

A LATE CHAGATAI MANUSCRIPT CONTAINING THE BIBI SESHANBA PARABLE

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Abstract: Local colloquialism increasingly influenced the formation of the late Chagatai written language. The vernacularization brought about a great deal of innovation, ranging from orthography to vocabulary in the literary language. Vernacular influences are especially intense in folk texts. In order to identify the local elements and innovations in the late Chagatai written language that are not present in classical texts, this paper focuses on a folk text. This text expresses the Bibi Seshanba parable, which is the core of the Oshi Bibi Seshanba ritual, and describes how the people should perform it. Researchers were able to identify, to date, only three lithographed copies of the narration. However, recent exploration has also uncovered a manuscript copy. The manuscript copy is the primary focus of our investigation. The Uzbek Sufi lodge in Jerusalem houses the manuscript in question. The research framework provides general information about the Bibi Seshanba parable and ritual, describes and transcribes the manuscript, translates it into English, and explores the local elements and innovations in the text's language. In transcription and translation, it has been referred to the lithographed copies to complete the missing parts. While analyzing the phonology, morphology, and vocabulary of the text, the findings were compared with their counterparts in modern Uzbek and Uyghur languages to determine the origin of local elements. Consequently, it has been revealed that the manuscript, which lacks any colophon about its penned time, was written in the late Chagatai written language, which bears traces of the local colloquial languages of the period.

Keywords: Late Chagatai, the Bibi Seshanba parable, vernacularization, Eastern Turki, Uyghur, Uzbek.

Bibi Seşenbe Kıssasını İçeren Geç Çağatayca Bir El Yazması

Öz: Yerel konuşma dili, geç Çağatay yazı dilinin şekillenmesinde giderek daha etkili bir hâle gelmiştir. Yerelleşme, edebi dilde imladan kelime dağarcığına kadar pek çok yeniliği beraberinde getirmiştir. Yerel etkiler özellikle halk metinlerinde oldukça yoğundur. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma geç Çağatay yazı dilindeki klasik dönem metinlerinde görülmeyen yerel ve yeni unsurları tespit etmek amacıyla bir halk metnine odaklanmaktadır. Bu metin, Aşı Bibi Seşenbe adlı ritüelin halk arasındaki icrasını ve ritüelin özü olan Bibi Seşenbe kıssasını anlatmaktadır. Araştırmacılar şimdiye kadar anlatının yalnızca üç taşbaskı nüshasını tespit edebilmişlerdir. Taşbaskı nüshalarla birlikte anlatının bir de yakın zamanlarda keşfedilen bir yazma nüshası mevcuttur. Bu yeni keşfedilen yazma nüsha araştırmanın temel materyalidir. Söz konusu el yazması bugün Kudüs'teki Özbek dergâhının kütüphanesinde bulunmaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında, Bibi Seşenbe kıssası ve ritüeli hakkında genel bilgiler verilmekte, yazmanın tavsifi, yazı çevirimi ve İngilizceye

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tercümesi yapılmakta ve metnin dilindeki yerel ve yeni unsurlar araştırılmaktadır. Yazı çevrimi ve tercümede eksik kısımları tamamlamak için taşbaskı nüshaları müracaat edilmiştir. Metnin ses ve şekil bilgisi ile kelime dağılımı üzerine yapılan inceleme sırasında yerel unsurların kökenlerini belirlemek amacıyla bulgular modern Özbek ve Uyghur dillerindeki muadilleriyle karşılaştırılmıştır. Sonuçta kayda geçirildiği tarihe dair herhangi bir ketebe kaydı bulunmayan el yazmasının dönemin yerli konuşma dillerinden izler taşıyan geç Çağatay yazı diliyle kaleme alındığı anlaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Geç Çağatayca, Bibi Seşenbe kıssası, yerelleşme, Doğu Türkçesi, Uyghur, Özbek.

Introduction

Some historical processes significantly influenced the establishment of the Islamic Central Asian Turkic literary language, such as the fragmentation of tribes into multiethnic entities and the escalating influence of Islamic civilization, along with a heightened inclination towards Persian urban culture. The centres of literary activity transitioned in the course of time: initially from Kashgar to the Surkhan Darya valley and Khwarezm, then to Samarkand, Herat in the south, and the Ferghana valley in the east, and later to northern India during Bābur's reign. With each transition, the language acquired local elements. Due to the intricate history of ethnic intermingling among the Turkic-speaking peoples and the fluctuating geographical centres, it is unfeasible to determine a definitive dialectal foundation for Chagatai (Boeschoten, 2022, p. 160).

The aforementioned historical developments have also complicated the process of identifying its periods in addition to the dialectal origin of the Chagatai literary language. Turkologists, Orientalists and linguists have used the term Chagatai to indicate different historical periods. Scholars have periodized the Islamic Central Asian Turkic literary language in various ways. Hence, the term Chagatai is fraught with inconsistencies. Eckmann, taking into account the suggestions of other researchers up until his time, divided the Islamic Central Asian Turkic language and Chagatai literary language into the following periods. “1. Karakhanid or Khakanian Turkic (eleventh-thirteenth centuries), 2. Khorazmian Turkic (fourteenth century), 3. Chagatay (fifteenth century – beginning of the twentieth century)” (1966, p. 9).

As for the periods of the Chagatai:

1. Pre-Classical Period (from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the composition of Navâ'i's first divan in 1465). This is a transitional period characterized by several archaisms.
2. Classical Period (1465-1600)
3. Post-Classical Period (1600-1921) characterized on one hand by the careful imitation of Navâ'i, and on the other hand by the penetration of Uzbek elements (1966, pp. 9-10).

As of the seventeenth century, local elements began to be used increasingly in the Chagatai literary language. At the end of this vernacularizing period, called the Late or Post-Classic Chagatai (Eckmann, 1966, p. 10), local varieties developed into separate written languages. The connections between the modern Uzbek and Uyghur languages, which are direct descendants of the Chagatai language, and their historical ties to Chagatai (Boeschoten, 2022, p. 161), furthermore the influences of the colloquial language on the written language (Eckmann, 1963, p. 123) are tricky topics that haven't been looked into enough.

