Article

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Our views on the Chaghatay language

Mirsultan Osmanov & Hämit Tömür

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This comprehensive article by the renown Uyghur scholars Mirsultan Osmanov, Ürümchi, and the late Hämit Tömür, Minzu University of China, Beijing, presents the authors' opinions on the emergence and development of the written language Chaghatay, which they consider to be the direct descendant of written Old Uyghur. The paper can serve as a valuable document of the history of the modern Uyghur research on Chaghatay that began in the 1960s.

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1. Introduction

In the 1960s, within our group, the process of researching the Chaghatay language formally commenced. With this began the collection, categorization and publication of the classical literary relics of the Uyghur people which had been written in the Chaghatay language. During this period many articles concerning the Chaghatay language were written, laying the foundation for academic research into the language. Works by Ibrahim Muti'i, Rehmitulla Jari, Hämit Tömür, Abdure'op Polat, Wahitjan Ghopur, Esqer Hüseyin, and others are representative of these research efforts. The papers published to date have, in general, positively demonstrated that the Chaghatay language is the direct descendant of the Uyghur written language. Nevertheless, important questions remained unanswered, such as how the language was formed and its position within the wider language family. However, no systematic treatment of these issues—such as the formation of the language and its taxonomy—has yet been offered. Almost certainly for this reason, the view is sometimes put forward that the Chaghatay language and the Uyghur language are not, in fact, related, and that the creators of the Chaghatay written language were not themselves part of the Uyghur classical literature movement, but were merely one of its influences. Apart from this, many Uyghur intellectuals have, for some time, deemed the name Chaghatay language ill-suited to the essence of the language, and have suggested that it would be more proper to use the name Chaghatay Uyghur language. However, our focus in this paper is first on the important questions mentioned above. In order to aid further research into the name of the language we will continue to use the name in common use today. We believe that after the essential prob-

lems have been solved, scholars will have no further difficulty in choosing the correct name.

2. Chaghatay language and Chaghatay language research

The written literary language used by the Turkic people in Xinjiang and Central Asia, especially the Uyghur and Uzbek people from the middle of 14th century to the beginning of the 20th century, is commonly called Turkic language, Turkish, Kashgar Turkish or Chaghatay. In the Karakhanid period it was referred to as Türk language or the language of the Khakanian Turks by Mahmud al-Kashgari. Later, in the work *Etebet-al-heqayiq* by the literary scholar Ehmed Yükneki, it was called Kashgari language. This language was formed as an amalgamation of the Idiqut Uyghur literary language, on which it was based, and the Old Uyghur literary language. In the process of its development it acquired its own unique features, and was also characterized by a strong Perso-Arabic influence.

This literary language is termed Chaghatay language—not owing to its inclusion as a member of any particular language family, but only because it was used as the official language of the Chaghatay Khanate under the rule of Chaghatay and his descendants, and by similar regimes which ruled over Xinjiang and much of surrounding Central Asia.

Although the name Chaghatay language was not commonly used in its time, the term's ability to clearly indicate when and where the language was in use accounts for its mainstream academic usage at the present.

As is well known, Chaghatay was the second son of Chingiz Khan and he ruled from 1224 to 1242 A.D., the year in which he died. While Chingiz Khan was still alive, he gave his son Chaghatay the West Liao lands of Semirechye, Transoxania and Kashgar to rule over as his inheritance. Until 1370 A.D. (the final year of Tuğluq Timur), twenty-seven descendants of Chaghatay sat on the throne, reigning over this vast expanse. Accordingly, *Čaγatay ulus* 'Chaghatay people' and *Čaγatay eli* 'Chaghatay land/country' became formal terms for this territorial regime and its citizenry. This terminology, from the time of Chaghatay's grandson Alghu (who reigned 1261–1266) down to the reign of Timur, included the Mongol tribes which embraced Islam as well as many other Turkic-speaking tribes.

In the 15th century, when nomadic groups expanded southward from the vicinity of the Aral Sea, the mixture of tribes in this land became even more complex. In this way, not just on the basis of shared ethnicity, but much more owing to political and social factors, three main groups came into being across this vast territory: the Chaghatay, Mughal, and Uzbek. However, notwithstanding this complex social and ethnic makeup, from the middle of the 14th century the main language of government and of formal written communication across the land was the language called Turkic or Turkish, also known as Chaghatay or Chaghatay Turkic, as opposed to Arabic or Persian.

Outside of our country [i.e. China], the Chaghatay language first began to be researched in the 19th century by scholars of whom the following can be considered as representative: V. V. Radlov, S. Y. Malov, H. Vámbéry, A. N. Samoylovič, J. Eckmann, N. A. Baskakov, A. N. Kononov, A. K. Borovkov, K.-H. Menges, I. Tikhonov, A. M. Ščerbak, A. T. Kaydarov, V. V. Rešetov, Š. Šükürov, and Ğ. Abduraxmanov etc. Here we introduce the views of several of these researchers as they relate to our topic.

In the book titled *Qamus-al-alam* it is written:

> "Ancient Uyghurs were the most culturally advanced, and their language was the literary language of the Turkic-speaking peoples. The Uyghur language from the time of Chaghatay Khan's reign became famous as the Chaghatay language."[1]

V. V. Radlov said:

> "Eastern Turkic or Chaghatay was not the language of Central Asia as Sultan Muhemmed Babur and H. Vámbéry, the latest researcher of this language, are trying to convince us. Instead, it was an artificial formal literary language, just as was literary Ottoman Turkish. It came to be formed due to historical reasons. It is now the formal written language of peoples of the east speaking various Turkic dialects. Its basis is the Uyghur literary language which was already developed even before the influence of Islamic culture and the Mongol occupation."[2]

In the work, *Historical grammar of the Uzbek language,* S. Y. Malov's opinion of the history of Uzbek is given to us as follows:

> "S. Y. Malov divides Uzbek language history into three periods: Uyghur Literary Language, Chaghatay Literary Language, and Soviet-era Uzbek. According to this kind of historical partitioning, modern literary Uzbek (Soviet-era) came from literary Chaghatay, and this language (literary Chaghatay) in turn from literary Uyghur."[3]

A. K. Borovkov said:

> "The Khakanian language became the standard literary language for all Turkic-speaking Muslims in the 12th to 14th centuries. Even after the Mongolian occupation, the ancient Uyghur language played an important role as the literary language of

1 Fraşeri, Şemseddin Sami 1889–1898. *Kamus al-alam* 1–6. İstanbul: Mihran. 3: 1640, 1876.
2 Quoted in A. M. Ščerbak 1962. *Grammatika starouzbekskogo jazyka.* [Grammar of the Old Uzbek language]. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademija Nauk SSSR.
3 Ğ. Abduraxmanov & Š. Šükürov 1973. *Istoričeskaja grammatika uzbekskogo jazyka 1.* [Historical grammar of Uzbek]. Taškent: Ukituvči. 17.

> Central Asia. After the beginning of the 11th century, the ancient Uyghur language spread beyond the borders of Xinjiang towards the west. The widespread dissemination of Uyghur literature in the east by the formation of the Chaghatay *ulus* 'people'. In the writings before the time of Nevā'ī, the ancient Uyghur language was characterized by many different phonetic, morphological and lexical forms. Nevertheless the scholar, Nevā'ī, was familiar with the writer Ehmed and his poetry. From this, it can be seen that Uyghur literary traditions were robust in Nevā'ī's time".[4]

However, Borovkov also said:

> "In the Chaghatay period, the Old Uzbek language was very close to eastern Turkic literary traditions. However, it was based on the *j* dialect or dialect groups."[5]

In the 12th to 14th centuries, Khorazmian and the local dialect environment played vital roles in the development of the literary language.[6]

Within Nevā'ī's language, Uyghur morphological elements can also be observed. However, the usage of these ancient Uyghur elements is rare. Therefore, the ancient Uyghur language was not the basis for the literary language created by Nevā'ī.[7]

A. Samoylovič divides Central Asian Turkic written languages under Islam into the following time periods:

Karakhanid Turkic or Kashgar Turkic (10th to 12th centuries)
Oghuz-Qipchaq Turkic (13th to 19th centuries)
Chaghatay (15th to 19th centuries)
Uzbek (20th century).[8]

J. Eckmann put the Chaghatay language in the Central Asian group of the Turkic family of languages and opined that it was a classical language which was used from the beginning of the 15th to the beginning of the 20th century. He considered it improper to call it the Old Uzbek language. He also mentions that, out of modern languages, this language is related most closely to Uzbek and Uyghur. He divides Central Asian Turkic written languages under Islam into the following time periods:

Karakhanid Turkic (11th to 13th centuries).
Khorazmian Turkic (14th century).

4 A. K. Borovkov 1946. Ališer Navoi kak osnovopoložnik uzbekskogo literaturnogo yazïka. [Elišir Newa'i, the founder of the Uzbek literary language]. In: Borovkov, A. K. (ed.) *Alisher Navoi.* Moskva & Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademija Nauk SSSR.

5 A. K. Borovkov 1963. *Leksika sredneaziatskogo tefsira 12–13 vv.* [Annotated Central Asia Lexicon.] Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademija Nauk SSSR. 21.

6 A. K. Borovkov 1963. 27–28.

7 A. K. Borovkov 1946.

8 J. Eckmann 1966. *Chagatay manual.* Introduction. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press. 9–10.

Chaghatay (15th to the beginning of the 20th century).

J. Eckmann furthermore divides the Chaghatay language into three time periods:

Pre-Classical Period (from the beginning of the 15th century to 1465, the time that Nevā'ī's first *divan* was written).

Classical Period (1465 to 1600).

Post-Classical Period (1600 to 1921).[9]

N. A. Baskakov held that Chaghatay was the literary language of the Chaghatay *ulus* 'people' and was used from the 13th to the 14th centuries. He called the descendant of that language Old Uzbek, and he placed these two languages into the Qarluq Turkic language group. The languages within this group and their relationships are presented as follows.

The languages belonging to the Qarluq group can be divided into the Qarluq-Uyghur branch and the Qarluq-Khorazmian branch. The Qarluq-Uyghur branch includes two literary languages: the Uyghur language of the Karakhanid period (10th to 11th centuries)—*Qutadğu Bilik* 'The knowledge of achieving happiness' and *Divanu Lugatit Türk* 'Compendium of the languages of the Turks' are both examples of the spoken language of that period—and the Uyghur language after the Karakhanid period (12th to 14th centuries)—this language was used in both *Etebet-al-heqayiq* and *Qisse-al-enbiya* 'Stories of the Prophets'. The Qarluq-Khorazmian branch includes ancient literary languages—such as the Qarluq-Khorazmian language (12th century), the Golden Horde (Khorazmian) language (14th century), the Chaghatay language (13th to 14th centuries) and the Old Uzbek language (15th to 20th centuries)—and also includes modern Uyghur and Uzbek.[10]

We also encounter some contradictory opinions in N. A. Baskakov's original work:

> "Textual relics following that period include: *Divani Hikmet* written by Xoja Ehmed Yessewiy in the mid-12th century Sufi literature period and *Etebet-al-heqayiq* written by his disciple, Ehmed Yükneki (12th to 13th centuries) ... These works were composed using Oghuz-Qipchaq dialects which expressed the rules of literary Khorazmian Turkic. The influence of ancient literary Uyghur was not very strong".[11]

The Qarluq-Khorazmian branch group includes four ancient literary languages which appeared one after the other over time. These were: the (Uyghur-Qarluq) language of the Karakhanid Khanate of the 10th to 11th centuries, the Qarluq-Khoraz-

9 J. Eckmann 1966. Introduction.

10 N. A. Baskakov 1986. *Türkiy tillar* [Turkic languages]. Uyghur translation. Beijing: People's Press. 312–322.

11 N. A. Baskakov 1986: 82.

mian or Oghuz-Qipchaq literary language, the Chaghatay language and the Old Uzbek language.[12]

In regards to the so-called textual relics of the literary Chaghatay language, they mainly preserved the characteristics of the literary language of the Karakhanids.[13]

The foundation of the Chaghatay language is based upon the literary language of the Karakhanid period. It formed from the combination of elements from the eastern Uyghur-Qarluq language and the western Khorazmian language.[14]

A. M. Ščerbak calls the literary Turkic language used in Central Asia from the 14th to the 16th centuries the Old Uzbek language, and he mentions that this term also includes the spoken Uzbek of that time. When Ščerbak emphasizes the relationship between this language and the languages that preceded it, he states:

> "Relatively late (after the 10th to 13th centuries), it was a Central Asian variant of an eastern Turkic language"—here talking about the Qarluq-Uyghur dialect of this language.[15]

In *Uzbek language historical grammar* the Uzbek scholar, Osmanov, divided the history of the Uzbek language into the following periods:

The ancient Tugyu language (6th to 11th centuries).
The ancient Uzbek language (11th to 12th centuries).
The first period of the Old Uzbek language (13th to 14th centuries).
The Old Uzbek language (14th to 19th centuries).
Modern Uzbek language.[16]

The authors of *Uzbek language historical grammar* divided the historical periods of the literary Uzbek language as follows:

Most ancient Turkic language (up to the 7th century).
Ancient Turkic language (7th to 11th centuries).
Old Turkic language (11th to 13th centuries).
Old Literary Uzbek language (15th to 19th centuries).
New Literary Uzbek language (19th to early 20th centuries)
Modern Literary Uzbek language.[17]

In the introduction to *Modern Uzbek language*, the following statements are made:

> "Indeed, during the 11th century, in Mahmud al-Kashgari's work, *The Compendium of Turkic Dialects* [*Divan Lughatit-Türk*], [z] (or sometimes, [d]) phoneme variants are

12 N. A. Baskakov 1986: 330, 325.
13 N. A. Baskakov 1986: 330, 325.
14 N. A. Baskakov 1986: 92.
15 A. M. Ščerbak 1962.
16 Ğ. Abduraxmanov 1973: 18, 19.
17 Ğ. Abduraxmanov 1973: 18, 19.

> also found in words which include the [j] phoneme, particularly in his examples from Kasghar Uyghur folklore ... [This language] not only from the aspect of phonology, but also from lexical and grammatical features, was similar to more ancient Turkic textual relics. However, this observation cannot be used as the basis for including the writings of that time among those ancient Turkic textual relics, or to declare these writings as belonging only to the Uyghur people. This is because, from the 11th to the 12th centuries, Uzbek language elements existed in greater numbers and had a stronger presence in ancient writings. As for later relics, textual artifacts from the 13th to the 14th centuries are exact representations of the Old Uzbek language. Elišir Nevā'ī's transformation of literature was extremely significant in that he abandoned the traditions of Uyghur language within his literary works..."[18]

If the views expressed above are put in outline form, their opinions about the basis of the formation of the Chaghatay language and to which language family it belongs can be expressed as follows:

The Uyghur language, during the reign of Chaghatay Khan, became familiar as the Chaghatay language. (Š. Sami)

The literary Uyghur language had matured before the Mongol occupation and was the basis of the Chaghatay language through the influence of Islamic culture. (V. V. Radlov)

Modern Uzbek came from the literary Chaghatay language, and the literary Chaghatay language came from the literary Uyghur language. (S. Y. Malov)

The Karakhanid period literary language and the literary language that followed were both Uyghur literary language. (N. A. Baskakov)

During Nevā'ī's time, it can be seen that Uyghur literary traditions were strong. (A. Borovkov)

The Chaghatay language was formed on basis of the Khorazmian or the Oghuz-Qipchaq literary languages, both of which followed the literary Turkic language of the Karakhanid period. (J. Eckmann, A. Samoylovič)

Chaghatay was the literary language of the Chaghatay Ulus during the 13th to 14th centuries. The Old Uzbek language followed it in the 15th century. Both were part of the Qarluq-Khorazmian branch. (N. A. Baskakov)

The literary Turkic language during the Karakhanid period, or even in the period before it, was the Uzbek language. (Osmanov)

In textual artifacts of the 11th–12th centuries, Uzbek language elements were numerous and strong. (*Modern Uzbek language*)

Nevā'ī forsook Uyghur language traditions. (*Modern Uzbek Language*)

18 *Hozirgi zamon ŭzbek tili / Sovremennyj uzbekskij jazyk.* 1957. [Modern Uzbek language]. Taškent. Introduction.

The literary Turkic language (the Chaghatay language) which formed in the 14th–16th centuries should be called the Old Uzbek language (A. M. Ščerbak, Ğ. Abdurahmanov, Š. Šükürov).

The Old Uzbek language was the Central Asian variant of the Eastern Turkic language (of the Qarluq Uyghur dialect) after the Karakhanid period (A. M. Ščerbak).

These later views claim that Chaghatay moved away from the medieval Uyghur language, especially from its Idiqut and Khakanian variants, and that at some point Chaghatay was bound up with local Khorazmian dialects. They even attempt to replace Chaghatay with the ancient Uzbek language. These opinions naturally present opportunities for detailed analyses of several problems for discussion: the family of the literary language that was the basis for the Chaghatay language; the formation and developmental stage of the Chaghatay language; and the relationship between the Chaghatay language and modern Uzbek, etc.

