The (Kara-)Kirghiz Language

By Stefan Wurm

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PHonetics

Vowels

Descriptions of the Vowels

Front vowels  e  ê  ē  ī  į  û
Central vowels  a  ā  ā (ō)
Back vowels  o  ō
ε . A phonetic variant of a replacing it before j, especially in the last syllable of a word, e.g. qandej = “what kind of” < qandaj. It normally corresponds to the vowel in French “chaire”, but is very much changing in quality.

e . e in “bed”.

ē . French é in “été”. It appears only in root syllables, before j and sometimes in the present; e.g. berēmin = “I give” (normally berēmin). Initial ē (occasionally also e) is sometimes diphthongized by preceding i; e.g. īeskī = “old” (of things).

è . A closed front vowel between ē and closed front i, not unlike i in “pity”.

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

ī . Closed front i, as in “see”. Phonetic variant of i before j, ē, and ē. (The e- and i-sounds are influenced by the vowels of the adjoining syllables: the more closed the vowel in one syllable, the more open the e (or i) of the adjoining one and vice versa; see the example given above in the description of ē; also tênēdīs = “one of the same age”; but tênēdū = “being of the same age”; ñēn = “you (nom.)”; ñēni = “you (acc.)”).

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

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

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

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

ū . A closed, slightly rounded central vowel (Scottish “book”, Swedish “hus”). It is a (rarely found) phonetic variant of ū appearing especially before ų and in the verbal noun suffix -ū: (-ū”; e.g. ṭūūŋ = “yourself”; kēlū: = “the coming”.

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

ā . A slightly rounded back a, as in “not”; a rarely found phonetic variant of a, substitutes especially long a-sounds, e.g. džūdān < Arab. džawāb = “answer”. It is always found in the strengthening syllable -yāː.
o . Half-open o with very slightly rounded lips. It often sounds almost like u. As initial it is often diphthongized by preceding u-; e.g. uot = "he".

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

Final long o, u, and ü of syllables are often followed by -w, which is a remainder of an original consonant; e.g. to-wun (for tomun) = "of the mountain" (< *tay-nin); këlü-w (for këlü:) = "the coming" (< keltiw), etc.

There are also a number of reduced vowels in Kirghiz. In words which are quoted from the spoken language, they are indicated by small letters above the line; e.g. iₐ, etc.

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

These vowels form the following eight phonemes:—

Frontal e i ö ü

Central, and back i a o u

e = e-ë-ê; i = i-i; ü = ü-û; a = a-ä-æ.

In the literary language only these eight vowels are represented by different letters, which are: e i o y û a o u.

Diphthongs

Apart from the secondary diphthongs formed by the diphthongization of initial e (e), o and ö there are no diphthongs in Kirghiz. Only long a: is sometimes diphthongized by preceding q; e.g. b qa:ti'r < bati'r = "hero".

Quantity of the Vowels

The vowels in Kirghiz are short, half-long (e.g. a·), or long (e.g. a:). The original vowels are all short, long vowels either appear in borrowed words or are produced by the (historical or actual) elimination of an original consonant standing at the end of the syllable; e.g. dama (< Pers. 4nâ = "piece");
to: \((<^{*}tay) = \text{"mountain"}\); \(tu:duryan <^{*}toyduryan = \text{lit. "cause to give birth"} = \text{"to assist at a confinement"}\); \(osondu: ï:<soson\)ð\(uq (<^{*}oson\)lí:k\() ï:<soson\)ð\(uq = \text{"therefore"}\). Apart from that, the final vowel of the last open syllable of a long sequence of words (viz. when a full stop follows) is sometimes lengthened; e.g. \(. . . q:açîp džon)^{\o}ðüt: = \text{". . . and he flew (lit. fleeing went)"}\). The half-long vowels are normally produced by the lengthening of originally short ones (rarely by shortening of vowels which are normally long in the actual language). Such a lengthening is caused: (1) By the reduction of the final consonant of a syllable, e.g. \(tî:<yisi <^{*}tég-gisi = \text{"her wish to marry (lit. to touch)"}\). (2) Strongly stressed vowels (especially when they are in the first syllable of a word) are sometimes lengthened. The vowel of the following syllable is normally reduced through equalization in such a case, e.g. \('q:a\)çîp = \text{"to making flee"}; 'a\)çîp = \text{"taking"}.

In the literary language only the short and long vowels are indicated. For writing the long vowels the letter is doubled, e.g. baatår = \text{"hero"}; too = \text{"mountain"}; etc.

**Vowel-Harmony**

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

As far as the vowel-harmony is concerned, only front and back vowels exist. In this connection the central û (and ô) are (mostly) regarded as front vowels; I and æ, however, are regarded as back ones.

There are two series of vowel-changes: (1) \(a-e-o-ö\). The vowel-sequences are the following: \(a\) appears after \(a (a ã i) u\); \(e\) after \(e (e ç e) i (i)\); \(o\) after \(o\); \(ö\) after \(ü (ü) ö\); e.g. \(at-tar = \text{"the horses"}\); \(džîl-da = \text{"in the year"}\); \(turmuşt-a = \text{"in the life"}\); \(el-de = \text{"in the nation"}\); \(toyoj-do = \text{"in the forest"}\); \(ü<j-dö = \text{"in the house"}\). (2) \(i-i-i-u-u\). The vowel-sequences are: \(i\) after \(i (i) e (e ç e) i\); \(a\) after \(a (a ã i) ü\); \(ü\) after \(ö ü (ü)\); \(u\) after \(o u\); e.g. \(i:<tín = \text{"of the work"}\); \(džîl-dín = \text{"of the year"}\); \(ü<j-dün = \text{"of the house"}\); \(toyoj-dün = \text{"of the forest"}\).

I could not find proof of Radloff’s supposition, that long ö is only followed by a and i, but not by o and u, as o: is always followed by o and u in the literary and in the spoken language, e.g. \(tö:<do = \text{"on the mountain"}\); \(tö:<nu = \text{"the mountain (acc.)"}\).

A few suffixes appear only with certain vowels; e.g. \(-lüt, -lu: (-li: or -lî: do not exist) = \text{"provided with . . ."}\); \(-ëüt, -ëu (see “Durative Preterite”). Of these two suffixes the form with -üt is added to stems with front vowels, that with -u to stems with back ones. The verbal-noun -u: (äüt, -ö:; -ö: has a peculiar vowel-harmony, viz. -ö: is added to stems with final -a or -o; e.g. \(qaro: = \text{"(the) looking"} < qara: = \text{"to look"}\); -ö: is added to stems with final -e or -ö; e.g. \(tölö: = \text{"(the) paying"} < tölö: = \text{"to pay"}\); -u: is added to stems with a final consonant and back vowels; and to those with final -i or

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

A few suffixes do not change their vowel at all, e.g. the strengthening suffix -(γ)d: (≪ yuna).