Discussing this neglected subject, the article focuses on a late Chagatai popular text as popular texts have a wide range of vernacular elements. The text is a hitherto undiscussed folktale manuscript probably executed in the late nineteenth century. The manuscript contains the tale of Bibi Seshanba, who has shifted into a cult among the Central Asian peoples.

1. About Bibi Seshanba

Bibi Seshanba, the main heroine of the tale, is the female saint at the core of the rites called *Osh Bibiyo* and *Oshi Bibi Seshanba*¹, which are performed by only women in Uzbekistan. Bibi Seshanba, in whose honor these rituals are performed, is revered as a protector of home and family life, particularly of women (Louw, 2007, p. 155). Researchers such as Louw (2007), Kandiyoti and Azimova (2004), and Gibbon (2005) have translated *Bibi Seshanba* into English as Lady Tuesday. The female saint's Persian name, *Bibi Seshanba*, should be linked to these rites, which take place in private houses on Tuesdays at midday.²

Bibi Seshanba, around whom a cult was formed, is considered the aunt of Bahouddin Naqshband, as stated in the manuscript to be discussed below. However, the tale reported from an *otin*³ in Ferghana by Azimova says the following: "Once upon a time seven sisters came down from heaven. Two of them were *Bibi Seshanbe* and *Mushkul Kushod*. The others disappeared and were never heard of" (Kandiyoti and Azimova, 2004, p. 341). *Mushkul Kushod* (problem solver) is another female saint for whose name rituals are arranged in Central Asia. Lipovsky argues that both of them are Islamized ancient Central Asian cults of female divinities (Lipovsky, 1996, p. 5).

The *Bibi Seshanba* tale is a Central Asian variant of the Cinderella-type folktales in terms of its plot and many motifs. The *Bibi Seshanba* tale told orally among the people has been documented in manuscripts and then in lithographic prints. Louw states that the handwritten and pre-Soviet lithographic versions of this tale continue to circulate, especially among *oymullos* (female mullah) in modern Uzbekistan (2007, p. 155). While Kandiyoti and Azimova (2004) used the oral version for their article, the basic material of Gibbon 2005 is a lithographic version in a booklet containing folkloric texts, mainly the *risola* texts (manuals for craftsmanship). I detected three lithographic versions of the Bibi Seshanba story. Each of those versions is part of a collection that includes various popular texts. The collections mainly consist of identical texts, but there are some differences in terms of order and content. The first of them, *Mecmua-i Resail-i Acibe* (Miscellany of Wonderful Booklets), edited and printed in Tashkent in 1909 by Muhammad Abid bin Muhammed Kabil Ahund Nemenganî. The Bibi Seshanba story

¹ While the ritual is known as *Osh Bibiyo* in the Tajik-speaking areas of Uzbekistan, such as Bukhara, it is called *Oshi Bibi Seshanba* in Uzbek (Louw, 2007, p. 194).

² Louw, who participated in an *Osh Bibiyo* ritual held on a Tuesday in October 1998 during her fieldwork, describes elaborately the preparations and order of events of a ritual (2007, pp. 156-159).

³ "An *otin* is a female Muslim dignitary who oversees on a daily basis the lives of other women believers. Responsible for the education of women from birth to adulthood, they are in direct contact with the faithful. Even if they do not always possess formal knowledge of Islam, they none the less wield real authority over the female population. Whenever there are celebrations of national, religious, or familial importance, such as birth rituals, marriages, or funerals, the *otines* are responsible for the recitation of prayers. In this way, they fulfill the same function as mullahs and are sometimes referred to as 'women mullahs' (Fathi, 1997, p. 30).

occupies pages 97–126 (Darmenova, 2021, pp. 7,92-102). Molla Muhammed Zaferbek Muhammed Oğlu printed the second collection in 1902 (Darmenova, 2021, p. 6). The third, consisting of 160 pages but missing the initial five pages, was printed in 1911 or 1912 by an unknown person. The story occurs on pages 85–95 (Dashti, 2017, pp. 3-4,10).

All texts in the three lithographs have been transcribed, grammatically analyzed, and their vocabulary indexed by Darmenova (2021), Özer (2014), and Dashti (2017), respectively. No academic publication has discussed the only known manuscript copy of the Bibi Seshanba story.

2. About the Manuscript

The manuscript discussed in this article is held at the library of the Uzbek Zawiya (al-Zawiyah al-Uzbakiyah) in Jerusalem. Bashir Barakat cataloged the manuscripts at the cited library in 2003. In Barakat's Arabic catalog, this manuscript has been called *Risalah fi al-tasawwuf 'ind al-Naqshabandiyah* (Treatise on Sufism among the Naqshabandiyah) and has catalog entry number 23 (2003, p. 190). Within the scope of the digitization project, which ran between 2011 and 2015 in Jerusalem, the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library digitized all of the manuscripts at this library. The digitized manuscripts are available to view online in the HMML reading room. This article was prepared using digital images of the manuscript from the mentioned online reading room⁴.

First and foremost, it should be noted that this manuscript is uncompleted at its end. No colophon exists about who, when, or where this manuscript was written. As for its physical features, it consists of eleven leaves. The leaves don't have a binding. The binding dimensions of this manuscript are 21 x 13.4 x 0.2 cm. Wormholes have damaged some of its leaves. The writing space on its pages is 14 x 8.5 cm. The manuscript's page layout, which was scribed in Nastaliq calligraphy format with black ink except for some words written with red ink, is nine lines in one column for each page. Some diacritic signs have been employed for several words throughout the manuscript. This manuscript is foliated in Arabic numerals from one to eleven. The foliations are on the recto pages, while the catchwords are on the verso pages. On the last page, some of the text is erased due to moisture damage (Çakmak, 2024, pp. 272-273).

