

## Nasreddin Hodja Jokes in Late Chagatai Turkish

### Geç Dönem Çağatay Türkçesinde Nasreddin Hoca Fıkraları

Oğuzhan KARABURGU \*

Fatih ERBAY \*\*

#### Abstract

A great number of works have been created as instances of the joke/quip genre of oral tradition in almost all Turkish dialects with the character of Nasreddin Hodja, who is known not only in Western and Eastern Turkic languages but also all over the world. This study evaluates jokes included in the manuscript registered under No. 007 in the manuscript collection of the Chinghiz Aitmatov Institute of Language and Literature of the National Academy of Science of the Kyrgyz Republic, which is missing pages from the beginning and the end. Due to those missing pages, we do not know the date of publication. However, the language of the jokes belongs to Late Chagatai Turkish. In this study, we address the linguistic features of the Nasreddin Hodja jokes in the manuscript. The jokes contain certain sound changes because the language they were written in was experiencing a transition period. It can be said that the text was written during the transition period from Chagatai Turkish to Uzbek Turkish. An example from Uzbek Turkish has also been identified in relation to this situation (plurality 1st person imperative suffix *-eylük/ -ylük*). In addition, the affix *+nI*, which we encounter in recent Chagatai Turkish texts, is also found in the text. The conclusion of this work scrutinizes the linguistic material at hand.

\* Doç. Dr. Akdeniz Üniversitesi,  
Edebiyat Fakültesi,  
Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü  
okaraburgu@akdeniz.edu.tr  
ORCID: 0000-0003-0852-301X  
Antalya / TÜRKİYE

\*\* Assoc. Prof. Dr. Akdeniz  
University, Faculty of Literature,  
Department of Turkish Language and  
Literature  
okaraburgu@akdeniz.edu.tr  
ORCID: 0000-0003-0852-301X  
Antalya / TÜRKİYE

\*\* Doç. Dr. Iğdır Üniversitesi  
Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi  
Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü  
fatih.erbay@igdir.edu.tr  
ORCID: 0000-0001-6086-9558  
Iğdır / TÜRKİYE

\*\* Assoc. Prof. Dr. Iğdır University  
Faculty of Arts and Sciences  
Department of Turkish Language and  
Literature  
fatih.erbay@igdir.edu.tr  
ORCID: 0000-0001-6086-9558  
Iğdır / TÜRKİYE

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Nasreddin Hodja, Efendi, Jokes, Quips, Chagatai Turkish, Ependi.

#### Öz

Sadece Batı ve Doğu Türklüğünde değil, tüm dünyada bilinen Nasreddin Hoca/Efendi karakteriyle, Türk lehçelerinin neredeyse tamamında sözlü geleneğin fıkra/latife türüne örnek olabilecek sayısız ürün meydana getirilmiştir. Çalışmamızda Kırgız Cumhuriyeti Ulusal Bilimler Akademisi Cengiz Aytmatov Dil ve Edebiyat Enstitüsü'nün el yazması koleksiyonu 007 numarayla kayıtlı olan ve başı-sonu eksik basma eserdeki latifeler değerlendirilecektir. Başı ve sonunun eksik olması sebebiyle basma eserin hangi tarihte yayımlandığını bilemiyoruz. Ancak latifelerin dili geç dönem Çağatay Türkçesine aittir. Bu bildiri de bilgilerini verdiğimiz basma eserde yer alan Efendi latifelerinin dil özellikleri üzerinde durulacaktır. Bu dönem geçiş devri olması sebebiyle latifeler, bazı ses değişimlerini de barındırmaktadır. Çalışmanın sonuç bölümünde elde edilen dil malzemesi, ayrıntılı olarak değerlendirilecektir.

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**Etik Beyan:** [sutad@selcuk.edu.tr](mailto:sutad@selcuk.edu.tr), [selcukturkiyat@gmail.com](mailto:selcukturkiyat@gmail.com)

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**Ethical Statement:** [selcukturkiyat@gmail.com](mailto:selcukturkiyat@gmail.com), [fatihnumankb@selcuk.edu.tr](mailto:fatihnumankb@selcuk.edu.tr)

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**Corresponding Author:** Author-1

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## Introduction

Every culture has its own oral resources and symbolic great characters that evoke those oral resources. Their stories accumulate and change as they are told from mouth to mouth, from region to region, and from language to language; they become enriched as they diverge from the original story, and returning to the original story after being enriched, they transform and accumulate. The most powerful symbolic character of Anatolian culture is undoubtedly Nasreddin Hodja (Boratav, 2006, p. 7). He and his jokes have persisted over the centuries in all regions where Turks are present. Even though the name given to this character varies across these regions, great similarity exists regarding the character, narration, content, and other such aspects of the jokes. The most frequently used form of the name is Nasreddin, followed by Nasrettin. His names among speakers of Turkic languages and other languages in the historically Turkic-influenced regions are as follows: ‘Molla Nasreddin’ in Azerbaijan; ‘Nasr Hoca’ in the Karachay-Cherkessia Republic; ‘Koca Nasır’, ‘Hoca Nesir’, and ‘Kuja Nasr’ in Kazakhstan; ‘Ependi’ in Kyrgyzstan; ‘Ependi’ and ‘Nasreddin Ependi’ in Turkmenistan; ‘Nasreddin Hodzsa’ in Hungary; and ‘Nasreddin Hogeá’ in Romania (Sakaoğlu-Alptekin, 2009, p. 27-28). Due to political and cultural exchanges, Nasreddin Hodja jokes can also be found among people who are not of Turkic origin, such as in Bulgaria, China, Armenia, Georgia, Italy, and Russia (Javanshir, 2014).