**Disturbance of the Vowel-Harmony**

(1) Through consonantal influences on vowels; e.g. a > e (e) before j; the vowels following this e or e are normally front vowels; e.g. qiβeβjmin ≪ qībajmin = "I do not make". Furthermore: džirma = "twenty" ≪ l.l. džijirma; the second i is eliminated and the palatalizing influence of the j causes i > i; the -a, however, remains always unchanged in this word in spite of the secondary front vowel preceding it. (2) A front (or back) vowel in the first syllable of a word has a retrograde palatalizing (or velarizing) influence upon the vowel in the last syllable of the preceding word; e.g. toyojðun (< toyojdan) jënde = "in the middle of the forest"; aļawuz (< aļamiz) dêp = "saying ‘we take’"; also in compound words, e.g. bügtünkü (also l.l.) ≪ buktünkî = "to-day’s, this day’s"; ėrīt-ti + yð: = "it has really made melt away" (in this case the velarizing influence of the -γ and the retrograde rounding influence of -d also play a part). (3) In compound proper names front and back vowels may appear simultaneously; e.g. čojübek (pronounced čojwek); etc.

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

**Mutual Vowel-Influences and Consonantal Influences on Vowels**

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

**Reduced and Eliminated Vowels**

Vowels are very often reduced and eliminated in unstressed syllables; e.g. ėkeldî = "he came". This is especially noticeable when the unstressed vowel is adjoining a sibilant or ē; e.g. atasna ≪ atasina = "to her father"; tâjûrs < tûşûrûp = "making fall down"; k'êtî < kûetî = "his strength" (in this case the aspiration of the k also plays a part in eliminating the ti). Consonants which are adjoining because of the elimination of a vowel which originally stood between them, occasionally undergo the usual transitions (see "Transition of Consonants"); e.g. bâldar ≪ baḷalar = "the children".

This principle is explained more fully as follows: (1) Of two adjoining final and initial vowels the former is often eliminated when it is not strongly stressed; e.g. qara at > qar at = "the black horse"; if the final vowel is long it is shortened in this case, e.g. tô: aldî > tô aldî = "he bought a camel".
(2) When the verbal noun suffix -u: (-ö: -o: -ö) is added to a verbal stem with a final vowel, this vowel is dropped (also in l.l.) e.g. qaro: = “(the) looking” < qara-o-. The same happens when the suffix forming substantival numerals is added to a numeral with a final vowel; e.g. ekö + ö: > ekö (l.l.) (s.l. ökö:).

(3) If a vowel is added to a word with a final -r or -n, the vowel of the last syllable is dropped and -n changes to -d (also l.l.); e.g. murun-i > mürdü = “his nose”. (4) If the last syllable of a word has an initial j and a final voiced consonant, its vowel is normally dropped in the spoken language when a vowel is added to the word; e.g. ajīt-i > ajīt = “his aul”. (5) When the word-building suffix -ki is added to a word with a final short vowel, the latter is dropped (also l.l.); e.g. ilgeri-ki > ilgerki = “previous”.

**Intrusive Vowels**

In the literary language intrusive vowels are often used to avoid accumulations of consonant (in the spoken language they are never used); e.g. özübek (s.l. özbebek) = “Uzbek”; aitmiš (or also aitmi; s.l. always aitmis) = “sixty”; etc.

**Vowel-Transitions**

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

**e > ě**. Appears sometimes in the plural-suffix -ler; e.g. ęldér = “the nations”.

**e (a) > i**. Appears very often in the s.l. (1) In the verbal noun suffix -gen; e.g. bolun (< bol-gin) for bolun (< bol-gen); görgün (< kör-gin) for körgün (< kör-gen); ęgelin for kögel; etc. (2) In the word-building suffix *-daš, e.g. teđiš for teđaš (the vowel of -daš does normally not change in the s.l.; in the l.l. it has the normal changes a-e-o-ö).

**i > e**. e.g. in beřęyip (< bir-ęyip) = “to unite”.

**Consonants**

**Remarks on the Consonants**

The voiceless medias b, d, g, ą are: (1) The result of the loss of voice of the corresponding voiced stops. They appear especially as initials, e.g. naš for baš = “head”; bir for bir = “one”. Also voiced stops adjoining at a syllable-boundary normally lose voice; e.g. asan < abdan = “very”. (2) They are the result of a softening of the corresponding tenues. This is especially the case with final tenues which are preceded by a strongly stressed short vowel or by a long one; e.g. kös for köp = “much”; bołıpn for bołrı (< *botadır < **botatur-); ‘on”, rat’ for oturat = “he sits” (viz. “he is not standing”). A final tenuis of a syllable or of a word is also often softened
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if the next syllable or word has an initial media, which always loses voice in this case; e.g. q'irq air (< qirq bir) = "forty-one"; *wanga (< *waqt-da; l.l. ubaq-ta) = "in the time".

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

Table of Consonants

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that ñ sounds often almost like n; e.g. qaılmak = "Kalmuk", sounds almost qanmaq; ošol = "that" (almost ošon). The glottal stop ' changes secondarily from q; g and g from k and q.

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

ß and w change secondarily from b (often ≤ *m); e.g. *waqt (≤ Arab. *waqt) < l.l. ubaq-t = "time". x changes secondarily from k.

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

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

Initial m, s, b, and g (changed secondarily from k) are often palatalized before ć, ė (sometimes also before ō); e.g. mện = "I"; sēn = "you"; b eş = "five"; gőz = "eye" (for köz).
The primary consonants and vowels are denoted by the following letters in the literary language (in the order as it is taught at Kirghiz schools): a b (== b) c (= č) ġ (= dž) d e f g q g (== y) b (== i) i l m n ƞ (== y) o ṥ (= ơ) p r s ș (== ș) t u y (== ü) z j.