3. Transcription

1v (1) bismillāhi'r-raḥmāni'r-raḥīm (2) al-ḥamdu lillāhi rabbi'l-'alamīn wa'l-'āqibatu li'l-muttāqīn (3) wa'ş-şalatu wa's-salāmu 'alā rasūluhi muḥammadin wa alihi (4) wa aṣḥābihi acma'in ammā rāviyān andağ rivāyāt (5) qılurlar kim hār kim fārzānd tälāb vā bāht (6) tälāb vā dunyā tälāb vā āḥirāt tälāb bolsa 2r (1) vā yānā hār ḥacāti bolsa ḥāzrāt-i bibi (2) seşānbā ḥ'acā bahāu'd-dīn nāqşbāndniñ (3) ḥalalariniñ ḥāqqudā aş qılıp (4) ötkärsä hār neçük ḥacāti bolsa (5) räwā bolğay bī-şakk māqşādīgā yetkay (6) aşları bu tārīqādūr kim āğār⁵ (7) qıladurgān kişi bolsa yetti öydin (8) un tilāsün ammā bir ḥatunlik öy (9) bolsun āğār qıladurgān kişi bolsa öz öyiniñ 2v (1) tört burcīgā tört tábāq un qoyup (2) andın alıp bir qazan sütlik umaç (3) üç çäppātī bir külçā qırq çirāğ qılıp sufrāni (4)

⁴ You can access images and catalog information for the manuscript through the following link: <https://w3id.org/vhmmml/readingRoom/view/520925>

⁵ The scribe has drawn over the word "yürüyädürgän" which he considered wrong from this point to the beginning of the next line. However, in the lithographic copies, this word and its sequence are as follows: "yürädürgän ḥatun bolsa yetti öydin un tilāp alsun āğār yürümäydürgän bolsa öyni tört burcīgā..." (Darmenova, 2021, p. 92; Dashti, 2017, p. 42). These are more contextually consistent sentences. I have therefore chosen to translate these sentences.

yayıp qoyup andın bir şırnlik (5) mäyiz vā ḥ'āh ḥālvā-yi tār ḥāzrāt-i bibi seşānbāni (6) ḥāqqidā qoysun ḥār kimniñ murādı ve müşkil (7) işi bolsa şol öygä cem' bolsun (8) ḥatunlar vā yātimlār birlā yesün erkāk (9) kişigä bermäsün ba'da'z-ān uşol mäclisdä 3r (1) ḥāzrāt-i bibiniñ qışşā⁶läriñi⁷ bāyān (2) qılsun çirāğ öçkünçä barça zā'f-(3)-lār birlā iki rāk'āt namāz oqup qıblāgā baqıp (4) oltursun çirāğ öçkändin soñ (5) ḥāzrāt-i bibiniñ qışşāläriñi bāyān (6) qılsun andın soñ ḥāzrāt-i bibiniñ (7) ārvāḥlarıgā bağışlasun andın soñ (8) ta'āmnı yesünlār öy igäsi aşnı (9) yātim qız birlā içsün barçası tābāqni yalasun 3v (1) ḥār kim bu aşnı qılıp çın iḥlās birlā (2) sağınsa vā ḥār kim rāst i'tiqād birlā (3) qışşāläriñi bāyān qılsa vā ḥār kim niyāzını (4) berip eşitsä hāmmāsini murādı⁸ ḥāşıl⁹ (5) bolur inşā'allahu ta'ālā ḥāzrāt-i bibi seşānbā (6) aydılar qiyāmātdā men murādıgā yetkürmäsām (7) zāmin men dedi qışşāläri bu turur bir yātim (8) qız bar erdi ögāy ananıñ qolıda ḥ'ārliq (9) tartar erdi anası ḥār küni siyirni tapşurur 4r (1) erdi şāhrāgā çıqıp bir pāhtāni yegirip (2) bu siyirni baqıp kel dep yibārūr (3) erdi ol tā keçgäçä yığlay yığlay yegir almay (4) öygä kelse köp gāzāb¹⁰ 'uqūbāt (5) qılur erdi bir küni bir pāhtā birlā siyirni (6) alıp şāhrāgā çıqıp yığlap yürür (7) erdi bi-yāk-bār siyir qaçıp bir gārğa (8) kirdi kördi kim bir bibi-yi müy-i sāfid (9) yüzi tā'at nūrıdın muşāffā vā bātını vālāyāt 4v (1) tācāllisidin mucāllā özi 'ibādātğā māşğūldür (2) qız sālām berip kirdi ersä bibi 'alāyk (3) aldı qız yaḥşı körüp qızni āḥvālini sordılar (4) qız mā'yūs vā muẓṭāriblik birlā yığlap (5) āḥvālini bir bir bāyān qıldı anasını gāzāb (6) 'uqūbātläriñi bir bir bāyān aydı āl-qışşā (7) ḥāzrāt-i bibi qızniñ ḥāliğā rāḥm kelip (8) aydılar āy fārzānd sen imdi kündä kelip (9) meni körgil men seniñ üçün du'ā qılay 5r (1) sen barıp pāhtāni siyirgä yedürgil (2) ifni kötarip alğıl dep āmr qıldılar (3) qız ḥursānd vā ḥoş bolup kündä kelip (4) ḥāzrāt-i bibi anasıgā iltti anası bu işgä (5) ḥāyrān qalıp 'ilācını tapmadı āl-qışşā bir kün (6) siyirni soydı ersä gāmgīn bolup ḥāzrāt-i (7) bibini ḥizmətläriğā barıp yığlap (8) aydı kim yā bibi siyirni bāḥānāsi birlā (9) ḥizmətiñizgä kelip yüziñizni körär erdim 5v (1) düşmān anam siyirni soydı imdi meni (2) kelgāni qoymaydur dep zār zār çün ābr-i nāv-bāḥār (3) yığladı ḥāzrāt-i bibi köp 'ināyāt-(4)-lār birlā tāsāllī berdilər aydılar kim āy balam (5) köp yığlamağıl siyirni hāmmā ustuh'ān-(6)-larıñı yığıp kömgil dep yibārdiler (7) qız yığıp kömdi anası ḥār kündä (8) köp māşāqqātlār körgüzür erdi (9) bir kün şāhrni uluğ ākābiri toy qılıp 6r (1) hāmmāni ḥābār qıldı hāmmā qız cāvān yasanıp toygā (2) ketti ol qızni anası hām ketti qızni (3) otquzup bir gārbiḥ çavarını tarıqqa¹¹ (4) qoşup berdi tā men kelgünçä munı ayırıp (5) qoy dep qızgā berip ketti qız anı ayır almas (6) yığlap olturup erdi bir mākiyān (7) tavuğ kelip anı ayırıp berdi qız (8) ḥoş-vāqt bolup vāqtini gānīmāt (9) tafip ḥāzrāt-i bibini aldılarıgā 6v (1) bardı ḥāzrāt-i bibi sordılar āy balam (2) neçük keldiñ qız yığlap aydı şāhrni (3) ākābiri toy qılıpdur hām qız cāvān uluğ (4) kiçik toygā

⁶ The scribe has written the Arabic word "qışşā" in accordance with its pronunciation (قيصنه) instead of its original form (قصه).