The oldest work containing the name of Nasreddin Hodja was the *Saltuknâme* written by Ebü'l-Hayr-ı Rûmî in 1480. This work is available as the manuscript registered as No. 1612 among the Turkish manuscripts in the Topkapı Palace library. According to the author of the *Saltuknâme*, Nasreddin was one of the dervishes of Seyyid Mahmûd-ı Hayrânî, who died in Akşehir in the Hijri year of 667 (1268/1269). This work mentions the encounter of Sarı Saltuk (‘The Blond Saltuk’) and Nasreddin in Akşehir (Boratav, 2006, p. 14). Following this first work, many manuscripts were written containing the jokes and quips of Nasreddin Hodja. These manuscripts are still waiting to be studied in world-renowned libraries. For detailed information about them, see Türkmen’s study (2013, p. 15-26).

Many works have been created as examples of the joke/quip genre of the oral tradition in almost all Turkic dialects with the character of Nasreddin Hodja, who is known not only in the Western and Eastern Turkic languages but all over the world. Bearers of culture carried these jokes throughout the world via manuscripts before the invention of the printing press, as well as through the oral tradition. The jokes must have reached Turkistan and the Idel-Ural region from Anatolia in that way (Özkan, 1999a, p. 18-19). The circulation of Nasreddin Hodja jokes in the Turkic world gained momentum in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In particular, the establishment of a printing press with Arabic letters in Kazan paved the way for the publication of Nasreddin Hodja jokes among numerous other folkloric books (Özkan, 1999b, p. 19). Nasreddin Hodja appears with different identities while passing knowledge about life on to the next generations. Depending on the context of the joke, Nasreddin may be a judge, a teacher, a husband, a guest, or a neighbor, and so on (Çotuksöken, 1996, p. 118).

In this study, jokes in the manuscript registered under No. 007 in the manuscript collection of the Chinghiz Aitmatov Institute of Language and Literature of the National Academy of Science of the Kyrgyz Republic, which is missing pages from its beginning and end, are examined. We do not know the publication date of the manuscript due to those missing pages. The manuscript starts with page 9 and ends with page 47, and there is also damage after page 9. Each page of the manuscript contains 19 lines. Since it is not possible to read these damaged pages, they are not included in the text.

The language of the jokes is Late Chagatai Turkish. This represents a transition period. Texts pertaining to this period contain phonological features of Uzbek Turkish. There are instances of those features in the text considered here.

We cannot determine how many jokes are in the edition due to its incompleteness. However, in our article, we took 67 jokes into consideration and wanted to focus on their linguistic features. Drawings were also added to some of the jokes of the printed edition. It would not be wrong to say that these drawings add value to the work.

All the jokes in the edition are not presented here as they would exceed the scope of this article. The full text will be published as soon as possible.

## 1. Linguistic Features

The linguistic features in the Nasreddin Hodja jokes of this manuscript are examined in this chapter.

### 1.1. Vowel Phenomena

#### 1.1.1. Rounding

Compared to other historical Turkic dialects, rounding occurs more frequently in Chagatai Turkish. Most of these occurrences are due to vowels and consonants (Argunşah 2013: 84).

#### a. Progressive Assimilation

yörü- < yöri- 'to walk', *yörügendin* 42/5, *yörüür-siz* 43/5.

#### b. Labial Consonant Effect

öy < eb, 'house', *öyleriğa* 'to their house' 1/3, *öyığa* 'to his house' 13/10, *öyğa* 'to the house' 16/11, *öyümde* 'at my house' 27/13.

Rounding, which was systematized in Old Anatolian Turkish, disappeared in Chagatai Turkish except for nominal or verbal roots and stems containing the consonant /v/ (Karaağaç, 1997, p. XXIX-XXX). The rounding seen in the buffer sound of the -p adverbial suffix is frequent in the text considered here: *eşekin minüüp* 'mounting his donkey' 2/1, *başın kımırlatup* 'moving his head' 6/3, *menzilğa yetüp* 'arriving at his destination' 15/8, *tëveñi üstiğa binüp* 'mounting the camel' 15/16, *bāzāрге eltüp* 'sending it to the market' 16/10, *suge batup* 'sinking under the water' 19/7, *köterilüp* 'being taken' 19/7, *kahrlanup* 'being sorry' 26/5, *libāslarığa siyüp* 'pissing his pants' 39/4, *këlüp* 'coming' 51/2.

#### c. Other Than Assimilation

(yüber- < yiber- 'to send) *yüberdi* 'he has sent' 39/4.

#### d. Third-Person Singular Suffix

This is found in one single example: *êşitip kaçmasun* ‘may he not escape hearing...’ 41/3.

