

The (Kara-)Kirghiz Language

Stefan Wurm

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1949), 97-120.

Stable URL:
http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0041-977X%281949%2913%3A1%3C97%3AT%28L%3E2.0.CO%3B2-K

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London is currently published by School of Oriental and African Studies.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at http://www.jstor.org/journals/soas.html.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to creating and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

http://www.jstor.org/
Thu Jul 28 11:54:53 2005

The (Kara-)Kirghiz Language

By Stefan Wurm

Introduction

THE (Kara-)Kirghiz language is spoken on the territory of the Autonomous Republic of the Kirghiz by about 650,000-700,000 individuals. My Kirghiz informant was Odajarov Abdilla (20 years old), of a village near Frunze (Purunza, 42° 50′ north latitude; 75° east latitude), the capital of Kirghizistan. He and his parents had always lived in that village, where they had worked as agricultural labourers. He had been to school for four years and spoke a little Russian apart from Kirghiz. For the literary language I had a grammar at my disposal (Qьrgьz Tilinin elementardьq gramatikesi = " Elementary Grammar of the Kirghiz language ", by Şabdan uulu Açьman and I. A. Batmanov), from which I had taken most of the examples.

Kirghiz is considerably different from the Kazak language, and can be characterized as follows :—

(1) *Acoustic Impression.*—Kirghiz is spoken more slowly than most of the Kazak dialects. The phrases are rather long, and so are the pauses between them.

(2) *Phonetics.*—The labial attraction is stronger than in Kazak, in spite of the very slight rounding of the lips. Kazak **aụ̈** > **o:**; **-uɣ** and **uw** > **u:**; **-li** > **lü:**; ***č** and ***š** (Kazak **š** and **s**) remain **č** and **š**. ***j** > **dž́** (**d′**) (Kazak **dž**). The consonantal assimilation is very strong. ***m** appears in some suffixes as a **b**, e.g. **be**, **bes** (neg.); **bi** (interrog.). **m**, however, remains unchanged (Kazak **m** > **b**, **p**). The pers. suff. 1st p.pl. ***biz** does not change to **-miz** as in Kazak.

(3) *Grammar.*—There are a number of verbal forms in Kirghiz which (almost) do not exist in Kazak and in other Turki dialects. (Durative preterite **-uču**; compounds with **ele**; imperative and conditional + **či** (the last three are also sometimes found in Kazak). Other verbal forms, which exist also in other Turki dialects, have developed different meanings. (Verbal noun **-mek** > necessitative; **-ar** = suppositional future; **-iptir** expressing an unexpected action.)

(4) *Vocabulary.*—Kirghiz has a great number of words which have no phonetic equivalents in other Turki dialects.

Abbreviations: l.l. = " literary language "; s.l. = " spoken language "; v.h.1 = " vowel-harmony type 1 ".

PHONETICS

Vowels

Descriptions of the Vowels

Front vowels	.	**ɛ**	**e**	**ẹ**	**ė**	**i**	**ị**	**ö**	**ü**
Central vowels	.	**ạ**	**ï**	**u̇**	(**ö**)				
Back vowels	.	**a**	**ȧ**	**o**	**u**				

ɛ . A phonetic variant of **a** replacing it before **j**, especially in the last syllable of a word, e.g. **qandɛj** = " what kind of " < **qandaj**. It normally corresponds to the vowel in French " chaire ", but is very much changing in quality.

e . e in " bed ".

ẹ . French é in " été ". It appears only in root syllables, before **j** and sometimes in the present ; e.g. **berẹmin** = " I give " (normally **bėremin**). Initial **ẹ** (occasionally also **e**) is sometimes diphthongized by preceding **i̯-** ; e.g. **i̯ẹski** = " old " (of things).

ė . A closed front vowel between **ẹ** and closed front **ị**, not unlike i in " pity ".

i . More than half-closed i, more frontal than i in " bit " (similar to **i** in German " mit ").

ị . Closed front i, as in " see ". Phonetic variant of **i** before **j**, **š**, and **č**.

(The **e-** and **i-** sounds are influenced by the vowels of the adjoining syllables : the more closed the vowel in one syllable, the more open the **e** (or **i**) of the adjoining one and vice versa ; see the example given above in the description of **ẹ** ; also **teŋdiš** = " one of the same age " ; but **tẹŋdü** = " being of the same age " ; **śėn** = " you (nom.) " ; **śẹni** = " you (acc.) ".

ö . An almost central, half-open vowel, somewhat more frontal than the vowel in " bird ". It is always slightly rounded. As initial it is slightly diphthongized by a somewhat more closed variant preceding it, thus **ö̯öz** = " self ".

ü . An almost central, half-closed ü with very slightly rounded lips. Before **š**, **č**, **dž**, **j**, and **k** it is more frontal.

ạ . An almost central, half-open vowel, with neutrally open lips ; appears as a phonetic variant of **a**. No rule can be given for its appearance, the same words being formed with **ạ** and **a** alternatively ; e.g. **ạdạšīp** and **adašīp** = " going astray ".

ī . The usual closed, unrounded, central Turki vowel. Before **š**, **č**, and **j** it is somewhat more frontal.

u̇ . A closed, slightly rounded central vowel (Scottish " book ", Swedish " hus "). It is a (rarely found) phonetic variant of **ü** appearing especially before **ŋ** and in the verbal noun suffix **-u̇:** (**-u̇^{w}**) ; e.g. **özu̇ŋ** = " yourself " ; **kẹlu̇:** = " the coming ".

a . More frontal than a in " calm ". In the first syllable of a word and adjoining **q** or **ɣ** it is normally more back, as in " calm ". As I do not think it to be necessary to use two different signs (**a** and **ɑ**) for these two variants, I use **a** for both.

ɑ̊ . A slightly rounded back **a**, as in " not " ; a rarely found phonetic variant of **a**, substitutes especially long **a**-sounds, e.g. **dž^{o}ɑ̊:ʙ** < Arab. **dẓawab** = " answer ". It is always found in the strengthening syllable **-ɣɑ̊:**.

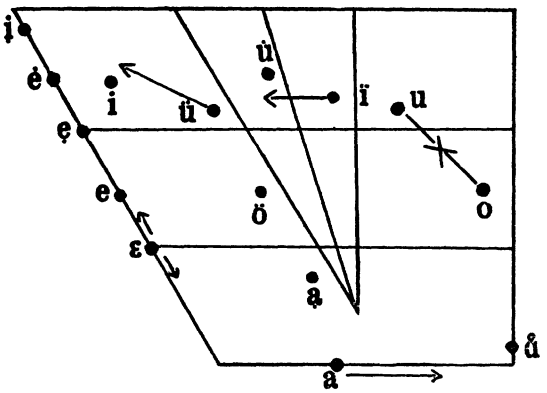
o . Half-open o with very slightly rounded lips. It often sounds almost like u. As initial it is often diphthongized by preceding u̯- ; e.g. u̯oł = " he ".

u . Rather open and considerably central u with very slightly rounded lips, similar to the u in " put ". Sometimes it sounds almost like o, especially as a long vowel ; e.g. **ału:** = " the taking " sounds almost **ało:**.

Final long o, u, and ü of syllables are often followed by **-w**, which is a remainder of an original consonant ; e.g. **to·ʷnun** (for **to:nun**) = " of the mountain " (< ***taγ-nin**) ; **kẹlü·ʷ** (for **kẹlü:**) = " the coming " (< **kelüw**), etc.

There are also a number of reduced vowels in Kirghiz. In words which are quoted from the spoken language, they are indicated by small letters above the line ; e.g. $^{i\,u}$, etc.

If I dared to put my vowels into the Vowel Diagram of the Association Phonétique Internationale, it would be as follows :—



These vowels form the following eight phonemes :—

frontal e i ö ü
central, and back ï a o u

e = **e-ẹ-ė** ; **i** = **i-ị** ; **ü** = **ü-ụ̈** ; **a** = **a-å-ạ-ɛ**.

In the literary language only these eight vowels are represented by different letters, which are : е і ө у ь а о u.

Diphthongs

Apart from the secondary diphthongs formed by the diphthongization of initial **ẹ** (**e**), **o** and **ö** there are no diphthongs in Kirghiz. Only long **a:** is sometimes diphthongized by preceding **o̯** ; e.g. **bo̯a:tʲr** < **ba:tïr** = " hero ".

Quantity of the Vowels

The vowels in Kirghiz are short, half-long (e.g. **a·**), or long (e.g. **a:**). The original vowels are all short, long vowels either appear in borrowed words or are produced by the (historical or actual) elimination of an original consonant standing at the end of the syllable ; e.g. **da:na** (< Pers. دانه = " piece ") ;

to: (< ***taɣ**) = " mountain " ; **tu:duryan** < ***toɣduryan** = lit. " cause to give birth " = " to assist at a confinement " ; **osondu: ᵘčün** < **ošonduq** (< ***ošon-lik**) **üčün** = " therefore ". Apart from that, the final vowel of the last open syllable of a long sequence of words (viz. when a full stop follows) is sometimes lengthened ; e.g. . . . **q'ačīp džönödü:** = " . . . and he flew (lit. fleeing went) ". The half-long vowels are normally produced by the lengthening of originally short ones (rarely by shortening of vowels which are normally long in the actual language). Such a lengthening is caused : (1) By the reduction of the final consonant of a syllable, e.g. **tị·ʲɣisi** < ***tėg-gisi** = " her wish to marry (lit. to touch) ". (2) Strongly stressed vowels (especially when they are in the first syllable of a word) are sometimes lengthened. The vowel of the following syllable is normally reduced through equalization in such a case, e.g. **'q'a·čĭrīp** = " to making flee " ; **'a·ɬʲp** = " taking ".

In the literary language only the short and long vowels are indicated. For writing the long vowels the letter is doubled, e.g. **baatьr** = " hero " ; **too** = " mountain " ; etc.