⁷ The word has been scribed in the genitive case (qışşāläriñi) but this case inflection is incompatible with the text's context. The proper case suffixes should be accusative

⁸ The scribe has mistakenly written an accusative suffix "نى" on the left side of this word and then drawn over it.

⁹ The scribe has written the Arabic word "ḥāşıl" in accordance with its pronunciation (حاصيل) instead of its original form (حاصل).

¹⁰ The scribe has written the Arabic word "gāzāb" in accordance with its pronunciation (غذاب) instead of its original form (غضب) throughout the manuscript

¹¹ This word has been written as "tāriqqa" (طريقه) in the manuscript.

ketti anam hām ketti men sizni (5) körgäli keldim dedilär äy balam seniñ (6) köñlün¹² yaman bolmasun toyğa arzuñ (7) bolsa bargıl dep du‘ā qıldılar bāhišt-(8)-din bir boqça hullā vā bir qutı tıllā vā neççä hūr¹³-(9)-lar hizmātkār keldilär qızni yasatıp 7r (1) toygā iltılār ol ākābirgā hābār¹⁴ yetti kim i‘zāz (2) ikrām birlä piş-bāz çıqıp pādīshāh-(3)-nın qızı dep anı içgāri kir¹⁵-güzdi türlük tā‘ām ālvān ni‘māt-(5)-lār tarttı ol qız yuqarıda olturup (6) nāzār qıldı kördi kim anası pāygāhda (7) olturupdur qız sarqutlarını (8) anasıgā qaytardı özi çıqıp (9) ketti barıp sār-pālarını hāzrāt-i 7v (1) bibigā tapşurdı ilgāri kelip öydä olturdi (2) soñra anası sarqutlarını alıp keldi (3) ammā kelürdä qızni bir ayağıdaki tıllā käfş¹⁶ni yolda (4) tüşüp qalıp erdi anı bir kişi tapıp ol ākā-(5)-birgā ilti ākābir şāhrni hābārlätti hār kimni ayağıgā bu käfş (6) lāyıq kelsä men anı ‘izzāt vā hūrmātlār birlä alayın dep (7) tāhqiç qıldurdi hīç kimni ayağıgā lāyıq kelmādi (8) bir kişi aydı bir hātūnnı qızı bar dedi aña kişi yibār-(9)-di qız anası işitip ögäy qızni tñnurgā yaşurdı 8r (1) özinı qızını körsätti aña lāyıq kelmādi qız ayağını (2) sunup alıp bardı lāyıq kelmādi qızniñ bir mākīyān (3) tavuğı bar erdi köp bī-tāqāt bolup çıqırdı (4) işārāt qıldı kelgān adām hāyrān bolup turdı ba-(5)-rıp tñnurnı kördi kim bir hūr pārī qız olturupdur (6) käfşni kigüzdilär aña muvāfiq keldi şol hāldā (7) hāmmālāri hoş-vāqt bolup i‘zāz vā ikrām birlä ol (8) qızni toy qılıp aldı ol küni ‘āqd qılıp nikāh¹⁷ qıldılar (9) qırq keçä kündüz toy tāmāşā birlä aldı andın soñ 8v (1) qız āhistä bibini aldıgā bardı hāzrāt-i bibi aydılar (2) qızım sen bu märtābāgā yettiñ mihnätñ rāhātğā māsāqqātñ (3) dāvlātğā mubāddāl boldı imdi meni körmäs sen (4) meni hāqqimda aş qılıp zā‘īflārgā vā yātīm qızlar birlä (5) içip du‘ā qılğıl uluğluğ birlä meni unutup (6) ketmāğıl bu qışşāni bāyān qılğıl hār kişi (7) ihlās birlä işitsälär vā i‘tiqād qılsa seniñ dek (8) murādıgā yetkürmäsām men zāmin¹⁸ men dedilär ammā hār kim (9) quruq işitse quruq qalur dep ruḥsāt berdilär 9r (1) qız qayıp keldi andağ zāryādlār birle (2) ārāstā qıldı türüşüp etiltilär neççä (3) müddātdin soñ hāzrāt-i bibi väşiyāt-(4)-lāri yādıgā tüşti öyiniñ (5) tōrt burcıgā tōrt tābāq un (6) qoydı andın alıp bir dekçä (7) umaç iki çāppāti bir külçä pişürüp (8) olturup erdi eşikdin (9) ākābir kirip keldi aşni körüp 9v (1) ... kāyidi vā nā-sāzā qıldı meniñ (2) dāvlātimgā hāqārāt yetkürüp bu nā lāzım-(3)-dur ki hānüz fāqīrlıkdin çıqmaydur sen dep (4) sōküp aşni tōküp çıqıp ketti fālīz (5) yerigā ketti keç bolup öygā (6) qaytar boldı qızni küyüngāni sındurgānigā (7) pişmān boldı üç zābüçāni alıp (8) hūrcingā keltürüp saldı qız-(9)-nın küyüngāni alay dep keldi kördi 10r (1) kim şāhrgā gūlgūlā tüşüpdür pādīshāhniñ (2) üç oğlı avgā çıqıp ekān üç kündin (3) beri kelmāydür dep izlāgūçilār izlāşıp-(4)-dür nā-gāh izlāgūçilārniñ közi muña (5) tüşti kördiler kim hūrcindin qan (6) aqıp baradurur dārḥāl hūrcinni açtı-(7)-lar kördiler üç şāhzādāni başı kākul-(8)-lāri çıрмаşıp yatur erdi ol (9) atdın yıqıtıp boynıgā gūl salıp süd- 10b (1)-rediler ākābir tāwāllā qıldı kim bir sā‘āt furşāt (2) berin men öygā barıp kelāy dedi (3) meni bir gunāhım ārmān boldı tā andın tāvbā (4) qılay andın soñ bir qaşuq qanım (5) pādīshāhdın tāşādduq bolsun dedi (6) ruḥsāt berdiler ākābir öygā kelip qızdın (7) sordı kim ol neçük aş erdi (8) men tōküp munça bālālārgā giriftār (9) boldum dep yıgladı qız alarnı 11a (1) qışşāsini bāyān qıldı ersä ākābir tāv-(2)-

