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**Область применения суффиксов
в образовании полисемантических глаголов
таджикского литературного языка XI в.**

Аннотация: В данной статье рассматривается область применения суффиксов в образовании многозначных глаголов в таджикском литературном языке начиная с XI в. Отмечается, что группа глаголов, образованных с помощью суффиксов, употребляется с несколькими семантическими оттенками. По мнению автора, можно утверждать, что такие лексические единицы выражают от двух до тринадцати значений. Конечно, количество таких глаголов со всеми значениями не одинаково: глаголов, употребляемых в двух значениях, больше, а слов, употребляемых в тринадцати значениях, меньше.

Ключевые слова: суффиксы, образование многозначных глаголов, таджикский литературный язык, «История Байхаки»

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**The Scope of Suffixes in the Formation of Poly-Semantic Verbs
in Tajik Literary Language Referring to the 11th Century**

Abstract: The given article dwells on the scope of suffixes in the formation of poly-semantic verbs in Tajik literary language referring to the 11th century. It is noted that a group of verbs formed by means of suffixes are used with several semantic nuances. In conformity with the author's opinion one can assert that such lexical units express from two to thirteen meanings. Of course, the number of such verbs with all meanings is not identical: the number of verbs used in two meanings is greater, but words used in thirteen meanings are lesser.

Key words: suffixes, poly-semantic verbs formation, Tajik literary language, "The History of Baihaqi"

INTRODUCTION

In "The History of Baihaqi", according to our observations, verb derivation by dint of suffixes is not as active as prefixes ones. Perhaps this is due to the lack of a long history of verb derivation by virtue of suffixes, because, as V.S. Rastorgueva and E.K. Molchanova underscored that [5: 108] the formation of verbs using the suffixes *-id*, *-od*, *-ist*

was a new phenomenon in Middle Persian and was considered to be as foreign to the language of its ancient period. A linguist D. Saimiddinov also emphasized that “the emergence of nominal forms of verbs in the relevant form (denominational form and conversion form. – *M.O.*) is related to the evolution of the structure of Middle Persian. This approach took shape in Middle Persian as a new form, and then found further development in New Persian” [6: 159]. Another reason for the lack of development of verb derivation using such prefixes in the works of the early period of the development of the Tajik literary language, according to our assumption is related to the eventual expansion of the use of compound nominal verbs [4; 8; 9].

In Baihaqi’s chronicle, among the three suffixes mentioned are considered as frequently used the suffix *-id + -an*.

MAIN RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

It is known that a group of verbs derived by the suffix *-id + an* are used with several semantic nuances. According to our observations, such lexical units express from two to thirteen meanings. Of course, the number of such verbs with all meanings is not identical: the number of verbs used in two meanings is greater, but words used in thirteen meanings are lesser.

The verb “kushidan / to try” was used by Abul Fazl Baihaqi in the following meanings:

1) *Sayu kushish namudan*: Va in dah ghulom nazdiktar ghulomonand ba Horun, ba chand bor kushidand, ki in kor tamom kunand va mumkin nashud [2, 11: 16514];

2) *Munoqisha va xusumat kardan*: Har du lashkar nek bikushidand va dod bidodand [2: V.11, 16514].

The author of the history under study also uses the word “andeshidan / to think” in two meanings:

1) *Fikr kardan*: Bidoned, ki agar dast nozada biravem, andeshad in podshoh, ki mo bitarsidem va bigrextem va dum-i mo girad [2, 2: 3041];

2) *Tarsidan, harosidan*: Ahmadi Yanoltegin... az qozi nayandeshid [2, 2: 3041].

The lexical unit “angextan” also belongs to the list of ambiguous verbs in “The History of Baihaqi”:

1) *Tahrik kardan, shuronidan*: Abulhasan shafeon angezid, ki juz vai kas-e naradan [2, 3: 3095];

2) *Barpo namudan*: Oltuntosh... turk-i xiradmand ast va pir shuda, naxohad, ki xesthan-ro badnom kunad, vagarna bisyor balo angezad bar mo [2, 3: 3095].

In the historical production under consideration, the verb “baxshidan / to forgive” was observed in the term of two meanings:

1) *Ato namudan*: Guft: “On hosil bad-u baxshidam hurmat-i piri-i tu-ro va haqqu hurmat-i u-ro” [2, 3: 3823];

2) *Afv Kardan, omurzidan*: Ba hashmu istixfof guft: “Nabaxshidam va nabaxsham, ki vai-ro amiralmu’minin ba man dodaast” [2, 3: 3824].

