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ADAPTING ENGLISH STARTUP TERMS IN UZBEK: A CORPUS STUDY OF FIVE NAMING FAMILIES

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ABSTRACT

Startup and digital-business vocabulary in Uzbek has expanded rapidly, with English as the principal donor language. The lexicon is heterogeneous: retained English spellings coexist with orthographically adapted forms and descriptive Uzbek expressions, yet these outcomes are usually described term by term rather than compared on common measures. This study compares the adaptation profiles of five purposively selected English startup terms: startup, accelerator, hackathon, FinTech and crowdfunding. The data come from the Uzbek Startup Discourse Corpus, which comprises 1,011 written texts (1,133,478 tokens) from 65 source domains. Each term was analysed as a naming family aggregating its spelling and inflectional variants, and families were compared on frequency, document range, variant inventory, dominant-form share, morphological integration and register distribution. The results show contrasting profiles: startap combines 11,192 occurrences, 87.0% document range, 90.1% dominance and an extensive affixal paradigm; akselerator is a stable adapted form (84.1%); xakaton, hakaton and hackathon all take Uzbek morphology while spelling remains unresolved; fintech (55.5%) and fintex (44.0%) compete with each other and, in official prose, with the descriptive expression moliyaviy texnologiyalar; kraudfanding is 90.7% dominant but occurs in only 27 documents. The findings indicate that orthographic stabilisation, morphological integration, variant dominance and discourse-wide distribution are related but analytically distinct dimensions of adaptation.

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Keywords: *lexical borrowing; orthographic adaptation; morphological integration; terminological variation; corpus linguistics; Uzbek; startup terminology.*

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1. Introduction

The vocabulary of startups, venture financing and digital business has grown quickly in many languages, and Uzbek is no exception. State innovation programmes, IT parks, venture funds, technology media and universities have produced a substantial body of Uzbek-language writing in which concepts such as startup, accelerator, hackathon, financial technology and crowdfunding are discussed routinely. Most of this conceptual apparatus originated in English, and English remains the dominant donor language for the field.

The outcomes of this contact are not uniform. In Uzbek written discourse the same concept may be expressed by a retained English spelling (*startup*, *accelerator*, *hackathon*), by an orthographic adaptation to the Latin-based Uzbek alphabet (*startap*, *akselerator*, *xakaton*), by more than one adapted spelling (*xakaton* and *hakaton*; *fintex* and *fintek*), or by a descriptive expression built from Uzbek lexical resources

(*moliyaviy texnologiyalar* 'financial technologies'). These alternatives coexist in current usage, and their relative weight differs from one concept to another.

Descriptions of such items often treat them individually, judging a loanword "adapted" or "unadapted", "integrated" or "foreign". Such labels obscure the fact that adaptation has several components. A term may be orthographically adapted but rarely used; it may be morphologically integrated in every spelling while its spelling is unsettled; it may have one clearly preferred spelling and still be confined to a narrow band of texts. Only a comparison of several terms measured on the same dimensions can show whether these components move together or independently.

This study makes that comparison for five English-derived startup terms in contemporary Uzbek written discourse: *startup*, *accelerator*, *hackathon*, *FinTech* and *crowdfunding*. The five were selected purposively from a larger validated analysis of startup terminology (hereafter the source analysis; see Data sources) because they illustrate contrasting adaptation patterns; they are not claimed to be statistically representative of the whole startup lexicon. The evidence comes from the Uzbek Startup Discourse Corpus, a collection of 1,011 written texts, and each term is analysed as a naming family that aggregates its spelling and inflectional variants. Because the data are written, the study makes no claims about pronunciation.

The aim of the study is to compare how the five terms differ in orthographic adaptation, morphological integration, variant competition, frequency and document range. Three research questions guide the analysis:

RQ1. What orthographic and nominative variants are attested for the five selected English startup terms in contemporary Uzbek?

RQ2. How do the five naming families differ in frequency, document range, dominant-form share and morphological integration?

RQ3. What do these differences reveal about the adaptation and stabilisation of English startup terminology in contemporary Uzbek?