**Consonants Corresponding in Kirghiz and in Other Turki Languages**

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**Transitions of Consonants**

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

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

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

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

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

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1 See "Transitions of Consonants ḳ > ē . . ."
k > g (only s.l.). Intervocalic k changes to g; e.g. bağa gördü (< kördü) = “the boy saw”. Initial k also changes to g if the preceding word has a final nasal; e.g. q’añ getti (< q’an ketti) = “the khan went”.

q > g (o) (only s.l.). Initial q changes to g (or ç) after a final -n (or n); e.g. q’añ qañdi (or qañdi) < q’an qañdi (see n > ɲ) = “the khan remained”.

z > s (only s.l.). The final z of a syllable changes to s before a voiceless consonant; e.g. qīs taptop (< qīz) = “the girl found”.

(2) Changes of nasal consonants.

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

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

n > ɲ (only s.l.). The final -n of a syllable changes to ɲ before g, y, and q (see k > g and q > ş).

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

l > d. l changes to d after voiced consonants, except after j and r \(^1\); e.g. til-der < til-ler = “languages”; qiz-dar < -lar = “girls”, but batır-diq = “heroism”; baj-lar = “the beys (rich men)”.

l > t. l changes to t after voiceless consonants; e.g. at-tar < -tar = “the horses”; qis-tar < -tar = “the winters”.

n > d. n changes to d after voiced consonants; e.g. q’an-dì < -nì = “the khan (acc.)”; qiz-dì < -nì = “the girl (acc.)”; q’an-dın < -nìn = “the khan’s”.

n > t. n changes to t after voiceless consonants, e.g. at-tın < -nın = “of the horse”.

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

č > ş. The final č of a syllable changes to ș before ș, s, t, and č; e.g. qaşti < qačti = “he flew”; čaş-sìx < čaş-sîx = “hairless”; üş şart < ǔş şart = “three conditions”; qaş-či < qaş-či = “do flee!”

(4) Other regular changes.

b > ḇ (only s.l.). Intervocalic b almost always changes to ḇ; səbęşi < sebebi = “its reason”; küştü. bolyon = “he was strong”; after -r, -l, and -j also b almost always changes to ḇ; e.g. kelbejt = “he does not come”; (< *kelmej-dir > kelbej); öktür şahtır = “brave (lit. sharp) heroes”; tijbędi (< tegbe- < teg-me) = “she does not marry (lit. touch)”.

\(^1\) Radloff states that l changes to d also after d, but I could not find proof of it (Phonetik) p. 245.)
b > m (also l.l.). The initial b of the demonstrative pronoun bu changes to m if -n follows the -u; e.g. munun (gen.); munu (acc.); but buyā (dat.).

b > w (only s.l.) = slack form of b > β; e.g. sułu: wọtyonduy ƙeƙun (< . . . bọtyonduq uęćūn) = “as (she) is beautiful; aławiz (< aaltariz = “we take” (often aławuz, i > u through the rounding influence of the w; which may even produce the form aławūz; i + rounding of the lips = ƙu).

g > y (only s.l.). Intervocalic g mostly changes to y; e.g. dęyen = “said”; in fluent speech also after -l, -r, and -j (often also if g < k); e.g. kęlyen = “came”; bęryen = “gave”.

p > β (w) (only s.l.). Corresponds to b > β (w); e.g. taɓalbasta < tapaɓalbastan < *tupa almastan = “without being able to find”; dęniw aidi < dęniip aidi = “he began to defeat”; ta’u: < tapu: = “(the) finding”.

q > y (only s.l.). Intervocalic q changes to y; e.g. sułu: yiz (< qiz) = “the beautiful girl”.

(5) Finally, there are a number of occasional changes in the spoken language, e.g. dž > j; jönödu for džönödu = “he went”); k > y (büyünkū < bu kün-ƙi = “to-day’s”), etc.

Reduced, Eliminated, and Dropped Consonants

Consonants standing in deep minima of intensity are often reduced and eliminated. This principle is explained more fully as follows: (1) If three consonants meet at a syllable-boundary, the middle one is often eliminated and the two others are weakened; e.g. uwaqda < (l.l.) ubuqt-ta‘ (< Arab. *waqt) = “in the time”. (2) The final l (-l) of a syllable is mostly reduced or eliminated before a consonant; e.g. qimaq < qiimaq = “he must make”; boyyen = “it was”. Final *γ of a syllable with preceding u has been dropped in the language of to-day; the u has been lengthened; e.g. tudu < *tuγ-du = “she gave birth”; the same happens in fast speech to y < q; e.g. osondu: ƙūn < osonduy (< duq < *lik) uęćūn = “as it was (is) so (lit. for its being that)”. Final -q of a syllable changes sometimes to ’ before a consonant; e.g. unçu ’basta < (unuqmasadan) = “without making a sound”. (3) Intervocalic l, p (and y) are often reduced and eliminated. Strong contractions of words are thus caused; e.g. a’at = “he takes”; aja’at = lit. “taking a wife” = “marrying”; taɓat < tapip at (tapip > taɓip > ta·wip > ta·iβ > ta·at) = “find!” (lit. finding take!”); taawad’ (< tapil badi < tapilmadi) = “it was not found” (i > u through rounding of the lips < w < β < p); baya’i = “that”. (4) Initial b, dž, p, k, q, and z have often a very slack articulation and are sometimes dropped; e.g. waqta okū = “it was his time” (< boluçu; b > β > w > e) tqal’u < quqaryūin = “save!”. ðe’este ‘a at a place’; etc. (5) The personal suffix 3rd P. -dir (< *tur) almost always changes to -t (s.l. and l.l.) in the present; e.g. bēret = “he gives” (sometimes pronounced bẹrep).
Auxiliary Consonants in Word-Composition

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

Stress and Pitch

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

Grammar

Nouns

Genitive.— -nin (-din, -tin) (v.h.2). It always precedes the dependent noun, to which the poss. suff. 3rd P. is added; e.g. at-tin baš-i = “the head of the horse”. If a genitive combination is regarded as a compound noun, the genitive suffix (and sometimes also the possessive suffix) is dropped; e.g. qan uštu = “khan-son, prince”; or araba = “train” (lit. “fire-carriage”). The genitive suffix is also often dropped, if the noun to which it should be added is the subject of a sentence-construction with a verbal noun; e.g. adam (for adamdin) keşen уаъы́ри бош“ку = “it was the time at which the man came” (lit. “the-man’s coming his-time it-was”). Dative.— -ge, -ya (-ke, -qa), etc. (v.h.1). After the poss. suff. 3rd P. it is -ne, etc., e.g. üjüne = “to his house”. It indicates also the direction towards something and normally precedes the accusative-object; e.g. ülýa atti körsööt = “he shows the son the horse”. Accusative.— -ni (-di, -ti) (v.h.2). at-ti (< at-ni) körö-mün = “I see the horse”. After the poss. suff. 3rd P. it is -n, e.g. qandin at-i-n öldürü = “he killed the khan’s horse”. If the accusative is not determined, the suffix is dropped, e.g. attin džana gümüş atyşiñi keldi = “he wished to take (receive) gold and silver” (lit. “his wish to take... came”). An accusative is often regarded as determined if there are explanatory words added to it, but it still has to be translated into English with the indefinite article, e.g. özü tędü: džas batañi ta: 1.p (< tæp) bëremin = “I (shall) find a young man of her age and give (him to her)”. qara tæši džewin = “eat (any) black stones”. Locative.— -de (-te) (v.h.1). E.g. üj-dö = “in the house”; qan-da = “in the town”. After the poss. suff. 3rd P. -n- is placed between the suffixes; e.g. üj-ți-n-dö