##### 1.1.2. Unrounding

Unrounding in Chagatai Turkish is more frequent than rounding (Argunşah, 2013, p. 85). Some unrounding examples in the text are as follows:

a < o = (uşol < uşal) *uşol gazlerge* ‘to these very geese’ 64/9, *uşol meclisde* ‘right in this meeting’ 6/2.

a < u = (orta < ortu KB) *orta yerin* ‘its middle’ 35/8.

e < u = (nème < nému) *nème-dür* ‘what is it?’ 36/3, *nème* ‘how?’ 6/4, *nemedin* ‘why?’ 17/1.

e < ü = (köter- < kötür- OY) *köterip* ‘taking away’ 19/4, *kötergen* ‘the one who takes away’ 64/7.

##### 1.1.3. Lowering

This is found in one single example:

è < i = (yègirme < yigirmi ‘twenty’ OY) *yègirme biri* ‘twenty-one’ 13/6.

##### 1.1.4. Vowel Coalescence

When two words are combined in Turkish, the first with a final vowel and the second with an initial vowel, the two vowels at the boundaries of the words fuse into one (Argunşah, 2013, p. 86). The text contains words that could be examples of coalescence: (nèçük < nè+çe ok) *nèçük* ‘how?’ 4/6; (nèmerse < nème èrse) *nèmerseleridin* ‘some things of theirs’ 1/6, *nèmerseni* ‘something of his’ 11/10.

#### 1.2. Consonant Phenomena

##### 1.2.1. Consonant Changes

###### f < p Change

This consonant change is a common consonant change in Chagatai Turkish. It can be said that the examples of this change in jokes are diversified. This is the most frequent consonant change in the text: (tef- < tep- ‘to kick’ KB) *tefip* ‘kicking’ 2/6; (fişür- < bışur- ‘to cook’ KB) *helvâlarını fişürüp turup-dur* ‘he cooked their halva’ 12/3; (tofrağ < toprağ ‘soil’ KB) *tofrağdın* ‘from the soil’ 17/2, *tofrağnı* ‘the soil’ 17/2; (çafan < çapan ‘kaftan, jubbah’) *bizni çafanımız üçün êken* ‘it was for our kaftan’ 38/7, *çafannı alıp kaçқан* ‘the one that escaped stealing the kaftan’ 38/7; (if < yip ‘ip’) *if birlen bağlap* ‘tying with a rope’ 44/2, *ifni bir uçın* ‘one end of the rope’ 44/2; (kaf < kap ‘vessel, bowl’) *kaf içiğa* ‘into the bowl’ 11/9-11; (köfrük < köprük ‘foam’) *uşbu enhârni köfrügi* ‘the foam of this river’ 19/2, *köfrük yok-dur* ‘there is no foam’ 19/3.

###### f < b Change

This is found in one single example: (fıçağ < bıçağ ‘knife’ KB) *boğaziğa fıçağ salıp* ‘holding a knife to his throat’ 15/11.

### y < ğ Change

This is found in two examples in the text: (siyir < sığır 'ox' DLT) *siyirni tēzeki* 'the dung of the ox' 35/14; (bayla- < bağla- 'to tie' DLT) *baylap aldı* 'tied and took' 44/3.

### ġ < ħ Change

In some of the words in Chagatai Turkish, an arbitrary case of voicing is seen (Argunşah, 2013, p. 93). This is found in one single example in the text: (ağdar- < ahtar- 'to transfer' DLT) *ağdarıp erdi* 'he had transferred' 62/8.

### /h/ Epenthesis

This is a frequent epenthesis in Chagatai Turkish. It occurs in four different words in the text: (höküz < öküz 'ox' DLT) *höküzni`aqlı* 'the mind of the ox' 14/3, *bir höküz yürüp-dür* 'an ox had walked' 20/1, *höküzni öyiğa keltürüp* 'bringing an ox to his house' 20/4, *höküzni egesi* 'the owner of the ox' 20/5, *höküzimni çıkarıp* 'moving my ox out' 20/5, *höküziñ yok-dur* 'you have no ox' 20/6, *bir höküz kirip* 'an ox entered (the garden)' 22/1, *höküz kaçıp kitti* 'the ox escaped' 22/3, *höküz hem-sāyesini* 'the ox ... his neighbor' 22/6, *höküzi eken* 'it was his ox' 22/6, *höküzni ura-bērdi* 'he beat his ox' 22/7, *bir qarı höküzi bolur erdi* '(he) has an old ox' 65/3, *höküz minip* 'mounting the ox' 65/5.

(hürk- < ürk- 'to be afraid (of)', 'ürkmek' DLT) *bir nēmersedin hürküüp* 'being afraid of something' 15/5.

(höl < öl 'wet, moisture' DLT) *höl kıldı* 'he wetted it' 26/4.

(heñre- < añra- DLT) *eşek heñrep* 'the donkey brayed' 33/2.

### /y/ Prothesis

/y/ prothesis occurred in some words with initial /ı/ and /i/ (Argunşah, 2013, p. 97). This is found in one single example in the text: (yetek- < it- DLT) *koynı yeteklep* 'herding sheep' 27/7.