¹² Instead of the expected combination nūn and kāf Arabic letters (نك), the second-person possessive suffix /+(X)ñ/ at the end of the word was spelled with only the letter nūn (كونكلون).

¹³ "var neççä neççä" was written in the manuscript, but this phrase is meaningless in terms of the context, so I chose the phrase in the lithographic version of the tale.

¹⁴ The scribe has crossed out the word "yetti" which was incorrectly written at this point.

¹⁵ The scribe has erroneously written the past tense suffix "di" (دى) and then lined over it.

¹⁶ The scribe has misspelled this word as käfüş (كفوش).

¹⁷ The scribe has misspelled this word as nikāh (نكاه).

¹⁸ The scribe has misspelled this word as zāmin (زامن).

bā¹⁹ qıldı tázarr-(3)-u ‘qıldı köp nersälärni həzrät-i (4) seşānbāni həqläridä etip erdi (5) yānā cällädlärni qasığa bardı hāmā (6) həlq söyünçi dep yürürlär işitip (7) hoş-vāqt boldı pādīşāh-(8)-zādā keldi hūrçinni körsä-(9)-lär üç zāmiçä turup- 11v (1)-dur bu işdin hāmā tāhşin vā tā‘accub (2) qaldılar vā ihlāşlar[ı] miñ ihlā-(3)-ş boldı köp nāzir niyāz həzrät-i (4) bibi seşānbāni²⁰ həqläridä berdilər (5) hər kişi hər məqsāddä aş qılıp (6) bibi seşānbāni ärvāhlarığa (7) ...²¹ bibi qolıdın tutqaylar (8) ... lar həzrät (9) ... [qissälä]rini bāyān 12r (1) qılsa²²

4. Translation

(1v:1-3v:7) In the name of God the Compassionate and merciful. Praise be to the Lord of the worlds, and the future life is for the pious. And greetings and praise be unto His prophet Muḥammad, his family and all his companions! The narrators narrate that if someone wants to have a child, fortune, both temporary and eternal prosperity, or has any desire, she should make a dish and donate it in honor of Khodja Bahauddin Nakshband’s aunt Bibi Seshanba. When he fulfills the mentioned stipulation, any kind of demand will come true, and undoubtedly, she will attain her aim. This is the way to make the dish: If it is a woman who can get out, she should ask for flour from seven houses, and if it is a woman who cannot get out, she should place four bowls of flour in the four corners of her house. Then she should take flour from them and prepare a wheat porridge with milk, three unleavened cakes, and a small loaf and light forty lamps. Then she should prepare a meal set and put either raisins or fresh fruits in it in honor of Bibi Seshanba. Whoever has a wish or problem should gather at that home, eat with women and orphans, [but she should] refrain from giving from it to a man. Thereafter, she should narrate the story of Hazrat Bibi Seshanba to the assemblage. She should perform two prayer cycles with all the destitute people and sit facing the qibla till the candles go out. She should recount the story of Hazrat Bibi Seshanba after the lamp goes out and then present offer it up to her spirit. Afterward, they should eat the dish. The host should drink the soup with a fatherless girl. Everyone should lick the bowl. Whoever prepares this food and supplicates with pure sincerity, whoever narrates their [i.e., Bibi Seshanba’s] story with the right conviction, and whoever listens to it after saying their prayer, God Most High willing, the intentions of all of them will be fulfilled. Hazrat Bibi Seshanba said that if I don’t make them acquire their demands, I will be responsible on Doomsday.

(3v:7-5r:2) Her story follows: There was an orphan girl. She was mistreated by her stepmother. Her stepmother every day handed over her some cotton and a cow and assigned her to go to the desert, spin, and herd the cow. She could not spin the yarn, though she tried tearfully until the evening. When she came, her stepmother tormented her. One day, she took along some yarn and the cow and went to the desert. While she was walking cryingly, the cow broke loose suddenly and ran into a cave. In the cave, she saw a white-haired lady engaged in worship, her face purified by the light of piety and her esoteric being polished by the brilliance of sainthood. When she entered, the girl greeted her. Bibi also welcomed her, liked the girl, and enquired about her life. The girl expressed her circumstances and explained the tortures and presses of her stepmother

¹⁹ The scribe has drawn over the words “qıldı seşānbāni” which have been wrongly written from this point to about the end of the line.

²⁰ The part şānbā of the name seşānbā has been written as a marginal note.

²¹ The start of the last three lines of this page is undeciphered due to water damage.

²² The first word on this page is foreseeable via the catchword on the previous leaf, but both this and the next leaves are wanting.

desperately, sadly, and wearily. Hazrat Bibi took pity on the girl's situation and said, 'O my child. Come to see me every day, and I will pray for you. She commanded, Go, let the cow eat the cotton, and pick up the thread.

(5r:3-5v:8) The girl became pleased and contented and came daily to Hazrat Bibi. The girl brought what she had fulfilled in her duties to her stepmother. The stepmother was surprised and could not find a means to this. When the stepmother murdered the cow one day, the girl got upset. 'Oh, Bibi, I could come to your side and see your face on the pretext of the cow, but my foe stepmother slaughtered the cow, so she has not let me anymore,' she wailed to Bibi. Hazrat Bibi mercifully consoled her and said, 'O my child. Don't wail. Gather and bury all bones of the cow' and then sent her. The girl massed them and buried them; subsequently, her stepmother suffered many hardships every day.