1 MS. to be published in Anthropos, 1949.
= "in his house". Ablative.—-den (-ten) (v.h.1). E.g. tij-dôn = "from the house". After the poss. suff. 3rd P. it is -nen, e.g. ajalidar-i-nan = "from his wives". Equative.—-dej (tej-) (v.h.1). It indicates an equality of quality ("as, like"), e.g. adamdej (< *daj) = "like a man", čiragtej = "like a lamp". After the poss. suff. 3rd P. -n is interposed between the suffixes, e.g. at-i-n-dej = "like his horse". Remainders of the ancient Turki Instrumental are sometimes found, e.g. džaq-in = "near" (džaq = "side"). Plural.—-ler (-der, -ter) (v.h.1). E.g. at-tar = "(the) horses"; tij-dör = "(the) houses". Sometimes -e- appears in the plural suffix, e.g. ełdér = "the nations". The case-suffixes follow the plural suffix: attardî < *at-ler-nî = "the horses (acc.)".

**Pronouns**

*Personal (and Possessive) Pronouns*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st P.</td>
<td>mén = &quot;I&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd P.</td>
<td>sên = &quot;thou&quot; (familiar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>siz = &quot;you&quot; (polite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd P.</td>
<td>aî = &quot;he, she, it&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- Nom. . . men, aî biz siler
- Gen. . . menin anîn bizdin sildirin
- Dat. . . mâyâ aya bizge sîlge
- Acc. . . meni anî bizdi sîlder
- Loc. . . mende anda bizde sîlde
- Abl. . . menden andan bizden sîlder
- Equ. . . mendej andaj bizdej sîldej

*sen* changes like *men*, *siz* like *biz*; *sizder* and *aîar* like *siler*. For *mâyâ* and *aya* also *mâyân* and *sayan* (as in Kazak). For *aî* also *aî (onun, oya*, etc.) is used in s.l.

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

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

*Ki* added to the genitives of the personal pronouns forms substantival personal pronouns, e.g. *seniþki* = "yours".

**Possessive Suffixes**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st P.</th>
<th>2nd P.</th>
<th>3rd P.sg.</th>
<th>1st P.</th>
<th>2nd P.</th>
<th>3rd P.pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Final consonant . . -im . . -id . . -i . . -ibiz . . -ider . . -i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final vowel . . -m . . -d . . -qi . . -biz . . -der . . -i</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(Vowel-harmony, type 2) -ider &lt; id + *ler</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the 1st and 2nd P.pl. the possessive relation is very often expressed by placing the possessive pronouns before the noun, without using the suffixes: e.g. bizdin at = “our horse” (for atibiz); silderin attar = “your (pl.) horses” (for attarîpar). When emphasis is required, the poss. pronouns and the suffixes are used simultaneously; e.g. bizdin atibiz = “our horse”; silderin atîpar = “your horses”.

The possessive suffixes precede the case-suffixes, e.g. attarîbîzdi < *at-ţar-ibîz-ni) = “our horses”.

**Demonstrative Pronouns**

bu (buţ) = this; oşo (oşot; s.l. also oşon uuşu(!)) = “that (visible)”;
aţ = “that (invisible)”; tigi = oşo; tetigi = aţ; bajayî (< *bu-jaq-ki = “that on this side”) = “that one who is known already”; mîna = “that one over there”. The following plurals are used: butar, oşolor, aţar.


bu munun buya munu munda mundan mundaj aţ see “Personal
oşo oşonun oşoyo oşonu oşondan oşondoj Pronouns”

**Other Pronouns**

*Interrogative Pronouns.*—kim = “who”, emine = “what”; qandaj = “what kind of (also adverb = “how”), qancâ = “how much”; qaji = “which”. *Reflexive Pronouns.*—öz + poss. suff.; özüm = “myself (or my own)”. *Indefinite Pronouns.*—ar = “each” (< Pers. har); ar kim = “each, everybody”; barî = “all”; başqa = “(an)other”; bir néçe = “some, a few”; bir az = “a little”; biru = “anybody”; eţ nerse + negation = “nothing”; eţ kim + negation = “nobody”.

**ADJECTIVES**

As attribute they precede the noun, as predicate they follow it and remain unchanged. *Comparative.*—The ablative-suffix is added to the compared word; e.g. atam bu kişiden dzaqsi = “my father is better than this man”. For expressing a slight difference, -rek (after a final vowel), -irek (final consonant) (v.h.1) is added to the adjective; e.g. bu at aţ attan tezirek = “this horse is a little faster than that horse”. *Superlative.*—eş is placed before the adjective eş dzaqsi = “the best (one)”.

By placing ötö or abdan (s.l. abdan) = “very” or köp = “much” before the adjective, an absolute superlative is formed; e.g. ötö dzaqsi = “very good”; abdan suţu: = “very beautiful”; köp kök = “very blue”. For qipqizil = “very red”, etc., see “Auxiliary Consonants in Word-Composition”.

**ADVERBS**

(1) Adjectives, nouns, and special words; e.g. tez barat = “he goes fast”; bügün (s.l. bügün; < bukün) = “to-day”; berî = “thither”; narî = “thither”; tömön or îdîj = “down”; džoyarn or öjdö = “up”, etc.

(2) Nouns + poss. suff. 3rd P., in a temporal meaning; e.g. bu kûnt = “this day”. Sometimes postpositions are added, e.g. t’un içi mënên = lit. “with the
inside (of) the night” = “in the night”. (3) Expressions with case suffixes (dat., loc., abl., equ.); e.g. aṭ kezde = “at that time” (kez = “at a time”); muruntan = “formerly”, etc. (4) Converb -ip; e.g. süljösüü barışat = “they walk along speaking”. (5) -ee (v.h.1) forms adverbs indicating “in the manner of...”; e.g. kišiće = “in a human manner”; başqaça = “in a different manner”; özü-n-cö = “alone”. Names of languages are also formed with -ee; e.g. qirgızça = “Kirghiz”; urusça = “Russian”. (6) Interrogative Adverbs.—qaṣda = “where”; qaṣdan = “from where”; qaṣan = “when”; qandaj (qilip) = “how”.