The paper contributes a multidimensional comparison that separates four dimensions of adaptation, namely orthographic stabilisation, morphological integration, variant dominance and discourse-wide distribution, and provides corpus evidence that they do not necessarily develop at the same rate.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Lexical borrowing and adaptation

Lexical borrowing has been described since Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) as a process in which a form from a donor language is taken over and progressively accommodated to the recipient system. Later work in contact linguistics (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Winford, 2003; Matras, 2009) stresses that accommodation is gradual and multidimensional: a loanword may be adapted at the phonological, orthographic, morphological and syntactic levels to different degrees, and its frequency and social diffusion are further independent variables (Poplack, Sankoff & Miller, 1988; Haspelmath, 2009). Two distinctions are central here. The first is between retention, in which the donor spelling is preserved (*startup*, *accelerator*), and orthographic adaptation, in which the form is respelled according to recipient-language conventions (*startap*, *akselerator*). The second is between orthographic adaptation and morphological integration, that is, the term's participation in the inflectional and derivational system of the recipient language. In an agglutinative language such as Uzbek, morphological integration is directly observable in written texts through plural, possessive and case suffixes and through derivation. Because the present evidence is written, adaptation is discussed only in orthographic and morphological terms.

2.2 Terminological variation

Terminology research has moved away from the assumption that one concept should correspond to one term. Cabré (1999) and Temmerman (2000) treat variation as a normal property of specialised communication, and Freixa (2006) proposes a typology of causes of denominative variation that includes functional, discursive, cognitive and interlinguistic factors. In a borrowing situation, variation takes at least

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two forms. Orthographic variation involves competing spellings of the same borrowed item (*xakaton*, *hakaton*, *hackathon*). Nominative competition involves alternative naming strategies for the same concept, typically a borrowed form against a descriptive expression created from native resources (*fintech* against *moliyaviy texnologiyalar*). Both types may be sensitive to register, since institutional and legal texts often prefer forms that differ from those of media or industry communication. Terminology theory also distinguishes usage-based conventionalisation from prescriptive codification (Sager, 1990): a form may be widely used, and even used by official bodies, without having been formally standardised. This distinction is retained throughout the present study.

2.3 Corpus-based terminology research

Corpus methods allow variation and integration to be quantified rather than merely illustrated (Sinclair, 1991; Biber, Conrad & Reppen, 1998; Daille, 2017). Two measures are especially relevant. Raw or normalised frequency indicates how often a family is used; document range, or dispersion, indicates how widely it is used across texts (Gries, 2008). The two need not agree: a term repeated many times in a handful of documents can reach a high frequency while remaining narrowly distributed. Within a family, the share of the dominant variant and an entropy measure over variants describe how concentrated or dispersed usage is among competing forms, and the number of affixed forms indicates the extent of morphological integration. Register comparison adds a further layer by testing whether variant preferences differ across text types. The study applies these measures to the five selected families.

3. Materials and Methods

3.1 Corpus

The data come from the Uzbek Startup Discourse Corpus, a collection of 1,011 Uzbek-language written texts totalling 1,133,478 tokens and 67,355 lexical types. The texts were drawn from 65 source domains, including web-based media and news portals, government and presidential websites, legal databases, startup-ecosystem organisations, international development agencies and universities. By metadata type, the corpus consists of 896 webpages, 67 research papers, 35 legal texts, 10 books, 2 reports and 1 guide. Document length is highly variable: the mean is 1,121.1 tokens, the median 289 tokens, and the shortest and longest texts contain 7 and 93,555 tokens respectively. This heterogeneity is deliberate, since the study concerns term behaviour across official, media, industry and academic writing.