Before we discuss these contentious problems, we will put forward several points that are worth emphasizing about the evaluation of the Chaghatay language:

From the perspective of time, the Chaghatay language was in use for 600 years. From the perspective of place, many Turkic-speaking people outside of the Chaghatay region also used this language as the literary language. So, in regard to the question of how to classify this literary language, several important questions need to be taken into account: Which tribe's or tribes' language characteristics were influential? Which historical conditions were influential? Which stage of the Chaghatay language influenced the formation process and development of the literary language? etc. Without considering whether or not a given Turkic language has experienced a certain level of Turkic language development, and without considering the continuous existence or new formation of any Turkic-speaking people, one cannot say that, "Given that this is a Turkic language, it must be thus and so". Such a statement denies the unique characteristics of ethnic languages, and it implies that, given certain similarities, any ethnic language can be identified as a common language.

For the six centuries in which the Chaghatay language was in use, there is much factual evidence for the continuous presence of several phenomena in this region: tribal mixing and separation, the preservation of certain tribal characteristics, severe inter-tribal conflicts, competition with each other for advancement, etc. Nevā'ī, in his works, did not mention the Barlas, Arlat, Tarhan, Qiyat, Qongrat, Uyghur, Jalayir, Qavchin, etc. tribes without cause. In fact those tribes, in later times, joined the Uzbeks yet did not lose their tribal names. Nevā'ī's statement, *Mevlana Hüseyin Xarazmiyni Xarezmde Özbek šehid qildi*[19] and Sultan Muhemmet Babur's statement, *Özbek zor kišini böke dermiš*[20] prove that they had not yet given up their tribal

19 Ališer Nevā'ī 1994. *Mejalisun-nefa'is. Birinji Mäjlis.* [1st conference], Xinjiang People's Press . Ürümči. 10.

20 A. S. Beveridge 1905. *The Bábar-náma. Facsimile.* Leyden & London. 18, 19.

names. It is therefore evident that it is improper to say that "The Uzbeks conquered (or assimilated) other tribes and became a single, unified people" in the 15th and 16th centuries. Regarding this problem, the views of the authors of *Uzbek language historical grammar* were relatively correct. They said:

> "After the death of Tamerlane (18 February 1405), the struggle between his heirs for the throne escalated and chaos ensued. In addition to this, descendents of Uzbek nomads often made attacks from the Qipchaq wilderness which is north of Central Asia. Some of them occupied the area around the Syr Darya (Jaxartes River), Turkistan, Özgen, Suzaq and other places, gradually settling there. The nomads called themselves Uzbeks. Their ethnicity had Mughal, Turk, Hon, and Saq-Messegit components. At the end of the 15th century Uzbek descendents, under the leadership of Sheybanihan, occupied Transoxania and became mixed with neighboring peoples. These neighboring peoples also began to be called 'Uzbeks'."[21]

Differences between tribes and peoples still existed during this time period, and it cannot be imagined that a single written literary language based on the languages of every tribe and people could arise. Rather, in order to form a written literary language, a single dialect region with a well-developed culture had to play a major role. Therefore, in the period when the Uyghur written language was used as the official language, the due credit should be given to the roles of the Idiqut variant and the other variant, called the Khakanian language (which was in use in Central Asia until the Mongol occupation), in the formation of the Chaghatay language. In other words, from the Orkhon period onwards, all of these factors should not be forgotten: the Uyghurs, who created, preserved and disseminated their flourishing culture; their cultural role throughout Central Asia, especially in the main cultural centers of Kashgar, Herat, Samarkand, Andijan, etc.; the Uyghur written and oral language traditions; and their social status. The words of Shemsiddin Sami above were based upon this reality.

The language characteristics of poetry and of prose should be differentiated from each other. Language phenomena that were commonly or consistently seen should be distinguished by their usage rates from those that were uncommonly or rarely occurring. Guiding principles should be found in important and definitive language component characteristics, and attention should be focused on the languages in which these characteristics are now strongly active. There are certain language phenomena i.e. those that are still in transitional periods and even their future modifications (which cannot be placed into a single system; for example the alternation of *d* // *ð, j, g, z*) that should not be relied upon to create a foundation.

21 A. S. Beveridge 1905: 15.

3. The formation of the Chaghatay language and its course of development

Social factors play an important role in the formation of a given literary language. Chingiz Khan's westward march and the rule of his descendants in Central Asia provided the essential social setting for the formation of the Chaghatay language. Prior to Chingiz Khan's advance into Central Asia, the written literary language called the Khakanian language or the Kashgari language was mainly used, (although the Chaghatay language did reflect some characteristic features of the local dialects of Central Asia of this period). The writer Ehmed Yükneki's work *Etebet-al-heqayiq*, *Qisse-al-enbiya* 'Stories of the Prophets', the undated and anonymous *Qur'an tepsiri* 'Commentary on the Qur'an' and other such works can be given as examples of works written in this literary language.

It is clear from the activities conducted by the Uyghur scribe *Tatatunga* in the language and literary fields during Chingiz Khan's reign, that Chingiz Khan used the Idiqut Uyghur language and the ancient Uyghur script as the official language (and script) of state.[22] This language served as the official language in Central Asia, not only in Chingiz Khan's lifetime but also in the eras of his descendants, including those of Chaghatay and the Timurids. In this period, the language's area of use was not limited to official communication and correspondence, laws and regulations only. It made its presence felt in almost every field of social communication. This language and script, which was an outstanding expression of ancient Uyghur culture, became the means by which many world famous works were bequeathed to later generations. Works that were written and copied in this language include *Altun Yaruq*, *Xuanzang Biography*, *Maytrisimit*, *Qutadgu Bilik* 'The knowledge of achieving happiness', *Etebet-al-heqayiq*, *Bextiyarnāme*, *Tezkire'i Ewliya*, *Merajnāme*, *Oghuznāme*, *Muhebbetnāme* 'The book of love', and so on.

The ancient Uyghuric script, as the foundation for the creation of the Mongolian, Manchu and other scripts, persisted until the 14th century in Central Asia and until the 17th century in the east.

Regarding the positive role of the Uyghur language in Central Asia, the following quotes may be given:

Köprülü: "In the 12th century, Central Asian literary language (Uyghur language) and the Uyghur alphabet had extended as far as western Iran and Iraq."[23]

The historian Tömür Ibn Erebshah (died 1450): "The Chaghatay script is called the Uyghur script".[24]

22 See Abliz Muhämmät Sayrami, Abdurazzaq Toxti et. al., 1991. *Yüen sulalisi däwridä ötkän mäshur Uyğur šäxslär* [Famous Uyghurs of the Yuan Dynasty]. Ürümči: Xinjiang People's Press.

23 M. Fuad Köprülü 1920. *Türk edebiyatı tarihi* [History of Turkic literature]. İstanbul: Matbaa-yi Âmire.

24 A. K. Borovkov 1946: 92–120.

Abu'l-Ğāzi Bahādur Khan of Khiva (1014-1074, Hijra), in his book *Tarixi Shejere'iy Türk*, wrote:

> "Among the Uyghur people there were many who had studied the Türki language. They were well schooled in management of the treasury and palace accounting. Among Chingiz Khan's grandchildren in Transoxania, Khorasan and Iraq, all the palace officials and treasurers were Uyghur, and in the offices of the Timurids documents were written in the Uyghur script."

Hence, after the Idiqut Uyghur language and the ancient Uyghur script came into Central Asia as the communication tool of government, they began to merge with the Khakanian language already being used in Kashgar and Central Asia. Originally, apart from differences between particular Islamic and Buddhist words and terms, reflecting the varying religious beliefs of the Uyghurs of that time, there were almost no grammatical and phonetic differences between the two languages. The social conditions formed in Xinjiang and Central Asia under Chaghatay rule created the opportunity for the Uyghurs and their neighbors, the Chigil and Yaghma tribes, to draw closer together. With this came the gradual merging of the two languages used by these tribes. The most prominent period for this convergence was the 14th century, and the entrance of Islam to the Idiqut region during this age played an even greater positive role in the emergence of one language out of the two. The process of formation of the Chaghatay language was then as follows: the parallel use of the two antecedent languages for a period of time in Xinjiang and Central Asia; their movement towards becoming one language; and finally their encounter with the influence of the Arabic and Persian languages and Persian literary traditions, especially the lexical influence.

Therefore, the estimation that the formation of the Chaghatay language began from the middle of the 14th century, and the division of the process into three periods called the Formation Period, the Classical (or Standardized) Period, and the Late Period suits the whole course of development taken by the Chaghatay language.

4. The Formation Period of the Chaghatay language and its character in this period

There is almost no dispute over the timing of the Late Period of the Chaghatay language; that is, the stage after the 17th century. Neither are there any major conflicts concerning the boundaries of the preceding two periods. However, as we have shown above, there are significant conflicts regarding the essence of the language in these two periods.

First, let us come to the Formation Period of the Chaghatay language. It is estimated that this period lasted for about 100 years from the middle of the 14th century to the middle of the 15th century. Considering the previous stages in the development of the Uyghur language, the language features of literary works from this pe-

riod, and the process of formation of the modern Uyghur literary language, this estimation is reasonable.

However, it is claimed by some researchers that works belonging to this age were written in the literary language called Khorazmian Turkic, which derived from the Karakhanid language under the influence, in part, of Oghuz (Turkmen) and Qipchaq local dialects. In the same way, there are some researchers who, while admitting that Chaghatay literary language was formed on the basis of the Uyghur literary language of the Karakhanid period, hold that this language "combined elements of the Qarluq Uyghur language of the east and the Khorazmian language of the west."[25] The holders of this viewpoint cite as evidence of the Khorazmian Turkic language, Xarezmi's *Muhebbetnāme* and Qutb's *Xisrav ve Šerin*, works which emerged from the east and west sides of the Golden Horde. They claim that even Ehmed Yüknek's *Etebet-al-heqayiq* and Rabghuzi's *Qisse-al-enbiya* were written in the literary language called Khorazmian Turkic, and that they do not contain many of the traditions of the ancient Uyghur literary language.[26]

Before we come to our main theme, let us discuss this issue of the language of these latter two works.

Most scholars estimate that *Etebet-al-heqayiq* was written at the end of 12th century and the beginning of 13th century. Judging from certain facts in the language of the work, this estimation is close to reality. The A version of this work was copied in 1444, the B version in 1480, and the C version in (?). Since these versions were copied some 2 to 3 centuries after the original work, it cannot be denied that, with regard to language, they express to some degree the dialectical features of the copyists. The following lines from Emir Arslan Xoja Tarqan's commentary on this work proves that it was written in the Kasghari language of the day:

تمامی ایرور کاشغری تیل بیله ،
ایتمیش ادیب دقاتی دل بیله.
اگر بیلسه کاشغر تیلین هرکیشی ،
بیلور اول ادیب نینك نیکیم ایمیشی.
Tämāmi erür kāšğärī til bilä,
Ayitmiš ädib diqati dil bilä.
Ägär bilsä kāšğär tilin här kiši,
Bilur ol ädibning nekim aymiši.

Qisse-al-enbiya was written in the years 1309-1310. Since they were written in different eras, there are some differences in language–between these two works.

25 N. A. Baskakov 1986: 92.

26 N. A. Baskakov 1986: 69, 82 & J. Eckmann 1998. Harezm Türkçesi [Khorazmian Turkic]. In: *Tarihî Türk şiveleri.* Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları. Ankara. 175.

The inclination of some researchers to say that these two works were written entirely under the influence of the Oghuz-Qipchaq language derives from the occasional appearance of Oghuz-Qipchaq elements in them. However, on closer inspection, it can be seen that the elements of medieval Uyghur language found in them occupy a completely superior position relative to the elements of the Khorazmian dialect, and that the elements of the Oghuz-Qipchaq language reflected in them are not of sufficient degree to change the basic characteristics of the language. Tursun Ayup in his essay "A discussion of the Kashgari language" discusses extensively the connection between the language of *Etebet-al-heqayiq* and the Khakanian and ancient Uyghur languages, and correctly points out the important characteristics of the language of this work.[27]

In our opinion, the following features show that the language of these two works (*Etebet-al-heqayiq* and *Qisse-al-enbiya*) belongs to the final period of medieval Uyghur (Khakanian) language.

Phonetics

1. In the language of both works the phoneme [š] normally takes the place of [s]; similarly [ğ] normally takes the place of [w], and [y] the place of [j]. That is, in these languages it is not "bas" that is spoken, but "baš" (باش); not *tav*, but *tağ* (تاغ); not *jil* but *yil*.

2. In the language of both works there are seven vowel phonemes, namely [a], [o], [ö], [u], [ü], [ä] (with the free variant [E]), and [i] (with the central variant [ị]).

It should be emphasized that the change of [ä] to [e] claimed by Eckmann[28] is never a characteristic of Khorazmian Turkic. The [e] sound identified by Eckmann (which is, in fact the [E] sound), was a free variant of [ä] starting from the Uyghur language of the Orkhon period and continuing down to medieval Uyghur. Evidence of this is found, firstly, on the Orkhon inscriptions, where the [ä] in the first syllable is not written and in its place, the free variant [E] is represented by the sign 𐰀; secondly, from words included in the *Divanu Lughatit Türk*, where [ä] in the first syllable is signified by *fatḥa* and, when [E] is pronounced after a consonant letter, an «ي» is added with *kasra* written underneath. This situation continued throughout the whole Chaghatay period.

3. The alternation *d* > *ž* // *j*, *g* does not occur in the first of the two works under consideration, and is very rarely seen in the latter. Example: *uj* ئۇي.

4. Intervocalic [q] and [k] do not become respectively [ğ] and [g].

5. The alternation *b/m* almost never occurs. Only in *Qisse-al-enbiya* the word *muz* is written *buz*.

27 Tursun Ayup 1990. *Kašger tili toğrisida mulahizä. Türkiy tillar tätqiqati* [Research in Turkic languages]. Nationalities' Press. 3: 19–50.

28 J. Eckmann 1998: 173.

Morphology

Nouns

1. The genitive case suffix and the accusative case suffix are clearly marked. The genitive case *-niŋ, -iŋ* is denoted by *-nuŋ, -nüŋ*, and the the accusative case *-ni* is denoted by *-in*. The Oghuz-Qipchaq accusative case form *-i* does not occur.

2. In the overwhelming majority of places *-ka, -qä, -gä // -qa* are used for the dative case; the *-ŋa, -ŋä, -ŋar* suffixes are rare and the Oghuz-Qipchaq forms are absent. When dative case suffixes are attached to the pronouns sän, män, their actual pronunciation was not sängä, mängä, but maŋa, saŋa. This is especially clear in poetic works.

3. The ablative case is expressed mainly with *-din, -tin*. The Oghuz-Qipchaq *-tan -tan // -tän, -nan, -dän* forms are absent. In *Qisse-al-enbiya,* which was copied using Arabic letters, some *-dan, -dän* forms of the ablative case are encountered.

4. The instrumental case is not widely used. It is encountered in several places in *Qisse-al-enbiya* only. For example: *ağaqin turur—ayiği bilän turidu* ئايىغى بىلەن تۇرىدۇ, *tärkin yiğilip*.

Verbs

Past Tense

1. The use of *-dimiz* for the first person plural suffix of direct past tense (as in medieval Uyghur) is prominent in *Qisse-al-enbiya.* For example: *käldimiz—kälduq* كەلدۇق.

2. The forming of the indirect past tense with the *-miš* form is the same in both works.

3. The verbal future tense in the affirmative is formed by attaching *-ur, -ür* to the vast majority of one or two syllable verbs ending with [l], [r], to derived stems, to verbal voice stems; *-ar, -är* is used only with a few verb stems. For roots or stems ending with a vowel it is formed by joining *-yur, -yür*.

For the negative, in *Etebet-al-heqayiq* the thoroughly Oghuz-Qipchaq *-maz, -mäz* and *-mas, -mäs* are used interchangeably. However, in *Qisse-al-enbiya*, *-mas, -mäs* and *-maz, -mäz* are not used interchangeably.

4. The transformation of converbs into the direct future tense of the verb, by joining the personal suffix *-turur* > *-dur* ~ *-tur* to converbs formed with *-a, -ä* cannot be found in either of the two works.

5. The imperative mood suffixes *-ğay, -gäy* are widely used.

6. Even with respect to grammatical affixes, the aspect forms are undeveloped. In *Qisse-al-enbiya* only, the aspect meaning 'help' is expressed by joining *bär-* after converbs formed with *-a, -ä, -u, -ü*, the negative form of the abilitative aspect is expressed by joining *bilmä-*, and the ingressive aspect is expressed by adding the verb *bašla-*. The abilitative aspect expressed with *-uma, -ümä* is very rare in *Qisse-al-enbiya.* For example: *ağin säbr qilumadi—yänä sävr qilalmidi* يەنە سەۋر قىلالمىدى.

7. Perfect participles are formed with the suffixes *-ğan, -qan // -gän, -kän*. The Oghuz-Qipchaq form in *-an, -än* does not appear.