Vowel-Harmony

The vowel-harmony is entirely constant in the literary language. In the spoken language in certain cases the vowel-harmony is not strictly observed.

As far as the vowel-harmony is concerned, only front and back vowels exist. In this connection the central **u̇** (and **ö**) are (mostly) regarded as front vowels ; **ī** and **ạ**, however, are regarded as back ones.

There are two series of vowel-changes : (1) **a-e-o-ö**. The vowel-sequences are the following : **a** appears after **a (ạ å) ī u** ; **e** after **e (ɛ ẹ ė) i (ị)** ; **o** after **o** ; **ö** after **ü (u̇) ō** ; e.g. **at-tar** = " the horses " ; **džīł-da** = " in the year " ; **turmuš-ta** = " in the life " ; **el-de** = " in the nation " ; **toɣoj-do** = " in the forest " ; **üj-dö** = " in the house ". (2) **i-ī-ü-u**. The vowel-sequences are : **i** after **i (ị) e (ɛ ẹ ė)** ; **ī** after **a (ạ å) ī** ; **ü** after **ö ü (u̇)** ; **u** after **o u** ; e.g. **iš-tin** = " of the work " ; **džīł-dīn** = " of the year " ; **üj-dün** = " of the house " ; **toɣoj-dun** = " of the forest ".

I could not find proof of Radloff's supposition, that long **o:** is only followed by **a** and **ī**, but not by **o** and **u**[1], as **o:** is always followed by **o** and **u** in the literary and in the spoken language, e.g. **to:do** = " on the mountain " ; **to:nu** = " the mountain (acc.) ".

A few suffixes appear only with certain vowels ; e.g. **-lü:**, **-lu:** (**-li:** or **-lī:** do not exist) = " provided with . . ." ; **-čü**, **-ču** (see " Durative Preterite "). Of these two suffixes the form with **-ü** is added to stems with front vowels, that with **-u** to stems with back ones. The verbal-noun **-u:** (**-ü:**, **-o:**, **-ö:**) has a peculiar vowel-harmony, viz. **-o:** is added to stems with final **-a** or **-o** ; e.g. **qaro:** = " (the) looking " < **qara-** = " to look " ; **-ö:** is added to stems with final **-e** or **-ö** ; e.g. **tölö:** = " (the) paying " < **tölö-** = " to pay " ; **-u:** is added to stems with a final consonant and back vowels ; and to those with final **-ī** or

[1] W. Radloff, *Phonetik der nördlichen Turksprachen*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 11.

-u ; **-ü:** is added to stems with a final consonant and front vowels, and to those ending in **-i** or **-ü**.

A few suffixes do not change their vowel at all, e.g. the strengthening suffix **-(ɣ)â:** (< **ɣana**).

Disturbance of the Vowel-Harmony

(1) Through consonantal influences on vowels ; e.g. **a** > **ɛ** (**e**) before **j** ; the vowels following this **ɛ** or **e** are normally front vowels ; e.g. **qïłβejmin** < **qïłbajmïn** = " I do not make ". Furthermore : **dži·rma** = " twenty " < l.l. **džïjïrma** ; the second **ï** is eliminated and the palatalizing influence of the **j** causes **ï** > **i** ; the **-a**, however, remains always unchanged in this word in spite of the secondary front vowel preceding it. (2) A front (or back) vowel in the first syllable of a word has a retrograde palatalizing (or velarizing) influence upon the vowel in the last syllable of the preceding word ; e.g. **toɣojdün** (< **toɣojdun**) **ịčinde** = " in the middle of the forest " ; **aławûz** (< **ałamïz**) **dėp** = " saying 'we take' " ; also in compound words, e.g. **bügünkü** (also l.l.) < **bu kün-ki** = " to-day's, this day's " ; **ẹ·rittuɣâ:** < **eri-t-ti** + **ɣâ:** = " it has really made melt away " (in this case the velarizing influence of the **-ɣ** and the retrograde rounding influence of **-â** also play a part). (3) In compound proper names front and back vowels may appear simultaneously ; e.g. **čojubek** (pronounced **čojwek**) ; etc.

In the literary language these disturbances of the vowel harmony do not appear, except the one mentioned in (3).

Mutual Vowel-Influences and Consonantal Influences on Vowels

(1) *Mutual Vowel-Influences.*—See above, " Disturbance of the Vowel-Harmony (2) " ; see also " Description of the Vowels " (influence of vowels on **e** and **i**-sounds) ; a further case : the substantival numeral 2 (l.l. **ekö:**) is pronounced **ökö:** in the spoken language. (2) *Consonantal Influences on Vowels.*—See " Description of the Vowels **ɛ**, **ẹ**, **ị**, **ü**, **û**, **a** " ; see also " Disturbance of the Vowel-Harmony (1) ", and " Vowel-Transitions ".

Reduced and Eliminated Vowels

Vowels are very often reduced and eliminated in unstressed syllables ; e.g. **'keldi** = " he came ". This is especially noticeable when the unstressed vowel is adjoining a sibilant or **č** ; e.g. **atasna** < **atasïna** = " to her father " ; **tš·ürüʙ** < **tüšürüp** = " making fall down " ; **k'čü** < **küčü** = " his strength " (in this case the aspiration of the **k** also plays a part in eliminating the **ü**). Consonants which are adjoining because of the elimination of a vowel which originally stood between them, occasionally undergo the usual transitions (see " Transition of Consonants ") ; e.g. **bałdar** < **bałałar** = " the children ".

This principle is explained more fully as follows : (1) Of two adjoining final and initial vowels the former is often eliminated when it is not strongly stressed ; e.g. **qara at** > **qar at** = " the black horse " ; if the final vowel is long it is shortened in this case, e.g. **tö: ałdï** > **tö ałdï** = " he bought a camel ".

(2) When the verbal noun suffix **-u:** (**-ü:** **-o:** **-ö**) is added to a verbal stem with a final vowel, this vowel is dropped (also in l.l.) e.g. **qaro:** = " (the) looking " < **qara-o:**. The same happens when the suffix forming substantival numerals is added to a numeral with a final vowel; e.g. **eki** + **ö:** > **ekö** (l.l.) (s.l. **ökö:**). (3) If a vowel is added to a word with a final **-r** or **-n**, the vowel of the last syllable is dropped and **-n** changes to **-d** (also l.l.); e.g. **murun-i** > **murdu** = " his nose ". (4) If the last syllable of a word has an initial **j** and a final voiced consonant, its vowel is normally dropped in the spoken language when a vowel is added to the word; e.g. **ajïł-ï** > **ajłï** = " his aul ". (5) When the word-building suffix **-ki** is added to a word with a final short vowel, the latter is dropped (also l.l.); e.g. **ilgeri-ki** > **ilgerki** = " previous ".

Intrusive Vowels

In the literary language intrusive vowels are often used to avoid accumulations of consonant (in the spoken language they are never used); e.g. **özübek** (s.l. **özbek**) = " Uzbek "; **ałtïmïš** (or also **ałtmïš**; s.l. always **ałtmïs**) = " sixty "; etc.

Vowel-Transitions

See " Description of the Vowels, **ɛ**, **u̇** (and the influence of vowels upon **e** and i-sounds) "; " Disturbance of the Vowel-Harmony (1), (2) "; " Mutual Vowel-Influences and Consonantal Influences on Vowels ". The following additional cases should be mentioned :—

e > **ė** . Appears sometimes in the plural-suffix **-ler**; e.g. **ęldėr** = " the nations ".

e (a) > **i** . Appears very often in the s.l. (1) In the verbal noun suffix **-gen**; e.g. **bołyun** (< **boł-gin**) for **bołyon** (< **boł-gen**); **görgün** (< **kör-gin**) for **körgön** (< **kör-gen**); **kęlgin** for **kėlgen**; etc. (2) In the word-building suffix ***-daš**, e.g. **teŋdiš** for **tėŋdaš** (the vowel of **-daš** does normally not change in the s.l.; in the l.l. it has the normal changes **a - e - o - ö**).

i > **e** . e.g. in **beręyip** (< **bir-eyip**) = " to unite ".

Consonants

Remarks on the Consonants

The voiceless mediæ **в**, **д**, **г**, **ҷ** are : (1) The result of the loss of voice of the corresponding voiced stops. They appear especially as initials, e.g. **вaš** for **baš** = " head "; **вir** for **bir** = " one ". Also voiced stops adjoining at a syllable-boundary normally lose voice; e.g. **aвдan** < **abdan** = " very ". (2) They are the result of a softening of the corresponding tenues. This is especially the case with final tenues which are preceded by a strongly stressed short vowel or by a long one; e.g. **kö:в** for **köp** = " much "; ˌ**boˈłoд** for **bołot** (< ***boładïr** < ****bołatur-**); ˈ**oдᵘˌrat**ʻ for **oturat** = " he sits " (viz. " he is not standing "). A final tenuis of a syllable or of a word is also often softened

if the next syllable or word has an initial media, which always loses voice in this case; e.g. **q'ïrę bir** (< **qïrq bir**) = " forty-one "; **ᵘwaɋda** (< ***waqt-da**; l.l. **ubaqt-ta**) = " in the time ".

k and **l** stand only with front vowels, **q** and **ł** with back ones. When articulating **ł**, such a large part of the expiration passes through the nasal cavity,

Table of Consonants

v = voiced; vl = voiceless.

		Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Palato-Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Uvular		Glottal	
		v	vl	v	vl	v	vl	v	vl	v	vl	v	vl	v	vl	v	vl
Stops	Tenues		p		t								k		q		'
	Mediæ	b	ʙ	d	ᴅ			dž	č			g	ɢ	ġ	ɢ		
Affricate																	
Nasal		m				n						ŋ					
Lateral						l ł						(ł)					
Rolled						r											
Fricative		β				z	s		š	j		ɣ	x				
Semi-vowel		w (u̯)								i̯							

that **ł** sounds often almost like **n**; e.g. **qałmaq** = " Kalmuk ", sounds almost **qanmaq**; **ošoł** = " that " (almost **ošon**). The glottal stop **'** changes secondarily from **q**; **g** and **ġ** from **k** and **q**.

dž (to some extent also **č**) is very palatal. When articulating **dž** (which more correctly should be written **dž́**) the front part of the tongue is in between the positions which are necessary for articulating **dž** and palatalized **d** (= **d'**).

β and **w** change secondarily from **b** (often < ***m**); e.g. **ᵘwaqt** (< Arab. ***waqt**) < l.l. **ubaqt** = " time ". **x** changes secondarily from **k**.

' is a voiced **h**; it often appears in **'ał** = " that " and in the place of an eliminated intervocalic consonant; e.g. **ta: 'ïp** < **tapïp** = " finding ".

The aspiration of the tenues (indicated by e.g. **q'**) is rather weak; only initial **q** has an aspiration of medium strength. The aspiration of initial **k** and **t** is weak; in monosyllabic words it is somewhat stronger than in polysyllabic ones (e.g. **t'oj** = " wedding "). Medial tenues are never aspirated, final **-q** and the final **-t** of the present 3rd P.sg. are sometimes slightly aspirated.

Initial **m**, **s**, **b**, and **g** (changed secondarily from **k**) are often palatalized before **ė**, **ę** (sometimes also before **ö**); e.g. **m'ėn** = " I "; **s'ėn** = " you "; **b'ęš** = " five "; **g'öz** = " eye " (for **köz**).

The primary consonants and vowels are denoted by the following letters in the literary language (in the order as it is taught at Kirghiz schools): a в (= b) c (= č) ç (= dž) d e f g q g (= ɣ) ь (= ï) i l m n ņ (= ŋ) o ө (= ö) p r s ş (= š) t u y (= ü) z j.

Consonants Corresponding in Kirghiz and in Other Turki Languages

Turkey-Turkish.	Uzbek.	Karakal-pak l.l.	Kazak.	Kirghiz.	Turkey-Turkish Examples.
d- . . .	**t-**	**t-**	**t-**	**t-**	**daɣ** = " mountain "
b-n (bin) . .	**m-**	**m-**	**m-**	**m-**	" to mount "
b-n (bunu) .	**b**	**b**	**m**	**m**	" this (acc.) "
g- . . .	**k-**	**k(g)-**	**k-**	**k (g)**	**göz** = " eye "
j- . . .	**j-**	**dž-**	**dž**	**dź (d')**	**joq** = " (it is) not existing "
č- . . .	**č-**	**š-**	**š-**	**č-**	**čïq-** = " to go out "
č before a consonant . .	**č**	**š**	**š**	**č ; š-** [1]	**qačtï** = " he flew "
š- . . .	**š-**	**s-**	**s-**	**š-**	**šu** = " that " (Kirgh. **ošo**)
v- . . .	**b-**	**b-**	**b-**	**b-**	**var** = " it is existing "
-aɣ . . .	**-aɣ**	**-au̯**	**-au̯**	**-o:**	**daɣ** = " mountain "
ɣ- between rounded back vowels . .	**ɣ**	**w**	**w**	**u:**	**soɣuq** = " cold " ; Kirgh. **su:q**
ɣ between unrounded back vowels .	**ɣ**	**j**	**j**	**j**	
q between vowels	**ɣ**	**ɣ**	**ɣ**	**ɣ**	**čïqïp** = " going out "
h . . .	**x**	**q**	**q**	**q**	**halq** = " nation "

Transitions of Consonants

(1) *Voiced consonants become voiceless and vice versa.*

b > p (в) (only s.l.). Initial **b** changes to **в** or **p** if the preceding word has a voiceless final consonant; e.g. **qarap bardï > qarap вardï** = " he went looking . . ."

d > t (l.l., s.l.). Initial **d-** in suffixes changes to **t-** when the word is added to a voiceless final; e.g. **baš-ta < baš-da** = " on the head ".

g > k (l.l., s.l.). Initial **g-** in suffixes changes to **k-** when the suffix is added to a voiceless final; e.g. **mektep-ke** (< **-ge**) = " to (the) school ".

(***g > q**) **ɣ > q** (s.l., l.l.). Initial **ɣ** (= ***g**) in suffixes plus a back vowel changes to **q-** when added to a voiceless consonant; e.g. **at-qa** (< **ɣa**) = " to the horse ".

[1] See " Transitions of Consonants **š > š** ".

k > **g** (only s.l.). Intervocalic **k** changes to **g**; e.g. **bała gördü** (< **kördü**) = "the boy saw". Initial **k** also changes to **g** if the preceding word has a final nasal; e.g. **q'aŋ getti** (< **q'an ketti**) = "the khan went".

q > **g** (**ǥ**) (only s.l.). Initial **q** changes to **g** (or **ǥ**) after a final **-n** (or **ɴ**); e.g. **q'aŋ ǥałdï** (or **ǥałdï**) < **q'an qałdï** (see **n** > **ŋ**) = "the khan remained".

z > **s** (only s.l.). The final **z** of a syllable changes to **s** before a voiceless consonant; e.g. **qïs taptï** (< **qïz**) = "the girl found".

(2) *Changes of nasal consonants.*

d > **n** (s.l., l.l.). The ablative-suffix **-den** changes to **-nen** when added to the poss. suff. 3rd P., e.g. **atïnan** = "from his horse".

n > **m** (only s.l.). The final **-n** of a syllable changes to m before **m**, **b**, **ʙ**, and **p**, e.g. **qam bar** < **qan bar** = "there is a khan".

n > **ŋ** (only s.l.). The final **-n** of a syllable changes to **ŋ** before **g**, **ɣ**, and **q** (see **k** > **g** and **q** > **ǥ**).

(3) *Regular changes of* l, n, m *(s.l., l.l.) and* č *(only s.l.) through assimilation.*

l > **d**. l changes to **d** after voiced consonants, except after **j** and **r**[1]; e.g. **til-der** < **til-ler** = "languages"; **qïz-dar** < **-łar** = "girls", but **ba:tïr-łïq** = "heroism"; **baj-łar** = "the beys (rich men)".

l > **t**. l changes to **t** after voiceless consonants; e.g. **at-tar** < **-łar** = "the horses"; **qïs-tar** < **-łar** = "the winters".

n > **d**. n changes to **d** after voiced consonants; e.g. **q'an-dï** < **-nï** = "the khan (acc.)"; **qïz-dï** < **-nï** = "the girl (acc.)"; **q'andïn** < **-nïn** = "the khan's".

n > **t**. n changes to **t** after voiceless consonants, e.g. **at-tïn** < **-nïn** = "of the horse".

***m** > **b** (**p**). The negation-suffix ***-me** appears always as **be** after vowels and voiced consonant and as **pe** after voiceless consonants. E.g. **ał-ba** (s.l. often **ałβa**) < ***ał-ma** = "do not take". **džazba** < **-ma** "do not take". **džazba** < **-ma** = "do not write"; **oquba** (s.l. **oquβa**) = "do not read"; **at-pa** < **-ma** = "do not throw".

č > **š**. The final **č** of a syllable changes to **š** before **š**, **s**, **t**, and **č**; e.g. **qaštï** < **qačtï** = "he flew"; **čaš-sïz** < **čač-sïz** = "hairless"; **üš šart** < **üč šart** = "three conditions"; **qaš-čï** < **qač-čï** = "do flee!"

(4) *Other regular changes.*

b > **β** (only s.l.). Intervocalic **b** almost always changes to **β**; **seβeβi** < **sebebi** = "its reason"; **küštü· βołɣon** = "he was strong"; after **-r**, **-l**, and **-j** also **b** almost always changes to **β**; e.g. **kėlβejt** = "he does not come"; (< ***kelmej-dir** > **kelbe-**); **ötkür βa:tïr** = "brave (lit. sharp) heroes"; **tijβedi** (< **tegbe-** < **teg-me-**) = "she does not marry (lit. touch)".

[1] Radloff states that l changes to **d** also after **d**, but I could not find proof of it (*Phonetik*) p. 245).

b > **m** (also l.l.). The initial **b** of the demonstrative pronoun **bu** changes to **m** if **-n** follows the **-u**; e.g. **munun** (gen.); **munu** (acc.); but **buɣa** (dat.).

b > **w** (only s.l.) = slack form of **b** > **β**; e.g. **sułu: wołɣonduɣ ^{u}čün** (< . . . **bołɣonduq üčün**) = " as (she) is beautiful; **aławīz** (< **ałabīz** = " we take " (often **alawuz**, **ī** > **u** through the rounding influence of the **w**; which may even produce the form **aławùz:**; **ī** + rounding of the lips = **ù**).

g > **ɣ** (only s.l.). Intervocalic **g** mostly changes to **ɣ**; e.g. **dėɣen** = " said "; in fluent speech also after **-l**, **-r**, and **-j** (often also if **g** < **k**); e.g. **kėlɣen** = " came "; **bėrɣen** = " gave ".

p > **β** (w) (only s.l.). Corresponds to **b** > **β** (**w**); e.g. **taβałβastan** < **tapałbastan** < ***tapa ałmastan** = " without being able to find "; **dženɟiw ałdī** < **dženɟip ałdī** = " he began to defeat "; **ta^{w}u:** < **tapu:** = " (the) finding ".

q > **ɣ** (only s.l.). Intervocalic **q** changes to **ɣ**; e.g. **sułu: ɣīz** (< **qīz**) = " the beautiful girl ".

(5) Finally, there are a number of occasional changes in the spoken language, e.g. **dž** > **j**; **jönödü** for **džönödü** = " he went "); **k** > **ɣ** (**büɣünɒkü** < **bu kün-ki** = " to-day's "), etc.