3.2 Naming-family approach

Each English term was analysed as a naming family: the set of all attested orthographic and inflectional forms that realise the same borrowed item, aggregated case-insensitively. The *startup* family, for instance, comprises the *startap* group (*startap*, *startaplar*, *startapchilar*, etc.), the *startup* group (*startup*, *startups*, *startuplar*) and the *start-up* group (*start-up*, *start-uplar*). Family-level counts resolve overlap between forms and therefore differ from standalone word-list counts; family figures from the source analysis are used throughout. *FinTech* (capitalised) labels the family, lowercase *fintech* the corpus variant; the family total covers *fintech*, *fintex* and *fintek* only. The descriptive expression *moliyaviy texnologiyalar* was analysed separately as a competing naming strategy within the register comparison and is not included in the family total.

3.3 Measures

The following measures were taken from the source analysis for each family:

- total family frequency: all occurrences of all forms in the family;
- document range: the number of corpus documents in which the family occurs, also expressed as a percentage of the 1,011 documents;
- normalised frequency: occurrences per million tokens (npm);
- variant inventory: the number of distinct attested forms, and the number and share of forms carrying Uzbek affixes;

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- dominant-form share: the proportion of family occurrences accounted for by the leading variant group;
- normalised variant entropy (Hn): an index of how evenly occurrences are spread across variant groups, higher values indicating less concentrated variation;
- average occurrences per covered document.

Register distribution was examined by identifying the leading variant in each document and comparing government/legal, sector/media and academic texts; association strength is reported as Cramér's V with a permutation p-value. Institutional status records whether forms are attested in official materials and whether formal codification was established; all five families received the status 'Partial'. All statistics are reported as computed in the source analysis; no new tests were computed for this article.

3.4 Selection of terms

The five families were chosen purposively from the source analysis. They display contrasting combinations of the measures above, from a high-frequency, widely distributed, strongly integrated adaptation (*startap*) to a dominant adapted spelling with very narrow distribution (*kraudfanding*), with unresolved orthographic and nominative competition in between (*hackathon*, *FinTech*). They are diagnostic cases, not a statistically representative sample of Uzbek startup terminology.

4. Results

Table 1 summarises the comparative profile of the five families and Table 2 the distribution of variant groups within each; three comparative patterns are then discussed.

Table 1.

Comparative profile of the five naming families in the Uzbek Startup Discourse Corpus (N = 1,011 documents)

Term family	Family frequency	Document range (% of corpus)	npm	Attested forms	Dominant variant (share)	Affixed forms (% of inventory)	Hn	Main adaptation pattern
startup → *startap*	11,192	880 (87.0%)	9,874.0	84	*startap* (90.1%)	73 (86.9%)	0.343	broadly conventionalised adapted form
accelerator → *akselerator*	591	209 (20.7%)	521.4	34	*akselerator* (84.1%)	31 (91.2%)	0.632	stable adapted form vs. retained spelling
FinTech → *fintech* / *fintex* / *fintek*	427	172 (17.0%)	376.7	13	*fintech* (55.5%)	10 (76.9%)	0.649	spelling competition plus borrowed-vs-descriptive naming competition
hackathon → *xakaton* / *hakaton* / *hackathon*	172	66 (6.5%)	151.7	29	*xakaton* (60.5%)	26 (89.7%)	0.860	morphologically integrated, orthographically unresolved
crowdfunding → *kraudfanding*	162	27 (2.7%)	142.9	7	*kraudfanding* (90.7%)	5 (71.4%)	0.445	dominant adapted form, narrow distribution

Note. npm = occurrences per million tokens; Hn = normalised variant entropy. Family frequency aggregates all spelling and inflectional variants case-insensitively. The *FinTech* total covers *fintech*, *fintex* and *fintek* only; the descriptive expression *moliyaviy texnologiyalar* is not included.

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Table 2.