8. Participles formed with *-iğli, -igli* appear more often in *Etebet-al-heqayiq* and less so in *Qisse-al-enbiya*. However, these participles were common to all Turkic languages in that period.[29]

9. Converbs are, in the vast majority of cases, formed with the suffixes *-p, -ip // -up, -üp*. The Oghuz-Qipchaq form in *-a, -ä, -u, -ü, -yu, -yü* is rare in *Etebet-al-heqayiq*, and more common in *Qisse-al-enbiya*. Converbs formed with *-pan, -pan (-upan, -üpan)* are seldom used.

10. Gerunds formed with *-ğu, -qu // -gü, -kü* are numerous in both works. Besides the gerund, this form also conveyed the sense of the imperfect participle, verbal mood of necessity (for example, *kim yazuq qilsa ani urğu—kim gunah qilsa, uni uruš keräk* كم گۇناه قىلسا ، ئۇنى ئۇرۇش كېرەك) and so on. Verbal future tense was expressed by adding personal suffixes after this form (for example *tört ülüš qilğum turur—töt ülüš qilimän* تۆت ئۇلۇش قىلىمەن.

11. Despite the small capacity of gerunds formed with *-duq, -dük*, they are encountered more frequently in *Etebet-al-heqayiq* (since it comes from an earlier time), and less frequently in *Qisse-al-enbiya*. For example: *uluqsinduquŋ—täkäbburlašqiniŋ* تەكەببۇرلاشقىنىڭ, *barduquŋ—barğanliqiŋ* بارغانلىقىڭ, *tutup turduquŋ—tutup turğiniŋ* تۇتۇپ تۇرغىنىڭ. (*Etebet-al-heqayiq*); *ṣäbr qilduq üčün—sävr qilğanliqi üčün* سەۋر قىلغانلىقى ئۈچۈن (*Qisse-al-enbiya*).

12. The verbs *bol-* and *qil-* are not productive in word formation.

13. The Oghuz-Qipchaq form of *bol-* namely *ol-*, is not used.

Lexicon

Arabic and Persian words, particularly words pertaining to Islamic ideology, are relatively numerous in the two works we are currently considering. In spite of this, the ancient Uyghur language words *täŋri, uğan* 'God', *ujmaq* ~ *učmaḫ* 'heaven', *tamuğ* 'hell', *jalawač* 'prophet', *ekindi* 'noon prayers', *tapuğ* 'to bow down', *yazuq* 'sin' and others were used sometimes in parallel with Arabic and Persian words of equivalent meaning, and sometimes alone. It is estimated that there are more than one hundred such words in *Etebet-al-heqayiq* and more than 300 in *Qisse-al-enbiya*.

> In the opinion of some researchers, these same influences are seen in two works from Chaghatay's Formation Period: *Muhebbetnāme* and *Xisrav vä Šerin*. These works are taken as typical representatives of Khorazmian Turkic. In regard to the significant phonetic features of these two works, points above concerning the phonetic features of the previous two works (*Etebet-al-heqayiq* and *Qisse-al-enbiya*) are applicable in their entirety. The alternation of *d* > *ž* // *j* described above is seldom seen in the latter two

29 Mähmud Kašğäri 1984. *Türkiy tillar divani [Diwan-u Lugatit Türk]*, Xinjiang People's Press. 2: 74–76.

works. For example: *eygü atiŋ—yaḫši namiŋ* ايكو اتينك, ياخشى نامىڭ *boyi—boyi* بويى, بويى *yayayin—yayay* ياياي, ياياينك ~ اداقينك *ayaqiŋ ~ adaqiŋ—ayiğiŋ* ئايىغىڭ *(Muhebbet-nāme)*, تىيلمادين *tiyilmadin—toḫtatmay* توختاتماي *(Xisrav ve Šerin)*.

Turning to the morphological features, points 1, 2, and 3 above regarding nouns are entirely applicable. In the latter two works the indirect case is encountered in joined condition. Points 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 13 regarding verbs are entirely applicable.

The *-dimiz* form of point 1 above is not seen in the latter two works. Participles formed with *-iğli, -igli* which were the subject of point 8 cannot be found. The gerunds formed with *-duq, -dyk* noted in point 11 are generally redundant.

The following characteristic features of the language of the latter two works can also be noted:

1. The negative of the verbal future tense in the first person singular is sometimes expressed by the omission of *-mäs, -mas or -mäz, -maz*. For example: *unutman* ئۇنۇتماسمەن, *bilmän* بىلمەسمەن.

2. In the language of the latter two works, in line with the features of Chaghatay written literary language in its Formation Period, the joining of auxiliary verbs *-dur ~ -tur < -turur* after converbs with *-p* was widely used to express the past tense indirect declarative mood. These forms are very rarely encountered in the former two works. For example: *ant itipmän—qäsäm qilğanmän* قەسەم قىلغانمەن (*Qisse-al-enbiya*); *ečtipmän—aŋliğanmän* ئاڭلىغانمەن (*Qisse-al-enbiya*); *boluptur* بولوپتور, *qiliptur* قىلىپ تور, *käzläniptur* كېزلانىپتور, *beriptur* بېرىپتور, *tošuptur* توشوپتور (*Muhebbetnāme*).

The formation of the future tense indirect declarative mood by addition of the auxiliary verb turur after converbs formed with *-a, -ä*, in these two works, as also in other works of the Formation Period, was still widely used.

If we take the lexical features of the latter two works, words belonging to medieval Uyghur are comparatively numerous in *Xisrav ve Šerin* and rare in *Muhebbetnāme*. In any case, we see the number and utilization rate of medieval Uyghur language words in literary works progressively decreasing from the middle of the century.

From the statements above we come to following conclusions:

1. In *Etebet-al-heqayiq* and *Qisse-al-enbiya* elements of Khakanian language occupy the dominant position. Having the characteristic features listed above, it belongs to the final period of the Khakanian language in the Karakhanid era.

2. The language of *Muhebbetnāme, Xisrav ve Šerin* and similar works is the literary language of a certain stage in the formation of the Chaghatay written literary language. In this literary language, the characteristic features of the Kashgari language are dominant. In the same way, some Oghuz-Qipchaq language factors are also present in it. N. A. Baskakov admits this point when he says:

> "The written literary language of the Golden Horde originally developed under the strong influences of the ancient Uyghur language and the Kharakanid state language.

> The speakers of ancient Uyghur and of the Kharakanid languages were Uyghurs who were officials in Mongolian government offices and they used the script of the Uyghurs. Judging from Qutb's translation of the extant literary work *Xisrav ve Šerin* (mid-14th century), and similarly from the imperial edicts, the literary language of the Juji *ulus* [people] of the western regon has a partial local character with elements of the Uyghur language very much mixed with it."[30]

3. In short, Khorazmian Turkic is not a Central Asian form of the Turkic language that is somehow made up of the Karakhanid language under the partial effect of local dialects of the Oghuz (Turkmen) and Qipchaq of the lower reaches of the Syr Derya (Jaxartes River). Rather, it is a form of the Kashgar variant of medieval Uyghur written literary language combined with some features of the local dialect of the Khorazm district, which was one of the cultural centers of Central Asia through the centuries. Let us finish our conclusion once again with J. Eckmann's own words: "One single unit does not constitute the whole of Khorazmian Turkic."[31]

In the ranks of the representatives of this period Qutb, Xarezmi, Durbek, Atayi, Lutfi, Sekkaki, Yeqini, Gadayi and others can be placed.

5. The Classical Period of Chaghatay and its character in this period

The period known as the Chaghatay language's Classical Period runs approximately 150 years from the middle of the 15th century to beginning of the 17th century. This period, as represented by Elišir Nevā'ī, Husayn Bayqara, Muhemmed Salih, Öbeydi, Šeybanixan, Babur, Šikeste etc., is considered to be the period in which the Chaghatay language reached its pinnacle, attaining more stability than in the previous periods and becoming standardized. The works which were produced in this period are superior in number and quality to those of the preceding period. Consequently, in most cases when the Chaghatay language is mentioned, it is the written literary language of this period and its continuation that is in view.

Sometimes a further three-fold division of this period is proposed: the Early Classical Period (the first half of the 15th century), the Classical (or Nevā'ī) Period (the second half of the 15th century), and the Continuation of the Classical (or the Babur and Šaybani Khan) Period (the 16th century).[32] However, from the aspect of the evolution of language this is difficult to accept. For, no matter how hard we try, we are unable to demonstrate in a systematic way how a written language changes every fifty years. The reason for this is not that research standards are inadequate, but rather that it is impossible that any conspicuous changes should take place in a literary language in the course of fifty years.

30 N. A. Baskakov 1986: 295.

31 J. Eckmann 1998: 173.

32 M. Fuad Köprülü 1945. Çağatay edebiyatı [Chaghatay Literature]. In: *Islâm ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: Millî eğitim basimevi. Quoted in Eckmann 1998.

Concerning the Chaghatay language of this period, especially the language of Nevā'ī and Nevā'ī's works, several one-sided points of view have persisted up until the present day. N. A. Borovkov's *Elišir Nevā'ī, the Founder of the Uzbek Literary Language* and A. M. Ščerbak's *Old Uzbek Grammar* may be taken as examples of works representing such biased points of view.

As mentioned above, apart from containing several mutually contradictory viewpoints, these two works are considered especially well known for taking the newly developing Uzbek language of that period as the sole representative language of that time, and for distancing Uyghur literary language from Nevā'ī and the Chaghatay language.

Concerning these works, which were written for certain reasons of necessity, it is sufficient to quote the following impartial statement of J. Eckmann in rebuttal:

> "Clearly, these viewpoints of the Soviet Turkologists cannot be accepted. Even though the Uzbeks of today are in one sense the descendants of ancient Asian Turkic-speaking peoples, this is not sufficient to show that the borders of the ancient Uzbek language had expanded so widely and that the Uzbek language is the unbroken continuation of the ancient Turkic language."[33]

Nevā'ī himself has given a clear report of Chaghatay's identity with the Uyghur language. In the prologue to his compendium he writes of Sekkaki and Lutfi:

> اویغور عبارتی نینک فصحاسیدین وترکی الفاظی نینک بلغاسیدین مولانا سکاکی ومولانا لطفی.
> *Uyğur ïbārätiniŋ fuṣāḥāsidin vä Türkī älfāẓiniŋ bulāğāsidin mävlānä Säkkāki vä mävlānä Lutfi.*

Here the phrases *Uyğur ïbāräti* and *Türkī älfāẓ* are equivalent in meaning, both referring to the 'Uyghur language' or 'Türki language'; *fuṣāḥā* and *bulāğā* are also equivalent in meaning, both giving the sense of 'language expert, mature in language'. That is to say, the description simply means 'from the mature experts of the Uyghur or Türki language'. Such semantically parallel constructions are frequently encountered in Nevā'ī's works of prose. For example, if we take the sentence: ایمدی کیلدوک سوز بیانیغه و کلام داستانیغه *ämdi kältük söz bäyāniğä vä kälām dāstāniğä.*

The phrases *söz bäyāni* and *kälām dāstāni* are semantically equivalent, expressing the meaning 'language description'. The whole sentence simply means 'and now let us come to a language description'. Nevā'ī's:

33 J. Eckmann 1998. Çağatayca. In: *Tarihî Türk Şiveleri* [Historical Turkic dialects]. Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları. Ankara. 215.

اول فرخونده عبارة و اول خجسته الفاظ ، نبوت بیانی بیرله و رسالت نعمه والحانی بیرله ، بو مواهب بیرله غنالارو بوغنایم بیرله استغنالار.
Ol färḫundä ïbārä vä ol ḫujästä älfāẓ, Näbuvvät bäyāni birlä vä risālät ni ṁä välḥāni birlä, Bu muvāhib birlä ğināla r vä bu ğnāyim birlä istiğnālar.

and other such expressions may also be understood in the same manner.[34] All this is to say that, in the above commendation of Sekkaki and Lutfi, it is clearly shown that the Chaghatay language they employed is the Uyghur or Turkic language.

In regard to Chaghatay's Classical Period, including Nevā'ī's language, if on the basis of its phonetic system and grammatical rules an impartial judgment is rendered, it is self-evident that it is not built on the basis of the dialect of a particular nation (or *ulus*) that was newly in the process of formation. Rather it is clear that this language, which had been evolving consistently from ancient times and was known as "father of the Turkic languages," was a definite stage in the history of the Uyghur language.

It was explained above that Chaghatay is a language characterized by [š], [ğ] and [y] sounds. That is to say, with these characteristics the language conforms not to the Oghuz-Qipchaq group of Turkic languages but to the Uyghur-Qarluq group. Although in its Formation Period Chaghatay reflected some elements of Oghuz-Qipchaq (as discussed above), in both the Formation and Classical Periods it is still the traditions of the ancient Uyghur language (especially the phonetic and grammatical traditions) that occupy a foundational position.

Below, taking the works of Nevā'ī as the guiding principle, we will describe the important characteristics of the Chaghatay language's Classical Period.

Phonetics

Vowels

In this period also there are seven vowel phonemes, that is, 4 rounded vowels [o], [ö], [u], [ü], and 3 unrounded vowels [a], [ä], [i].

In our opinion, the disappearance of the phonemic distinction between [i] and its back variant [ı] in this period comes into the area of commonalities that modern Uzbek dialects and, similarly, modern Uyghur language and its dialects share with the Chaghatay language. There is insufficient evidence in the literary language that these two sounds were separate phonemes in the Uyghur language since the Orkhon era (for example: in the stone inscriptions, *Qutadghu Bilik, Divanu Lughatit Türk* and other ancient Uyghur literary works). Judging from the evidence of the stone inscriptions, these two sounds remained in a neutral state even during those times.

We have discussed the [e] or [E] variant of [ä] in closed syllables above. For example: *bEr ~ bär, yEr ~ yär, bEš ~ bäš, tEr ~ tär*, etc. Apart from this, the change

34 Ališer Nevā'ī 1988. *Muḥākamet'ul-luğeteyn. Millätlär Näšriyati.* Beijing. 58–59.

of [ä] in closed syllables to [ö] is a feature of the language of this period. For example: *öy* < *äv* ئۆي, *ösrük* < *äsrük* اوسروک.

Let us clarify the following matter. The words *biz, bīz, bEz u*sed by Elišir Nevā'ī in *Muhakimetul Luğateyn,* in Chaghatay are written identically in the form بيز. However, in pronunciation:

> the [i] of the first (that is, the first person plural pronoun) is a high, short vowel, in the second word (that is, the word meaning *bégiz)* two vowels are added in the place of a dropped [g] sound, thus forming a secondary long vowel; and the vowel of the third word (the word meaning *bez*) is precisely the [E] sound of the example provided above.

Therefore, these three vowels should not be regarded as three phonemes.

Weakening of vowels

This phonetic phenomenon refers to the destressing of open syllables with [a], [ä] sounds and the changing of these sounds into the higher vowels [e], [ö], [o]. This is a type of historical phonetic change, which began with the period of medieval Uyghur language.

It is well-known that the orthography of Chaghatay script (the Classical Period is in view) was established on the basis of organized morphological principles. Consequently, many phonetic phenomena of the living language in its own day were not expressed in writing. However, this notwithstanding, this particular phonetic phenomenon, which among Turkic languages belongs only to the Uyghur language, is reflected to a large degree in the language of Nevā'ī. For example:

ätük اتك > اوتوك *ötük, ačuq* اوجوق > اجوق *očuq, azuq* اوزوغ > ازوق *ozuğ, täšik* تشيك > توشوك ~ تيشوك *töšük.*

فراقی اوقیدین اولمیش توشوک توشوک باغریم ،
بو طرفه‌راقکه بیر اوقدین ایرور هر ایکی توشوك.
Firāqi oqidin olmiš töšük töšük bāğrim,
Bu ṭurfäraqki bir oqdin erür här iki töšük.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

In Talant Tekin's paper *A New Classification of Turkic Languages and Dialects,*[35] this phenomenon is shown to be the main difference between the Uyghur and Uzbek languages, both of which are in the Taliq small language group.

35 T. Tekin 1990. A new classification of Turkic languages and dialects. *Erdem* 5 (1989): 13.

Rounding harmony of vowels

This phonetic phenomenon is relatively strong in Nevā'ī's language. To rounded vowels, or roots or stems ending in rounded vowels, the rounded vowel variants of the suffixes are joined. If, for example, we take the suffixes *-lik, -liq // -lük, -luq*, in Nevā'ī the rule is thoroughly observed:

قوللوق ، اوغوللوق ، مونكلوغ ، التونلوغ ، چالغولوغ ، شوخلوغ ، جنونلوق ، منسوبلوق ، زبونلوق

qulluq, oğulluq, muŋluğ, altunluğ, čalğuluğ, šoḫluğ, junūnluq, mänsūbluq, zäbūnluq

Even in second person (simple) singular past tense direct indicative mood suffixes, not *-diŋ* but *-duŋ, -düŋ* is joined to roots or stems with rounded vowels. For example:

خس كبى جسميمغه هجران شعله‌سين اوردونک باريب ،

باريب برق افت بيرله خاشاكيمنى كويدوردونک.

ايلابان كول هجر عزميغه چو سوردونک باد پاي ،

باريب بيله صر صر بيرله انى كوككا ساوردونک.