Reduced, Eliminated, and Dropped Consonants

Consonants standing in deep minima of intensity are often reduced and eliminated. This principle is explained more fully as follows: (1) If three consonants meet at a syllable-boundary, the middle one is often eliminated and the two others are weakened; e.g. ^{u}'**waq̣'ɒa** < (l.l.) **ubɑqt-ta'** (< Arab. ***waqt**) = " in the time ". (2) The final l (**-ł**) of a syllable is mostly reduced or eliminated before a consonant; e.g. **qīmaq** < **qīłmaq** = " he must make "; **bo'ɣon** = " it was ". Final ***ɣ** of a syllable with preceding **u** has been dropped in the language of to-day; the **u** has been lengthened; e.g. **tu:du** < ***tuɣ-du** = " she gave birth "; the same happens in fast speech to **ɣ** < **q**; e.g. **ošondu: -čün** < **ošonduɣ** (< **duq** < ***lik**) **üčün** = " as it was (is) so (lit. for its being that) ". Final **-q** of a syllable changes sometimes to **'** before a consonant; e.g. **unču 'ʙastan** (< ***unčuqmasdan**) = " without making a sound ". (3) Intervocalic **l**, **p** (and **ɣ**) are often reduced and eliminated. Strong contractions of words are thus caused; e.g. **a'at** = " he takes "; **aja'** **ałīp** = lit. " taking a wife " = " marrying "; **ta:βał** < **tapīp ał** (**tapīp** > **taβīp** > **ta·^{w}īp** > **ta·īβ** > **ta: ał**) = " find ! " (lit. finding take ! "); **tauł^{w}ad^{i}** (< **tapīł badī** < **tapīlmadī**) = " it was not found " (**ī** > **u** through rounding of the lips < **w** < **β** < **p**); **baja^{x}ī** = " that ". (4) Initial **b**, **dž**, **p**, **k**, **q**, and **z** have often a very slack articulation and are sometimes dropped; e.g. ^{u}**waqtī ołču** = " it was his time " (< **boluču**; **b** > **β** > **w** > **ɵ**) ^{x}**tqar$^{x'}$n** < **qutqaryīn** = " save ! "; ^{dž}**ėrde** = " at a place "; etc. (5) The personal suffix 3rd P. **-dir** (< ***tur**) almost always changes to **-t** (s.l. and l.l.) in the present; e.g. **bėret** = " he gives " (sometimes pronounced **bėrɒn**).

Auxiliary Consonants in Word-Composition

To emphasize the meaning of an adjective, the first syllable of it is placed before the original adjective. The final consonant of the first syllable > **p** ; e.g. **qīpqīzł** = " very red ". Nouns meaning " any kind of . . ." are formed by iteration ; the initial consonant of the second word changes to **m-** ; or, if it is **m-**, it changes to **s-** ; e.g. **kiši-miši** = " all sorts of people " (**kiši** = " person ") ; **mał-sał** = " any kind of cattle " (**mał** = " cattle ").

Stress and Pitch

Unfortunately the Kirghiz material I have at my disposal is not sufficient for a thorough inquiry into the extremely intricate problems of stress and pitch in the Kirghiz language. Generally speaking, however, I wish to state that the accentuation and intonation of Kirghiz corresponds more or less to that of the Karakalpak language, which I have set forth in detail in a study on that language.[1]

GRAMMAR

Nouns

Genitive.— **-nin (-din, -tin)** (v.h.2). It always precedes the dependent noun, to which the poss. suff. 3rd P. is added ; e.g. **at-tïn baš-ï** = " the head of the horse ". If a genitive combination is regarded as a compound noun, the genitive suffix (and sometimes also the possessive suffix) is dropped ; e.g. **qan u:łu** = " khan-son, prince " ; **ot araba** = " train " (lit. " fire-carriage "). The genitive suffix is also often dropped, if the noun to which it should be added is the subject of a sentence-construction with a verbal noun ; e.g. **adam** (for **adamdïn**) **kẹlyen ᵘwayï βoł^{u}ču** = " it was the time at which the man came " (lit. " the-man's coming his-time it-was "). *Dative.*— **-ge, -ya (-ke, -qa)**, etc. (v.h.1). After the poss. suff. 3rd P. it is **-ne**, etc., e.g. **üjünö** = " to his house ". It indicates also the direction towards something and normally precedes the accusative-object ; e.g. **u:łya attï körsötöt** = " he shows the son the horse ". *Accusative.*— **-ni (-di, -ti)** (v.h.2). **at-tï** (< **at-nï**) **körö-mün** = " I see the horse ". After the poss. suff. 3rd P. it is **-n**, e.g. **qandïn at-ï-n öldürdü** = " he killed the khan's horse ". If the accusative is not determined, the suffix is dropped, e.g. **ałtin džana gümüš ałyïsï keldi** = " he wished to take (receive) gold and silver " (lit. " his wish to take . . . came "). An accusative is often regarded as determined if there are explanatory words added to it, but it still has to be translated into English with the indefinite article, e.g. **özü tẹŋdü· džaš bałanï ta: ˈᵗp** (< **tapïp**) **bėrẹmin** = " I (shall) find a young man of her age and give (him to her) ". **qara taštï džẹyin** = " eat (any) black stones ". *Locative.*— **-de (-te)** (v.h.1). E.g. **üj-dö** = " in the house " ; **qała-da** = " in the town ". After the poss. suff. 3rd P. **-n-** is placed between the suffixes ; e.g. **üj-ü-n-dö**

[1] MS. to be published in *Anthropos*, 1949.

= " in his house ". *Ablative.*— **-den (-ten)** (v.h.l). E.g. **üj-dön** = " from the house ". After the poss. suff. 3rd P. it is **-nen**, e.g. **ajałdar-ï-nan** = " from his wives ". *Equative.*— **-dej (tej-)** (v.h.l). It indicates an equality of quality (" as, like "), e.g. **adamdɛj** (< ***daj**) = " like a man ", **čïraqtɛj** = " like a lamp ". After the poss. suff. 3rd P. **-n-** is interposed between the suffixes, e.g. **at-ï-n-dɛj** = " like his horse ". Remainders of the ancient Turki *Instrumental* are sometimes found, e.g. **džaq-ïn** = " near " (**džaq** = " side "). *Plural.*—**ler (-der, -ter)** (v.h.l). E.g. **at-tar** = " (the) horses "; **üj-dör** = " (the) houses ". Sometimes **-ė-** appears in the plural suffix, e.g. **ęldėr** = " the nations ". The case-suffixes follow the plural suffix: **attardï** < ***at-łar-nï** = " the horses (acc.) ".

Pronouns

Personal (and Possessive) Pronouns

	sg.		pl.	
1st P.	**mėn**	= " I "	**biz**	= " we "
2nd P.	**sėn**	= " thou " (familiar)	**siler**	= " you " (familiar)
	siz	= " you " (polite)	**sizder**	= " you " (polite)
3rd P.	**ał**	= " he, she, it "	**ałar**	= " they "

The forms in the different cases are as follows (l.l., therefore **men** for s.l. **mėn**, **bizge** for s.l. **bizɣe**, etc.).

	" I "	" he "	" we "	" you " pl.
Nom.	**men**	**ał**	**biz**	**siler**
Gen.	**menin**	**anïn**	**bizdin**	**silerdin**
Dat.	**maɣa**	**aɣa**	**bizge**	**silerge**
Acc.	**meni**	**anï**	**bizdi**	**silerdi**
Loc.	**mende**	**anda**	**bizde**	**silerde**
Abl.	**menden**	**andan**	**bizden**	**silerden**
Equ.	**mendej**	**andaj**	**bizdej**	**silerdej**

sen changes like **men**, **siz** like **biz**; **sizder** and **ałar** like **siler**. For **maɣa** and **saɣa** also **maɣan** and **saɣan** (as in Kazak). For **ał** also **oł (onun, oɣa**, etc.) is used in s.l.

With verbal forms the personal pronouns are only used for emphasis. As apposition to a noun they are placed after it; e.g. **q'aɣłajïn qïzïm śėn** = " you, my beloved girl . . ."

The genitives of the personal pronouns are used as possessive pronouns (see below).

-ki added to the genitives of the personal pronouns forms substantival personal pronouns, e.g. **seniŋki** = " yours ".

Possessive Suffixes

	1st P.	*2nd P.*	*3rd P.sg.*	*1st P.*	*2nd P.*	*3rd P.pl.*
Final consonant	**-im**	**-iŋ**	**-i**	**-ibiz**	**-iŋer**	**-i**
Final vowel	**-m**	**-ŋ**	**-si**	**-biz**	**-ŋer**	**-i**

(Vowel-harmony, type 2) **-iŋer** < **iŋ** + ***ler**

In the 1st and 2nd P.pl. the possessive relation is very often expressed by placing the possessive pronouns before the noun, without using the suffixes: e.g. **bizdin at** = " our horse " (for **atïbïz**); **silerdin attar** = " your (pl.) horses " (for **attarïŋar**). When emphasis is required, the poss. pronouns and the suffixes are used simultaneously; e.g. **bizdin atïbïz** = " our horse "; **silerdin atïŋar** = " your horses ".

The possessive suffixes precede the case-suffixes, e.g. **attarïbïzdï** < ***at-łar-ibiz-ni**) = " our horses ".