The author of the chronicle in question also used the verb “chashidan / to taste”: in two meanings:

1) *Ehsos kardan, daryoftan va dark namudan-i chis-e yo amr-e*: Agar chunon korho kard, kayfar karda chashida [2, 5: 7176];

2) *Imtihon va ozmoish kardan*: Dar xidmat-i vai garmu sard-i bisyor chashid [2, 5: 7176].

The word “garavidan / to denote” is also one of these lexical units:

1) *Bar dil muhabbatu itoat-i shaxse-ro gireh bastan*: Nazdik-i ozi-i Sheroz Bulhasan omad va bad-u bigaravid [2, 11: 16865];

2) *Paziruftan*: Har ki... axbor-i guzashtagon bixonad va bigaravad va kor-i zamona-i xesh niz nigoh kunad [2, 11: 16865].

Some of the verbs in this historiography are used with three semantic shades, including the lexical elements of nomidan / to name, molidan / to smear, and shuridan / to rub.

Baihaqi used the word “molidan / to smear” in the following meanings:

1) *Tanbeh dodan*: Khoja in-ro saxt xohon bud, ki bahona mejust bar Hasiri, to vai-ro bimoland [2, 12: 17653];

2) *Nakuhish kardan, malomat namudan*: Oghozidam arbada kardan va u-ro molidan, to charo had-i adab nigoh nadosht pesh-i Khorazmshoh [2, 12: 17654];

3) *Poymol kardan, lagadmol namudan*: Va pil-i nar-ro az on-i mo, ki pesh-i kor bud, ba tiru zubin afgoru ghamin kardand, ki az dard bargasht va rui ba mo nihod va har ki-ro, ki yoft, memolid az mardumi mo [2, 12: 17654].

The conducted analysis and comparison of verbs formed by dint of the suffix *id + -an* in “The History of Baihaqi” shows that among this group of lexical units, the word “rasidan / to reach” has acquired the most semantic shades. The author of the chronicle under study uses the relevant verb in the following nine meanings:

1) *Omadan-i kas-e ba jo-e*: Man nazdik-i Busaxl-i Zavzani raftam, ba shahr u-ro yoftam, kor-i roh mesoxt, ma-ro garm pursid va chand tan az on-i man rasida budand hama piyoda [2, 7: 10623];

2) *Paivastan-i shaxs-e ba shaxsi digar*: Dast ba jang burdand va zanu bachavu chiz-e, ki bad-on merasidand, gusel mekardand [2, 7: 10625];

3) *Vusul-i chiz-e ba kas-e, ba dast omadan*: Guftam: “Xabar-e narasidaast az Bust, valekin chunon boyad, ki to ruz-e dah darrasad” [2, 7: 10625].

4) *Tir ba hadaf rasidan*: Tir-e rasida bud Xorazmshoh-or va korgar aftoda bar jo-e, ki az sangho-i qal’ate, ki dar Hinduston ast, sang-e bar poi chapi u omada bud [2, 7: 10625];

5) *Meros shudan, intiqol yoftan, guzashtan*: Chun taxt ba xudovandi sulton-i a’zam Ibrohim rasid, az Buhanifa pursid [2, 7: 10625];

6) *Rui dodan, pesh omadan*: Amir sajda qard... va guft: “To imruz har chi ba man rasida bud, tamom ma-ro xush gasht” [2, 7: 10625].

7) *Noil gardidan, muvaffaq shudan*: Dar in ruzgor, ki amir Mas’ud bar taxti mulk rasid, pas az padar in zan-ro saxt neku doshti [2, 7: 10626];

8) *Ba kamol rasidan*: Man, ki Bulfazlam, megyam: “Chun Ali mard kam rasad” (2, 7: 10626);

9) *Anjomidan, xatm shudan*: Aknun kor ba shamsher rasid, fardo jang-i sa’b xohad bud [2, 7: 10627].

The above-adduced examples indicate that the suffix *-id + -an*, not only participated actively in the engendering new verbs, but the verbs formed with its help also expressed multiple meanings referring to the second half of the 11th century.

The suffix *-od + -an*: Scholarly research has shown that verbs derived by means of the suffix *-od + -an* “historically were an ancient verbal forming one with *ā* in the root, and later, perhaps, their decline occurred in analogy with the present tense” [7: 141]. V.S. Rastorgueva and E.K. Molchanova have assumed that the verbs derived by dint of the suffix *-od* have a Portic (Parthian) origin [5: 108].