### 1.3. Consonant Harmony

This is generally the harmony of consonants with other consonants (Karaağaç, 2013, p. 119), or, more specifically, the phenomenon of the consonants p, ç, t, f, k(h), k(ħ), s, and ş being followed by the same consonants:

*dīvāriğa koyup çıktı* 'he leaned it against the wall and went' 21/1-2, *suğa aaktı* 'it poured into the water' 19/11, *bir miqdārnu özini hem kötığa tıktı* 'he stuffed some into his own ass' 32/8, *yaratқан eken-sēn* 'you had created' 13/15, *tañ atқandın soñ* 'after the break of dawn' 40/5, *şükrler olsun kim oқ birlen atқanımda* *köylek içide özüm yok eken-mēn* 'thank God, I was not in the shirt while I was shooting arrows at it' 40/8. Some words without consonant harmony are used, albeit rarely: *gāh Efendi eşekdin ötüp ve gāh eşek Efendidin ozup uşbu minvālde öyiğa yetip barıp* 'they reached home, sometimes with (Nasreddin) Efendi passing in front of the donkey and sometimes with the donkey walking before Efendi' 32/9.

### 2. Suffix Disharmony

It is generally acknowledged that front/back harmony is one of the main features of Turkish phonology. However, some suffixes in regions other than Western Turkish areas are seen to be used in contradiction to front/back harmony, exceeding the

possibility of misspelling. Despite being infrequent, there is a phenomenon in Turkish in which roots and stems with back vowels have suffixes with front vowels added and vice versa. The same phenomenon also occurs as the adding of suffixes with back vowels to borrowings without regard to vowel harmony (Erarslan, 1970, p. 113).

## 2.1. In Borrowings

### +GA Dative Case Suffix

*şehirğa* ‘to the city’ 1/1, *behiştığa* ‘to his heaven’ 1/14,  *kudretığa* ‘to his might’ 1/16, *şehirimğa* ‘to my city’ 1/19, *ādemğa* ‘to men’ 3/2, *şekliğa* ‘to its form’ 5/6, *bir şehirğa* ‘to a city’ 6/1, *dānişlerinizğa* ‘for your information’ 6/9, *güzeriğa* ‘to its passage, passing’ 7/7, *menzilğa yetüp* ‘reaching the destination’ 15/8, *ketefiğa* ‘to his shoulder’ 21/1, *nerd-bānnı ketefiğa* ‘the ladder to his shoulder’ 21/11, *fikrğa barıp* ‘coming to his mind’ 23/12, *cünbüşğa kēlip* ‘to his merriment’ 28/3, *bir küşesiğa* ‘to a corner’ 35/3, *ketefiğa cāmesin tişlep* ‘putting his clothes on his shoulder’ 38/4, *kūçeğa çıkıp kitti* ‘he went out to the street’ 45/5, *kūçemizğa oturup* ‘sitting in our street’ 51/4, *Efendiğa* ‘to Nasreddin Hodja’ 6/1, 28/4, 47/1, 51/6-55/3-56/2-60/1-62/3, *hatunların meclisiğa* ‘to the meeting of women’ 58/1, *beçeğa āzār bērür* ‘he scolds the child’ 60/3.

*uşol ğazlarge* ‘to these geese’ 64/9, *‘aqlımge zarar yēter* ‘I cannot understand’ 13/23, *bāzārge barıp* ‘arriving at the marketplace’ 16/5, *bāzārge eltüp* ‘sending it to the marketplace’ 16/10, *bāzārge çıktı* ‘he went to the marketplace’ 25/1.

### +HIK Noun-Deriving Suffix

*fürüş-endeliğimni* ‘(my) salesmanship’ 16/8, *teşneliği* ‘(his) thirst’ 26/1, *dil-ğirliğim* ‘because of his resentment’ 35/1.

*heyhāt şūrlük başım* ‘oh my raucous head’ 16/14, *nerd-bān-fürüşlik kılur-mēn* ‘I am performing ladder salesmanship’ 21/7, *bī-ħayālik kılur-siz* ‘you are committing an indecency’ 24/4, *bī-şabrlik kılmağıl* ‘do not be impatient’ 44/4, *izhār-ı minnet-dārlikler birlen* ‘on the way to exhibit his gratitude’ 47/2, *intizārlikdin* ‘because of observing something’ 59/4, *imāmlikni* ‘(his) imamhood’ 67/3.

## 2.2. In Turkish Words

### -GAN Participle Suffix

*kēlğanın* ‘of the one who came’ 1/2, *ölğan* ‘the one who died’ 1/11, *bilmeğan* ‘the one who does not know’ 4/3, *bilğan kişilerğa* ‘to the ones who know’ 4/5, *bilğanlarıñız* ‘the thing you know’ 4/12, *özi bilğan için* ‘since he knew himself’ 22/10, *muħkemlenğandur* ‘he strengthened (something)’ 26/3, *ölğan kişini* ‘the person who died’ 34/1, *ölğanlığın* ‘that (someone) died’ 34/1, *körğan kişiler* ‘the people who saw’ 48/3, *ta’līm bērmeğan bolsa* ‘if he did not teach (something)’ 52/5, *kēlğandın soñ* ‘after he came’ 53/4-58/2, *kēltürğan* ‘the one who brings’ 64/3.

*ta’yin kılınğın* ‘what is determined’ 21/9, *ħ<sup>w</sup>ahlagen* ‘the one who wants’ 21/10, *yügürüp bargin* ‘the one who walks away’ 22/2, *sizlerge ayta-durgen* ‘the thing that is said to you’ 23/3, *yakasıdın uşğendin* ‘grabbing his collar’ 23/14, *su çıkadurgen* ‘the place where water is extracted’ 26/2, *çapışmağ boladurgen* ‘riding a horse together’ 65/6, *özi tartgen bolsa* ‘if he pulls himself back’ 66/9.