Demonstrative Pronouns

bu (**buł**) = this; **ošo** (**ošoł**; s.l. also **ošon ušu(ł)**) = " that (visible) "; **ał** = " that (invisible) "; **tigi** = **ošo**; **tetigi** = **ał**; **bajaɣï** (< ***bu-jaq-ki** = " that on this side ") = " that one who is known already) "; **mïna** = " that one over there ". The following plurals are used: **bułar, ošołor, ałar.**

Nom.	*Gen.*	*Dat.*	*Acc.*	*Loc.*	*Abl.*	*Equ.*		
bu	**munun**	**buɣa**	**munu**	**munda**	**mundan**	**mundaj**	**ał**	see " Personal
ošo	**ošonun**	**ošoɣo**	**ošonu**	**ošondo**	**ošondon**	**ošondoj**		Pronouns "

Other Pronouns

Interrogative Pronouns.—**kim** = " who ", **emine** = " what "; **qandaj** = " what kind of (also adverb = " how "), **qanča** = " how much "; **qajsï** = " which ". *Reflexive Pronouns.*—**öz** + poss. suff.; **özüm** = " myself (*or* my own) ". *Indefinite Pronouns.*—**ar** = " each " (< Pers. **har**); **ar kim** = " each, everybody "; **ba:rï** = " all "; **bašqa** = " (an)other "; **bir néče** = " some, a few "; **bir az** = " a little "; **birö:** = " anybody "; **eč nerse** + negation = " nothing "; **eč kim** + negation = " nobody ".

ADJECTIVES

As attribute they precede the noun, as predicate they follow it and remain unchanged. *Comparative.*—The ablative-suffix is added to the compared word; e.g. **atam bu kišiden džaqšï** = " my father is better than this man ". For expressing a slight difference, **-rek** (after a final vowel), **-irek** (final consonant) (v.h.l) is added to the adjective; e.g. **bu at ał attan tezirek** = " this horse is a little faster than that horse ". *Superlative.*—**eŋ** is placed before the adjective **eŋ džaqšï** = " the best (one) ". By placing **ötö** or **abdan** (s.l. **aвdan**) = " very " or **köp** = " much " before the adjective, an absolute superlative is formed; e.g. **ötö džaqsï** = " very good "; **abdan sułu:** = " very beautiful "; **köp kök** = " very blue ". For **qïpqïzïl** = " very red ", etc., see " Auxiliary Consonants in Word-Composition ".

ADVERBS

(1) Adjectives, nouns, and special words; e.g. **tez barat** = " he goes fast "; **bügün** (s.l. **büɣün**; < **bukün**) = " to-day "; **beri** = " thither "; **narï** = " thither "; **tömön** or **ïłdïj** = " down "; **džoɣarn** or **öjdö** = " up ", etc. (2) Nouns + poss. suff. 3rd P., in a temporal meaning; e.g. **bu künü** = " this day ". Sometimes postpositions are added, e.g. **t'ün iči ménen** = lit. " with the

inside (of) the night " = " in the night ". (3) Expressions with case suffixes (dat., loc., abl., equ.); e.g. **ał kẹzde** = " at that time " (**kez** = " at a time "); **muruntan** = " formerly ", etc. (4) Converb **-ip**; e.g. **süjlöšüp barïšat** = " they walk along speaking ". (5) **-če** (v.h.1) forms adverbs indicating " in the manner of . . . "; e.g. **kišiče** = " in a human manner "; **bašqača** = " in a different manner "; **özü-n-čö** = " alone ". Names of languages are also formed with **-če**; e.g. **qïrγïzča** = " Kirghiz "; **urusča** = " Russian ". (6) *Interrogative Adverbs.*—**qajda** = " where "; **qajdan** = " from where "; **qačan** = " when "; **qandaj (qïlïp)** = " how ".

Remarks on Postpositions

The most interesting postpositions are: (1) *Those governing nominative* (added to pronouns they govern genitive).—**menen** = " with "; **ata mẹnen** = " with the father "; **senin menen** = " with you "; **üčün** = " for "; **ata üčün** = " for the father "; **menin üčün** = " for me "; **turału:** and **džönündö** = " about "; e.g. **bała turału: süjlöšöbüz** = " we speak about the child "; **menin džönündö süjlöšösüpörbö** = " do you speak about me ? ". (2) *Those governing genitive* are nouns which stand in a genitive-relation to the noun preceding them. The genitive suffix of the noun is very often dropped. **toγoj (dun) ičinde** = " in the forest " (**ič** = " inner side "). (3) *Those governing dative.*—**čejin** (s.l. often **čijin**) = " until, up to "; e.g. **ajïłγa čejin bardïq** = " we went up to the camp "; **qaraj** (converb **-e** of **qara-** = " to look ") = " in the direction of . . . "; e.g. **ał mektepke qaraj baradžatat** = " he is going along in the direction of the school (without the intention of going (in) to the school itself) ". (4) *Those governing accusative.*—**közdöj** (converb **-e** of **közdö** < ***köz-le-** = " to look ") = " towards and up to . . . (contrary to **qaraj**, which indicates only the direction) "; e.g. **ał mektepti közdöj baradžatat** = " he goes towards the school, up to it and into it ". (5) *Those governing ablative.*—**murun** = " before (of time), earlier ", e.g. **ał menden murun keldi** = " he came earlier than I "; **kijin** = " after ", e.g. **eki kündön kijin** = " after two days "; **beri** = " since " or " before (of space) ", e.g. **öšondon beri üč džïł öttü** = " since then three years have passed ", **bizdin qïstaq Purunzadan beri** = " our village is before Purunza "; **narï** = " behind ", e.g. **qïštaq Purunzadan narï** = " the village is behind Purunza ".

Numerals

(1) *Cardinals.*—(*a*) Adjectival cardinals (l.l., different forms of the s.l. are placed after the l.l. forms).

1	**bir**	8	**segiz, sẹγiz**	50	**elü: (i̯)ẹllik**
2	**eki, (i̯)ẹki**	9	**toγuz**	60	**ałt(ï)mïš**
3	**üč**	10	**on**	70	**džetimiš**
4	**tört**	11	**on bir, om bir**	80	**seksen**
5	**beš (b'ẹš)**	20	**džïjïrma, džï·rma**	90	**toqson, toxson**
6	**ałtï**	30	**ottuz**	100	**džüz**
7	**džeti, džẹti**	40	**qïrq**	1,000	**miŋ**

The noun following a numeral remains always in the singular. Only after indefinite numerals the plural is sometimes found; **e.g. köp małdar** = " many different kinds of cattle "; but **köp mał** = " much cattle ". (*b*) Substantival cardinals. Only 1–7, formed by adding **-o:**, **-ö:** to the adjectival forms (the final vowel of 2, 6, 7 is dropped); **ekö:** (s.l. mostly **ökö:** = " two "; **bešö:** = " five "; **ałto:** = " six ". (2) *Ordinals* are formed by adding **-(i)nči** (v.h.2) to the adjectival cardinals; e.g. **bir-inči** = " first "; **eki-nči** = " second ", etc. (3) *Distributive Numerals* are formed by adding the ablative-suffix **-den** to the adjectival cardinals, if the numeral is used substantively; e.g. **birden** = " one by one, one at a time "; **ondon** = " ten at a time ". If they are used as attributives, the ablative-suffix is added to the noun which follows the numeral; e.g. **on kiši-den keldi** = " ten persons came at a time ". (4) *Approximative Numerals* are formed by adding **-le** + **-p** (converb **-ip**) to the adjectival numerals (the final vowel is dropped); e.g. **ondop** = " about ten "; often the suffix forming substantival cardinals appears instead of the **-p** (also if the approximative numeral is used objectivally); e.g. **onekilö: čoŋ ba:tïr** = " about twelve great heroes ". (5) *Fractional Numbers.*—E.g. $\frac{3}{5}$ = **bešten üč**. Special expressions: $\frac{1}{2}$ = **džarïm**, $\frac{1}{4}$ = **čejrek**. (6) The names of the *figures* are formed by adding **-lik** (**-dik**, **-tik**) to the adjectival cardinals, e.g. **birdik**, **ekilik**, **üčtük**, etc.

Word-Building Suffixes

The most important are :—

(1) *Denominal Nouns.*—**-či** indicates a person who does something customarily or professionally, e.g. **temirči** = " smith " (< **temir** = " iron "). **-či** + **lik** indicates a profession, e.g. **temirčilik** = " smith's trade ". **-čil** indicates a person who is partial to an idea, e.g. **dinčil** = " a religious man " (< **din** < Arab. **di:n** = " religion "); **ułutčuł** = " nationalist " (< **ułut** = " nation "); **türkčül** = " a turcophile ". **-ča** (*a*) forms adverbs (see " Adverbs (5) "); (*b*) diminutive suffix (rare); e.g. **qïzča** = " little girl ". **lik** (**-dik**, **-tik**) (*a*) added to nouns and adjectives forms (mostly abstract) nouns; **enelik** = " mothership "; **sułu:łuq** = " beauty "; (*b*) added to nouns it forms adjectives which indicate that something consists of what is expressed by the noun or that it belongs to what is expressed by it; e.g. **to:łuq** = " mountain-range " (**to:** = " mountain "); **toɣoj-łuq** = " inhabitant of a forest " (**toɣoj** = " forest "). **-lü** (see " Vowel-Harmony "); added to nouns it forms adjectives which express that something is provided with the thing expressed by the noun; e.g. **to:łu:** = " mountainous "; **bałału:** = " having children ". **-siz** is the contrary to **-lü:**; e.g. **to:suz** = " without mountains "; **bałasïz** = " without children ".

(2) *Deverbal Nouns* (see also " Verbal Nouns ").—**gič** (**kič**, **ɣič**, etc.) forms adjectives and nouns which indicate that something is suitable for the action expressed by the verbal stem; e.g. **džazɣïč** = " suitable for writing "; **körgüč** = " suitable for seeing ". **-gis** (**kis**, etc.) forms adjectives and nouns which indicate that it is not worth while doing the action expressed by the verbal

stem; e.g. **ojłoyus** = " something which is not worth thinking " (< **ojło-** = " to think "); **körgüs** = " something which is not worth seeing " (< **kör-** = " to see ").