**Remarks on Postpositions**

The most interesting postpositions are: (1) Those governing nominative (added to pronouns they govern genitive).—menen = “with”; ata mën = “with the father”; senin menen = “with you”; üčün = “for”; ata üčün = “for the father”; menin üčün = “for me”; turału: and džöńündö = “about”; e.g. baša turału; süljösöobüz = “we speak about the child”; menin džöńündö süljösösünörbö = “do you speak about me?”. (2) Those governing genitive are nouns which stand in a genitive relation to the noun preceding them. The genitive suffix of the noun is very often dropped. toyoj (dun) ičinde = “in the forest” (ič = “inner side”). (3) Those governing dative.—çejin (s.l. often ĉejin) = “until, up to”; e.g. ajîla ĉejin bardiq = “we went up to the camp”; qaraj (converb -e of qara- = “to look”) = “in the direction of...”; e.g. aṭ mektepke qaraj baradżatat = “he is going along in the direction of the school (without the intention of going (in) to the school itself)”. (4) Those governing accusative.—közdöj (converb -e of közdö < *köz-le- = “to look”) = “towards and up to... (contrary to qaraj, which indicates only the direction)”; e.g. aṭ mektepti közdöj baradżatat = “he goes towards the school, up to it and into it”. (5) Those governing ablative.—murun = “before (of time), earlier”, e.g. aṭ menden murun keldi = “he came earlier than I”; kijin = “after”, e.g. eki kündön kijin = “after two days”; beri = “since” or “before (of space)”, e.g. öşöndon beri üč džit öttü = “since then three years have passed”, bidin qistaq Purunzadan beri = “our village is before Purunza”; nari = “behind”, e.g. qistaq Purunzadan nari = “the village is behind Purunza”.

**Numerals**

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

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>bir</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>eki, (i)eki</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>üc</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>tört</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>beş (b’eş)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>aṭṭi</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>džeti, džeti</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The noun following a numeral remains always in the singular. Only after indefinite numerals the plural is sometimes found; e.g. köp mañdar = “many different kinds of cattle”; but köp max = “much cattle”. (b) Substantival cardinals. Only 1–7, formed by adding -o, -a: to the adjectival forms (the final vowel of 2, 6, 7 is dropped); ekö: (sl. mostly ökö: = “two”; bešö: = “five”; aito: = “six”). (2) Ordinals are formed by adding -(n)ñi (v.h.2) to the adjectival cardinals; e.g. bir-inéi = “first”; eki-néi = “second”, etc. (3) Distributive Numerals are formed by adding the ablative-suffix -den to the adjectival cardinals, if the numeral is used substantively; e.g. birden = “one by one, one at a time”; ondon = “ten at a time”. If they are used as attributives, the ablative-suffix is added to the noun which follows the numeral; e.g. on kiši-den keldi = “ten persons came at a time”. (4) Approximative Numerals are formed by adding -le + -p (converb -ip) to the adjectival numerals (the final vowel is dropped); e.g. ondop = “about ten”; often the suffix forming substantival cardinals appears instead of the -p (also if the approximative numeral is used objectively); e.g. onekilö: čoj batür = “about twelve great heroes”. (5) Fractional Numbers.—E.g. 3 = bešten üč. Special expressions: ½ = džarím, ¼ = ėjeřek. (6) The names of the figures are formed by adding -lik (-dik, -tik) to the adjectival cardinals, e.g. birdik, ekilik, ütük, etc.

Word-Building Suffixes

The most important are:—

(1) Denominal Nouns.—-či indicates a person who does something customarily or professionally, e.g. temirči = “smith” (< temir = “iron”). -či + lik indicates a profession, e.g. temirčilik = “smith’s trade”. -čil indicates a person who is partial to an idea, e.g. dinčil = “a religious man” (< din < Arab. din = “religion”); ututčül = “nationalist” (< utut = “nation”); türcčül = “a turcophile”. -ča (a) forms adverbs (see “Adverbs (5)’); (b) diminutive suffix (rare); e.g. qızča = “little girl”. lik (-dik, -tik) (a) added to nouns and adjectives forms (mostly abstract) nouns; enelik = “mothership”; sułuçuq = “beauty”; (b) added to nouns it forms adjectives which indicate that something consists of what is expressed by the noun or that it belongs to what is expressed by it; e.g. toLUQ = “mountain-range” (to: = “mountain”); toyoj-Luq = “inhabitant of a forest” (toyoj = “forest”). -lli (see “Vowel-Harmony”); added to nouns it forms adjectives which express that something is provided with the thing expressed by the noun; e.g. tolu: = “mountainous”; bašlu: = “having children”. -siz is the contrary to -lli; e.g. tosuSuz = “without mountains”; bašasiz = “without children”.

(2) Deverbal Nouns (see also “Verbal Nouns”).—giě (kiě, yiě, etc.) forms adjectives and nouns which indicate that something is suitable for the action expressed by the verbal stem; e.g. džazyič = “suitable for writing”; körgič = “suitable for seeing”. -gis (kis, etc.) forms adjectives and nouns which indicate that it is not worth while doing the action expressed by the verbal
stem; e.g. ojtoys = "something which is not worth thinking" (<ojlo-
= "to think"); körgüs = "something which is not worth seeing" (<kör-
= "to see").

(3) Denominal Verbs.—-le (–de, -te, etc.); e.g. baštə = "to begin"
(<baš = "head"); džaqštə = "to praise" (<džaqši = "good").

Verbs

possessive conjugation

1st Preterite

1st P.sg.  džazdim  1st P.pl.  džazdiq
2nd P.sg.  džazdiq  2nd P.pl.  džazdiŋar
Polite  džazdiŋiz  Polite  džazidiŋizardar
3rd P.sg.  džazdii  3rd P.pl.  džazištii

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

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

Conditional

1st P.sg.  džazsam  1st P.pl.  džazsaq
2nd P.sg.  džazsaŋ  2nd P.pl.  džazsaŋar
Polite  džazsaŋiz  Polite  džazsaŋizardar
3rd P.sg.  džazsa  3rd P.pl.  džazišsa

The negative and interrogative are formed as in the preterite.