Ḫäs käbi jismimğä hijrān šu läsin urdunŋ barip,

Bärq-i āfät birlä ḫāšākimni köydürdüŋ barip.

Äyläban kül häjr äzmiğä čun sürdüŋ bād pāy,

Buylä šär šär birlä ani kökkä savurduŋ barip.

(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Consonants

The development of the medieval sounds [d] ~ [ž] in Chaghatay's Classical Period resulted in these sounds most often being changed to [y] and [g], sometimes remaining unchanged, and, in very few words, becoming [z].

Change to [y]: *qayğu, quyruq, boy, uy, ayiğ, ayaq,* etc.

Change to [g]: *kigiz, egiz, igä, egär,* etc.

Remaining unchanged: *yüd, yid, quduq, idiš, adaš*, etc.

Becoming [z]: *muz, yüz* (يۏزى نەرسىنىك), *küzät*, etc

The alternate forms of the Formation Period (for example, *Muhebbetnāme*'s *adaq ~ ayaq, boy ~ bod*) are not seen in the Classical Period.

Apart from Arabic and Persian loan words, in polysyllabic words belonging to the Turkic languages intervocalic [q] and [k] do not weaken. For example:

باليغ قورساقين صدف ايتى

Baliğ qorsaqin ṣädäf ätti

(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

ايل ديارىدا غيريب اولماقليقيم ايرماس غريب

Äl diyārida ğärīb olmaqliqim ärmäs ğärīb

(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

جاك بولغان كونكلاكين بو جسم عريان الديدا
Čak bolğan köŋläkin bu jism-i ʿuryān aldida
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

اول خونخوار بحر ارا تخته پاره اوزا قالماقى نينك بيانى بو ترور
Ol ḫunḫār bäḥr ara täḥtä-i pārä üzä qalmaqiniŋ bäyāni bu turur
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

This phonetic phenomenon is a characteristic feature which began in the Uyghur language of the Orkhon period and persisted through the entire Chaghatay period. It has been preserved in unbroken continuity only in the accents and dialects of the modern Uyghur language. However, in the research on Chaghatay this issue is either not mentioned, or not given much consideration. Since Nevā'ī's works have passed through many handwritten copies, the consistency in orthographic representation of this phonetical phenomenon has been eliminated from some works. Even cases of the *-maq* suffix of the gerund-builder being written as *-mağ* are often seen.

There is no occurrence of the word-final [ğ], [g] sounds dropping out or being changed to [y]. For example:

In pronouns

قانداغ ، شوندا غ ، انداغ ، موندا غ
qandağ, šundağ, andağ, mundağ

In suffixes

تورلوك ، كوزلوك ، سوزلوك ، ينكليغ ، سيندىك ، مينديك ، اندوەليغ ، بيلكولوك ، بيليكليك ، بيتيكليك يلديك
türlük, közlük, sözlük, yaŋliğ, sändäk, mändäk, ändūhliğ, bälgülük, beliglik, betiklik, yäldäk.

اى نوايى عمر اوتار يلديك اوزونكتى شاد توت
Äy nävāyī ʿumr ötär yäldäk özüŋni šād tut
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

شه باشيغه انداغكيم ايل اق و قيزيل يارماق
Šäh bašiğä andağ kim äl aq u qizil yarmaq
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

The use of the *ol-* variant of the auxiliary verb *bol-*, which is produced by the shortening of [b], as an alternate does occur. However, the condition and requirements of use of each is not the same. That is to say, *bol-* is used in both prose and poetry while *ol-* is used only in poetical works. Even then, the use of *ol-* in poetical works is not thoroughgoing, but limited. For example: At the beginning of a line (of poetry) *ol-* is not used, *bol-* is used. After words ending with a vowel mostly *bol-* is used.

كيم كوروبدورهم خزان بير ايدا بولماق هم بهار
Kim körüpdur häm ḫzān bir ayda bolmaq häm bähār
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

تاکیم اول خمار کوز اشیفته‌سی بولمیش کوزوم
Takim ol ḫumār köz āšīftäsi bolmiš közüm
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

جنون بو بولسه کیم یاغدی پریوش طفللار تاشی
Junūn bu bolsä kim yağdi pärīväš ṭiflilär taši
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

بو دردغه هم اوزونک دی دوا نی بولغوسیدور
Bu därdğä häm özüŋ däy dävā ne bolğusidur
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

In poetry, after words ending in consonants, ol- is used only when required by the meter. Nevertheless in the poetic works of Nevā'ī, *bol-* is used more frequently than *ol-*.

Morphology
Nouns
In Nevā'ī's language the genitive and accusative case forms of nouns are distinctly marked. That is, for the former *-niŋ //-nuŋ, -nüŋ* (in poetry sometimes *-iŋ*) is used, and for the latter *-ni* (in poetry sometimes *-in*), (Oghuz-Qipchaq *-i*) is used. For example:

بلا دشتیدا اواره‌لارنیک حالینی سورمانک
Bälā däštidä avarälärniŋ ḫālini sormaŋ
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

بیزینک افسانه‌میزدین نکته سورمانک ای خرد اهلی
Biziŋ äfsānämizdin nuktä sormaŋ äy ḫiräd ähli
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

اوزکا بیر کوز هم که حسنونکنی تماشا ایلاسا
Özgä bir köz hämki ḫusnuŋni tämāšā äyläsä
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

In Nevā'ī's language, the suffixes *-ğa, -qa, -gä, -kä, -ğä, -qä* are generally used for the dative case. When these suffixes are joined to the pronouns *män, sän, u*, a complex phonetic change takes place and these words take the form *aŋa, saŋa, maŋa.* For example:

کورکالی حسنونکنی زارو مبتلا بولدوم سنکا
Körgäli ḫusnuŋni zār u mubtälā boldum saŋa
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

هیچ کیشیکا بولماسون یارب منکا بولغان بلا
Hīč kišigä bolmasun yā räb maŋa bolğan bälā
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

کیشی که ایستاسه کر یتماکای ملالت انکا
Kiši ki istäsä gär yätmägäy mälālät aŋa
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

In Nevā'ī's language the use of the *-a, -ä* forms for the dative case occurs only after first and second person singular suffixes of ownership, and this is encountered mostly in poetical works. For example:

باشیمه ، کونکلومه ، باشینکا ، کونکلونکا
bašimä, könlümä, bašiŋa, könlüŋä

In Chaghatay the joining of dative case suffixes and, similarly, locative case suffixes, in a manner which violates the rule of vowel harmony is generally a feature of poetic works. It can be said that the substitution of front vowel variants for back vowel variants of these case suffixes in unstressed (when read) syllables in poetic works is patterned on the Persian language in which the [a] sound may become [ä] at any time (for example, که ~ گاه *gāh ~ käh,* ماه ~ مه *māh ~ mäh,* شاه ~ شه *šāh ~ šäh*).

In Nevā'ī's language the ablative case suffixes are formed with high vowels. The [a], [ä] sounds cannot be found in ablative case suffixes. For example:

دیدی قایدین سین ای مجنون گمراه
Dedi qaydin sän äy mäjnūn gum-rāh
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

یر توتار کونکلومدا کردوندین جدا بولغان بلا
Yär tutar könlümdä gärdūndin judā bolğan bälā
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

نه کوردیکیم یراقتین شهسواری
Nä kördikim yiraqtin šähsuvāri
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

Verbs. Moods
Imperative
For the second person plural imperative mood, the suffixes *-ŋiz, -iŋiz // -uŋiz, -üŋiz* which are equivalent to *-ŋlar, -iŋlar // -uŋlar, -üŋlar*, are used. For example:

بو مشت اوستخوانیمنی انینک کویغه تاشلانکلار
Bu mušti ustiẖānimni aniŋ küyiğä tašlaŋlar
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

باده‌ئی عشق اسرو مست ایتمیش منی ای دوستلار ،
جامیمه افیون ایزیب بیر دم خردمند ایلانکیز.

Bādä-i ïšq äsru mäst ätmiš meni äy dūstlar,
Jāmimä äfyūn ezip birdäm ḫirädmänd äyläŋiz.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

The second person singular imperative mood is sometimes (especially in poetic works) formed by joining *-u* to verb roots ending with [r]. For example:

ای صبا اواره کونکلوم ایستایو هریان بارو ،
وادی و تاغ و بیابانلارنی بیر بیر اختارو.
Äy ṣäbā avarä köŋlüm istäyu häryan baru,
Vādi yu tağ u bäyābānlarni bir bir aḫtaru.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

ای جفا تیغی کیلیب مجروح کونکلومنی یارو ،
قول یالینک ایلاب سالیب هریان ایچیمنی اختارو.
Äy jäfā tīğī kelip mäjrūḫ köŋlümni yaru,
Qol yaliŋ äyläp salip häryan ičimni aḫtaru.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Seeing that the meaning of the imperative sense here is only that the speaker wishes or hopes that the single second person will carry out a certain action, the *-u* here is not a kind of inflectional suffix. Rather, it is very close to possible that it is a particle which plays the same role as the particle *ä* in modern Uyghur, where it is joined to verb roots to express the sense of supplication or entreaty.

In Nevā'ī's works the third person imperative mood suffix *-sin* is not used, rather the suffixes *-sun, -sün*, and in poetical works where required by the metre the suffixes *-su, -sü*, are used. For example:

نه کلسه تانکلا کلسون بیر تون اسروك یاتسه هم خوشتدور ،
کشی کل چاغی بیر کل خرمنین تارتیب قوچاغیدا.
Nä kälsä taŋla kälsun bir tün äsrük yatsä häm ḫūštdur,
Kiši gul čaği bir gul ḫirmänin tartip qučağida.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

قان یاشیمدین دیمانکیز سوزکیم مکرر بولماسون ،
بادەدین تابقان زمان اول شوخ مەسیما فرخ.
Qan yašimdin demäŋiz sözkim mukärrär bolmasun,
Bādädin tapğan zämān ol šūḫ-i mäh-sīmā färäḫ.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

In Nevā'ī's works the optative mood of the verb is formed with the suffixes *-ğay, -qay, -gäy, -käy*, a method of formation which is consistent with Uyghur's rule of vowel harmony. In poetical works the [y] sound of the first suffix may be omitted. For example:

تا اول شمعنی محافظت حله‌لاریدین فانوس غه کیتورکای
Tā ol šäm ḥi mäḥāfiẓät ḥullälāridin fānusğä ketürgäy
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

تا اول بلوتلارنی ندامت آهی صر صری بیرله عالمدین چیقارغای
Tā ol bulutlarni nädāmät āhi ṣär ṣäri birlä ālämdin čiqarğay
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

هنرورلارکه قیلغایلار هنر فاش
Hunär-värlärki qilğaylar hunär fāš
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

قبریم اوزه قویغاسیز تاشی که ضعف ایامیدا
Qäbrim üzä qoyğasiz tašiki żä f äyyāmida
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

In the works of Nevā'ī the formation of the verbal optative mood by joining person suffixes to gerunds with *-gü // -qu, -ğu, -kü* is widely used. Examples:

نی بیرکوم تنکریکا اخر جوابین
Ne bärgüm täŋrigä āḫir jävābin
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

بولماغومدور نی کل و نی سرو رعنا بیرله دوست
Ne gul u ne särv-i rä hā birlä düst bolmağumdur
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

ساقیاچون ایچکومیزدور عاقبت جام اجل
Sāqiyā čun ičkümizdur ʿāqibät jām-i äjäl
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

In addition to the above, the optative mood is also formed with the suffix *-dik, -dig, (-deg)*. Considering that in some manuscripts the suffix *-sun / -sün* is used in place of this suffix, rather than stating that this suffix conveys an imperative sense, it is considered appropriate to say that it conveys the optative mood sense. Examples:

تلبه کونکلینی نوایی ضبط ایلای المادی ،
ایمدی چیک آندین ایلیک هر ساری بارسه باردیک.
Tälbä köŋlini nävāyī żäbṭ äyläy almadi,
Ämdi čäk andin elik här sari barsa bardik.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

هر دم اول آی هجریدا اواره‌لیق ایستار کونکول ،
ای نوایی قوی آنی هر قایدا بارسه باردیک.
Härdäm ol ay häjridä avaräliq istär köŋül,
Äy nävāyī qoy ani här qayda barsa bardik.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

ای نوایی تیلاکان زهد و صلاح ،
کوزی و کونکلینی هم آسرادیک.

Äy nävāyī tilägän zuhd u ṣälāḥ,
Közi yu köŋlini häm asradik.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

آیرمان ساچینک بند بندین کونکولدین ،
اکر بند بندیمنی دوران آیردیک.
Ayirman sačiŋ bändi bändin köŋlidin,
Ägär bändi bändimni dävrān ayirdik.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

A. M. Ščerbak believes that this suffix for the optative mood is formed from *dä+k.* Considering just this point, that it indicates the optative mood, there is no similarity between the meanings of the many words made by joining the suffixes *-q, -k* to root verbs and the meaning represented by this form.

Although Uzbekologists have written about the use of this form in the Qarluq dialect of the modern Uzbek language,[36] in N. A. Baskakov's *Turkic languages* this characteristic feature has not been demonstrated in any of the languages of the sub-group Qarluq-Uyghur (which is included in the so-called Qarluq group) or of the Qarluq-Khorazmian sub-group.[37]

In these views of Uzbekologists there appears to be an attempt to make Nevā'ī belong to the Qarluq dialect. It cannot be said that there is sufficient basis for A. M. Ščerbak's opinion that "this form does not conform to the Uzbek language of that period, it is a feature of Nevā'ī's language". For in the *ghazals* of Nevā'ī, this suffix is very rarely seen. Moreover, in these *ghazals,* words of still other dialects are also used.

This is an important theme for research relating to the Turkic dialects and accents of Nevā'ī's era. Detailed research concerning this issue is yet to be seen. Therefore it is not possible to present a clear view of the general situation of this suffix.

Necessitative

The Necessitative formed with *-ğuluq, -quluq / /-gülük, -külük* was widely used in Chaghatay, and its indicated meaning is completely identical to that found in the Hotan dialect of modern Uyghur. Examples:

دیدی اول یان جنیبت سورکولوکدور ،
بوایش کر واقع اولسه کورکولوکدور.
Dedi ol yan jänibät sürgülükdur,
Bu iš gär vāqi 'olsä körgülükdur.
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

36 See Ğ. Abduraxmanov 1973: 147–148.
37 N. A. Baskakov 1986: 312–316.

سیاست قیلغولوقدور بو فدایی
Siyāsät qilğuluqdur bu fidāyi
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

انینک کوس رحیلین چالغولوقدور
Aniŋ gus räḥilin čalğuluqdur
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

Potentiality

The joining of *-däk* after participles formed with *-ğu, -qu // -gü, -kü* expresses an estimation as to whether or not a certain action will be carried out. Examples:

یار بولمیش اورتاغه هجران طریقین سالغودیک ،
عقل و هوش و جان و کونکلوم خیلی هم قوزغالغودیک.
Yār bolmiš ortağä hijrān ṭārīqin salğudäk,
'Äql u hūš u jān u köŋlüm ḫäyli häm qozğalğudäk.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

بوکیجه اهیم یلی دورانني برهم اورغودیک ،
چرخ گلزاریدین انجم گل لارین ساورغودیک.
Bu kečä āhim yäli dävrānni bärhäm urğudäk,
Čärḫ gul-zāridin änjum gullarin savurğudäk.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Verbs. Tenses

Past

The first person plural past tense in the direct indicative mood in this period is not indicated by *-dimiz* but with the suffixes *-duq, -tuq // -dük, -tük*. Examples:

دهر بوستانی ارا سرکش نهالی کورمادوك ،
سایه ینکلیغ بولماغان یر بیرله یکسان عاقبت.
Dähr būstāni ara sär-käš nihāli körmädük,
Sayä yäŋliğ bolmağan yär birlä yäksān āqibät.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

نفع اوچون کویماکدین اوزکا تاپمادوق عالم ارا
Näf'üčün köymäkdin özgä tapmaduq äläm ara
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

For the second person singular polite type *-üŋiz, -uŋiz // -iŋiz, -ŋiz* is used, and for the plural, along with the singular form, *-üŋlar, -uŋlar // -iŋlar, -ŋlar* is used. Examples:

هجر ارا قتلیم اوچون مندین کونکول تیندوردونکیز
Häjr ara qätlim üčün mändin köŋül tindurduŋiz
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

سیزکا هم ای عشرت اهلی قالماغای جاوید وصل ،
بوکه ظلم ایلاب نوایینی ارادین سوردونکیز.
Sizgä häm äy 'išrät ähli qalmağay jāvīd väṣl,
Buki ẓulm äyläp nävāyini aradin sürdüŋiz.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

The formation of indirect declarative mood past tense verbs with *-miš* is widely used. For the personal suffixes of this verb, the first person singular is indicated by *-män* (in poetical works sometimes *-am, -äm*), and the plural by *-tük*. Examples:

اویله غم دشتیدا تفراغ اولمیشام کیم اول طرف
Uylä ğäm däštidä tufrağ olmišamkim ol ṭäräf
(Nevā'ī: Kulliyat Divan)

ای نوایی بیل که اهی چیکمیشام بی اختیار
Äy nävāyi bilki ahi čäkmišäm bi-iḫtiyār
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

دیر ایرمیشتوك اولدم بو عشرت چاغی
Där ermištük öldüm bu îšrät čağı
(Ayaz Šikeste: *Jahannāme*)

The third person singular is in the zero form, the plural and singular polite type are indicated by *-lar, -lär*. Examples:

Singular

که تا اول شهددین تاتمیش مین اغزیمنی چوچوتمیشلار
Ki ta ol šähdidin tatmiš män ağzimni čüčütmišlär
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Plural

کوب چوچوکلوکدین یاپوشمیشلار مکر اول ایکی لب
Köp čüčüklükdin yapušmišlar mägär ol ikki läb
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

The use of this form in the sense of past participle is somewhat reduced in this period.