(3) *Denominal Verbs.*— **-le** (**-de**, **-te**, etc.); e.g. **bašta** = " to begin " (< **baš** = " head "); **džaqšīła** = " to praise " (< **džaqšī** = " good ").

Verbs

possessive conjugation

1st Preterite

1st P.sg.	**džazdīm**	1st P.pl.	**džazdīq**
2nd P.sg.	**džazdīŋ**	2nd P.pl.	**džazdīŋar**
Polite	**džazdīŋīz**	Polite	**džazdīŋīzdar**
3rd P.sg.	**džazdī**	3rd P.pl.	**džazīštī**

For expressing negation, **-me** (**-be**, **-pe**) (v.h.1) is added to the stem; **džazbadīm** = " did not write "; **oqumadīŋar** = " you (pl.) did not read ". In questions the interrogative particle **bi** is placed after the suffixes, e.g. **džazdībī** (s.l. **džazdīβī**) = " did he write ? "; **bi** is omitted if the sentence contains an interrogative word; e.g. **qačan keldi** ? = " when did he come ? "

The 1st preterite is used to express a terminated action that was done only once in the past, and about which there is no doubt that it really took place.

Conditional

1st P.sg.	**džazsam**	1st P.pl.	**džazsaq**
2nd P.sg.	**džazsaŋ**	2nd P.pl.	**džazsaŋar**
Polite	**džazsaŋīz**	Polite	**džazsaŋīzdar**
3rd P.sg.	**džazsa**	3rd P.pl.	**džazīšsa**

The negative and interrogative are formed as in the preterite.

This form indicates: (1) Real conditional (= English " if " with indicative), with an inherent present or future meaning; e.g. **ał barsa baraman** = " if he goes, I go (too) ". (2) Imaginary condition (English " if " with subjunctive), often with an inherent past meaning; e.g. **ał barsa barat elem** = " if he went, I would go (too) ", or " if he had gone, I would have gone (too) ". (3) " When," with past tense meaning; e.g. **aya munu ajtsaq ījłaj bastadī** = " when he told him this he started weeping ". (4) It is sometimes used to indicate reason; e.g. **sułu: yīz bołsom atam teŋdü: čałya ḿėn q'andɛj q'īlīp tijemin** = " as I am a beautiful girl, how (making) should (lit. shall) I marry (lit. touch to) an old (man) who is as old as my father ? " (5) **-se** + **de** = concessive meaning " even if, though "; **maya aqčanī bėrmese de** = " even if he does (or will) not give me the money "; **emine bolso do** = " whatsoever it may be ". (6) **-se** + **či** in the 1st P.sg. indicates repentance of something one has done; in the other persons it expresses either repentance or a request, e.g. **īmtīqanya muruntan tajardansamčī** = " oh, (I wish) I had prepared myself earlier for the examination "; **džazsaŋčī** = " oh, if you had written ! ", or " would you please write ? "

PRONOMINAL CONJUGATION

Personal Suffixes

1st P.sg.	**džaqšï-mïn**	1st P.pl.	**džaqšï-bïz**
2nd P.sg.	**džaqšï-sïŋ**	2nd P.pl.	**džaqšï-sïŋar**
Polite	**džaqšï-sïz**	Polite	**džaqšï-sïzdar**
3rd P.sg.	**džaqšï**	3rd P.pl.	**džaqšï**

Negative : **džaqšï emesmin** = " I am not good ", etc. The interrogative particle follows the personal suffixes ; e.g. **džaqšï-sïŋ-bï** = " are you good ? " ; **džaqšï emespi** = " is he not good ? "

Present and Definite Future

It is formed by adding the personal suffixes to the converb **-e** (v.h.1) (after a final vowel **-j**) ; negative **-mej** :—

1st P.sg.	**džazamïn**	1st P.pl.	**džazabïz**
2nd P.sg.	**džazasïŋ**	2nd P.pl.	**džazasïŋar**
Polite	**džazasïz**	Polite	**džazasïzdar**
3rd P.sg.	**džazat**	3rd P.pl.	**džazïšat**

In the 1st P.sg. also **-m** is found for **-mïn** ; e.g. **džazam**. Stems with a final vowel, e.g. **oquj-mun (oqujm)** = " I read ". Negative : **džazbajmïn (džazbajm)** ; **oqumajmïn (oqumajm)**. Interrogative : **džazasïŋbï** = " do you write ? "

This form expresses (1) an action done in the present, but not necessarily in the immediate present ; the action may take place repeatedly or duratively for a long time ; e.g. **adamdar süjlöšöt** = " the men speak to each other (for a long time) " ; **sen qajda turasïŋ** = " where do you live (always) ? ". (2) It expresses a future action which certainly will be done, e.g. **ertеŋ saγa kelemin** = " to-morrow I (certainly) will come to you " ; **Purunzaγa džönöböjmün** = " I shall not go to Purunza ".

In this Kirghiz verbal form the meanings of the original " present " and of the " habitual present and the future " (formed by **-er** + pers. suff. ; **-r** is dropped > **-e** + pers. suff. = Present : original **-e** + pers. suff.) coalesce, as in Uzbek, Kazak, etc. If the original **-r** of the latter is not dropped, the verbal form has a specialized meaning (see below).

Suppositional Future

It is formed by adding the personal suffixes to the participle **-er** (v.h.1) (after a final vowel **-r**), negative **-bes** (< ***mes**) ; the 3rd P. has no suffix : **džazarmïn** = " perhaps I shall write " ; **džazar** = " perhaps he will write " ; negative = **džazbaspïs** = " we shall not write perhaps " ; **kelbesmin** = " perhaps I shall not come " ; interrogative : **kelersiŋerbi** ? = " will you (pl.) come perhaps ? "

This form indicates an action which is supposed to take place in the future.

2nd Preterite (Pluperfect)

It is formed by the participle (and verbal noun) **-gen** (v.h.1) + the personal suffixes (3rd P. has no suffix). **džazγanmïn** = " I had written " ; **džazγan**

= " he had written " ; negative : **džazbaɣansiŋar** = " you (pl.) had written " ; interrogative : **körüšpöɣöndü** (s.l. **ɣömbü**) = " had they not seen ? "

This form expresses a terminated, definitely completed action, that took place in the pluperfect once or repeatedly or customarily. Tales and stories usually begin with this form ; e.g. **bir qandïŋ qïzï aʁɒan sułu: βoɬɣon . . .** = " the daughter of a khan was very beautiful . . ." An emphatic negative is formed by adding **džaq** = " it is not existing " to **-gen** ; e.g. **džazɣan džoqmun** = " I had *not* written ".

Preterite -iptir

This preterite is formed by the converb **ip** + **tir** + the personal suffixes or (more rarely) by **-ip** + the personal suffixes ; the 3rd P. has no suffix ; **džazïptïrmïn** (**džazïpmïn**) = " I apparently have written already " ; **džazïptï** = " he apparently has written already " ; negative **džazbaptïrsïŋar** = " apparently you have not written " ; interrogative **körüptürmünbü** = " have I seen already ? "

This verbal form, which in Uzbek, for instance, expresses an unfinished past, has a very specialized meaning in Kirghiz. It indicates a past action, the consequences of which are still perceptible and which is *unexpected* for the speaker, who (1) has heard about this action from other people or has discovered it by logical conclusions ; or (2) has been an eye-witness of the action himself ; e.g. **üj örtönüptür** = " the house has burnt out apparently " (somebody is walking through a street and sees a burnt-out ruin at a place at which he expected to see a house), **Axmet keliptir** = " Akhmet has arrived apparently " (the speaker comes home and sees Akhmet who has been away for a long time).

Durative Preterite

It is formed by adding **-ču -čü** to verbal stems with a final vowel, and **-uču -üčü** to those with a final consonant, + the personal suffixes. The 3rd P. has no suffix. The negative with **-ba** is almost always replaced by **-ču emesmin** in the spoken language (see " Compound Tenses ") ; **džazučumun** = " I used to write " ; **körüčüsüŋör** = " you used to see " ; **oquču** = " he used to read " ; negative (l.l.) **džazbačubuz** (s.l. **dzazuču emespiz**) = " we did not use to write ") ; interrogative : **džažučusuŋbu** = " did you use to write ? "

This form expresses a past action that was done repeatedly, customarily, or duratively.

Necessitative

It is formed by the verbal noun **-mek** (v.h.l) + the personal suffixes. The 3rd P. has no suffix ; **džazmaqmïn** = " I must write " ; **džazmaq** = " he must write " ; **körüšmök** = " they must see " ; the negative is formed with **emes** ; e.g. **džazmaq emespiz** = " we have not to write " ; interrogative : **barmaqpï** = " must he go ? "

This form implies that somebody is obliged or forced to do something. **ertең Purunzaɣa džönömökpü** = " to-morrow we have to go to Purunza " ; **qajsï rajondordo bołmoqsuŋar** = " in which districts have you to be ? "

Compound Tenses

(1) Compounds with **emes** + the personal suffixes; the 3rd P. has no suff. (*a*) Durative preterite negative: **-(u)ču emesmin**, etc.; e.g. **džazuču emesmin** = "I did not use to write"; **džazïšuču emes** = "they did not use to write". (*b*) 2nd Preterite (Pluperfect): **-gen** + **emesmin**, etc., contrary to the simple negation **-be**; e.g. **džazbaŋan**. The form **džazŋan emes** indicates that the speaker wants to add something to his statement, e.g. **ał džazŋan emes uqqan** = "he did not write (had not written) but (had) listened". (*c*) Suppositional Future **-er** + **emesmin**, etc., indicates emphatic negation; e.g. **keler emessiŋ** = "perhaps you will *not* come". (*d*) Necessitative **-mek** + **emesmin**, etc.; **bu qïzmattï men ištemek emesmin** = "I have not to do this work".