(5v:9-6v:5) One day, a prominent man in that town organized a festival and invited everyone in town to attend. All girls and boys went to the celebration by dressing up. The stepmother of that girl also went there, but she left the girl in the home, mixed millet with twigs, gave it to the girl, and commanded her to sort them out until she came back. A hen came and sorted them out while the girl was crying because she couldn't separate them. The girl was thrilled, cherished her time, and went to Hazrat Bibi's presence. Hazrat Bibi asked her, Oh, my kid, why did you come? The girl said, crying, the city's notable person had organized a ceremony, and all the girls, boys, young people, and adults went there, and my stepmother did too, but I came to see you.

(6v:5-7r:8) 'Ah, my child. Don't be concerned. Go to the celebration if you want to,' she said, and then she prayed for her. Clothes in a bundle and gold adornments in a box, as well as a lot of angels as servants, came from heaven. The angels decked her out and brought her to the ceremony. The nobleman got the news. He met the girl with respect and honor, as the daughter of the king, took her inside, and presented her with all sorts of foods. While that girl was sitting in a higher place, she glanced around and saw that her stepmother had sat near the door. The girl sent the leftovers to her stepmother.

(7r:8-8r:2) She went and submitted the clothing set presented as a gift to herself to Hazrat Bibi. She returned home and sat; subsequently, her stepmother also arrived home, taking the leftovers. However, one of the girl's gold shoes came off her foot when she was heading home. One man found the shoe and brought it to the nobleman. The nobleman declared that if the shoe fit any woman's foot, he would marry her with honor and distinction. He tried the shoe on the feet of every woman, but it did not fit anyone's foot. One person said to the nobleman, there is a daughter of a woman. He sent a person to the woman. When the girl's stepmother heard that the nobleman sent a person to herself, she concealed her stepdaughter in the oven and introduced her own daughter, but the shoe did not fit her foot.

(8r:2-8v:9) The girl had a hen. The hen clattered and pointed to the oven. The coming man was astonished and then went and looked into the oven. He saw a girl as beautiful as a fairy or an angel sitting there. They put the shoe on her foot. It was suitable for her. Everyone was pleased with this outcome. The nobleman married the girl in a lavish wedding ceremony lasting forty days and nights. Afterward, the girl arrived gently in front of Bibi. Hazrat Bibi said, Oh, my girl, you reached this position. Your misery was converted into comfort, and your sorrow turned into prosperity. She said, Now, you don't take me into consideration. Make soup in my honor for miserable people, and drink this soup with orphans. Pray; don't forget me haughtily. Tell this story. If I don't fulfill the wishes of anyone who demands them with sincerity and believes in them as yours, I am

responsible for this. But she gave permission; which whoever listens vainly is deprived of.

(9r:1-10r:1) The girl came back, tidied herself with such intents. They put their lives in order. She recalled the behest of Hazrat Bibi after a long time. She put four pots of flour in four corners of the house. She made one cauldron of soup and cooked two unleavened cakes and one small loaf from that flour. While she was sitting, the nobleman entered through the gate. When he saw the food, he scolded and disgraced her. He said, 'You insult my wealth. Why is this necessary because you are still poor?' He spilled the meal and went off. He went to the field of melons and returned to the home at dark. He was regretful of upsetting and grieving her, so he took three melons and placed them in a saddlebag. When he returned home to console her, he noticed that the townspeople were worried.

(10r:1-11v:1) Three sons of the ruler had gone hunting and had not come back for three days. The seeking men have looked for them. Suddenly, the seekers saw blood dripping from the saddlebag. They opened the saddlebag immediately. They saw the heads of the three princes their hair was tangled up together. They dismounted the nobleman from his horse and dragged him, putting a fetter around his neck. The nobleman begged them, 'Give me one hour. He said, 'Let me go home. I am remorseful for my sin. I will repent of it. Subsequently, let my one-spoon blood be sacrificed for the sake of the ruler.' They gave him permission to do so. When the nobleman returned home, he questioned the girl, 'What kind of food was it that I came across many calamities when I spilled?' He cried. The nobleman swore off, supplicated, and made a lot of donations in honor of Bibi Seshanba after the girl told their story. He arrived again in front of the executioners. He was delighted when he heard that everyone was joyful. The prince came and saw that three melons were in the saddlebag.

(11v:1-11v:9) Everybody was amazed and admired by this event. Their dedication to believing multiplied a thousandfold. They made a lot of donations in honor of Hazrat Bibi Seshanba. Whoever has any goals should make dishes in honor of Bibi Seshanba's spirit. ... Bibi will help those ... [Turkic plural suffix] Hazrat ... if someone narrates her story ...

5. Linguistic Features of the Manuscript

The language of the Bibi Seshanba tale can be regarded as that of the late Chagatai. Both Western and Eastern Turkestan dialectal traits can be seen in the late Chagatai. Since the Late Chagatai is a preliminary stage for modern Uyghur and Uzbek languages, In the following notes, the tracks of both Uzbek (western) and Uyghur (eastern) dialects in the text have been traced. These tracks can serve as landmarks for the late Chagatai.

5.1. Phonetics

While some phonetic features of the text tend toward modern Uzbek and Uyghur (literary and distinct spoken variants), others are close to classical Chagatai.

Palatal harmony: Arabic script does not have any letters for back and front vowels individually; hence, palatal harmony can be examined in only words and suffixes containing q/ ğ or k/g letters. When this unique criterion is taken into consideration, we can observe that the palatal harmony in the text is unstable, like across the periods of Chagatai. Both harmonic and inharmonic samples of the suffixes are available in the text. However, even though pre-classical and classical works display almost always palatal harmony in Turkic words (Eckmann, 1966, p. 29), there are several inharmonic Turkic words in the text. Some back-voweled Turkic words that occur with palatal suffixes in

the text are as follows: *qiladur-gän* ‘doing/making’ (2r:7), *toy-gä* ‘to the celebration’ (6r:1), *qız-gä* ‘to the girl’ (6r:5), *ayağda-ki* ‘which is put on her foot’ (7v:3), *aldı-gä* ‘in the presence of’ (8r:1). On the other hand, two front-voweled Turkic words also occur with velar suffixes in the text: *ketmä-ğıl* ‘don’t go’ (8v:6), *yeri-ğa* ‘to the place’ (9v:5).