**-ğay Future Tense Suffix**

*bilmeğay-miz* ‘we will not know’ 10/4.

**+raq Augmentative Suffix**

*ketteraқıdın* ‘of the small ones’ 67/1.

**- maқ Noun-Deriving Suffix**

*yemaқdın* ‘because of eating food’ 1/10, *yürmaқ* ‘to walk’ 5/3, *yürmaқ ve sözlemaқ bolmas érdi* ‘it was not appropriate to walk and talk’ 10/9, *āzār bërmaқnı* ‘to scold (someone)’ 22/8, *hıç neme dëmaқğa* ‘to not say anything’ 22/10, *sizlerni keltürmaқımdın* ‘for bringing you here’ 23/2, *otun keltürmaқ üçün* ‘to bring wood’ 32/1, *yürmaқğa āciz keldi* ‘he had no strength to walk’ 32/7, *yügürmaқnı* ‘to run’ 32/13, *yalğan sözlemaқ* ‘to lie’ 33/3, *otun keltürmaқ* ‘to bring wood’ 34/5, *yemaқğa başladı* ‘he started to eat’ 34/8, *dëmaқıñıznı bā`isi* ‘the topic that you have stated’ 36/3, *yemaқ ümüdide* ‘with the expectation of eating’ 45/3, *dëmaқıñız haţā-dur* ‘it is a mistake to say’ 50/4, *bërmaқ* ‘to give’ 53/2, *rencitmaқ üçün* ‘to intoxicate’ 57/1, *yalğan sözlemaқnı* ‘to tell a lie’ 64/8.

**+GA Dative Case Suffix**

The tendency to add suffixes with back vowels to words with front vowels is frequent in Eastern Turki texts. There are numerous examples of this phenomenon in the text considered here: *öyleriğa* ‘to their houses’ 1/3, *öyğa* ‘to the house’ 1/3, *eşek üstiğa* ‘onto the donkey’ 2/3, *eşekni kötiğa* ‘to the donkey’s ass’ 2/6, *sizlerğa* ‘to you’ 4/4, *kişilerğa* ‘to the people’ 4/6, *bilmegenleriñizğa* ‘to the ones who do not know’ 4/12, *tëveğa* ‘to the camel’ 5/2, *öziğa* ‘to himself’ 7/3, *yërğa oturup* ‘sitting on the ground’ 7/8, *bāzār içiğa* ‘into the marketplace’ 9/2, *kağrni içiğa* ‘into his grave’ 10/3, *kağr içiğa* ‘into the grave’ 10/4, *kağı içiğa* ‘onto the plate’ 11/9, *uşbu işğa* ‘to this deed’ 11/10, *halta içiğa* ‘into the sack’ 13/4-8, *öyümğa kirip* ‘entered my house’ 13/9, *öyğa kirip* ‘entered his house’ 13/10-23, *tëveni üstiğa binüp* ‘mounting the camel’ 15/16, *bir tengeğa* ‘for one coin’ 16/10, *öyğa keldi* ‘he came to the house’ 16/10, *ol körğa* ‘that person’ 19/10, *höküznü öyğa keltürüp* ‘bringing the ox to the house’ 20/4, *sözümğa bāver kılmasañ* ‘if you don’t believe my word’ 20/7, *bāğnı içiğa* ‘into the garden’ 21/2, *öyğa keltürdi* ‘he brought it to his house’ 23/2, *hemmelerin öyünğa* ‘to the house of them all’ 23/5, *sizlerğa beyān kılur-mën* ‘I am saying it to you’ 23/11, *köziğa* ‘to his eye’ 26/3, *kötiğa* ‘to his ass’ 26/5, *bağ içiğa* ‘into the garden’ 27/7, *öyüğa keltürüp* ‘bringing it to his house’ 27/14, *birbirleriğa karap* ‘looking at each other’ 27/20, *kağr üstiğa* ‘onto the grave’ 28/1, *körgeñ kişiğa* ‘to the one who sees’ 30/5, *öyğa kirdi* ‘entered his house’ 31/2, *eşekiğa artıp érdi* ‘he had loaded onto his donkey’ 32/2, *eşekiñni kötiğa* ‘to the donkey’s ass’ 32/4, *kötiğa tıktı* ‘he stuck it up its ass’ 32/7, *öyğa yetip* ‘arriving at his house’ 32/10, *kötiğa* ‘in his ass’ 32/14, *sizğa* ‘to you’ 33/3, *eşekni söziğa* ‘to the word of the donkey’ 33/4, *mëniñ sözümğa* ‘to my word’ 33/5, *eşekiğa barıp* ‘arriving near his donkey’ 35/3, *gürnü hem eskisiğa koyğay-sizler* ‘you will put it in the old grave’ 36/2, *öyğa kirdi* ‘he entered his house’ 38/6, *Efendini öyğa* ‘to (Nasreddin) Efendi’s house’ 41/1, *öyğa* ‘to the house’ 42/3, *öyümğa barıp* ‘going to my house’ 42/7, *bëliğa muhkem kılıp* ‘wrapping around his waist’ 44/2, *yërğa südreliüp* ‘dragging on the ground’ 44/3, *értesiğa yüre-dürgeñ vaktde* ‘later when they walked’ 46/3, *neçeğa bardı* ‘what did he arrive at?’ 50/1, *sizğa lāzım-dur* ‘it is necessary for you’ 51/10, *öyğa* ‘to his