The formation of the indirect indicative mood past tense by joining *-dur* ~ *-tur* < *-turur* to converbs in *-p* is a characteristic feature which distinguishes verbs of this period from verbs of the medieval period. Examples:

ستوندیک دود اهیم انکا موندافکیم اولاشیبدور
Sitündäk dūd-i āhim aŋa mundaqkim ulašipdur
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

توتونک معذورکیم رسوا بولوبمن
Tutuŋ mä ẕūrkim räsvā bolupmän
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

کوزکه حیرتدین تیکیب من اول لب خندان ارا
Közki ḥäyrätdin tikipmän ol läb-i ḫän-dān ara
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

کیمسه تعیین ایلامایدور جوهر پنهانغه نرخ
Kimsä täyīn äylämäpdur jävhär-i pinhāngğä närḫ
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Future

The first type is the future tense in the affirmative which is formed with *-r, -ur, -ür* (or *-ar, -är*). The suffixes *-r, -ur, -ür* are characteristic of the original Uyghur language, and they are used more or less consistently in the works of every period of the Chaghatay language. But the particularly notable feature is this: in Chaghatay's Classical Period these suffixes had come to be used even more widely than in medieval Uyghur. For example, while in medieval Uyghur *-ar, -är* is used with Chaghatay polysyllabic verbs ending with [r], [q], [k], [t], in this period *-ur, -ür* had come to be used universally. To be specific, the usage was as follows:

after monosyllabic verbs ending with [l], e.g. *-al, -čak, -käl, -bol, -bul, -bil, -qil, qal-*,

after monosyllabic verbs ending with [r], e.g. *-bar, -bär, -är, -tur, -yür*,

after monosyllabic verbs ending with [yt], e.g. *-qayt, -ayt*

after polysyllabic verbs ending with consonants, including all voice stems of verbs, *-ur, -ür* is added. Examples:

تلبه کونکلوم وه‌که هر ساعت براو ساری بارور
Tälbä köŋlüm vähki här sā ät biräv sari barur
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

وه‌که کونکلوم غصه‌سی قصد جان قیلور
Vähki köŋlüm ğuṣṣäsi qäṣd-i jān qilur
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

اوت اوچار لیکین اثر یانغان مکان ایچره قالور
Ot öčär līkīn äṡär yanğan mäkān ičrä qalur
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

نامه اوزرا شادلیق اشکیم که مژگاندین کلور
Nāmä üzrä šādliq äškimki mižgāndin kelür
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

هم کوزوم تارتار همول میزان ایله کونکلوم سالور ،
یارب اول کلکایمو کیم کوز یاروتوپ کونکلوم الور.
Häm közüm tartar hämūl mizān ilä köŋlüm salur
Yā räb ol kälgäymukim köz yarutup köŋlüm alur
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

كيم منى اول اوت بيله سو اتفاقى كويدورور
Kim meni ol ot bilä su ittifāqi köydürür
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

يا اول اى هجرانيدا اليمغه افلاك اورتانور
Yā ol ay hijrānida allimğa äflāk örtänür
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

اوزگا كلشنلنكا قيلوردين ميل فارغ بال ايرور
Özgä gul-šängä qilurdin mäyl fārig-bāl erür
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

To monosyllabic verbs ending with the unvoiced consonants [t], [q], [k], [č], [p], [s], [š] and the voiced consonants [w], [z], [ğ], [m], [n], to monosyllabic verbs ending with [l], e.g. *kül-, ol-,* and to monosyllabic verbs ending with [r], e.g. *sür-, sor-, ur-,* generally the suffixes *-är, -ar* are joined.

To verbs ending in vowels, generally *-r* is joined. The *-yur, -yür* suffixes were used more in Chaghatay's Formation Period than its Classical Period. Examples: تيلايور *tiläyür,* يوريور *yüriyür,* يارليقا يور *yarliqayur,* كلمايور *kälmäyür.*

In this period the joining of the *-mas, -mäs* suffixes for the negative of the verb had become a standardized phenomenon.

The first type future tense person suffixes are as follows: the first person singular is indicated by *män*, plural *miz* ~ *biz*; second person singular *sän*, plural *siz*; third person singular zero form, plural *-lar, -lär.*

In poetical works the affirmative is sometimes formed by joining *-am, -äm*, and the negative by joining *-man, -män*, immediately after roots. Examples: بارورمن *barurmän,* بارورميز *barurmiz,* قيلورسين *qilursän,* تاميزورلار *tamizurlar.*

قاشين كورگاچ حسددين ايستارام ايل كوزى باغلانغاى
Qašin körgäč ḥäsäddin istäräm äl közi bağlanğay
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

دير پيرى ايلكيدين مى دُردى ايسترمن وليك ،
راضى ايرمان ايچكالى زاهد رداسيدا سوزوب.
Däyr pīri elkidin mäy dudrdi istärmän välīk,
Rāżī irmän ičkäli zāhid ridāsida süzüp.
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

كونكولكا يوز تمن نيش اورسه هجران ايلامان ناله
Köŋülgä yüz tümän nīš ursä hijrān äylämän nālä
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

In the Classical Period this form is sometimes used alternately. Examples:

ينا بيلمانكه بو دولتكا يتسام
Yana bilmänki bu dävlätgä yätsäm
(Lutfi)

اینانا بیلمام بو بختیمدین ای ماه بختیم
Inana bilmäm bu bäḫtimdin äy māh-i bäḫtim
(Lutfi)

In Chaghatay's later periods also this form continued to be used in the same way. Examples:

جهان جاه و جلال ایستامان ای چرخ کجرفتار
Jähān jāh u jälāl istämän äy čärḫ-i käj-räftār
(Seburi)

نجوک تاشدور سنینک باغرینک بیلالمام
Nečük tašdur seniŋ bağriŋ bilälmäm
(Xirqiti)

The second type future tense verb was formed by joining the *-dur* ~ *-tur* < *-turur* suffix to converbs formed with *-a, -ä, -y*. This form in the Middle Ages generally conveyed the sense of aspect. Through the entire course of the Chaghatay language this form gradually came to indicate the present-future tense of the verb. Such a phenomenon became an important distinguishing feature of Chaghatay. The result is that in modern Uyghur the two types of future tense verbs have stabilized. The first type conveys a dubitative sense, and the second type indicates clarity. Examples:

تارتاسین عصیان یوکین خم قیل قدینک طاعتفه کیم
Tartasän ʿiṣyān yükin ḫäm qil qädiŋ ṭā ätğäkim
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

بوکه اول عمردین ایریلدیم و اولمایدورمن
Buki ol ʿumrdin ayrildim u ölmäydurmän
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

و تعدی اوتی اسایش خرمنی غه ضرر یتکورماکدین خالی بولمایدور
Vä tä ʿäddi oti āsāyiš ḫirmäniğä żärär yätkürmäkdin ḫālī bolmaydur
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Participles
The first type is formed with *-ğan, -qan, -gän, -kän*. These suffixes give the sense of the perfect participle. Examples:

تاپقان *tapqan*, تاپماغان *tapmağan*, بولغان *bolğan*, بولماغان *bolmağan*.

When this suffix comes after the auxiliary verb *dur-*, it gives the sense of the imperfect participle. Examples:

کچادورکان محلدا
Kičädürgän mäḥäldä
(*Baburnāme*)

Second type future tense verbs formed with *-r, -ur, -ür // -ar, -är* (negative form *-mas, -mäs*), when in the impersonal state, are used in the sense of an imperfect participle. Examples: بارماس یر *barmas yär,* بارور یر *barur yär.*

ییغلاریمنینک شدتین کلبرگ خندانیمغه ایت
Yiğlarimniŋ šiddätin gulbärg-i ḫändānimğa ayt
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

The third type is formed with the suffixes *-ğur, -qur // -gür, -kür*. Examples:

کورکه چیقور کوز باشیمغه نی بلالار کلتورور
Körki čiqur köz bašimğä ne bälālar kältürür
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

که نی قیلماغور ایشنی قیلدیم هوس
Ki ne qilmağur išni qildim häväs
(Ayaz Šikeste: *Jahannāme*)

توغماغور قیزی *tuğmağur qizi*
اویغانماغور بخت *oyğanmağur bäḫt*
(*Dictionary of Nevā'ī's Works*)

Converbs
The converbs of the Classical Period of Chaghatay are basically those of medieval Uyghur. However, in poetic forms of Nevā'ī's works, converbs formed with the suffixes *-p, -ipan // -upan, -üpan* are quite widely used. It is thought that for reasons of poetic melody the [p] sound of this suffix was pronounced [b]. Examples:

دیر پیری قولدابان تیرکوزدی میدین مغبچه
Däyr pīrī qoldaban tergüzdi mäydin muğbäčä
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

خوبلار پوتراشیبان قوزغالیشور عشق اهلی
Ḫūblar putrašiban qozğališur išq ähli
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

سینی تیلاب تون و کون بس که ایلابان تکبو
Seni tiläp tün u kün bäski äyläban täkbū
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Affirmative forms of the converb formed with *-y, -ay, -äy*, or this type of converb in *-mayin, -mäyin* also, are often used in Nevā'ī's works. However, the further adding of *-u* or *-yu* after the affirmative form is less often used. Examples:

اوغول اوینای کوله یولینه باردی
Oğul oynay gulä yolinä bardi
(Lutfi)

مبارکلیك ایلای پری قیزلاری
Mubāräklik äyläy pärī qizlari
(Ayaz Šikeste: *Jahannāme*)

کورونمای اوزکا یاشلاردیک صفاتی
Körünmäy özgä yašlardäk ṣifāti
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

اتاسی بیغلایو اویینه یاندی
Atasi yiğlayu öyinä yandi
(Lutfi)

بولدی بو رادە یاد ایستایو اوارە ید
Boldi bu ṣäḥrāda ṣäyyād istäyu avarä ṣäyd
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Lexicon

Now we turn to the lexical features of Chaghatay's formation stage, a topic which we have intentionally saved for discussion in this section.

The foundational vocabulary in the lexicon of the Chaghatay language is common to all Turkic languages; in particular, it is common or basically common to the languages of the Turkic tribes that inhabited Central Asia in that era. The preservation of words from the Turkic language which were used in Chaghatay is not quite the same as in the languages of the Uyghur-Qarluq group. However, because of the lexical structure of the language, in particular the comparative instability of its common vocabulary, we have not put forward the preservation of the Chaghatay lexicon or its rate of redundancy in present day languages as a standard of assessment of the Chaghatay language.

Chaghatay is distinguished from medieval Uyghur written literary language by its use of several thousand Arabic and Persian words. The common people of that era were, of course, unable to understand these Arabic and Persian words. Science and culture were not developed as they are today, and there was no possibility for the masses to encounter literary language via newspapers and journals, books, movies and drama, radio and television and other modern media. In a situation where the vast majority of people were illiterate, it was natural that the uneducated common person did not understand, not only Arabic and Persian loan words, but also some Turkic words and terms used in the literary language.

It is well-known that there exists a certain gap between the lexicon of the literary language and lexicon of the people's spoken language, even now, when most people are literate and have access to the modern media mentioned above. Today, the average person does not understand or cannot fully understand words from modern Uyghur literary language and local dialects such as *iptiḫar* 'honor', *tanasip* 'ratio', *ijabiy* 'positive', *sälbiy* 'negative', *normal* 'normal', *eksport* 'export', *import* 'im-

port', *tärip* 'sequence', *sämimiy* 'sincere', *ge'ologiye* 'geology', *atlitka* 'athletic', *tetqiqat* 'research', *obzur* 'commentary', *ibarä* 'phraseology', *assimilatsiyä* 'assimilation', *dissimilyatsiyä* 'dissimilation'. In place of words such as *halät* 'condition', *tasadipiy* 'accidentally', *musapä* 'distance', *meshur* 'famous', *tädrijiy* 'gradually', *nisbätän* 'in relation to', *sün'iy* 'artificial', *sabiq* 'predecessor', the words *hal* 'situation', *tuyuqsiz* 'suddenly', *ariliq* 'distance', *daŋliq* 'famous', *asta-asta* 'slowly', *qariğanda* 'based on', *yasima* 'artificial', *burunqi* 'former' respectively are used.

So then, we must reckon that in the lexical aspect also there is a certain gap between the literary language of any age and the spoken language which is based on it, and that the gap becomes larger or smaller according to the level of development of culture and education.

It is true that components of Arabic and Persian played a role in the formation of the Chaghatay language and in its reaching a stage of being a language differing from medieval Uyghur written literary language (that is, its two variants mentioned above). However, taking a different aspect, the lexicon is only the building material in a language, and can be brought into play only when combined according to the grammatical rules. In every period of the Chaghatay language, the Arabic and Persian words used by the representatives of each period according to their own level of knowledge, were able to play a role only when they had come under the control of the rules of Chaghatay grammar.

In the destiny of the Arabic and Persian words of this period which were used under the control of Chaghatay's grammatical structure, the following two types of situations eventuated: one part of them was absorbed into the spoken language of the people and continued to play a positive role in the expression of concepts which were not expressed in the Turkic language; the other part of them remained only in the field of Chaghatay written literary language, and then fell out of use in the languages of the later period. Examples: The following words belong to the latter group:

ساغر *sāğär*, اشك *äšk*, كام *kām*, هامون *hāmūn*, دردناك *därd-nāk*, خيل *ḫäyl*, بشر *bäšär*, ضلالت *žälālät*, خرد *ḫiräd*, تكلم *täkällum*, ناوك *nāvāk*, كلجبين *gul-jäbīn*, نثار *niśār*, مغبجه *muğ-bäčä*, ارشاد *iršād*, ناصح *nāṣiḥ*, دير *däyr*.

The lexical core of the Chaghatay language is yet the lexicon of Nevā'ī's language. The lexicon of Nevā'ī's language continued its traditional connection with medieval Uyghur written literary language in the following three aspects:

First, although there were words of equivalent meaning loaned from Arabic and Persian, the following (Turkic) words persisted in a traditional role:

اقسوم ~ اخسوم *aqsum ~ aḫsum* (بوشاك), ارموغان *armuğan* (هەدىيە), اتيقماق *atiqmaq* (مەشھۇر بولماق), اسيغ *asiğ* (پايدا), اسرو *asru* (ناھايىتى), اوغان *uğan* (قۇدرەتلىك ، قادىر ، خۇدا), اوچوز *učuz* (ئەرزەن), اوجماق *ujmağ* (جەننەت), اوكوش *öküš* (كۆپ), اسروك ~ اوسروك *äsrük ~ösrük* (مەست), اوكوت *ügüt* (نەسىھەت), اوكماك *ögmäk*

(مەدھىيىلىمەك), اوكسوك *öksük* (كەم), بيتيك *betik* (خەت), بيتيكچى *betikči* (خەتتات), تواجى *tävači* (خەۋەرچى), تموغ *tamuğ* (دوزاق), تانوق *tanuq* (گۈۋاھ), قابوغ *qapuğ* (دەرۋازا، ئىشىك), يازوق *yazuq* (گۇناھ), يازغورماق *yazğurmaq* (ئەيىپلىمەك), يارليقاماق *yarliqamaq* (مەرھەمەت قىلماق), ياغيقماق *yağiqmaq* (دۇشمەنلەشمەك), اجون *ajun* (دۇنيا), تاپوغ *tapuğ* (سەجدە، خزمەت), چيغاى *čiğay* (كەمبەغەل), بخشى *baḫši* (كاتىب، زىيالى), قموغ *qämuğ* (ھەممە).