These samples, which don’t comply with the palatal harmony, make the language of the manuscript close to southern Uzbek dialects because southern Uzbek dialects have a dramatic loss of vowel harmony (Sjoberg, 1963, p. 3).

Labial harmony: As for labial harmony, some samples in the text are inharmonic due to the fact that there are only rounded allomorphs of some suffixes such as *kel-günçä* ‘till arrive’ (6r:4), *kir-güz-di* ‘They took her in.’ (7r:3-4), *sin-dur-gänigä* ‘for his breaking her heart’ (9v:6), *kel-tür-üp* ‘bringing’ (9v:8) *yat-ur* ‘they lie on’ (10r:8) or only unrounded allomorphs such as: *kör-di* ‘she saw’ (4r:8), *öy-din* ‘from home’ (2r:7), *qol-ı-da* ‘on her hand’ (3v:8), *köm-gil* ‘bury’ (5v:6), *mu-nı* ‘this’ (6r:4).

Though the causative suffixes (/ -DUR-, / -GUZ-) have only rounded allomorphs in the classical Chagatai (Eckmann, 1966, pp. 35-36) and Uyghur (Nadzhip, 1971, pp. 131, 132), like the above ones, their counterparts are only unrounded in the modern Uzbek literary language (Sjoberg, 1963, pp. 77-78).

Fricativization: Final -p of two words in the text has been fricativized: if (< ip) ‘thread’ (5r:2) *taf-* (< *tap-*) ‘to find’ (6r:9). This fricativization may be correlated with the internal shift -p- > -f- in classical Chagatai. The internal p-f alternation in the classical period was limited to some words such as *topraq* > *tofrağ* ‘soil, earth’, *yapraq* > *yafraq* ‘leaf’ *opraq* > *ofraq* ‘dress’ (Eckmann, 1966, p. 44). In the next phases, this internal fricativization may have extended to other words and positions. Because in several modern Turkic languages, f sporadically replaces the syllable-final p (Johanson, 2021, p. 357). As northern dialects of Khorasan Oghuz, which contact with western Uzbek dialects, exhibit the same fricativization case (Johanson, 2021, p. 356), the final -p > -f shift in the text can be regarded as a late Chagatai’s feature.

Devoicing: While the final consonant /G/ of the suffix /+IIG/ forming adjectives from nouns has been devoiced (+IIK) in modern Uyghur, in the Uzbek language, it drops out completely (Osmanov and Tömür, 2013, p. 271).

This suffix occurs only in the word *türlük* ‘various’ (7r:4) in the manuscript. It is not possible to claim that the palatal consonant in question is devoiced in the text concerning only this sample because both the voiced and voiceless palatal plosive consonants (k and g) have been spelled with the letter *kâf* in the manuscript. In any case, the suffix’s final consonant is maintained. In this respect, the text demonstrates an Eastern (Uyghur) language characteristic.

Preservation: The preservation of the high vowel i in the final of the cardinal number *yetti* ‘seven’ (2r:7), displays that the language of the text is closer to the western branch of late Chagatai, because, in the Uyghur (eastern branch), this high vowel has turned into the low vowel ä (*yettä*) as a result of progressive assimilation (Tömür, 2003, p. 128).

5.2. Morphology

Ablative case marker: The ablative marker /+DIn/ is realized as allomorphs with low vowels (+din, +dın) in the text: e.g., *at-dın* ‘from horse’ (10r:9), *qız-dın* ‘from the girl’ (10b:6), *eşik-din* ‘from the door’ (9r:8), *bähişt-din* ‘from heaven’ (6v:7-8). The language of the text in this respect displays Uyghur (eastern) character.

In classical Chagatai, the ablative case suffix is /+DIn/ with high vowels (Eckmann, 1966, p. 95), just as in modern Uyghur (Nadzhip, 1971, p. 77). However, in modern Uzbek literary language (Sjoberg, 1963, pp. 84-85) and dialects (Reshetov and

Shoabdurahmonov, 1978, pp. 133-134), allomorphs with low vowels of this suffix are used, the same as those used in the Oghuz and Qipchaq languages (/+DAn/) (Osmanov and Tömür, 2013, p. 272).

Third person plural suffix: In the text, the suffix /+lAr/ is employed to conjugate the third-person plural in finite verb forms: e.g., *käŋni kigüzdi-lär* 'they put shoes on her' (8r:6), *iŋitsä-lär* 'if they listen' (8v:7) *tutqay-lar* 'they will hold' (11v:7), *hurçinni açtı-lar* 'they opened the saddlebag' (10r:6-7). In this regard, the text reflects an Uzbek (western) characteristic.

In both classical Chagatai (Eckmann, 1966, pp. 152-153) and modern Uzbek (Sjoberg, 1963, pp. 97-98), the third-person plural finite verb form is inflected by the /+lAr/ suffix. However, in Uyghur, it does not distinguish between singular and plural (Osmanov and Tömür, 2013, p. 280). The singular form is used for both of them (Tömür, 2003, pp. 330-349).

Postpositions: The postpositions in the text reflect the transitional linguistic stage, late Chagatai period, between classical Chagatai and modern Uzbek. All the primary postpositions in the text are identical to those in classical Chagatai: *birlä* 'with' e.g., *hatunlar vä yätmälär birlä yesün* '(she) should eat with together women and orphans' (2v:8); *dek* 'like' e.g., *seniñ dek* 'like you' (8v:7); *üçün* 'for' e.g., *seniñ üçün* 'for you' (4v:9).

The secondary postpositions that are used with case suffixes resembles to those in modern Uzbek: *ald* 'front' in dative, e.g., *həzrät-i bibini aldılarığa* 'to the presence of Hazrat-i Bibi' (6r:9); *qaş* 'front' in dative, e.g., *cällädlarnıñ qaşığa* 'in front of the executioners' (11a:5).

A similar usage also occurs in another late Chagatai work, Halis's Story of Ibrahim (Bodrogligeti, 1975, pp. 10-11).

