursions, again.— In accord with his view of the need for etymological remarks to lexical items Menges makes a few hints as to the etymology of some of the words in my glossary. Some of his remarks are commonplace in Turkic studies: That *ton* is an old loan from Sakian was suggested long ago but has never been generally accepted; that *bēkas* literally means "ohne Person" (without a person) is a matter of Persian word formation and not relevant to the meaning this loan word has in our text. Others are inaccurate or wrong: Earlier in this paper I discussed the case of *tügün-* and showed that both versions of the etymology he gives were erroneous. His view that *alar* is the plural of *a-n-* is a mistake both in regard to the history of this form and also in regard to the description of the language of our text. In *The Story of Ibrāhīm* Menges's *a-n-* does not occur, and the singular of *alar* is *o* or *ol*. The word *taht* has become a full-fledged item in Arabic, and *zamān*, although now part of the arabic lexicon, is, by origin, a Persian word (see Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi*, Part II, Glossary [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974], p. 228. There is no basis for claiming that *iy-* in our text is archaic, and the statement that it could also be read with a palatal vowel is mere speculation. From Old Turkic to the Turkic of the *Codex Cumanicus* this verb is attested only with a back vowel.

Analysis of grammatical forms.—Menges regards the form *tökärđi* as a contracted form of *tökär ärđi*, an issue I have already discussed in the section on morphology. (Menges brings up an alleged error in several sections of his paper, not always remembering his first solution, as, for

example, in the case of *tügün-*). Concerning *oynar ärdi* Menges recommends the terms "ein duratives Praeteritum, ein Imperfectum" (a durative preterit, an imperfect—he did not make up his mind as to which one) in an effort to indicate the function of this form by its name. These terms, however, cover only a small segment of the total range of functions possessed by this form. I prefer the more common term *preterit of the aorist* (see Eckmann, *Chagatay Manual*, p. 165) which indicates the formation of this tense and suggests a much broader range of functions.

The status of derivatives with foreign bases.—Menges often reveals an odd view of the status of words derived from foreign bases by native elements of derivation, such as, for example, Tajik *bagāyat*. For him such words do not fully belong to the vocabulary of the language in which they were formed but are in part foreign and in part native words, according to the provenance of their elements: In his view *bagāyat* is partly Arabic and partly Persian. I disagree: *bagāyat* is Tajik in the Tajik language and Persian in the Persian language on the principle that derivatives are fullfledged members of the vocabulary of the language in which the derivation occurred. If *bagāyat* is borrowed into Turkic, its provenance, accordingly, is Tajik (or Persian) and not, as Menges states, partly Arabic and partly Persian. *Şanavbar*, now a full-fledged member of the Arabic lexicon, is of Persian origin and the word *durra* "little pearl" in our text is an endearing diminutive of *durr* formed by the Persian suffix *-a* (cf. Persian *duhtara* "little daughter," *pisara* "little boy" in W. St. Clair-Tisdall, *Modern Persian Conversation-Grammar* [Heidelberg: Julius Gros, 1902], p. 171). Menges did not treat the phrasal verbs in the glossary under the same categories. Concerning two of them, *tāqat qil-* and *tafarruc qil-*, he states that they are Arabic. His claim is absurd: No Arab would use *tāqat qil-* to express "to endure" or *tafarruc qil-* to express "to be delighted" when speaking his native Arabic. These verbal phrases are Turkic because they are formed with the Turkic means of derivation *qil*.

Lexical treatment of phrasal verbs.—In his remarks on my Glossary, Menges quite often falsifies my data and then takes issue with the falsified forms. He takes, for example, ten verbal phrases (e.g., *intizār bol-*) which I call Turkic because they are derived from Persian or Arabic nouns (e.g., *intizār*) by means of a Turkic auxiliary (e.g., *bol-*) and then, as if contesting my view, triumphantly states that the Arabic or Persian noun in the phrase is not Turkish, a fact I would never dis-

pute. His trick would puzzle the reader who might rightfully shake his head at the implied ignorance. But the fact is that I call *intiḡār bol-* Turkic, not the noun *intiḡār*. The same applies to *bāzi qil-*, *čang sal-*, *nidā qil-*, *nihāna bol-*, *panca sal-*, *parvāz qil-*, *rašk al-*, *yād et-*, *zār yigla-*. Here, as elsewhere in his review Menges apparently was so intent upon finding errors that he decided to make some up himself.

The above discussion clearly shows that Menges's article did not achieve its objectives: it failed to contribute meaningfully to the philology of Ḥāliḡ's poem and did no more than point out a few misprints and clerical errors in my edition. It cannot, therefore, serve as a basis for judging the literary and linguistic merits of the poem or the significance of its publication. While I am grateful to Menges for his interest in my work, I cannot conceal my disappointment that he did not consider it in the context of the current state of knowledge in Turkic studies. What the late Professor Németh remarked more than fifty years ago unfortunately still bears repeating today: "Gone are the times when in Turkic studies one can get away with saying whatever one wishes."