

# The Affick -Man / -Men In The "Devon-U Lug'otit Turk" And Uzbeki Dialects

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**Abstract:** This article presents data concerning the suffixes -man and -mon as attested in Devon-u lug'otit turk. Clarification is provided regarding ambiguities in the usage of the suffixes -man and -mon, and scholarly commentary is offered.

**Keywords:** Turkic language, tribal dialects, Oghuz dialect, -män, -man, turkmon, suffixes.

**Introduction:** Mahmud al-Kashgari, while compiling a dictionary of the standard literary language of his time, also incorporated materials from the dialects of various Turkic tribes. From this perspective, he referred to his work not as a "Turkish dictionary (Turkish language)" but rather as a "Turkic dictionary (Turkic languages)." Here, the term "languages" refers to dialects. In the American edition of this work, its title is likewise rendered as Compendium of Turkic Dialects. The renowned Turkologist E. N. Nadjip characterizes this work as both a language and a dialect dictionary: "Mahmud al-Kashgari's medieval dialect dictionary encompasses a substantial portion of the lexicon of the Turkic languages and dialects of the 11th century".

S. Mutallibov, who translated Devonu lug'otit turk into Uzbek, notes: "Mahmud al-Kashgari was a great dialectologist of his era. He thoroughly identified the tribes of that exceedingly complex period and their languages". He further observes that "the language of the Chigil tribe was capable of serving as a basis for generalizing the neighboring dialects of that time". As can be seen, S. Mutallibov employs expressions such as "tribal language" and "tribal dialect" in reference to Devonu lug'otit turk.

In Devonu lug'otit turk, the suffixes -män and -man occur in both front and back vowel variants. A total of twelve lexical items formed with the suffix -män// -man can be identified in the work. The word kekmän appears in Devonu lug'otit turk in the form kekmäk. The following examples are attested: kekmäk 'hardened, tempered'; ketmän 'hoe'; közmän 'bread baked in

embers'; qurman 'a container for arrows and bows'; örtmän 'roof'; siqman 'the period of grape pressing; sökmän 'one of the epithets given to heroes, "breaker of battle ranks"'; sökmänlänmək 'to become a hero'; tegirmän 'mill'; turkmän 'Turkmen'; yaliman 'openly obtained spoils'; yasiman 'the gurgling sound produced when water flows out of a vessel.

As these examples demonstrate, both variants of the suffix are employed in Devonu lug'otit turk: the front-vowel form -män (eight instances) and the back-vowel form -man (four instances). In contrast, in modern Uzbek literary language this suffix is "almost always used in the back-vowel form". Moreover, in the examples cited above, -män|-man attaches both to verbal and nominal bases.

Various scholars have expressed differing views regarding this suffix. For instance, A. G'ulomov, in one of his articles, discusses its usage and genesis. He writes: "In Old Uzbek, the suffix -mon, which was among the least productive derivational morphemes, no longer serves a word-forming function in modern Uzbek; it occurs only within a limited number of lexical items". Consequently, grammars of the Uzbek language authored by A. M. Shcherbak, Ya. Ekman, G'. Abdurahmonov, and Sh. Shukurov do not provide information on this suffix. Similarly, modern grammars of Uzbek literary language contain no discussion of the -man|-mon affix. A. G'ulomov further suggests that "the element -mon in the word ustomon is likely related to the Persian word monistan ('to resemble'; present tense base: -mon)". In our view, this claim requires substantiation.

A. G'ulomov also notes that the meanings and etymologies of certain words presumed to contain the suffix -mon are not entirely clear, citing several examples, including palaqmon. In our opinion, the -mon element in palaqmon is unrelated to the -mon suffix under discussion; rather, this word derives from the Tajik faloxan||faloxun.

Kh. Doniyorov also published an article devoted to this suffix. He likewise observes that word formation with this affix is virtually absent in modern Uzbek literary language, yet -man// -mon appears more frequently in Kipchak dialects and in the language of folk epics than in literary language or urban dialects. He further emphasizes that while Abdumannon cited over twenty forms of this affix, the total number of nominal formations with this suffix exceeds one hundred, although these words are not enumerated in his article.

According to K. Doniyorov, the word-forming potential of this affix has been preserved to some extent in Uzbek, particularly in Kipchak dialects, even in the present day. He lists words such as Ulmon, Qulmon, Qurmon, Qorman, Ko'kaman, Otaman, Bekman, Toshmon, Eshmon, Qo'shmon, Ermon, Normon, Sirmon, So'loqmon, turkman, to'mon, elman. With the exception of turkman, to'mon, and elman, all of these are proper nouns. In our view, an explanation of these appellatives would have been appropriate.

K. Doniyorov arrives at the justified conclusion that "the -man// -mon affix existed in Kipchak dialects as an inherited form, independent of Persian influence". Indeed, the affixes -män|-man|-men|-mon are of purely Turkic origin. A.N. Kononov likewise notes that "apparently this affix is also present in the ethnonym Türkmen". He further suggests that -ban (-pan) is a phonetic variant of -man and that it may have arisen from a contamination of the Turkic -man and the Persian suffixes -ban, -van.