Descriptive Verbs: Almost all of the descriptive verbs in the text are those occurring in the Classical Chagatai works. The below descriptive verbs constructed with a -p gerund have been utilized in the same aspectual and modal functions explained by Eckmann (1966, pp. 150-151) and Bodroglieti (2001, pp. 287-289) for classical Chagatai:

al- (< 'to take') indicates that the action takes place in the interest of the subject e.g., *ifni kötärip alğıl* 'pick up the rope for yourself' (5r:2).

bar- (< 'to go') indicates that the action is accompanied by an advancing movement e.g., *hurçindın qan aqıp baradurur* 'blood is still leaking from the bundle' (10r:5-6).

ber- (to give) e.g., indicates that the action is being carried out for the benefit of someone else *tavuş kelip anı ayırıp berdi* 'the hen came and sorted them out for (her)' (6r:7).

kel- (to come) denotes that the action is accompanied by an approaching movement e.g., *eşikdin äkâbir kirip keldi* 'the nobleman came through the door' (9r:8-9).

qal- (to remain) denotes the lasting effect of the completed action e.g., *tıllä käŋni yolda tüşüp qalıp erdi* 'the golden shoe has fallen on the road' (7v:3-4).

tur- (to stand) indicates permanent or long-lasting action e.g., *kelgän adäm hayrân bolup turdı* 'the man who came was amazed' (8r:4).

Alongside the above auxiliary verbs, *ket-* (to depart) and *qoy-* (to put) verbs have also been utilized as descriptive verbs that are not found in aspectual function in the classical works. These descriptive verbs, which first appeared in late Chagatai, are still employed

in modern Uzbek and Uyghur languages. The auxiliary verbs in question with the -p gerund serve an aspectual function in the text:

ket- (to leave, to depart): 1. It indicates that the subject turns in an opposite direction by means of the action e.g., *çıqıp ketti* 'he went out away' (9v:4). 2. It denotes that the action is becoming more intense e.g., *meni unutup ketmāğil* 'don't forget about me as time ticks away' (8v:5-6). Ibrahim notes that this descriptive verb is used for the same functions in both modern Uyghur and Uzbek literary languages (Ibrahim, 1995, pp. 72, 76, 162, 164).

qoy- (to put) denotes that the action was performed first for the sake of a specific matter. *sufṛāni yayıp qoyup andın bir şirīnlik meyiz vā ḥ'āh ḥālwa-yi tār ḥāzrāt-i bibi seṣānbāni ḥāqqıda qoysun* 'she should prepare a meal set and put either raisins or fresh fruits in it in honor of Bibi Seshanba' (2r:3-6). In the modern Uyghur language, this descriptive verb is utilized precisely in the aforementioned function (Tömür, 2003, p. 416).

5.3. Vocabulary

Some colloquial lexemes in the manuscript's vocabulary indicate that it was scribed in late Chagatai.²³ The colloquial words are native elements that have not appeared in pre-classic and classical literary Chagatai works. The native elements reflecting vernacularizing make the text's language closer to modern Uzbek and Uyghur languages.

The following is a list of colloquial Turkic and loan lexemes occurring in the text. The lexical items in it have been compared with their counterparts in Uzbek and Uyghur in terms of phonetics and semantics.

çāppātī 'thin flat bread' 2v:3, 9r:7. It is a loanword derived from the Persian word çāpātī ~ çapātī 'a thin, unleavened cake' (Steingass, 1892, pp. 383, 388). It survives in the modern Uzbek language with the form chapati and the meaning 'thin and fried unleavened bread' (Begmatov, et al., 2006-2008). Kashgar and Yarkand dialects have this word as çapat 'a thin cake made by patting the dough between the hands' (Shaw, 1880, p. 91).

çavar 'twigs and dry sticks' 6r:3. The word in question, whose etymology remains uncertain, is present in the modern Uyghur language. In the Uyghur written language, it possesses meanings like those stated (Yaqub, et al., 1999, p. 423).

dekçā 'small cauldron' 9r:6. It has been copied from the Persian word degcha (دیگچه), which has an identical meaning (Steingass, 1892, p. 553). It is used with the same meaning and pronunciation in modern Uzbek (Begmatov, et al., 2006-2008).

kayī-: 'to scold, to reprimand' 9v:1. The verb kayī- is another lexeme that does not exist within the historical Eastern Turkic vocabulary. The verb is employed in both the literary languages of Uzbek (Begmatov, et al., 2006-2008) and Uyghur (Schwarz, 1992, p. 680), as indicated in the definition and phonetic representation.

kūlçā 'a small loaf of tandoor bread' 2v:3, 9r:7. It is a Persian loanword. Its meaning in Persian is as follows: a small disc-shaped loaf, a cake of bread; a kind of sweetmeat (Steingass, 1892, p. 1042). The Uzbek²⁴ and Uyghur²⁵ languages have the same pronunciation and close meanings for this word.

²³ It should be noted that the colloquial lexemes are also concerned with the text's folkloric contents.

²⁴ The meaning in Uzbek: a round fatty bread, a small circular bread made in tandoor (Begmatov, et al., 2006-2008).

²⁵ The meaning in Uyghur: sweet flatbread (Nadzhip, 1968, p. 663).

zāmiçā ‘a type of melon’ 11a:9. This word, spelled as زامیچه in the lithographic version of the tale, is not found across the corpus of classical Chagatai literature. Thus, the etymological identification of its origin remains elusive. The word *zamcha* in the modern Uzbek language is most closely related to this word in terms of phonetics and semantics. It means a type of melon that is small, yellow, and pied, with early ripening (Begmatov, et al., 2006-2008).

Conclusion

The manuscript containing the Bibi Sehanba tale retains substantially classic Chagatai characteristics but also has a set of local features in terms of phonetics, morphology, and lexicon. Modern Uzbek and Uyghur languages maintain these dialectal features. The aforementioned dialectal traits might be regarded as linguistic criteria for the late Chagatai period, during which the Chagatai literary language underwent vernacularization. Based on the presence of local characteristics, it may be inferred that the language used in the manuscript is the late Chagatai. It can be alleged by considering the density of the dialectical elements that the manuscript can date back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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