(2) Compounds with **ele**. Generally speaking, **ele** added to a verbal form indicates that an explanatory or additional statement will be made to the action expressed by the verbal form to which **ele** is added. (*a*) (*α*) 1st Preterite **-dim**, **-diŋ**, etc. + **ele**; (*β*) 2nd Preterite (Pluperfect) **-gen** + **elem**, **eleŋ**, etc.: (*γ*) Durative Preterite **-uču** + **elem**, **-eleŋ**. In (*α*) and in (*β*) **-ele** indicates either (1) that the action has taken place a very long time ago; or (2) that it is not finished yet; or (3) that the speaker has no connection with the action any more; (*γ*) has only the meanings of (1) and (3). **mïndan bir neče džïł murun Sibirde turdum ele, azïr ał džer menen bajłanïšïm džoq** = "a few years ago (lit. from that) I lived (for a long time) in Siberia; now I have no connection with that region (any more)"; **bïltïrkörgön eleŋer** = "(in) the last year you had seen ..." (**ele** indicates that explanation regarding what had been seen has still to follow); **men ušuł üjdö turuču elem** = "(a long time ago) I used to live in that house". (*b*) (*α*) Present and Definite Future **-at** + **elem**, **-eleŋ**, etc.; (*β*) Suppositional Future + **elem**, **-eleŋ**, etc.; **ele** added to these two forms indicates that it is possible to do the future action, if the condition is carried out which is expressed by the preceding sentence; e.g. **sen ubada** (s.l. **ᵘwada** < Arab. ***wa'da**) **berseŋ men bürsügünü bütürөm** = "if you give the promise, I shall finish (it) the day after to-morrow"; but **sen ubada berseŋ men bürsügünü bütüröt elem** = "if you give the promise, it is possible for me to finish (it) the day after to-morrow". These two tenses + **ele** sometimes express a past action, if there is an adverb in the sentence which indicates the past; **bujdo: qïłbasa keče: kelet elek** = "if he had not made a stop, it would have been possible for us to come" (... **keler elek** = ". . . it would have been possible for us to come, perhaps"). (*c*) Necessitative **-mek** + **elem**, **-eleŋ**, etc.: (*α*) Indicates that it is not quite certain whether the action which had to be done was really done at the prescribed time. Simultaneously **ele** points out that the reason for this uncertainty will be explained in the following sentences. It depends on the context whether the tense of this form is past or future. **Asan keče: kelmek ele** = "Hasan had to come yesterday" (the speaker says that Hasan had to come yesterday, but he does not know whether he did arrive or not, because . . .). (*β*) It indicates that the action which has (or had) to be done, is (or was) not done. The verb of the following explanatory sentence stands always in the preterite **-iptir**; e.g. **Asan**

keče: kelmek ele biroq kelbeptir = " Hasan had to come yesterday, but he did not come ". (*d*) Preterite **-iptir** + **ele**, exists only in the 3rd P.sg. It indicates that an additional (explanatory) statement will be made to the action expressed by the preterite **-iptir**; e.g. **ïrajïm qal džazïptïr ele qatïn biz ałbadïq** = " Ibrahim has written a letter, (but) we did not receive the letter ". (*e*) **-gej** + **elem, -eleŋ** indicates a wish that an action should take place, but it implies simultaneously that the speaker is not quite certain that the action will really take place, as there are obstacles, e.g. **oγa baryaj elem** = " I want to go to him " (" but I am afraid that I have not enough time ", for instance); **Asan kelgej ele** = " I wish Hasan would come " " (but I think he will not come, because . . .) ". (*f*) Conditional **-sem, -seŋ** + **ele** indicates " if only . . . had happened or would happen ", for instance; e.g. **džamγïr bołso ele, aštïq džaqšï bołor** = lit. " If (there) were rain, the grain would (perhaps) be good ".

(3) Compounds with **eken** (in the negative forms **-be** is added to the verbal stems, only in (*c*) and (*f*) **emes** is placed before **eken**). Generally speaking, **eken** indicates that the speaker had heard about the action from other people. (*a*) 2nd Preterite (Pluperfect) + **ekenmin, -siŋ**, etc. **Aqmat keče: kelgen eken** = " (I have heard that) Akhmad has arrived yesterday ". This form is very often used at the beginning of stories and tales. (*b*) 1st Preterite **-di** + **ekenmin, -siŋ**, etc., indicates a doubtful question (this **eken** < the Ancient-Turki dubitative particle **ɛrki**); e.g. **qačan büttü eken** = " I wonder when it came to an end ? " (*c*) Durative Preterite **-uču** + **ekenmin, -siŋ**, etc.; **buł üjdö Asan turuču eken** = " (They say that) Hasan used to live in his house ". (*d*) Present-Definite Future **-at** + **ekenmin, -siŋ**, etc., indicates that something happens or will happen probably; e.g. **ał džaqïnda kelet eken** = " He will probably come soon ". (*e*) Conditional **-sem, -seŋ**, etc. + **eken** indicates a wish; e.g. **kelsem eken** = " I want to come ". (*f*) Necessitative **-mek** + **ekenmin, -siŋ**, etc.; **džazmaq eken** = " (they say that) he must write ".

(4) Compounds with **boł-** = " to be, to become ". (*a*) Participle **-gen** + **boł-** indicates that somebody starts doing something; e.g. **atasï ojłoγon bołuču** = " his father started thinking (for a long time) ". (*b*) Necessitative **-mek** + **boł-**: (*α*) has an inchoative meaning; e.g. **ał munu qïłmaq bołdu** = " (the situation began to require that) he had to make this ". (*β*) It indicates " to make up one's mind " (= Uzbek **-mexči boł**); e.g. **čał bu qïzdï ał maq bołdu** = " the old man made up his mind to take (= to marry) this girl ".

IMPERATIVE, VOLUNTATIVE, AND INTENTION-FORMS

1st P.sg. **džazajïn** = " I want to write " (after a final vowel **-jïn**, e.g. **oqujïn** = " I want to read ").

2nd P.sg. **džaz** = " write ! ", emphatically **dzazγïn**. In the spoken language also **džazïŋ** (as in Uzbek) is sometimes found.

3rd P.sg. **džazsïn** = " he may write ".

1st P.pl. **džazałï** (s.l. also **džazałïq** as in Kazak and Uzbek) = " we want to write, let us write ". After a final vowel **-jli**, e.g. **oqujłu** = " let us read ".

2nd P.pl. **džazyïła** = " write ! " (s.l. also **džazïŋïz** as in Kazak).

3rd P.pl. **džazïšsïn** = " they may write ".

Negative **džazbajïn** = " I do not want to write "; **džazbajłï** = " we do not want to write "; **džazbayïła** = " do not write (pl.) ".

-či added to the above-mentioned forms indicates an asking, a request; e.g. **maya tetigi kitepti berči** = " give me that book, please "; **ertең maya kelsinči** = " please, he may come to me to-morrow "; **qatu: süjbögülöčü** = " do not speak (pl.) aloud ".

An attempt to do something is indicated by the converb **-ip** of the main verb + **kör-** = " to see " in the imperative forms + **či**; e.g. **džazïp köröjünčü** = " I (will) try to write ", **džazïp körčü** = " try to write ! "

A desiderative is formed by **-gej** + **elem**, etc., see " Compound Tenses (2*g*) "; another one by the verbal noun **-gi** + poss. suff. + **kel-** = " to come ", see " Participles and Verbal Nouns (4) ". An intention is expressed by the verbal noun (necessitative) **-mek** + **boł-** = " to be, to become ", see " Compound Tenses (4) (*b*) (*β*) ".

DELUSION-FORM

By adding **-si** to the verbal noun **-gen**, or **-sin** to nouns and adjectives, forms are obtained which indicate that something seems to be done in a certain manner, but in reality this is not the case. The suffixes indicating the tenses are added to **-si** or **sin**; the negative suffix **-be** is placed either before the **-gen** or after the **-si**; but it always follows **-sin**. **džazyansïjïn** = " I will behave as if I wrote "; **džazbayansïyïła** or **džazyansïbayïła** = " behave as if you would not write ", **džaqšïsïnajïn** = " I will behave as if I were good "; **džaqšïsïnba** = " behave as if you were not good "; **džazyansïdï** = " he behaved as if he wrote " (neg. **džazyansïbadï** or **džazbayansïdï**); present definite future: **džazyansïjt** (neg. **džazyansïbajt**); supp. future **džazyansïr** (neg. **džazyansïbas**), etc.

PARTICIPLES AND VERBAL NOUNS

They are used for constructions the meaning of which in English and in most of the Indo-European languages is expressed by subordinate clauses.

(1) Stem + **er** (v.h.2), after a final vowel **-r**; neg. **-bes** (the ***mes** appears only in **emes**, see " **bol-bar džoq** "). *Participle of Present and Future* and *Verbal Noun*. Basic form for the suppositional future and partly for the present-definite future (which see). As a participle it is seldom used. As a verbal noun it expresses the meaning of English temporal clauses (by adding the locative-suffix **-de**); e.g. **biz džönördö Asan saya ajttï** = " when we went, Hasan said to you ". The negative **bes** + the ablative suffix **-den** expresses " without + a gerund "; e.g. **ał meni kütpöstön ketti** = " he went away without waiting for me ".