house' 53/2, *öyığa yakın* 'close to his house' 53/4, *öyığa kirip* 'entering his house' 53/16, *öyün içığa* 'into the house' 54/1, *bul işığa* 'to this deed' 56/4, *hatunun teğığa* 'under the women' 56/6, *hatunun söziğa* 'to the woman's word' 57/6, *öyığa* 'to his house' 59/1-2, *öyünğä kirdi* 'he entered (your) house' 59/7, *bir kişığa* 'to somebody' 64/5, *yèrğa koyup* 'putting it on the ground' 64/7, *sizğa* 'to you' 64/9, *birbiriğa da`vālaşıp* 'complaining about each other' 66/2.

In the text we also encounter examples of suffixes with front vowels being added to words with back vowels: *arkasıge koyup* 'putting it on his back' 2/5, *suge batup* 'sinking into the water' 19/7, *alarge koşulup* 'joining them' 19/9, *suge akıp* 'flowing into the water' 19/14, *alarge aydı* 'he said to them' 23/2, *Efendini ayağıge* 'to (Nasreddin) Efendi's foot' 24/2, *yeri ayge qarap* 'looking at the full moon' 29/2, *alardın biriğa* 'to one of them' 29/2, *ķurbakage bakıp* 'looking at the frog' 44/4, *ustābaşıge melāl kélür* 'the foreman was bored' 58/14, *alarge* 'to them' 59/5, *alarge dèdi* 'said to them' 66/8, *azge kanā`at kılıp* 'doing with less' 16/12.

#### +IK Noun-Deriving Suffix

*ziyāde korkunçlık eken* 'it was very frightening' 23/15, *yağşılıkni bilmegen* 'one who does not know goodness' 24/5, *yaķmlik kılsa* 'if he shows intimacy' 58/6, *yaķmlik kılıştılar* 'they showed intimacy to each other' 58/10, *bir ayağlık eken* 'he had one leg' 64/4, *tört ayağlık* 'four-legged' 64/10.

*ķaysı ekenliğin bilelmedi* 'he could not know how' 46/4, *kim ekenliğin soradı* 'he asked who he was' 47/12.

#### -ğil Imperative Suffix

*on èkki tenge bèrğil* 'give twelve coins' 8/4, *toķkuz tenge bolsa hem bèrğil* 'give it if it is nine coins' 8/7, *hem-yānumnu bèrğil* 'give my bag' 16/5, *kèltürüp bèrğil* 'bring and give it' 40/3, *kèlğil dèp* 'he said to come' 55/4, *andağ bolsa kèlğil* 'come as you are' 58/9, *bir öy yasalıp bèrğil* 'build a house and give it' 58/11, *cevāb bèrğil* 'answer (me)' 59/4.

#### -k First-Person Plural Suffix

*bir öy yasadak* 'let's build a house' 58/12.

### 3. Genitive Case Suffix

#### -nIn Genitive Case Suffix

The main genitive case suffix in Chagatai Turkish is +nIn. It is used as such in the text, albeit infrequently: *Efendiniñ şehride* 'in the city of (Nasreddin) Efendi' 1/1, *Efendiniñ èkin-zārığa* 'to the crop field of (Nasreddin) Efendi' 22/1, *kızınıñ koyınığa* 'to the bed of his daughter' 45/6, *Efendiniñ hatunu* 'the wife of (Nasreddin) Efendi' 60/1.

#### -nI Genitive Case Suffix

In Chagatai Turkish, it is seen that +nI is used instead of +nIn, as in some Uzbek dialects (Eckmann, 2003, p. 65). In the text considered here, the +nI suffix is used most for the genitive case: *alarnı du`āsın* 'their prayers' 1/13, *tèveni üstığa* 'onto the camel' 15/16, *bāğnı ègesi* 'the owner of the vineyard' 21/5, *Efendini hem-sāyesi* 'the neighbour of (Nasreddin) Efendi' 35/12, *Efendini öyığa* 'to the house of (Nasreddin) Efendi' 41/1, *sunı içidin* 'through the water' 43/2, *sizni kılınız* 'your slave' 60/2, *Efendini oğlı* 'the son of

(Nasreddin) Efendi' 61/1, *havānu harāretidin* 'due to the hot air' 63/6, *pādişāhnu ordasında* 'at the headquarters of the emperor' 64/4.

#### 4. Uzbek Turkish Features

We only see Uzbek Turkish features in one suffix. The Uzbek first-person plural imperative suffix *-eylük / -ylük* (Coşkun, 2014, p. 135), which we do not encounter in classical Chagatai Turkish, is present in the Nasreddin Hodja jokes:

*temāşā kılıp kēyleylük* 'let's watch it and come back' 27/11.

*bir öy yasaylük* 'let's build a house' 58/9.

#### 5. Formulaic Expressions

It is known that formulaic expressions such as idioms maintain their existence in a language much longer. Formulaic expressions are utilized frequently because they can be easily used in oral and written communication without much effort, and they can be said and understood very quickly (Wray, 2002, p. 15). Similar speed and economy may be mentioned regarding the production and perception of written text. Therefore, formulaic expressions are elements of vocabulary that are appealing and easy to use (Gökdayı, 2008, p. 90).