In Baihaqi's chronicle, the number of this group of verbs is not large, but each of them differs from other ones semantically: some of them are limited to only one meaning, while others have thirteen semantic nuances.

The verb "firistondan / to send" is one of the verbs that Abul Fazl Baihaqi used only in one specific meaning being "gusel kardan / to send off":

Abdusro bar asar-i vai bifiristodand va guftand: "Chand muhim-i digar ast nogufta monad [2, 10: 15057].

The author of the historical production under study used the verb "gushodan / to conquer" in two meanings:

1) *Fath kardan, tasarruf namudan*: Jahon megushod va mutaghallibon-ro mebarandoxt va ojize-ro menavoxt [2, 11: 16913];

2) *Ba ham zadan*: In disti chunon muakkad gardad, ki zamonaro gushodani he xey ta'sir namonad [2, 11: 16913].

The difference between the verb "aftodan / to fall" from the two above-mentioned lexical units is in the wide range of its meaning. Baihaqi used the relevant word in twelve meanings:

1) *Ba zamin ghaltidan*: Ba sher zaxm-e ustuvor karda, chunonki bad-on tamom shud va biyaftod [2, 2: 2574];

2) *Roh yoftan, zuhur kardan*: Har kas-e... murakkab ast az chahor chiz... va har goh, ki yak chiz az on-ro xalal aftad, tarozui rostnihoda bigasht [2, 2: 2574];

3) *Dur shudan (az vatan)*: In faqeh-i ozodmard az vatan-i xesh biyaftod [2, 2: 2574];

4) *Iqomat kardan, sukunat doshtan*: Az in qavm, ki man suxan xoham guft, yak-du tan zindaand, dar gusha-e aftod [2, 2: 2575];

5) *Voqe' shudan*: Rus-e du-se rasulon omadandu shudand, to magar sulh-e aftad, nayaftod [2, 2: 2575];

6) *Hamla kardan*: Saxt zajr shuda az favt shudan-i in fursat va dar xeshtan va mardumon meaftad [2, 2: 2579];

7) *Shurat yoftan*: Va niz vai-ro on jo buzurg nom-e aftod va u-ro taboh gardonid [2, 2: 2579];

8) *Sado baromadan, ovoz baland shudan*: Guft: "Fardo jang boshad ba hama hol, ba joi xud bozraved, imshab neku pos dored va agar ovoz aftad, dil az xeshtan nabared [2, 2: 2579];

9) *Pahn gardidan, muntashir shudan*: Va xabar-i marg aftoda bud dar miyon-i ghulomonash [2, 2: 2579];

10) *Ruy dodan, noxushi padid omadan*: Jism-ro tabibonu muolijon ixtiyor kunand, to har bemori, ki aftad, zudtar on-ro iloj kunand [2, 2: 2582];

11) *Paiddo shudan, padid omadan*: Ba farr-i davlat-i oli in jo hashamat-e buzurg biyaftod, chunonki hej muxolifat qasd-i in jo nakunad [2, 2: 2585];

12) *Qaror doshtan, mavqeyiat giriftan*: Chun zaif-e aftod miyoni... tavon donist, ki hol chun boshad [2, 2: 2585].

The analysis dealing with the shade of meanings of lexical units makes one to think the fact that among such a series of verbs "nihodan / to put" has acquired the most ones, and the former in question is used in thirteen meanings:

1) *Chize-ro dar jo-e guzoshtan*: Guft: "Dastor-e domgon-i dar baghal boyad nihod, chun man az asb furud oyam, bar zin pushed" [2, 14: 20228];

2) *Raho cardan, tark namudan*: Har chi biduzdidai, bozdihi va tan vazorat az sar binihi, kas-ro bo tu kor-e nest [1: 780];

3) *Judo kardan*: Hazor dinor az jihat-i Khoja Ahmad nisor binhodand [2, 2: 20229];

4) *Ba vukud ovardan*: Miyon-i Somonienu Oli Buyavu Fanokhusrav munozaat-e nihod [2, 14: 20229];

5) *Taqdir kardan*: xaris-ro rohat nest, zero wai chis-e talabad, ki shoyad vai-ro nanihodaand [2, 14: 20230];

6) *Hukm kardan*: In ayonu muqaddimon guheand, ki har chi eshon guftandu nihodand,... dar shahru navohi on-ro farmonbardor boshand [2, 14: 20230];

7) *Tayin kardani bok*: Aknun agar Xudovand binad, ki viloyat bar banda nihodododrad va binhad on chi nihodani boshad, chunonki odil-i amiri buzurg bar padarash nihoda bud [2, 14: 20230];