Secondly, Chinese words which came into Chaghatay by means of the medieval Uyghur language:

تينكلا *tiŋla* (听 *tīng*), منك *mäŋ* (斑 *bān*), منكيز *mäŋiz* (面子 *miànzi*), منكزا، منكزليك (verb meaning 'to resemble, be similar to' formed from the roots of the above words), اونجى ~ يينجو ~ اينجو *ünči* ~ *yinču* ~ *inču* (珍珠 *zhēnzhū*), جنك *jäŋ* (战 *zhàn*), ينكليغ *yäŋliğ* (adjective formed by joining the suffix لىغ to the Chinese word 样 *yáng*), سيورقا *siyürqa* (verb formed by joing the suffix رقا to the Chinese word 赐予 *cí yu* 'grant, gift', like the verbs تاشىرقا، ياتىرقا، ئىجىرقا، سيورغال 'gift', noun formed from the above verb, تونك *toŋ* (冻 *dòng*), كيمسان *kimsan* (金钱 *jīnqián*) etc.[38]

Thirdly, words from the Uyghur-Qarluq group which, in modern Uyghur to a greater degree than in other languages, have retained their original or close to original pronunciation, and their original meaning:

الداراماق *aldarmaq*(ئالدىرىماق), الاجوق *alačuq* (ئالىجوق، كەپە), ارتيلماق *artilmaq* (ئارتىلماق، ئاشماق), بيلاماك *bilämäk* (بىلىمەك), بوتراماك *büträmäk* (پىتىرىماق), دابقور *dapqur* (دايقور، ئۆۋەت), قلجاق *qaljaq* (قالجاق، جىشى كېيىك), قرماماق *qarmamaq* (قارمىماق، قارماپ ئوتۇش), قيماچ *qimač* (قىمىياچ), قابساماق *qapsamaq* (قاپسىماق), قامغاق *qamğaq* (قامىقاق), ايكىشماك *ekišmäk* (ئىكىشىمەك، سۈركەشمەك), شيباق *šibaq* (شۇاق), الانك *alaŋ* (ئالالاك، ئوچۇقچىلىق), امراغ ~ امراق *amraq* ~ *amrağ* (ئامراق), سوغالماق *soğalmaq* (سوغالماق، قۇرۇماق), تونكولمك *toŋülmäk* (ئۆتكۈلمەك، ئۆمىد ئۈزمەك), اوجا *učа* (ئۇچا), ايكاجى *igäči* (ئىگىچە), ايكرى *ägri* (ئەگرى), ددك *dedäk* (دېدەك), دالباى *dalbay* (دالۋاي), ياداماق *yadamaq* (يادىماق), ايتيك *ittik* (ئىتتىك، ئۆتكۈر), ايتورماك *itürmäk* (يىتكۈرمەك), كوچ ايش *iš-küč* (ئىش-كۈچ), يورون *yürün* (يۈرۈن، ئاق), كومچ *kömäč* (كۆمەچ) and so on.

6. The Late Period of Chaghatay

This period includes the time from the beginning of the 17th century to the beginning of the 20th century. The general characteristic of the Chaghatay language of this period is that it developed in a direction particular to each region by being adapted to the language features of each of the people groups of the time. This includes the Uyghur and Uzbek peoples, who also developed the Chaghatay language to a certain degree by expressing their own contemporary dialectical features.

38 In the commentary on the 15-volume collected works of Elišir Nevā'ī, *Navā'ī eserliri luğiti* [Dictionary of Nevā'ī's Works]. Tashkent, 1972. 312, this word is defined as 'a yellow material which gleams like gold, bronze'. However, it is evident from the line. تاج ايله كسوتكه ترتيب ايلايان، بارى كيمسان بيرله تذهيب ايلايان in Navā'ī that this word comes from the Chinese 金钱 'gold thread'.

When it comes to the Uyghurs, this period was characterized by a deeply held aspiration to continue the legacy of Nevā'ī. During this period, on the one hand, the works of Nevā'ī were widely disseminated among the Uyghurs, the most complete and the most beautiful copies of Nevā'ī's collected works appeared and Nevā'ī's *ghazals* composed the foundational content in the texts of the Uyghur Muqams. On the other hand, poets and writers who took Nevā'ī as their master appeared one after the other to form the later magnificent view of Uyghur classical literature's Nevā'ī. The mid-century completion of the separation of Apaq Xuja's descendants from the Zhungghar nobles by the government of Qing dynasty, and the relatively peaceful situation which emerged from its uniting of the territory of Xinjiang, exerted a positive influence on the formation of this rising scene in Uyghur literature.

Beginning in the 17th century, the Chaghatay language continued its development by moving towards the positive elements of Kashgari spoken language while retaining its basis on the traditions of Nevā'ī, firstly in the Kashgar, Yarkand, Hotan, and Aksu regions of southern Xinjiang as represented by Xirqiti, Xarabati, Zelili, Abdurehim Nizari, Musa Sayrami, Muhemmet Sadiq Kašğeri, Xamus Yarkendi, etc.; later in the Turpan, Qumul, and Ili regions of northern Xinjiang as represented by Mulla Bilal (Nazim), Ehmet Ğojamniyaz Oğli, Zohori, Seyit Muhemmet Qaši, etc. The large number of works, in particular the great works, that appeared in this period in Xinjiang prove that the Uyghur poets and writers of this period are true heirs of Nevā'ī. Today, quite a large number of manuscripts belonging to this era are preserved in the libraries of several foreign countries.

The characteristic feature of the language in this period was this: although in general terms the traditions of Nevā'ī persisted, the components of the ancient Uyghur language decreased, and in their place elements of the spoken languge of the people were reflected to varying degrees. This can be seen from the following facts.

Phonetics

The weakening of the written [a] sound in the first syllable of a word is fairly frequent. This weakening is very clearly seen where the meter requires it in later poetical works. Examples:

شاهقه بولدوم یقین باری ایلدین
Šāhqa boldum yeqin bari äldin
(N. Ziya'i)

سوزنی سوز مضمونیغه یتکورمایین اولکاری قریب
Sözni söz mżminiğä yätkürmäyin ölgäri qerib
(Mulla Salih)

بیما نامرد نانینی اچلیقدا کر چیقسا جینینک ،
اوتما نامرد کوبروکیدین غرق اولوب اقسا تینینک.
Yemä nā-märd nānini ačliqda gär čiqsa jeniŋ,
Ötmä nā-märd köbrükidin ğärq olup aqsa teniŋ.
(Šehidi)

In these examples the words تینینك، جینینك، قریب، یقین *teniŋ, jeniŋ, qerip, yeqin* by tradition should have been written تنینک، جانینک، قاریب، یاقن *täniŋ, jāniŋ, qarip, yaqin*. However, in subordination to the weakening rule of the Uyghur language, their pronunciation teniŋ, jeniŋ, qerip, yeqin is reflected in the orthography.

Some words were written according to spoken language by adding *h* before a (word-initial) vowel. For example. هوکوز *höküz* (originally اوکوز *öküz*) 'a bullock'.

Even some dialectical differences are reflected, for example:

بیز کوتاکنی بایور چاغدا تاپقوسی
Biz kötäkni yayur čağda tapqusi
(Ami Ze'ip)

بو طمعده بی توروق توروب ایردیم
Bu ṭämä ʻdä bi-turuq turup ärdim
(Ami Ze'ip)

ای شهیدی قالیغین قانداغ بولور الینک سنینک
Äy šähīdi qaliğin qandağ bolur aliŋ seniŋ
(Šehidi)

In the words توروق، بایور *turuq, yayur* of these examples, the alternation of *y/r* of the Hotan dialect is reflected. Originally these words would have been written تویوق، یارور *tuyuq, yarur*, and also the word قالیغین *qaliğin* would have been written قاریغین *qariğin*.

Lexicon

In the works of Mulla Pazil, Abduqadir Damulla, Ami Ze'ip (Qul'elm), Mulla Salih, Abdujelil Damulla Haji and so on (these works belong to the beginning of the 20th century), words which were used (or just beginning to come into use) in the spoken language of the people are encountered. Such words include:

غولدی	*ğoldi*
لنگیرچیلیق	*längärčiliq*
فوقراچیلیق	*fuqäračiliq*
لوڭقا	*loŋqa*
چیفەرقوت	*čifärqut*
سانگ	*saŋ*
شەنجانگ	*šänjaŋ*
زاکو	*zaku*
ایلیکتیریق	*eliktiriq*
داچەن	*daqiän* (*daqian* 大钱)
یودا	*yoda* (this word is formed by joining the *la, da* suffix to the Chinese word 药 *yào* 'medicine').

Grammar
Aspect forms were widely used and some of them even became synthetic forms. Examples:

پیشقالی تورساق
pišqali tursaq
(Abduqadir Damulla: *Mevilär Munazirisi*)[39]

کوموب ایتیب
kömüp etip
(Ami Ze'ip)

بولسامدی عشق شهیدی یول برسیدی رشیدی
Bolsamdi ïšq šähïdi yol bärsidi räšïdi
(Šehidi)

Interrogative mood مۇ *mu* sometimes eliminated:

قیلیچ بولامدو نیمه اولتورورکا ایکی قاشینك
Qelič bolamdu nemä öltürürgä ikki qašiŋ
(Mešhuriy)

Some of the orthographic traditions of the middle Chaghatay period, including even the method of writing Arabic and Persian words that had remained unchanged through the centuries, were broken. Examples:

هم قاروك بیرله عینالو ایکاولان غزنه‌چی(خزینه‌چی)،
بولسه سانك اوزرا ینکاق اوروك ایکاولان وزنه‌چی.
Häm qararük birlä äynalu ikävlän ğäznäči (ḫäzinäči),
Bolsa saŋ üzrä yaŋaq örük ikävlän väznäči.
(Abduqadir Damulla: *Mevilär Munazirisi*)

In some paired words, the change of the Persian dative case suffix from *-be* to *-mu* can be seen. Example:

الیب یوردی چانکموزانی اویمو اوی
Alip yürdi čaŋmozani öymu öy
(Molla Bilal Nazimi)[40]

39 Abduqadir Damulla 1989. Mevilär munazirisi [The contest of the fruits]. In: *Bulaq* 1. Xinjiang People's Press. Ürümči. 17.
40 Molla Bilal Nazimi 1981. Čaŋmoza Yüsüpxan. In: *Bulaq* 2. Xinjiang Pepole's Press. Ürümči. 3.

Such changes are particularly conspicuous in the latter stage of this period. This was, in fact, the orthographical response to the numerous changes in the spoken language which were taking place as it evolved into the modern Uyghur language. Therefore, it is possible even to say that the second half of the century was the stage in which the Chaghatay language became the modern Uyghur language.

This period saw the emergence of hundreds of Uyghur writers, poets, historians and translators who followed in Nevā'ī's footsteps. They made enormous contributions to the advancement of the Uyghur language and Uyghur literature, creating such great works as *Muhebbetnāme ve Mehnetkam*, *Šahnāme* (translation), *Kelile ve Demine* (translation), *Tarixi Hemidiye*, *Tarixi Rešidi* (translation), *Nesriy Xemse*, *Nevarixi Musuqiyun*, and *Beš Tilliq Manjuče Luget*.

The following figures can be included in the list of representatives of the Uyghur language of this period: Muhemmet Imin Ǧujam Quli Xirqiti, Muhemmet Abdulla Xarabati, Zuleyxa Begim, Muhemmed Sidiq Zelili, Abid Qumuli, Muhemmet Imin Axun Šah Hijran, Xamuš Axun Yarkendi, Mulla Pazil, Abdurehim Nizari, Imini, Mezheriy, Ǧeyreti, Mulla Šakir, Turduš Axun Ǧerbiy, Mulle Bilal bin Mulla Yüsüp-Nazim, Xušhak Ǧerbiy, Musa Sayrami, Mulla Sabir bin Abduqadir-Naqis, Seyid Hüseyinxan Tejelli, Ibn Yüsüp Xoteni, Ehmediy, Abdulla Axun Šerip Oǧli Xeste, Abduxelil Damulla Haji Muhemmet Rozi Šehidi, Salahi, Mehzun, Mulla Heyder Miskin, Nobiti, Qelender, Emirhüseyin Seburi, Muhemmet Sadiq Kašǧeri, Gomnam, Muhemmet Tömür, Ömer Baqi, Mulla Yunus Yarkendi, Ibrahim Mešhuriy, Seyit Muhemmet Qaši, the authors of *Beš Tilliq Manjuče Luget*, Muhemmet Resul Šerqi, Noruz Axun Ziya'iy, Mulla Sidiq Yarkendi, Mulla Qurban, Muhemmet Niyaz bin Abduǧopur, Muhemmet Abdulla Haji, Xoja Yarbin Muhemmet Šehyariy Ǧerbiy, Amiy, Ismitulla bin Nemetullah Möjizi, Šemsiddin Eli Yeŋisariy, Ismayil Haji Zohri and others.

7. The relationship between the Chaghatay language and Modern Uyghur and Uzbek

When V. V. Radlov said that the Chaghatay language was an artificial language, he was greatly exaggerating how far removed it was from the spoken language of the people. In fact, although the Chaghatay language was a written literary language, it continued many elements of the ancient Uyghur language. In addition, its lexicon was augmented with many loan words and phrases from the Arabic and Persian languages. Together with these, grammatical and syntactical structures from Arabic and Persian were also appropriated, thus changing the characteristics of the language. Though relatively distant from the ancient spoken language, it still retained many of its fundamental rules and the basic lexicon of the spoken language, things that are not easily changed. Albeit slowly, it still did change to reflect the development of the spoken language of that time, and also fulfilled the requirement of communication. Otherwise it would have become a dead language, which even literate people would not be able to understand. In fact, the differences between its Formation,

Classical, and Late Periods prove that it did not remain in a single mold, but rather developed continuously. From this perspective it cannot be called an artificial language.

A. M. Ščerbak also did not agree to call it an artificial language. He said:

> "Generally speaking, there were no clear and significant differences between Old Uzbek literary language (referring to Chaghatay language) and the spoken language. In fact, Babur has no reason whatsoever to remain skeptical about descriptions of the relationship and similarity between the literary language (written language) and the language of ordinary people."[41]

Ščerbak's concern here is Babur's statement in his work *Baburnāme* (Book of Babur):

> "The people (of Andijan) are Turks. There is no one in its city or bazaar who does not know Turkic (language). The language spoken by the people conforms to the written language. Even though Mir-Elišir Nevā'ī's works were composed in Herat, they were still written in that language."

However, A. M. Ščerbak considers that the spoken language, which Babur called the Andijan language, is Uzbek, and that it had no significant differences from either the literary language or from the language Nevā'ī used. Emphasizing this reasoning, he gave this literary language (Chaghatay language) the name Old Uzbek language.[42]

There is a question which Ščerbak leaves unanswered: In a period while the Chaghatay language and its literary form, as used by Nevā'ī, were still being formed, how can this spoken (Andijan) language, conforming as it did to the literary language, be known as Uzbek in a time when the people had not yet become Uzbekized?

We have no doubts about Babur's statement above. Indeed, there were no clear or significant differences to mark boundaries between the Chaghatay language, its classical form as used by Nevā'ī, and the spoken language. However, we do not agree with A. M. Ščerbak's statement that this spoken language was Uzbek. Babur's statement above proves that the Andijan language was not Uzbek, but rather the Kashgari language or one of its dialects. Just as we have stated above, the Chaghatay language was formed as the result of two variants of the Uyghur language being totally combined in the middle ages. These two literary languages, from whence came its main phonetic and grammatical rules, and its basic lexicon, were based on the languages spoken by the Uyghurs of Kashgar and Idiqut respectively. In whichever linguistic or dialectical environments the Chaghatay language was subsequently

41 A. M. Ščerbak 1962.
42 Ibid.

used, it still retained its fundamental characteristics, and it continued to develop within the framework of the rules of the Uyghur language. Granted, due to the very large region in which the Chaghatay language was used, it became influenced by the Oghuz and Qipchaq languages. However, these influences were not able to alter the fundamental, distinctive Uyghur characteristics of the language. All spoken languages develop in this way, for example the Andijan language: this spoken language also has the same essential characteristics as the Uyghur language, clearly showing that it too belongs to Uyghur.

In order to shed more light on this problem, we consider it appropriate to compare the essential points of Nevā'ī's language against both modern literary Uyghur, and modern literary Uzbek. The significance of this is that by such a comparison, we will be able to clarify which one of these two literary languages retains the greater portion of the essential characteristics of Nevā'ī's language. Then we will be able to evaluate objectively to which language family belongs the Chaghatay language, and also the spoken language of that age which conformed to it.

Below, we will compare Nevā'ī's language with the other two languages, based on important linguistic characteristics.

Phonetics

In Nevā'ī's language, just as in the modern Uyghur language there are four rounded vowels [o], [u], [ö] and [ü]. In Nevā'ī's work *Muhakimetul Luğeteyn*[43] are found the following examples, which clearly show these vowel phonemes:

ot	ئوت
öt	ئۆت
ut	ئۇتماق
üt	ئۈتلىمەك
toz	توزماق
töz	تۆزمەك
tuz	تۇز
tüz	تۈز
tor	تور
tur	تۇرماق
tür	تۈرمەك
tör	تۆر

However, in modern literary Uzbek, there are only two rounded vowel phonemes. Front and back rounded vowels are merged to become middle vowels.

43 Ališer Nevā'ī 1988. 19–20.

Weakening of vowels.

This phenomenon of phonetics refers to the situation where the first syllable of a word containing the vowels [a] or [ä] loses its stress, and changes to [e], while remaining an open syllable. Sometimes, due to the influence of the rounded vowels in the following syllables, it changes to [o] or [ö]. Among all Turkic languages, the phenomenon only exists in the modern Uyghur language, starting with the Uyghur language of the middle ages. Also a characteristic of Nevā'ī's language, in Uyghur it has been preserved through to the present day. For example:

Nevā'ī's language: توشوك *töšük*, اوتوك *ötük*, اوجوق *očuq*.
Uyghur language: تۆشۈك *töšük*, ئۆتۈك *ötük*, ئوچۇق *očuq*.
Uzbek language: *tešik, etik, očiq.*

As we see here, [e] in Uzbek is never a weakened form of [a] in a real language environment, instead it is a free variant form of [ä] as mentioned above.