It is seen that formulaic expressions are used in the text considered here:

**kolğa tüş-** 'to be captured, to be caught': *bir küni kolumğa tüşer-sen* 'one day you will fall into my hands' 22/5.

**'aqlı kir-** 'to wise up, to come to one's senses': *sakalın aqarıp aqlā 'aqlın kirmedi* 'your beard has turned grey, but you have not come to your senses' 53/8.

**kulağ sal-** 'to try to hear': *Efendi kulağ salmasdın ornudın turup* '(Nasreddin) Efendi stood up without trying to hear' 38/3-4.

**yolğa tüş-** 'to hit the road, to walk together': *yolğa tüştiler* 'they hit the road' 53/3.

#### 6. Syntax

A lexicon is a social phenomenon, but syntax is idiosyncratic. The elements in a lexicon, which represent generalization, receive special treatment in syntax. In syntax, the speaker specializes the information he or she obtains from the lexicon (Karaağaç, 2013, p. 742). In this process, the linkage of elements with one argument or two arguments is used to form a new sentence from either one or two sentences (Carnap, 2001, p. 18). In the text considered here, the singularity-plurality concord between the adjective and subject-predicate is in conformity with Turkish:

*on 'aded kör kişi birbirini yiteklep kēlip uşbu enhārnı köfrügi kayanda-dur dep su'āl kıldı* 'ten blind men, pushing each other, came and asked where the bridge on this river was' 19/1-3.

The structure '*söyledi ki ... dedi*' or 'he said that ... he said', which is frequent in Persian, also occurs in this text:

*Efendi oğlığa aydı ki ey nūr-ı dīdem vaqtāki mēn ölse eski nēmersedin kefen kılıp gürnü hem eşkisiğa koyğay-sizler dedı* '(Nasreddin) Efendi said to his son, "Oh, apple of my eye,

when I die make my shroud from old things and bury me in an old grave”, he said’ 36/1-2.

### Conclusion

In this study, jokes in the manuscript registered under No. 007 in the manuscript collection of the Chinghiz Aitmatov Institute of Language and Literature of the National Academy of Science of the Kyrgyz Republic, which is missing pages from its beginning and end, have been examined.

1. The word *öl* for ‘wet, moisture, wetness’ in *Kutadgu Bilig* is seen in *Dîvânu Lugâti’t-Türk* as *öl*, as well. The word is seen with an /h/ prothesis as *höl* in Khorezmian and Chagatai Turkish works. In *Çagataische Sprach Studien*, Vambery included the words *höllenmek* ‘to become wet, to become moist’ and *höllük* ‘moisture, wetness, damp, humidity’, derived from the word *höl*. The word is found in the text considered here as *höl kıldı*, as used in Chagatai Turkish.

2. The text generally contains vowel assimilation: *taşkari çıktı* ‘he got out’ 15/3-4, *Efendini yerge yıktı* ‘he struck (Nasreddin) Efendi down’ 15/5, *yaratkan eken-sên* ‘(you) were the creator’ 13/15, *tañ atkandıñ soñ* ‘after the break of dawn’ 40/5, *balık tutkuçılar* ‘the ones who are fishing’ 43/1.

3. In phrases constructed with participle suffixes in Nasreddin Hodja jokes of the Late Chagatai Turkish era, the usage of (participle + noun + possessive suffix) attracts attention: *h<sup>w</sup>ahlağan yerimde satur-mên* ‘I would sell wherever I wish’ 21/11, *kördin aladurğan bir tengem* ‘I would earn a coin from the blind man’ 19/14. In the examples, the possessive suffix is not added to the participle suffix but rather to the noun following it. This structure is formed in Western Turkish by adding the possessive suffix after the participle suffix: *istediğim yerde, körden alacağım bir tenge (para)* ‘wherever I wished, I would earn a coin from the blind man’.

4. The adding of Persian suffixes to words of Turkic origin is seen in Chagatai Turkish. There are examples of this phenomenon in the jokes considered here: *Efendiniñ ekin-zârığa bir höküz kirip* ‘an ox entered the crop field of (Nasreddin) Efendi’ 22/1.

5. We found an example of Uzbek Turkish in one single suffix (first-person plural imperative suffix -eylük / -ylük); we can relate this to the transition period in which the text was written.

6. The genitive case suffix is used as +nI, as in other Late Chagatai Turkish texts. The +nIñ form of the suffix is used in a smaller number of words.

7. Suffix disharmony in Chagatai Turkish commonly surfaces as adding suffixes with back vowels to borrowed words without considering vowel harmony (Erarslan, 1970, p. 113). However, examples of suffixes with front vowels being added to words with back vowels are also found, contrary to this feature: *uşol ğazlarge* ‘to these geese’ 64/9, *‘aqlımge zarar yeter* ‘I do not understand’ 13/23, *bâzarge barıp* ‘arriving at the marketplace’ 16/5, *bâzarge eltüp* ‘sending it to the marketplace’ 16/10, *bâzarge çıktı* ‘he went to the marketplace’ 25/1.