(2) Stem + **-gen** (**-ken**, etc., v.h.1). *Participle of Past* (*and Present*) and *Verbal Noun.* (*a*) It expresses the meaning of English relative clauses, e.g. **bügün kelgen kiši kim** = " who is the person who came to-day ? " ; **bul ajtqan sözdörüŋ** = " those words which you have said " ; **qïzï sułu: bołγon baj** = " the rich man (bey) whose daughter was (is) beautiful " ; (*b*) the meaning of English sentences with " that " is expressed by **gen** + the acc. suff. **-nï** ; **munu ałγanïŋdï kördük** = " we have seen that you have taken (lit. your having taken) that ". (*c*) English temporal clauses are rendered by **-gen** + the locative suff. **-de** or + **kezde** = " at the time " ; e.g. **qïzïmdï bėrgende köp ałtïn ałamïn** = " when I give my daughter (away) I shall receive much gold " ; **ałar bạrạdžatqan kẹzde** = " when they were going along ". (*d*) The meaning of English clauses of reason is expressed by **-gen-*lik** + the ablative suff. **-den** or + **üčün** = " for " ; e.g. **małï köp bołγonduγ** (< ***gen-lik**) **üčün** . . . = " as his cattle was much " ; **qïzmatčï džetišpegendikten** = " as the servants were not sufficient . . . ". (*e*) **-gen** (often +***-lik**) is used as a true noun ; e.g. **tijβeγendiγ^{i}ni sẹβeβi** < **tegbegendik-i-nin sebebi** = " the reason for his not touching (= attacking) " ; **seniŋ kim ekeniŋdi bilemiz** = " we know who you are (lit. your who your-being-acc. we-know) ".

(3) Stem + **u:** (**-ü:**, **-o:**, **-ö:**, see " Vowel-Harmony "). *Verbal Noun.* (*a*) It is used as a true noun ; e.g. **oqu:** = " the reading ". (*b*) **-u:** + **üčün** = " for " indicates " in order to, to " ; e.g. **qïzdï ta^{w}u:** (< **tapu:**) **üčün** = " in order to find the girl ". (*c*) It is sometimes used to express the meaning of English temporal clauses, e.g. **qïzdï körü: menen** = " just when he saw the girl (lit. the girl-acc. the seeing with) ".

(4) Stem + **gi** (**-ki**, etc., v.h.2). *Verbal Noun.* **gi** + poss. suff. + **kel-** = " to come ", indicates the wish to do the action which is expressed by the verbal stem, e.g. **Purunzaγa baryïm kelet** = " I want to go to Frunze " ; **sen** (never **seniŋ** !) **qačan džönögüŋ keldi** = " when did you want to go ? ".

(5) **-mek** (v.h.1), originally a verbal noun, has lost its meaning entirely and is used as necessitative (which see) and in an intention-form (see " Compound Tenses (4) (*b*) (*β*) ").

CONVERBS

These are unchangeable verbal forms, the person and tense of which are not expressed but correspond to that of the main verb at the end of the sentence.

(1) Stem + **e** (v.h.1), after a final vowel **-j** ; negative **bej** (**-pej**, etc.). It is used before **bašta-** = " to begin ", e.g. **üjrönö baštaγan** = " he started learning ". The main verb of a compound verb is always a converb **-e** (see " Derived Verbs (6) "). It is the basis for the present. **-bej** is used to express " without + a gerund " (= **-bes -den**), e.g. **ał söz ajtpaj** (s.l. **ajtʙɛj**) **qałγan** = " he remained without saying a word " = " he did not say a word more ".

(2) Stem + **(i)p** (v.h.2). In the negative it is always replaced by **-bej.**

(*a*) If two verbal forms in a sentence should be built up by the same suffixes and express actions that follow one another, **-ip** is added to the stem of the first verb instead of these suffixes; e.g. **qïzïn satïp** (for **satqïsï**) **ałtïn ałyïsï keldi** = " he wanted to sell his daughter and to receive gold (for her) ". (*b*) **-ip** is used adverbially (see " Adverbs (4) "). (*c*) A sentence closed with a final verbal form is taken up again by **-ip**; e.g. **ałar maya kelišti, maya kelišip ajtïštï** = " they came to me and (coming to me) they said ". (*d*) **-ip** is used as basis for a preterite (see " Preterite **-iptir** "); furthermore, the main verb of the verbal compounds consisting of a main verb and an auxiliary verb is a converb **-ip**. Very many of the verbal compounds of which the converb **-ip** is a part have developed a new meaning as compounds; e.g. **ałïp kel-** = (lit. " taking come ") = " to bring "; **ałïp ket-** = (lit. " taking go away ") = " to carry away ". (*e*) **dep** the converb **-ip** of **de-** = " to say " is placed between a direct speech and the verb indicating the action of speaking, usually in the order direct speech **-dep-** (subject-objects)-verb; e.g. **meni ˣtqarᵏïn** (< **qutqarγïn**) **dėp ał qïz aγa sözdörün ajttï** = " 'save me' (saying) that girl said her words to him ".

(3) **-genče** = " until ", e.g. **biz kelgenče küt** = " wait until I come ". In l.l. **-genče** is used also for (4).

(4) (s.l.) **-giče, -ginče, -ginček** = " instead of "; e.g. **mėn qïzïmdï bir čałγa bėrginček . . .**" = " instead of giving my daughter to an old man ".

AUXILIARY VERBS

These indicate the aspect of the main verb, which is a converb **-ip**. I can give only a few which are the most interesting: (1) **džat-** = " to lie ", indicates (*a*) an action done in the immediate present; e.g. **oqup džatat** = " he is reading (just now) "; (*b*) a durative or customary action; e.g. **Purunzada ištep džatat** = " he works (always) at Frunze ". (2) **džür-** = " to go ", indicates a durative action; e.g. **ošo mektepte oqup džüröm** = " I study (lit. read) at that school ". (3) **kel-** = " to come ", indicates that an action has been done uninterruptedly up to the present time; e.g. **eki džïł ošo mektepte oqup keldi** = " he has been studying at that school for (these) two years ". (4) **ket-** = " to go away ", indicates than an action is done thoroughly and that it is completed, e.g. **oγa munu ubadałašïp** (< Arab. **wa'da**) **ketti** = " he promised him that emphatically ". (5) **kör-** = " to see ", indicates an attempt, see " Imperative ". (6) **otur-** = " to sit " indicates an action done in the immediate present (contrary to Uzbek, in which it indicates duration); e.g. **ał ištep oturat** = " he is working (just now) ". (7) **qał-** = " to remain ", indicates that an action takes place and that the state which is the result of it is still lasting; e.g. **ketip qałdï** = " he went away (and now he is not here any more) ". (8) **qoj-** = " to put ", indicates that an action is done very thoroughly and that it is completed; e.g. **oγa ajtïp qojdï** = " he told him emphatically ". (9) **tüγot** = " to finish ", indicates that an action is brought to an end; e.g. . . . **ajtïp tüγöttü** = " he said . . . and finished his speech ". (10) **tur-** = " to stand ", indicates a durative action; e.g. **at ošo zo:tto ištep turat** = " he works (always) in that factory " (Russ.).

DERIVED VERBS

(1) *Passive.*— **-il** (v.h.2), after final **-l**, **-in**; after final vowel **-n**; e.g. **ajt-ïl** = " to be said "; **al-ïn** = " to be taken "; **ište-n** = " to be done (work) ".

(2) *Reflexive.*— **-(i)n** (v.h.2), e.g. **kor-ün** = " to look at oneself ".

(3) *Reciprocal.*— **-(i)š** (v.h.2), for reciprocal and mutual actions and for the 3rd P.pl.; e.g. **ber-iš** = " to give each other "; **berišet** = " they give ".

(4) *Factitive.*— **-t** after a final vowel; stems with final **-n** change **n** > **t**; e.g. **üjrön-** = " to learn "; **üjröt** = " to teach "; **-ir** (v.h.2), **-er** (v.h.1), added to a number of monosyllabic stems with a final consonant, e.g. **qač-ïr** = " to make flee "; **qajt-ar** = " to make return " = " to send back "; **-dir** (**-tir**, v.h.2) added to stems with a final consonant or with a final long vowel (***ɣ**, **w**); e.g. **tu:dur** = " to assist at a confinement " (lit. to make bear < ***tuɣ-dur-**); **-giz** (**-kiz**, v.h.2), added to stems with a final consonant, e.g. **miŋgiz-** = " to make mount "; to a few stems **-ger** (**-ker**, v.h.1) is added; e.g. **qutqar** = " to save " (< ?); **ötker-** = " to pass (time) ".

(5) *Possibility and Impossibility.*—Converb **-e** + **al-** = " to take "; e.g. **iste ałamïn** = " I can work "; neg. **ište albajmïn** = " I cannot work."

(6) *Compound Verbs.*—They consist of a converb **-e** + an auxiliary verb. (*a*) A verb indicating a motion + **kel-** = " to come ", indicates hurry; e.g. **džünö geldi** = " he came in a hurry "; **qajta geldi** = " he returned in a hurry ". (*b*) **kele** (< **kel-** = " to come ") and **bara-** (< **bar-** = " to go ") + **džat-** = " to lie ", indicates that the action is done in the immediate present; e.g. **kele džatat** = " he is coming (just now) ". (*c*) Converb **-e** + **kör-** = " to see ", indicates a request; e.g. **ajta kör** = " please say ". (*d*) Converb **-e** + **ber-** = " to give " indicates a continued action; e.g. **džaza ber** = " go on writing ". (*e*) Converb **-e** + **tur-** = " to stand ", indicates a durative action; e.g. **qaraj turat** = " he is looking (for a long time) ".

boł-, bar, dzoq

The defective stem **ẹ-** = " to be " of **boł-** = " to be, to become ", is used in the following forms: (1) **emes** (*negative of the participle **-er**), see " Compound Tenses (1) ". When standing alone it indicates the present negative. (2) **ẹdi**, **ėken**; affirmative 1st and 2nd preterite. (3) **ėken**, verbal noun **-gen**. In the other forms **boł-** is used in both meanings.

bar = " it is existing "; **džoq** = " it is not existing ". They are used to express " to have ", e.g. **üjüm bar** = " I have a house " (lit. my house is existing). They are often replaced by **boł-**; e.g. **bajdïŋ bir qïzï bołɣon** = " the rich man had a daughter ".