The [a] phoneme of other Turkic languages, especially of the Uyghur language, in modern Uzbek is rounded, and pronounced as [o]. Although A. M. Ščerbak contends that in the Chaghatay language there was a tendency for the [a] phoneme to be rounded, he provides no evidence whatsoever for such a claim. In fact, the [a] phoneme of Nevā'ī's language and the [a] phoneme of the Uyghur language are the same, with no sign of rounding at all.

Vowel harmony in Nevā'ī's language, both in respect of tongue position and rounding, is basically the same as that in modern literary Uyghur. However in modern literary Uzbek, rules of vowel harmony of tongue position and rounding are almost obsolete. Consequently, many words and grammatical suffixes in Nevā'ī's language and modern literary Uyghur have the same structure, while those of modern literary Uzbek are different. For example:

Roots

	Nevā'ī's language	Uyghur	Uzbek
اوغول	*oğul*	ئوغۇل	ўғил
اورون	*orun*	ئورۇن	ўрии
اوتون	*otun*	ئوتۇن	ўтин
بولوت	*bulut*	بۇلۇت	булит
اتا	*ata*	ئاتا	эта

Suffixes

Nevā'ī's language		Uyghur	Uzbek
كونكلوم	*köŋlüm*	كۆڭلۈم	кўнглим
يوزونك	*yüzüŋ*	يۈزۈڭ	юзинг
كوردونك	*kördüŋ*	كۆردۈڭ	кўрдинг
تونتوم	*tuttum*	تۇنتۇم	тутдим
بولوب	*bolup*	بولۇپ	бўлиб
سورماك	*sürmäk*	سۈرمەك	сурмоқ
توقولغان	*toqulğan*	توقۇلغان	тўқилган
توتولسون	*tutulsun*	تۇتۇلسۇن	тутилсин

In Nevā'ī's language, just as in modern Uyghur, many suffixes and auxiliaries have rounded vowels, whereas in modern Uzbek, only unrounded vowels are used. For example:

Suffixes
Causative voice suffixes: *-tür, -dür // -tur, -dur (or -küz, -güz // -quz, -ğuz)*

Nevā'ī's language		Uyghur	Uzbek
ياندور	*yandur*	ياندۇر	ендир-
كويدور	*köydür*	كۆيدۈر	кўйдир-
چاپتور	*čaptur*	چاپتۇر	чоптир-
كيلتور	*kältür*	كەلتۈر	еклтир-
كورگوز	*körgüz*	كۆرسەت ~ كۆرگۈز	кўргаз

Examples:

كل چاغى بلبلكه هر كلغه ترنم كورگوزوب
Gul čaği bulbulki här gulğa täränum körgüzüp
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

پند ايشيتماى نقد ايمانيمنى الدوردونك باريب
Pänd išitmäy näqd-i īmānimni aldurduŋ barip
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

اولتورور هجران تونى اولسام هم ارمان قالماغاى
Öltürür hijrān tüni ölsäm häm arman qalmağay
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Third person imperative mood: *-sun, -sün.*

یاسالسون بارچه ایین بیرله زیبا ،
توتولسۇن باریغه اکسون دیبا.
Yasalsun barčä āyin birlä zībā,
Tutulsun bariğä äksun dībā.
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

Auxiliaries
Predicative auxiliary *-dur.*

Nevā'ī's language		Uyghur	Uzbek
سوزدادور	*sözdädur*	سۆزدەدۇر	сўздадир
قرادور	*qaradur*	قارادۇر	кародир
خوشتور	*ḫuštur*	خۇشتۇر	Хушдир

جهاندا ادمنینك ا تبارى سوزدادور یوقسه
Jähānda adämniŋ etbāri sözdädur yoqsä
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)
که نیسانی بولوت ینکلیغ قرادور
Ki nīsani bulut yäŋliğ qaradur
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)
چو معشوق اهل ایماستور چاره خوشتور
Ču mä 'šūq ähli emästur čārä ḫuštur
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

Interrogative particle *mu*

بولورمو	*bolurmu*
بولورمۇ ~ بولارمۇ	бўларми

کشی اوز جانیدین تویماق بولورمو
Kiši öz jānidin toymaq bolurmu
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

For some words beginning with [a] or [ä], the phoneme [i] or [ī] in the second syllable is rounded. This phenomenon began to occur in the Uyghur language in the middle ages, and continued to occur in Nevā'ī's language just as it does in modern Uyghur. However, this phenomenon is not present in modern Uzbek. For example:

Nevā'ī's language		Uyghur	Uzbek
التون	*altun*	ئالتۇن	олтин
ارتوق	*artuq*	ئارتۇق	ортик

ازغون	*azğun*	ئازغۇن	озғин
بيلگو	*bälgü*	بەلگۈ ~ بەلگە	белги

The [ğ] and [g] at the end of some words and suffixes in Nevā'ī's language have been either kept the same in modern Uyghur, or changed to [k] or [q]. In modern Uzbek they are either changed to [y] or omitted. This is a later phonetic phenomenon, characteristic of the Oghuz and Qipchaq languages. For example:

Words

Nevā'ī's language		Uyghur	Uzbek
قانداغ ~ قانداق	*qandağ/q*	قانداق	кандай
شوندای ~ شوندای	*šundağ/q*	شۇنداق	шундай
موندای ~ موندای	*mundağ/q*	مۇنداق	мундай

Suffixes

In Uyghur the adjective-formation suffixes *-liğ, -lig* and the noun-formation suffixes *-lik, -liq* are combined, both becoming *-lik, -liq*; in Uzbek they drop out completely. For example:

Nevā'ī's language		Uyghur	Uzbek
اوتلوق	*otluq*	ئوتلۇق	ўтли
كوچلوك	*küčlük*	كۈچلۈك	кучли
تورلوك	*türlük*	تۈرلۈك	турли
يوزلوك	*yüzlük*	يۈزلۈك	юзли
دردليغ	*därdliğ*	دەرتلىك	дардли

In Nevā'ī's language, the phonemes [q] and [k] are stable when between two vowels. This is the same in modern literary Uyghur, especially in its Kashgar and Hotan dialects. In modern Uzbek, they change to [g] and [ğ], and this rule was applied to Nevā'ī's later manuscripts as they were copied. However the original phenomenon can still be seen. For example:

خوبلوقيدا اول صنم اولقىلارغا اوخشاماس
Ḫūbluqida ol ṣänäm ävvälqilarğa oḫšamas
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

ياغليقينك زخميمغه باغلارغه نه حدكيم ايستاسانك
Yağliqiŋ zäḫmimğä bağlarğa nä ḥädkim istäsäŋ
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

كوكراكيمدور چرخنينك پيراهنيدين چاكراك
Kökräkimdur čärḫniŋ pīrāhänidin čākrak
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

قويكه ماءوى ياغليقينكتى يوزدين الماى هر زمان
Qoyki mäv̈ā yağliqiŋni yüzdin almay här zämān
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Grammar

If, as in A. M. Ščerbak's view, the Chaghatay language was based on the spoken Uzbek language, one would expect that its possessive and accusative cases would be the same, just as they are in modern Uzbek. However, just as in modern Uyghur, we can see that in Nevā'ī's language these two cases are totally different. For example:

رقيبا بى سر و پاله‌رنى سين اغريتماغيل زنهار
Räqībā bī-säru pālarni sän ağritmağil zinhār
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

قايسى كوڭزنينك زلالى ابحيوانينكچه بار
Qaysi kävśärniŋ zilāli āb-ḥäyvāniŋčä bar
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

سنينك حسنونك منينك عشقيم عجايب انس توتميشلار
Seniŋ ḫusnuŋ meniŋ 'išqim 'äjāyib uns tutmišlar
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

كورماك انى چون حديم يوق منى جانان تانيماس
Körmäk ani čun ḫädim yoq jānān tanimas
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

In Nevā'ī's language, the ablative case suffix is *-din, -tin* just as in modern Uyghur. However in modern Uzbek, the suffixes used are the same as those used in the Oghuz and Qipchaq languages: *-tän, -dän* and sometimes *-nän*. For example:

Nevā'ī's language		Uyghur	Uzbek
ياشيدين	*yašidin*	يېشىدىن	ёшидан
كولماكتين	*külmäktin*	كۈلمەكتىن	кулмокдан

In Nevā'ī's language, the verb suffix *-ğay, -qay // -gäy, -käy*, indicating the future tense optative mood, is very widely used. For example:

چنانچه بولماغاي اهل فناغه انجمن حاجت
Činānčä bolmağay ähl-i fänāğa änjumän ḫājät
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

بير كون اهيمدين اوشول بد مهر كونكلى يومشاغاى
Bir kün ahimdin ošul bäd mehr köŋli yumšağay
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

منکا نی حدکه قیلغایمین تأمل
Maŋa ne ḥädki qilğaymän tä 'ämmul
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

یوق اول گوهرکه چون تفراققه قالغای ،
اياغ استیغه قالغای چون اوشالغای.
Yoq ol gävhärki čun tufraqqa qalğay,
Ayağ astiğa qalğay čun ošalğay.
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

This construct is very widely used in modern Uyghur as a common polite form, in the writings of contemporary authors, and in the spoken language of the people. For example, in the polite form:

هارمىغايلا ، مۇبارەك بولغاي ، تەك قېرىغايسىلەر
Harmiğayla, mubaräk bolğay, täŋ qeriğaysilär

In the writings of contemporary authors:

ئاشىق سۆيگۈ گۈلىنى كۆكسىگە تاققاي
Ašiq söygüsi gülini köksigä taqiğay
(Imin Tursun)

ئانا سۈتى ئاقارتقاي دىلىڭنى سېنىڭ ،
مەرىپەت يورۇتقاي يولۇڭنى سېنىڭ.
Ana süti aqartqay diliŋni seniŋ,
Märipät yorutqay yoluŋni seniŋ.
(A. Ötkür)

زەر چېچىپ ئۆتكەي بېشىمغا كۆكتە قۇياشىڭ سېنىڭ
Zär čečip ötkäy bešimğa köktä quyašiŋ seniŋ
(R. Jari)

In the spoken language of the people:

بارىمەن دېسە بارغاي ، تۇرىمەن دېسە تۇرغاي
Barimän desä barğay, turimän desä turğay

However, this form is almost obsolete in modern Uzbek.

Just as in modern Uyghur, Nevā'ī's language does not have the following modern Uzbek gerunds, which are characteristic of the Qipchaq language: билув بىلىش, борув بېرىش , ишлов ئىشلەش.

Gerunds in *-ğu, -qu // -gü, -kü*, used since ancient times in the Uyghur language, are also very widely used in Nevā'ī's language. For example:

دیدی عشق ایچره قتلینك حکمی ایتکوم ،
دیدی عشقیدا مقصودومغه یېتکوم.
Dedi ïšq ičrä qätliŋğä ḥukmi ätküm,
Dedi ïšqida maqṣudumğä yätküm.
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

کوروب کوزکودا نیکیم کورکوسیدور ،
که دوران باشیغه کیلتورکوسیدور.
Körüp közgüdä nekim körgüsidur,
Ki dävrān bašiğa kältürgüsidur.
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

که اڑدر بیرلا بولغونکدور هم اورد ،
که اندین چیقفوسی افلاك اوزا کرد.
Ki äždär birlä bolğuŋdur häm āvärd,
Ki andinčiqğusi äflāk üzä gärd.
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

The necessity mood, formed by adding the *-luq, -lük* suffix to this type of gerund, is used widely in Nevā'ī's language. For example:

دیدی اول یان جنیبت سورکولوکدور ،
بو ایش کر واقع اولسه کورکولوکدور.
Dedi ol yan jänībät sürlügdur,
Bu iš gär vāqi 'olsa körgülükdur.
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

بو یول ایرور چو اهل ملالتغه بارغولوق
Bu yol erürču ähl-i mälālätğä barğuluq
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

ای جانلار افتی سنکا جانیمدور الغولوق
Äy janlar āfäti saŋa janimdur alğuluq
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

The agentive, formed by adding the *-či* suffix to this gerund, is commonly found in Nevā'ī's language. For example:

قالیب بیل اورغوچی بالجیق ارا پست
Qalip bäl urğuči balčiq ara past
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

که ایلاب کورکوچی هوشینی زایل
Ki äyläp körgüči hūšini zāyil
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

خبر بیرکوچی صراف کهرفاش
ḫäbär bärgüči ṣärāf guhär-fāš
(Nevā'ī: *Perhad ve Šerin*)

لاله قانين توككوچى انينك نفاقيدور هنوز
Lālä qanin tökküči aniŋ nifāqidur hänūz
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

In Nevā'ī's work *Muhakimetul Lughateyn*, he showed that the following forms, made by adding the *-dek* suffix to this gerund, were an important characteristic of his own language:

بارغوديك	*barğudäk*
يارغوديك	*yarğudäk*
كيلكوديك	*kälgüdäk*
بيلگوديك	*bilgüdäk*
ايتقوديك	*aytqudäk*
قايتقوديك	*qaytqudäk*
اورغوديك	*urğudäk*
سورغوديك	*sorğudäk*

He explained that this form "doubtfully connects a person to a matter". This form is used in the following ways in Nevā'ī's language:

كيم ايرور قتليمغه اول جان و جهان قايغورغوديك
Kim erür qätlimğä ol jan u jähān qayğurğudäk
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

شوم رقيبلار كورسه‌لار ايتديك قباب اولتورگوديك
Šum räqīblär körsälär itdäk qäbab öltürgüdäk
(Nevā'ī: *Kulliyat Divan*)

Gerunds made by adding the *-ğu, -qu // -gü,-kü* suffix in modern Uyghur are mostly combined with ownership-dependent suffixes, and together with the words *bar, yoq* and the verb *kälmäk*, they indicate a desire. For example:

مېنىڭ ئۇنىڭ بىلەن كۆرۈشكۈم بار.
Meniŋ uniŋ bilän körüšküm bar.

سېنىڭمۇ بارغۇڭ بارمۇ؟ مېنىڭ بارغۇم يوق.
Seniŋmu barğuŋ barmu? meniŋ barğum yoq.

ئۇنىڭمۇ سۆزلىگۈسى كېلىۋاتىدۇ.
Uniŋmu sözligüsi kelivatidu.

سېنى بەك كۆرگۈمىز كەلدى.
Seni bäk körgümiz käldi.

In modern Uyghur, its third person form is also used as a future tense. For example:

گۈل باراقسان بولغۇسى سۈزۈك ھاۋادا ،
سەردانىسى گۈللەرنىڭ تاپقۇسى راۋاج.
Gül baraqsan bolğusi süzük havada,
Särdanisi güllärniŋ tapqusi ravaj.
(Imin Tursun)

ئۇنىڭدىكى سەنئەت ، مۇھەببەت ،
ماڭا مەڭگۈ دەرمان بەرگۈسى.
Uniŋdiki sän'ät, muhäbbät,
Maŋa mäŋgü därman bärgüsi.
(T. Samsaq)

The form of the gerund made by adding the *-luq, -lük* suffix indicates the necessity mood in modern Uyghur just as it does in Nevā'ī's language. For example:

ئۈزگۈلۈك ئايىنى چىقىپ يەتتە قات كۆك قەرىدىن ،
تۇتقۇلۇق تاشپاقنى ئوكيان - دېڭىزلار تەكتىدىن.
Üzgülük ayni čiqip yättä qat kök qäridin,
Tutquluq tašpaqini okyan –deŋizlar täktidin.
(Poems of Mao Zedong, translated)

Adding the suffix *-či* to this gerund, which indicates a dynamic subject, is very productive in modern Uyghur. Some of these gerunds have become nouns. For example:

ئوقۇغۇچى *oquğuči*, يازغۇچى *yazğuči*, كەلگۈچى *kälgüči*, كۈتكۈچى *kütküči*, ئاۋاز بەرگۈچى *avaz bärgüči*, ئىلتىماس قىلغۇچى *iltimas qilğuči*.

The form made by adding the suffix *-däk* to this gerund, has the following roles in the modern Uyghur language:

As a modifier, indicating the quality or quantity of the modified word, or as an adverbial modifier indicating the degree of an action. For example:

بەش كۈنگە يەتكۈدەك ئۇن بار.
Bäš kün yätküdäk un bar.

تونۇشتۇرغۇدەك تەجرىبەم يوق.
Tonušturğudäk täjribäm yoq.

ئىجسەك ، تەسىر قىلغۇدەك ئىچ.
Ičsäŋ täsir qilğudäk ič.