8) *Talqin namudan*: Az Khoja Busahol shunidam, ki Busahol dar sar-i sulton nihoda bud [2, 14: 20230];

9) *Qoil shudan*: Ba hukm-i on ki xidmat-e pisandida kard... az haddi andoza afzun binavoxtem va darakhae saxt buzurg binhodem [2, 14: 20230];

10) *Karordod guzoshtan*: Guftaand va nihoda, ki agar hazimat bar eshon aftad, savoron az in mazoik bozgardand [2, 14: 20231];

11) *Shart Kardan, ahd bastan*: Az haitoshonu devsavoron yake-ro nomzad kardand va bo vai nihodand, ki dahruza ba Khorazm rawad [2, 14: 20231];

12) *Nisbat dodan*: Suxan-i muhol beads bigufta budand va Bulkosimi Akili-ro, ki dar miyoni payhomi Altuntosh buda, hiyonatjo nihoda va ba gonbi Xorazmsho mansub karda [2, 14: 20231];

13) *Ittifoq kardan*: Dar hilat istodand va bar vai nihodand, ki saxt hilate boyad kard, ba'd Arek biyaftad [2, 14: 20232].

Thus, the author of the historical production in question resorted to the way less to use borrowed elements in the use of verbs in different meanings. On the other hand, by taking such a step, he wanted to show the unique assets of his mother tongue.

The suffix -ist + -an. The relevant group of verbs are specific to the Khurasan style, and were observed in works written in Persian-Tajik for a certain period, and played an important role in the formation of certain verbs, and in the following centuries either became inactive or completely ceased to be used. Such grammatical phenomenon was still observed in the Middle Persian language, and some of them could be formed simultaneously with the endings -id and -ist (such as komidan and komistan) [6: 160].

Designing on the premise of the collected materials belonging to in the second half of the 11th century one can assert that the derivation of verbs by means of the suffix -ist + an was not common. In “The History of Baihaqi”, according to our observations, only four verbs were formed by virtue of the suffix in question: poistan, grioristan, giristan and yoristan.

Seemingly, the majority of these verbs fell out of usage in later periods, and only a very small part of them is still used today.

All the mentioned verbs were used by Baihaqi, only in one specific meaning. Even those verbs, which are resorted to in several medieval texts are used in only as mono-semantics in the corpus of our study. One of such verbs is “poistan”. The root of the relevant verb is from pād (a) of ancient Iranian [3: 73].

Scholars in linguistic studies assumed the origin of the verb “yoristan / can” from ancient Iranian hada-aya-iaha* [3: 275]. The meaning of the word – “tavonistan / to be able, niru doshtan / to have strength, jurat namudan / to dare” and Abulfazli Bayhaqi used it a lot in this sense:

Va hashamat-e buzurg aftod, ki besh-i Tosiyon su-i Nishoburiyon nayloristand nigrist [1: 554]; Ammo sohibdevon dam naylorist zadan, ki amir saxt dar xashm bud [1:

570]; Va in marg... ham yak-e bud az ittifoq-i bad, ki digar kas naylorist guft u-ro, ki az ob guzashtan savob nest [1: 748].

Sometimes, such kind of verbs have several meanings in the work. For example, the verb “donistan / to know” is used in four meanings in the following sentences:

1) *Fahmidan*: Chun shukufa-i nihol-ro saxt tamom va ravshanu obdor binand, tavon donist, ki meva bar chi oyad [2, 6: 9113];

2) *Shinoxtan*: Va mo chun korho-ro nekutar bozjustem pešu pasi on-ro bingaristem va in mard-ro donista budem wa ozmuda... [2, 6: 9114];

3) *Tasavvur kardan*: Bistu se qabo bud u-ro, yakrangu yakson mepushidi va mardu-mon chunon donistandi, ki yak qabost [2, 6: 9115];

4) *Tavonistan*: Chun kas-e podshoh-i guzashta-ro chunin she'r donad guft, agar podsho'e bar vai iqbol kunad,... vai suxan-ro ba kadam daraja rasonad [2, 6: 9115].

CONCLUSION

Thus, the derivative verbs of “The History of Baihaqi” are interesting not only in terms of special ways which are formed by dint of affixes, but in terms of their usage in a specific meaning or a series of meanings either. The comparison shows that certain suffixes were productive in verb derivation appertaining to the 10th century became less productive in the corpus of our study and, on the contrary, the less productive verb-forming elements of the works belonging to the Somonian period participated actively in engendering new verbs referring to the second half of the 11th century.

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