The suffixes forming disharmony with Turkish words are the -GAn participle suffix, -ğay future tense suffix, +rağ augmentative suffix, -mağ noun-deriving suffix, +GA dative case suffix, +LIK noun-deriving suffix, -ğıl imperative suffix, and -k first-person plural suffix. In particular, the -GAn participle suffix, +GA dative case suffix, and +LIK noun-deriving suffix violate front/back harmony by adding suffixes with front vowels to words with back vowels and vice versa.

Regarding the language used in this printed work, we can say that these *latifes* are a work printed in Chagatai Turkish during the Uzbek Turkish period in terms of the use of the affinity suffix +nI and the language features of Uzbek Turkish. Therefore, the *latifes* were written in 'late Chagatai Turkish'.

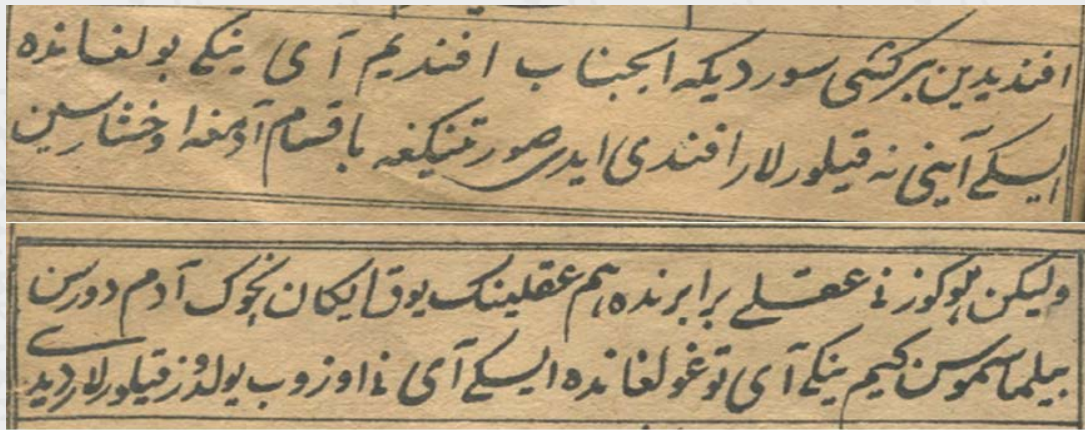
### Sample Text

#### Laṭīfe 14

(1) Efendidin bir kiři sordı ki ey cenāb Efendim ay yeni bolğanda (2) ěski aynı ne kılurlar Efendi aydı şūretingā bağsam ādemğā oğşar-sěn (3) velěkin hōküzni `aqlı berāberinde hem `aqlıñ yoğ ěken neçük ādem-dur-sěn (5) bilmes mü-sěn kim yeni ay toğulğanda ěski aynı üzüp yulduz kılurlar dědi

#### Quip 14

A man has asked (Nasreddin) Efendi, 'Oh glorious master, when the moon is a new moon, what do they do with the old one?' Efendi said, 'When I look at you, I'd mistake you for a man, but you don't have as much sense as your ox. What kind of a man are you? Don't you know that they make stars out of the old moon when the new one rises?', he said.



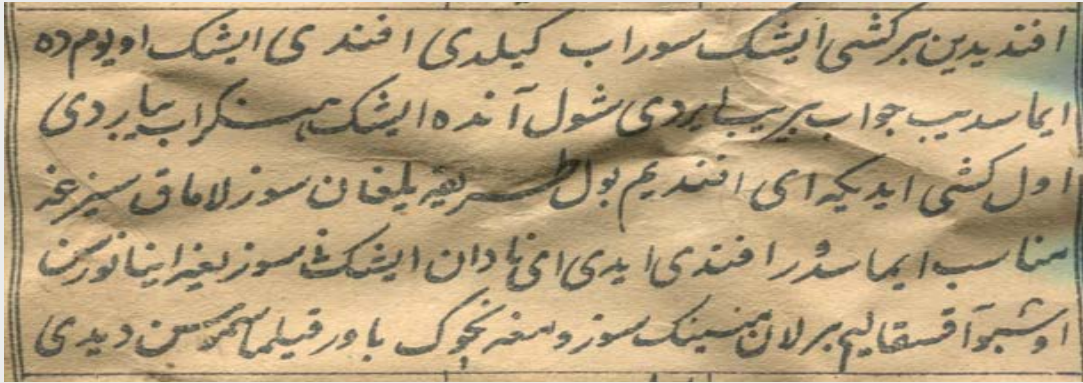
#### Laṭīfe 33

(1) Efendidin bir kiři eşek sorap kěldi Efendi eşek öyümde (2) ěmes děp cevāb běrip ěrdi şol anda eşek hengrep yiberdi (3) ol kiři aydı ki Efendim bul țarěka yağlan sōzlemağ sizğā (4) münāsib ěmesdür Efendi aydı ey nādān eşekni sōziğā inanur-sěn (5) uşbu ağsağalım birlen měniñ sōzümğā neçük bāver kılmas-sěn dědi

#### Quip 33

A man came to demand a donkey from (Nasreddin) Efendi. Efendi answered, 'The donkey is not at my house'. Then the donkey brayed. The man said, 'Oh, master, lying

does not suit you'. Efendi said, 'Oh, you ignoramus, do you believe the word of the donkey? Why don't you believe mine, with my white beard?'



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