As a predicate, it indicates the present-future tense of the indirect statement mood (in the first and second person, a personal suffix is added.) For example:

ئۇ يەرگە سەنمۇ بارغۇدەكسەن.
U yärgä sänmu barğudäksän.
ئاڭلىشىمچە ئۇ ناخشىنى ياخشى ئېيتقۇدەك.
Aŋlišimčä u naḫšini yaḫši eyitqudäk.
تاپقۇدەكمەن مۇندىن ئارتۇق قايسى بەختنى ئەمدى مەن.
Tapqudäkmän mundin artuq qaysi bäḫtni ämdi män.
(T. Eliyov)

In modern Uzbek , the gerund made by adding the *-kü, -qü // -gü, -ğu* suffix, and its other forms created by adding other suffixes as mentioned above, are not used. The [dynamic subject] gerund made by adding the *-či* suffix to this form in Uyghur, is made in Uzbek by adding *-či* to the *w*-gerund form. For example: *ўкувчи, оқловчи, қораловчи.*

Lexicon

When attempting to prove the internal link between two languages, examining their lexicons is not as important as looking at their phonetic and grammatical systems. However, in order to see how much Nevā'ī's lexicon is made up of the Uyghur lexicon of that time, we draw attention to the following words included in *The Dictionary of Nevā'ī's Works* (Tashkent, 1972). Although in the dictionary these words are listed as incomprehensible and requiring explanation, in fact these are ordinary words used in modern Uyghur, either in their original form, or with minor modification.

Substantives

Nevā'ī's language		Modern Uyghur
اوغلاق	*oğlaq*	ئوغلاق
اوی	*uy*	ئۆي
الانك	*alaŋ*	ئالاك
يوقسول	*yoqsul*	يوقسۇل
يورون	*yurun*	يۇرۇن
كوماج	*kömäč*	كۆمەچ
قابان	*qaban*	قاۋان
شوك	*šük*	شۈك
مولدور	*möldür*	مۆلدۈر
ياغليغ	*yağliğ*	ياغلىق
يارغاغ	*yarğağ*	يارغاق

توزلوق	*tuzluq*	تۇزلۇق
تورقه	*torqä*	تورقا ، تورقا - تاۋار
تونك	*toŋ*	توك
ياليڭ	*yaliŋ*	يېلىك
امراغ ~ امراق	*amrağ ~ amraq*	ئامراق
سوزوك	*süzük*	سۈزۈك
ياليڭ	*yalin*	يالىن(يېلىنئوتنىڭ يېلىنى)
ايتيك	*itik*	ئىتتىك
يارماق	*yarmaq*	ياماق
تابان	*tapan*	تاپان
ايرين	*erin*	ئېرىن
توتروق	*tutruq*	تۇتروق
ايكاجى	*egäči*	ئېگىچە
توقغان	*tuqğan*	تۇغقان
اينكليك	*eŋlik*	ئەگلىك
ايليك	*ilik*	ئىلىك
دالدا	*dalda*	دالدا
داپقور	*dapqur*	داپقۇر
ددك	*dädäk*	دېدەك
تپانكو ~ تيپينكو	*täpängü ~ tepingü*	تېپىنگو
ياپيانك	*yaypaŋ*	ياپياك
سوك ~ سوك	*söksök*	سۆكسۆك

Verbs

Nevā'ī's language		Modern Uyghur
الداراماق	*aldaramaq*	ئالدىرىماق
الداراتماق	*aldaratmaq*	ئالدىراتماق
ازيقماق	*aziqmaq*	ئېزىقماق
ارغاداماق	*arğadamaq*	ئاغدىماق
بوشورغانماق	*bušurğanmaq*	پۇشۇرقانماق
بوتراماق	*putramaq*	پىترىماق
ياداماق	*yadamaq*	يادىماق
يارماشماق	*yarmašmaq*	يارماشماق
اوركوداماك	*ürgüdämäk*	ئۈگدىمەك
مانكماق	*maŋmaq*	ماڭماق
مانكدورماق	*maŋdurmaq*	ماڭدۇرماق
سوغالماق	*soğalmaq*	سوغالماق
بورداماق	*bordamaq*	بوردىماق
بوخساماق	*buhsatmaq*	بۇخسىماق

دومسايماق	*domsaymaq*	دومسايماق
يايقاماق	*yayqamaq*	يايقىماق
توزماك	*tözmäk*	تۆزمەك
اوركماك	*ürkmäk*	ئۈركمەك
اومونماق	*omunmaq*	ئومۇنماق
ارتيلماق	*artilmaq*	ئارتىلماق
ايتيماك	*itimäk*	ئىتتىمەك
ايتمەك ~ يېتماك	*yitmäk*	يۇتمەك ، يىتمەك
ايتورماك	*itürmäk*	يىتۈرمەك ، يۇتۈرمەك
سيريلماق	*siyrilmaq*	سىيرىلماق
تيكليماك	*tiklimäk*	تىكلىمەك
تولغاماق	*tolğamaq*	تولغىماق
تولغاشماق	*tolğašmaq*	تولغاشماق
تورماك	*türmäk*	تۇرمەك

Above we have shown the critical differences between modern Uzbek on the one hand, and Nevā'ī's language and modern Uyghur on the other. In fact, there are some points in modern Uyghur also that differ from Nevā'ī's language and from modern Uzbek. These will be shown in the following examples:

The phenomenon in modern Uyghur, where the [a] phoneme in the initial syllable weakens to [e], and in the following syllables weakens to [i], does does not occur in Nevā'ī's language or in modern Uzbek. For example:

Nevā'ī's language		Uyghur	Uzbek
باشيدا	*bašida*	بېشىدا	бошида
جانيم	*janim*	جېنىم	жоним
اياغيغا	*ayağiğa*	ئايىغىغا	аёғига
انكلادى	*aŋladi*	ئاڭلىدى	онглади

In both Nevā'ī's language and modern Uzbek, the [e] phoneme in an initial closed syllable is replaced with [ä] in modern Uyghur. For example:

Nevā'ī's language (written)		Uyghur	Uzbek
يېتماس	*yetmäs*	يەتمەس	етмас
كيتتيم	*kettim*	كەتتىم	кетдим
ايتماس	*etmäs*	ئەتمەس	этмас
يير	*yer*	يەر	ер

In both Nevā'ī's language and modern Uzbek, there are syllables where the phoneme [t] is followed by *üš, iš*, and the phoneme [s] is followed by *üč*. In modern Uyghur the initial [t] or [s] of these syllables is changed to [č]. For example:

Nevā'ī's language		Uyghur	Uzbek
توشومدا	*tüšümdä*	چۈشۈمدە	тушумда
تيشنك	*tišiŋ*	چىشلىك	тишинг
ساچيب	*sačip*	چېچىپ	сочиб
ساچينك	*sačiŋ*	چېچىلىك	сочинг

Whereas in both Nevā'ī's language and modern Uzbek, the first person predicative form is made by adding the suffix *-men* (*-män* in Uzbek) to the *-p* converb, in modern literary Uyghur the *-ti, -tur* suffix is first added to the *-p* converb, and after this the *-män* suffix is added. For example:

Nevā'ī's language		Uyghur	Uzbek
كويدوروبمين	*köydürüpmän*	كۆيدۈرۈپتىمەن	куидирибман
ياقيبمين	*yaqipmän*	يېقىپتىمەن	ёк ибман
توزوبمين	*tüzüpmän*	تۈزۈپتىمەن	тузибман
اوروبمين	*urpmän*	ئۇرۇپتىمەن	урибман

In both Nevā'ī's language and modern Uzbek the third person predicate form of the verb, made by adding *-lär*, does not distinguish between singular and plural. For example:

Nevā'ī's language
قيلديلار ، قيلورلار ، ديبتورلار ، كوتاركايلار
kötärgäylär, däpturlar, qilurlar, qildilar
Uzbek
килдилар, Яратганлар, тиришдилар
Uyghur
قىلدى ، قىلار ، دەپتۇ ، كۆتەرگەي
qildi, qilar, däptu, kötärgäy

From the comparison above, we see that modern literary Uzbek differs both from modern literary Uyghur and from Nevā'ī's language in the following characteristics: the rounding of the phoneme [a]; the presence of only two rounded vowels, rather than four; the breaking of vowel harmony rules; the usage of grammatical structures characteristic of the Oghuz and Qipchaq languages; the absence of important grammatical structures characteristic of the Uyghur-Qarluq language group, such as the

gerund forms made by adding the *-ğu,-qu // -gü, -kü* suffix; the absence of many words from their basic lexicon; etc. Even though modern literary Uyghur does differ both from Nevā'ī's language and from modern literary Uzbek, it is clear that these differences are not significant enough to require that modern literary Uyghur be placed in a different language group, rather these differences reflect the process of development occurring within a language that conforms to the Uyghur-Qarluq language group. These facts prove Nevā'ī's language conformed to the trend of development of the spoken Uyghur language of his time. Following on from this, they also prove that modern literary Uyghur, being based on the central dialect spoken by more than 90% of the Uyghur population, naturally inherited the essential rules of Nevā'ī's language without change. The situation for modern literary Uzbek is different. According to the introduction to the book, *Modern Uzbek Language*, when the central dialect of modern literary Uzbek was being chosen, some wished to make changes to the language in order to better preserve the fundamental characteristics of old literary Uzbek (Chaghatay language). However, all such changes were totally rejected.[44]

In the same book, the following view is also found: Not only Nevā'ī's language, but also the language used in the writings of the 13-14th century, is exactly the same as old Uzbek. The language of these writings has maintained its own fundamental characteristics to the present day, so that, even without translation into the modern language, these works can easily be understood by the Uzbek people.[45]

Here, the authors admit that the Chaghatay language (i.e. Nevā'ī's language) cannot be the basis of modern literary Uzbek. Indeed, the Chaghatay language cannot be the basis for modern Uzbek, for the following reason: as we have shown above, the fundamental characteristics of the Chaghatay language did not develop in the same way as did the common Uzbek literary language, which was subjected to complex dialectical conditions stemming from the ethnic components of the Uzbek people. This is the strongest evidence that the spoken language which formed the basis for the Chaghatay language, was not the spoken Uzbek language.

Here it is necessary to mention the following:

Because Nevā'ī's language is quite different from spoken Uzbek, later copyists of Nevā'ī's works made a significant effort to bring them closer to the Uzbek language. We can see this from the later lithographic editions of these works published in Uzbekistan. These activities are not confined to copyists of the past: the transcription of Nevā'ī's works can also be seen in modern times. For example, in the Uyghur transcription version of Nevā'ī's epic poem *Ferhad ve Šerin*, published in 1959 in Tashkent, inappropriate changes can be seen in many places, making it closer to the Uzbek language. To take several examples, these original words: بولغای *bolğay* ,

44 *Hozirgi zamon ŭzbek tili / Sovremennyj uzbekskij jazyk.* 1957. 28, 36, 37.
45 *Hozirgi zamon ŭzbek tili / Sovremennyj uzbekskij jazyk.* 1957.

بولسون *bolsun*, تانوق *tanuq*, باغلاب *bağlap*, تاپقای *tapqay*, بولمادی *bolmadi*, بويورسانك *buyursaŋ*, بولغاي ، بولسؤن ، انكلاغاج *aŋlağač*. According to the rules, should have been transcribed as تانۇق ، باغلاپ ، تاپقاي ، بولمادی ، بويۇرساك ، ئاڭلاغاج. However these words were in fact transcribed as: بولغەي *bolğäy* 1346, بولسن *bolsin* 1350, تەنۇق *tänuq* 1369, باغلەپ *bağläp* 1637, تاپقەي *tapqäy* 1592, بولمەدی *bolmädi* 1604, بۇيۇرسەك *buyursäŋ* 1480, ئاڭلەغاچ *aŋläğač* 1657.[46]

Although abbreviated by the publishers, Nevā'ī's language should definitely have been used in the titles of passages. However, these titles were totally Uzbekized. In the following title, that of the ninth chapter, pay attention to the underlined words:

خاقان ئىله فەرهاد كوكلەم تىمسالى گولنارى قەسردە گولگىن مەي ئىچىپ ، چەمەن گوللەردەن خالى بولگەندە ، يازلىك قەسرگە كوچىپ رەيهان رەڭلى شەرابلەر سىيقەرىپ ، دەرەخت يەشىل تونىن زەئفەران ئەتلەسگە ئايىرباش قىلگەندە كۆزگە ئوخشەش قەسردە ئالتىن پىيالەلەرگە سەرىق بادەلەر توكىپ ئېك سوك قىش مانەندە قەسردە بللور كاسەلەردە ئاق كافور رەك مەيلەر كوتەرىپ ، بەزم قۇرگەنلەرى ، ھەر قەسردە ئوچ ئايدەن بىر يىل ئەيش - ئىشرەت سورسەلەر ھەم فەرھادنىك كوگلى ئاچىلمەگەنى ، خاقان ئونگە ئىلاج قىلالمەگەنى

Ḫaqan ilä färhād kökläm timsali gulnari qäsrdä gulgin mäy ičip, čämän gullärdän ḫali bolgändä, yazlik qäsrgä köčip rayhan räŋli šärāblär sipqärip, däräḫt yäšil tonin zä'färān ätläsigä ayirbaš qilgändä közgä oḫšäš qäsirdä altin piyalälärgä säriq badälär tökip eŋ soŋ qiš manändä qäsrdä billor kasälärdä aq kafor räŋ mäylär kötärip, bäzm qurgänläri, här qäsrdä üč aydän bir yil ayš-išrät sürsälär häm färhādniŋ köŋli ačilmägäni, ḫaqan ungä ilaj qilalmägäni.

The inescapable conclusion of these examples, is that Nevā'ī's language is far from the Uzbek spoken language.

The facts above prove that the Chaghatay language is not Old Uzbek, rather it is one stage of the development of the literary Uyghur language. They also prove that Nevā'ī's language did not break off from the language, on the contrary it not only remained true to the traditions of the Uyghur language, but also aided its further development.

In addition we must mention the famous Uyghur historian Mirza Muhemmed Heyder Koragan, in his own work named, *Tarixi Rešidi* (The History of Rešidi), which he composed forty-three years after Nevā'ī's death. He wrote the following about Nevā'ī,

اصل وی از بخشیان اویغوراست ، پدر اورا کیچکینه بخشی میگفتند

Äşli ve äz baḫšiyān-i uyğur äst, pedär-i u ra kečikinä baḫši miguftänd[47]

Those two sentences in the translation of this work by Molla Muhemmed Niyaz bin Abdughopur appear as follows:

46 These numbers indicate stanza numbers in the original.

47 For this reference to Nevā'ī, see the Persian version of *Tarixi Rešidi,* item number 24090, The British Museum, London.

اما شير علی نينك اصلی اويغورنينك باخشی لاريدين ترور ، اتاسينی كيچكينه بخشی اتارلار
Äma šīir ʾälinin äṣli uyğurnin baḫšilaridinturur, atasini kičikinä baḫši atarlar [48]

In the translation made by Muhemmed Sadiq Kašğeri, this was translated as

انينك اصلسی اويغور باخشی لاريدين ، اتاسی نينك اتی كيچكينه باخشی دير ايردیلار
Anin äṣlisi uyğur baḫšilaridin, atasinin ati kičikinä baḫši där ärdilär

Which means as follows: 'Elišir [Nevā'ī] was once an Uyghur scholar, and his father was called the Tiny Scholar'.

The above evidence proves that Nevā'ī was famous in his own time for his mastery of literary Turkic (i.e. Chaghatay Language), and that he came from a clan of Uyghur scholars.

8. Conclusion

The Uyghurs—who directly inherited the literary Turkic language during the Orkhon period—created their own written script, now familiar as the Old Uyghur Script, and they formed the Idiqut Uyghur literary language after the 11th century. This Idiqut Uyghur literary Turkic language gained tremendous renown and was used as a common language by all Turkic-speaking peoples. After the 10th century, an Islamic variant of the Idiqut literary Uyghur language, called the Khakanian language, arose in the Karakhanid territory, and it was used as a common written literary language by the Turkic-speaking peoples who embraced Islam. The Khakanian language was called the Kashgari language after the 13th century and was in use in Central Asia until the mid-14th century. When Genghis Khan marched into Central Asia, he brought in the Idiqut Uyghur literary language as the official language. This created the conditions for the blending of the Kashgari language—which was originally in use in Kashgar and Central Asia—with the Idiqut Uyghur literary language. As a result, the formation of a written literary language, called the Chaghatay language, began during the second-half of the 15th century. The Chaghatay language maintained the characteristic features of the Uyghur language in respect to phonetics, grammar and basic lexical elements, while being influenced to a large degree by the Arabic and Persian languages. This literary language found its perfect expression in the works of the great poet and intellectual, Nevā'ī, during the second half of the 17th century, when it entered its own Classical Period. This literary language, which was used in Xinjiang and Central Asia, especially by the Uyghurs and the Uzbeks as

48 The word بخشی came from the Chinese 博士 (bóshì), in that time it was used to mean 'secretary, intellectual, writer'. Quoted in *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'* [Old Turkic dictionary]. Moskva & Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademija Nauk SSSR. 1969. 82.

their common language, began to fragment as it converged with the spoken languages of each of the peoples who used it. In the land of Xinjiang, this literary language endured until the beginning of the formation of the modern Uyghur language.

Hence, from the above arguments, it follows that the Chaghatay language constitutes one stage in the evolution of the Uyghur written literary language.

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