Words formed with this affix are also attested in Old Uzbek as well as in Uzbek folk epics and dialects. In Old Uzbek: *olaqmon* 'mounted detachment, raiding party'. In folk epics: *kökämän* (*kökämän alp*), *shäkämän* (*shäkämän qirag'ay*), *kengäshmän* 'advisor'. In Uzbek dialects: *bulaman* 'a type of wind instrument played by blowing; a smaller version of the surnay' (Khorezm), *siqman* 'a type of dish' (Khorezm), *yechmän* 'a type of dish' (Forish dialect), *edärman* 'resourceful, capable' (Olot district, Chandir dialect), *chaqichmon* 'hammerer' (Tashkent dialect), *gulmon* 'florist' (Tashkent dialect).

R. Yo'ldoshev also published an article on -mon. He discusses the meaning of the word turkmon and the -mon affix in the following couplet from Alisher

Navoi's Farhod va Shirin:

Ko'ngul bermish so'zumga turk, jon ham,  
Ne yolg'uz turk, balkim turkmon ham.

R. Yo'ldoshev criticizes A. Hayitmetov, R. Rajabov, and A. Hasanov for interpreting turkmon as equivalent to modern turkman. He argues that in the cited lines, turkmon does not denote the contemporary Turkmen people but rather means "those who are not Turks". In attempting to substantiate this view, he conflates the form-building -mon with the word-forming -mon affix. He refers to F. Abdullaev's demonstration that -mon forms negative verb forms, citing examples from 14th–15th century written monuments where the negative present-future tense appears as *bilmon*. However, as Yo'ldoshev himself notes, Abdullaev did not address the attachment of this suffix to nouns.

It should be noted that the word *ma'ruza* in the cited example is incorrect; the critical edition of Farhod va Shirin gives the form *ma'raz*, and such a quatrain does not exist in Navoi's works. Moreover, it is well known that the -mon affix forming the first-person singular negative verb form does not attach to nouns. Scholars were aware of this function even prior to F. Abdullaev.

R. Yo'ldoshev cites the views of Kh. Doniyorov and A. G'ulomov concerning -mon as a word-forming suffix but notes that A. G'ulomov did not discuss its negative meaning. In fact, Doniyorov and G'ulomov were concerned with the derivational -mon, not the form-building negative suffix. The derivational -mon does not function as a marker of negation.

In the conclusion of his article, Yo'ldoshev asserts that misunderstandings arise from failing to distinguish the meaning in which this suffix is used in context and argues that turkmon means "not Turks". As shown above, however, he conflates two formally identical but functionally distinct suffixes, leading to an erroneous interpretation of turkmon.

The ethnonym turkmon (turkman, türkmen) has been subject to various interpretations regarding its spelling and etymology. The term turkman first appears in the 10th century in the works of the geographer Maqdisi, who uses it to denote Oghuz and Karluk groups. The earliest etymology of turkmen is attributed to Abu Rayhan al-Biruni, who interprets it as "resembling a Turk" and applies it to Oghuz groups that had adopted Islam.

The widely held view that the -man in turkman derives from the Persian *monand* 'similar' is reflected in a legend recorded by Mahmud al-Kashgari. According to this narrative, the designation turkmonand (resembling a Turk) eventually became turkman. This account, however, remains legendary, as no reliable pre-Islamic sources attest the name turkman. The ethnonym Turk

itself appears only in the 5th–6th centuries.

In early written monuments, the ethnonym occurs in both turkman and turkmon forms. In Navoi's works, it generally appears as turkman, though one instance of turkmon is attested in critical editions published in Turkey.

In modern Uzbek literary language, this ethnonym appears as turkman, while in certain Oghuz dialects it is pronounced turkmen with the suffix -men. Examples from Bukhara region dialects illustrate this variation.

In Uzbek literary language, the -man//-mon suffix occurs in twelve lexical items such as ishbilarmon, ishbuzarmon, saqmon, so'loqmon, siqmon, tegirmon, and others. Notably, the number of such words matches the twelve examples found in Devonu lug'otit turk, underscoring the proximity of its language to modern Uzbek literary usage.

In Turkish, by contrast, numerous words are formed with the -man//-men suffix, including belletmen, çevirmen, öğretmen, yönetmen, and others. This productivity is attributable to the revival of the suffix during language reforms in Turkey in the 1930s, after which it became actively used in forming new lexical items.

Regarding the ethnonym turkman formed with the -man suffix, Turkish scholar Ziya Gökalp distinguishes between turkmon and turkman, interpreting the former as "resembling a Turk" and the latter as a subgroup of the Oghuz who retained nomadic life. However, dictionaries published in Turkey and Tajikistan treat turkman and turkmon as synonymous, noting that turkmon represents an older textual form of Turkman.

Thus, in the Navoi couplet cited above, turkmon is used not in the sense proposed by Gökalp but rather as synonymous with turkman. This is further confirmed by Turkish editions of Navoi's works, which replace turkmon with turkman (Türkmen). Overall, in modern Uzbek literary language and dialects, the suffix appears in the variants -man, -men, and -mon, while in Devonu lug'otit turk and Navoi's language the forms -män|-man|-men are attested.

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