This form indicates: (1) Real conditional (= English "if" with indicative),
with an inherent present or future meaning; e.g. ašt barsa baraman = "if he
goes, I go (too)"). (2) Imaginary condition (English "if" with subjunctive),
often with an inherent past meaning; e.g. ašt barsa barat elem = "if he went,
I would go (too)", or "if he had gone, I would have gone (too)"). (3) "When,"
with past tense meaning; e.g. aya munu ajtsaq ijtaq bastadi = "when he told
him this he started weeping". (4) It is sometimes used to indicate reason;
e.g. sutu: yiz bolsom atam teqdir: çalya miin q'andeq q'ilip tijemin = "as I am
a beautiful girl, how (making) should (lit. shall) I marry (lit. touch to) an old
(man) who is as old as my father?" (5) -se + de = concessive meaning "even
if, though": maỳa aqeqan bermese de = "even if he does (or will) not give
me the money"; emine bolso do = "whatsoever it may be". (6) -se + či
in the 1st P.sg. indicates repentance of something one has done; in the other
persons it expresses either repentance or a request, e.g. intiqanya murnutan
tajardansamői = "oh, (I wish) I had prepared myself earlier for the examination"
; džazsaŋi = "oh, if you had written!", or "would you please write?"
PRONOMINAL CONJUGATION

Personal Suffixes

1st P.sg.  džaqši-mín      1st P.pl.  džaqši-bíz
2nd P.sg.  džaqši-síŋ      2nd P.pl.  džaqši-síŋar
Polite    džaqši-síź      Polite    džaqši-síźdar
3rd P.sg.  džaqši          3rd P.pl.  džaqši

Negative:  džaqši emesmín = "I am not good", etc. The interrogative particle follows the personal suffixes; e.g. džaqši-síŋ-bí = "are you good?"; džaqši emespi = "is he not good?"

Present and Definite Future

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

1st P.sg.  džazamín      1st P.pl.  džazabíz
2nd P.sg.  džazasíŋ      2nd P.pl.  džazasíŋar
Polite    džazasíź      Polite    džazasíźdar
3rd P.sg.  džazat          3rd P.pl.  džazíšat

In the 1st P.sg. also -m is found for -mín; e.g. džazam. Stems with a final vowel, e.g. oquj-mun (oqujm) = “I read”. Negative: džazбавмín (džazбавм); oquamajmín (oquamajm). Interrogative: džazasíŋbí = "do you write?"

This form expresses (1) an action done in the present, but not necessarily in the immediate present; the action may take place repeatedly or duratively for a long time; e.g. adamdar süjlöjöt = “the men speak to each other (for a long time)”; sen gajda turasíŋ = “where do you live (always)?”.

(2) It expresses a future action which certainly will be done, e.g. erteş saya kelemín = “to-morrow I (certainly) will come to you”; Purunzaya džönőbýmín = “I shall not go to Purunza”.

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

Suppositional Future

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

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

2nd Preterite (Pluperfect)

It is formed by the participle (and verbal noun) -gen (v.h.1) + the personal suffixes (3rd P. has no suffix). džazyánmín = “I had written”; džazyan
= “he had written”; negative: dāzabayansıqar = “you (pl.) had written”; interrogative: körūşpoşöndǔ (s.l. yömńų) = “had they not seen?”

This form expresses a terminated, definitely completed action, that took place in the pluperfect once or repeatedly or customarily. Tales and stories usually begin with this form; e.g. bir qandũş qizi așnan suh: bọlyon... = “the daughter of a khan was very beautiful...” An emphatic negative is formed by adding džaq = “it is not existing” to -gen; e.g. džazyńan džoqmun = “I had not written”.

Preterite -iptir

This preterite is formed by the converb iŋ + t %+ the personal suffixes or (more rarely) by -iŋ + the personal suffixes; the 3rd P. has no suffix; džažiptirmń (džažipmń) = “I apparently have written already”; džažiptỉ = “he apparently has written already”; negative džažbaptiqariqar = “apparently you have not written”; interrogative körüştürmićbũ = “have I seen already?”

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

Durative Preterite

It is formed by adding -ęu -őũ to verbal stems with a final vowel, and -uũ -učũ to those with a final consonant, + the personal suffixes. The 3rd P. has no suffix. The negative with -ba is almost always replaced by -ęu emesmǐn in the spoken language (see “Compound Tenses”); džažučumun = “I used to write”; körüčũsqir = “you used to see”; oquũ = “he used to read”; negative (I.I.) džažbačubuz (s.l. džažũču emespiz = “we did not use to write”); interrogative: džažučušuqũ = “did you use to write?”

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

Necessitative

It is formed by the verbal noun -mek (v.h.1) + the personal suffixes. The 3rd P. has no suffix; džažmaqmən = “I must write”; džažmaq = “he must write”; körüšmek = “they must see”; the negative is formed with emes; e.g. džažmaq emespiz = “we have not to write”; interrogative: barmaqpi = “must he go?”

This form implies that somebody is obliged or forced to do something, erteŋ Purunząya džonömkpũ = “to-morrow we have to go to Purunza”; qaşũ rajondordo bọłmoqṣųŋar = “in which districts have you to be?”
Compound Tenses

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

(2) Compounds with *ele*. Generally speaking, *ele* added to a verbal form indicates that an explanatory or additional statement will be made to the action expressed by the verbal form to which *ele* is added. (a) (a) 1st Preterite -dim, -diŋ, etc. + *ele*; (β) 2nd Preterite (Pluperfect) -gen + *elem*, *eleŋ*, etc.: (γ) Durative Preterite -uču + *elem*, *eleŋ*. In (a) and in (β)-*ele* indicates either (1) that the action has taken place a very long time ago; or (2) that it is not finished yet; or (3) that the speaker has no connection with the action any more; (γ) has only the meanings of (1) and (3). mindan bir neće džiłu murun Sibirde tordum *ele*, azir aš dzer menen bajlanšim džoq = "a few years ago (lit. from that) I lived (for a long time) in Siberia; now I have no connection with that region (any more)"; bititkörögün *eleŋer* = "(in) the last year you had seen . . ." (ele* indicates that explanation regarding what had been seen has still to follow); men ušuł üjdő turuču *elem* = "(a long time ago) I used to live in that house". (b) (a) Present and Definite Future -at + *elem*, -eleŋ, etc.; (β) Suppositional Future + *elem*, -eleŋ, etc.; *ele* added to these two forms indicates that it is possible to do the future action, if the condition is carried out which is expressed by the preceding sentence; e.g. sen ubada (s.l. "wada < Arab. *wa'da*) berseŋ men bürsügünü büttüröm = "if you give the promise, I shall finish (it) the day after to-morrow"; but sen ubada berseŋ men bürsügünü büttürst *elem* = "if you give the promise, it is possible for me to finish (it) the day after to-morrow". These two tenses + *ele* sometimes express a past action, if there is an adverb in the sentence which indicates the past; bujdo: qiliba keče: kele *elek* = "if he had not made a stop, it would have been possible for us to come" ( . . . keler *elek* = " . . . it would have been possible for us to come, perhaps"). (c) Necessitative -mek + *elem*, -eleŋ, etc.: (a) Indicates that it is not quite certain whether the action which had to be done was really done at the prescribed time. Simultaneously *ele* points out that the reason for this uncertainty will be explained in the following sentences. It depends on the context whether the tense of this form is past or future. Asan keče: kelmek *ele* = "Hasan had to come yesterday" (the speaker says that Hasan had to come yesterday, but he does not know whether he did arrive or not, because . . .). (β) It indicates that the action which has (or had) to be done, is (or was) not done. The verb of the following explanatory sentence always appears in the preterite -iptir; e.g. Asan
keče: kelmek ele bıroq kelbeptir = “Hasan had to come yesterday, but he did not come”. (d) Preterite -iptables + ele, exists only in the 3rd P.sg. It indicates that an additional (explanatory) statement will be made to the action expressed by the preterite -iptables; e.g. irajım qal džazıptır ele qatın biz aḥbadiq = “Ibrahim has written a letter, (but) we did not receive the letter”. (e)-gej + elem, -eleq indicates a wish that an action should take place, but it implies simultaneously that the speaker is not quite certain that the action will really take place, as there are obstacles, e.g. oya baryaj elem = “I want to go to him” (“but I am afraid that I have not enough time”, for instance); Asan kelgej ele = “I wish Hasan would come” “(but I think he will not come, because . . .)”. (f) Conditional -sem, -sej + ele indicates “if only . . . had happened or would happen”, for instance; e.g. džamyır bolso ele, aštq džaqši botor = lit. “If (there) were rain, the grain would (perhaps) be good”.

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

(4) Compounds with bol = “to be, to become”. (a) Participle -gen + bol indicates that somebody starts doing something; e.g. atasi ojtoyn bolınu = “his father started thinking (for a long time)”. (b) Necessitative -mek + bol: (a) has an inchoative meaning; e.g. at munu qılımaq boldu = “(the situation began to require that) he had to make this”. (β) It indicates “to make up one’s mind” (= Uzbek -mexçi bol); e.g. čal bu qiṣdı a maq boldu = “the old man made up his mind to take (= to marry) this girl”.

**IMPERATIVE, VOLUNTATIVE, AND INTENTION-FORMS**

1st P.sg. džazajın = “I want to write” (after a final vowel -jin, e.g. oqujin = “I want to read”).

2nd P.sg. džaz = “write!”; emphatically džazyın. In the spoken language also džazıq (as in Uzbek) is sometimes found.

3rd P.sg. džazsın = “he may write”.
1st P.pl.  

1st P.pl.  dżasaṭi (s.l. also dżasaṭiq as in Kazak and Uzbek) = “we want to write, let us write”. After a final vowel -jī, e.g. oqujītu = “let us read”.

2nd P.pl.  dżazyīla = “write!” (s.l. also dżazīnjīz as in Kazak).

3rd P.pl.  dżazisīn = “they may write”.

Negative  dżazabajīn = “I do not want to write”; dżazabajī = “we do not want to write”; dżazabayīla = “do not write (pl.)”.

-či added to the above-mentioned forms indicates an asking, a request; e.g. maya tetigi kitępti berči = “give me that book, please”; ertej maya kelsınči = “please, he may come to me-morrow”; qatu: stūbogūlōči = “do not speak (pl.) aloud”.

An attempt to do something is indicated by the converb -ip of the main verb + kör- = “to see” in the imperative forms + či; e.g. dżazip körōjūnči = “I (will) try to write”, dżazip körči = “try to write!”

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

DELUSION-FORM

By adding -si to the verbal noun -gen, or -sin to nouns and adjectives, forms are obtained which indicate that something seems to be done in a certain manner, but in reality this is not the case. The suffixes indicating the tenses are added to -si or sin; the negative suffix -be is placed either before the -gen or after the -si; but it always follows -sin. dżazyansisīn = “I will behave as if I wrote”; dżazabayansīyiča or dżazyansibayīla = “behave as if you would not write”, dżaqāšisājīn = “I will behave as if I were good”; dżaqāšisīna = “behave as if you were not good”; dżazyansīdi = “he behaved as if he wrote” (neg. dżazyansibadī or dżazabayansidī); present definite future: dżazyansīt (neg. dżazyansibajt); supp. future dżazyansir (neg. dżazyansības), etc.

PARTICIPLES AND VERBAL NOMNS

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

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

bûğûn keîgen kiîîî kiîm = “who is the person who came to-day?”; but aîqtan sîzîdûrû = “those words which you have said”; qîzi sîfû: bòlyon baj = “the rich man (boy) whose daughter was (is) beautiful”; *(b)* the meaning of English sentences with “that” is expressed by gen + the acc. suff. -nî; munu aîyanîdî kürdûk = “we have seen that you have taken (lit. your having taken) that”. *(c)* English temporal clauses are rendered by -gen + the locative suff. -de or + kezde = “at the time”; e.g. qîzîmdî bèrgendê köp aîtîn aîlâmîn = “when I give my daughter (away) I shall receive much gold”; aîlar bârâdîâtqan kezde = “when they were going along”. *(d)* The meaning of English clauses of reason is expressed by -gen-*lik* + the ablative suff. -den or + ücûn = “for”; e.g. maîî köp bòlyondûy (< *gen-lik*) ücûn . . . = “as his cattle was much”; qîzîmatî dîzîtiîبغåndîkten = “as the servants were not sufficient . . .”. *(e)* -gen (often +-*lik*) is used as a true noun; e.g. tijîîyendî’înî sêrêbî < tegbegendîkî-nîn sêbêbi = “the reason for his not touching (= attacking)”; senînî kiîm ekenîdî bîhelîmîz = “we know who you are (lit. your who your-being-acc. we-know)”. *(3)* Stem + u: (-ûi, -or, -î, see “Vowel-Harmony”). **Verbal Noun.** *(a)* It is used as a true noun; e.g. ouqu: = “the reading”. *(b)* -u: + ücûn = “for” indicates “in order to, to”; e.g. qîzî dîa”u: (< tapû) ücûn = “in order to find the girl”. *(c)* It is sometimes used to express the meaning of English temporal clauses, e.g. qîzî dî köörü: menen = “just when he saw the girl (lit. the girl-acc. the seeing with)”. *(4)* Stem + gi (-ki, etc., v.h.2). **Verbal Noun.** gi + poss. suff. + kel- = “to come”, indicates the wish to do the action which is expressed by the verbal stem, e.g. Pûrûnûyay bârîym keîlet = “I want to go to Frunze”; sen (never senîn !) qacân dîzînobû kelî = “when did you want to go?”. *(5)* -mek (v.h.1), originally a verbal noun, has lost its meaning entirely and is used as necessititative (which see) and in an intention-form (see “Compound Tenses *(4)* *(b) (Î)*”).

**CONVERBS**

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

*(1)* Stem + e (v.h.1), after a final vowel -j; negative bej (-pej, etc.). It is used before bâsta- = “to begin”, e.g. ûrînî bâstaayan = “he started learning”. The main verb of a compound verb is always a verb -e (see “Derived Verbs *(6)*”). It is the basis for the present. -bej is used to express “without + a gerund” (= -bes -den), e.g. aîl sîz aît-paj (s.l. aît-paj) qâyan = “he remained without saying a word” = “he did not say a word more”.

*(2)* Stem + (i)p (v.h.2). In the negative it is always replaced by -bej.
(a) If two verbal forms in a sentence should be built up by the same suffixes and express actions that follow one another, -ip is added to the stem of the first verb instead of these suffixes; e.g. qızıň satıp (for satqışi) altın aţişiñi keldi = “he wanted to sell his daughter and to receive gold (for her)”. (b) -ip is used adverbially (see “Adverbs (4)”). (c) A sentence closed with a final verbal form is taken up again by -ip; e.g. aļar maya kelišti, maya kelişiş aļişti = “they came to me and (coming to me) they said”. (d) -ip is used as basis for a preterite (see “Preterite -iptir”); furthermore, the main verb of the verbal compounds consisting of a main verb and an auxiliary verb is a verb -ip. Very many of the verbal compounds of which the verb -ip is a part have developed a new meaning as compounds; e.g. aļip kel- = (lit. “taking come”) = “to bring”; aļip ket- = (lit. “taking go away”) = “to carry away”. (e) deş the verb -ip of de- = “to say” is placed between a direct speech and the verb indicating the action of speaking, usually in the order direct speech -deş- (subject-objects)-verb; e.g. meni ʁtqar’iñ (< qutqaryiñ) deş aļ qız aya sůzdörün aļşti = “‘save me’ (saying) that girl said her words to him”.

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

(4) (s.l.) -giçe, -ginče, -ginček = “instead of”; e.g. mén qizimdi bir čalya bergyńček . . .” = “instead of giving my daughter to an old man”.

**Auxiliary Verbs**

These indicate the aspect of the main verb, which is a conjugate -ip. I can give only a few which are the most interesting: (1) džat- = “to lie”, indicates (a) an action done in the immediate present; e.g. oqup džatat = “he is reading (just now)”; (b) a durative or customary action; e.g. Purunzada ištep džatat = “he works (always) at Frunze”. (2) džur- = “to go”, indicates a durative action; e.g. oșo mektepte oqup džürüm = “I study (lit. read) at that school”. (3) kel- = “to come”, indicates that an action has been done uninterruptedly up to the present time; e.g. eki džil oșo mektepte oqup keldi = “he has been studying at that school for (these) two years”. (4) ket- = “to go away”, indicates that an action is done thoroughly and that it is completed, e.g. oya munu ubadalaşıp (< Arab. wa’da) ketti = “he promised him that emphatically”. (5) kör- = “to see”, indicates an attempt, see “Imperative”. (6) otur- = “to sit” indicates an action done in the immediate present (contrary to Uzbek, in which it indicates duration); e.g. aļ ištep oturat = “he is working (just now)”. (7) qaļ- = “to remain”, indicates that an action takes place and that the state which is the result of it is still lasting; e.g. ketip qaļdi = “he went away (and now he is not here any more)”. (8) qoļ- = “to put”, indicates that an action is done very thoroughly and that it is completed; e.g. oya aļtip qoļdi = “he told him emphatically”. (9) tülöt = “to finish”, indicates that an action is brought to an end; e.g. . . . aļtip tülötti = “he said . . . and finished his speech”. (10) tur- = “to stand”, indicates a durative action; e.g. aļ oșo zottol ištep turat = “he works (always) in that factory” (Russ.).
DERIVED VERBS

(1) Passive.—-il (v.h.2), after final -l, -in; after final vowel -n; e.g. ajt-ît = “to be said”; aîn-în = “to be taken”; išt-e-n = “to be done (work)”.

(2) Reflexive.—-(i)n (v.h.2), e.g. kor-în = “to look at oneself”.

(3) Reciprocal.—-(i)s (v.h.2), for reciprocal and mutual actions and for the 3rd P.pl.; e.g. ber-iş = “to give each other”; berîşet = “they give”.

(4) Factitive.—-t after a final vowel; stems with final -n change n > t; e.g. üjrôn- = “to learn”; üjrôt = “to teach”; -îr (v.h.2), -er (v.h.1), added to a number of monosyllabic stems with a final consonant, e.g. qaç-îr = “to make flee”; qajt-år = “to make return” = “to send back”; -dir (-tîr, v.h.2) added to stems with a final consonant or with a final long vowel (*y, w); e.g. tu:dur = “to assist at a confinement” (lit. to make bear < *tuy-dur); -giz (-kiz, v.h.2), added to stems with a final consonant, e.g. miŋgiz- = “to make mount”; to a few stems -ger (-ker, v.h.1) is added; e.g. qutqar = “to save” (< ?); ötker- = “to pass (time)”.

(5) Possibility and Impossibility.—Converb -e + al- = “to take”; e.g. işt-e alâmîn = “I can work”; neg. işt-e albajmîn = “I cannot work.”

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

bo(293,878),(321,900)-, bar, dzoq

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

bar = “it is existing”; dzoq = “it is not existing”. They are used to express “to have”, e.g. üjîm bar = “I have a house” (lit. my house is existing). They are often replaced by boř-; e.g. bajdiŋ bir qizî bořyt = “the rich man had a daughter.”