Variant-group distribution within each naming family

Family	Variant group	Type	Frequency	Share
startup	*startap*	orthographically adapted Uzbek form	10,086	90.1%
	startup	retained English spelling	842	7.5%
	start-up	retained hyphenated English spelling	264	2.4%
accelerator	*akselerator*	orthographically adapted Uzbek form	497	84.1%
	accelerator	retained English spelling	94	15.9%
hackathon	*xakaton*	adapted spelling with initial *x*	104	60.5%
	hakaton	alternative adapted spelling with initial *h*	36	20.9%
	hackathon	retained English spelling	32	18.6%
FinTech	*fintech*	retained/lowercased international spelling	237	55.5%
	fintex	Uzbek-oriented orthographic adaptation	188	44.0%
	fintek	marginal adapted spelling	2	0.5%
crowdfunding	*kraudfanding*	orthographically adapted Uzbek form	147	90.7%
	crowdfunding	retained English spelling	15	9.3%

Note. Shares are percentages of the family total in Table 1.

4.1 Relatively stabilised adapted forms: *startap* and *akselerator*

The *startup* family is by far the most frequent and most widely distributed item in the set. It occurs 11,192 times (9,874.0 npm) in 880 of the 1,011 documents, that is, in 87.0% of the corpus. Its variant inventory comprises 84 attested forms, of which 73 (86.9%) carry Uzbek affixes, with 67 distinct affix combinations. The adapted spelling *startap* accounts for 90.1% of all occurrences (10,086), and the retained spellings form two much smaller groups: *startup* (842; 7.5%) and *start-up* (264; 2.4%). The normalised variant entropy is correspondingly low (Hn = 0.343).

The morphological paradigm of *startap* is the richest in the set. Plural, possessive and case suffixes are all attested (*startaplar*, *startaplarni*, *startapingiz*, *startapimiz*), as is derivation (*startapchilar*, *startapchilik*). The form also enters hybrid compounds such as *startap-loyiha*, *startap-ekotizim* and *IT-startaplar*. Its syntactic embedding is equally extensive, with 558 izofa constructions, 330 attributive uses and LV-coded constructions in 100 documents. Frequent collocates such as *loyihalar(ni)* 'projects', *ekotizim(i)* 'ecosystem', *qo'llab-quvvatlash* 'support', *istiqbolli* 'promising' and *innovatsion* show that the term functions as an ordinary Uzbek noun within the vocabulary of innovation policy. Register differences are significant but weak (Cramér's V = 0.115, permutation p = 0.001); government/legal texts are more orthographically uniform, with *startap* the leading form in 109 such documents against 11 for *startup* and 1 for *start-up*. Official use of *startap* and *startap loyiha* is documented, but full codification was not established.

The *accelerator* family shows a similar shape at a much lower level: 591 occurrences (521.4 npm) in 209 documents (20.7%), the second-widest document range in the set. The adapted spelling *akselerator* accounts for 84.1% of occurrences (497) and the retained spelling *accelerator* for 15.9% (94). Of the 34 attested forms, 31 (91.2%) are affixed, with 25 affix combinations covering plural, possession, case and

derivation in *-lik* (*akseleratorlar*, *akseleratori*, *akseleratoriga*, *akseleratorlik*). Compounds such as *startap-akselerator* and *pre-akselerator* are attested, along with 53 izofa and 35 attributive constructions. Register differences were not statistically confirmed (Cramér's V = 0.118, permutation p = 0.249). Official forms *akselerator* and *akseleratorlar* are documented, while formal terminological codification remained under discussion. The family's Hn of 0.632 is considerably higher than that of *startup*, reflecting the persistence of retained *accelerator*, but the competition is a simple adapted-versus-retained one rather than a contest between several adapted spellings.

4.2 Orthographic and nominative competition: *hackathon* and *FinTech*

The *hackathon* family (172 occurrences; 151.7 npm; 66 documents, 6.5%) shows the highest variant entropy in the set (Hn = 0.860). Three spellings compete: *xakaton* with initial *x* (104; 60.5%), *hakaton* with initial *h* (36; 20.9%) and retained *hackathon* (32; 18.6%). At issue is the rendering of English initial *h*, for which Uzbek orthography offers both *x* and *h*.

Orthographic instability has not prevented morphological integration. Of the 29 attested forms, 26 (89.7%) are affixed, and all three spellings take Uzbek suffixes: *xakatonlar*, *xakatonlarni*, *xakatonda*, *xakatoniga*; *hakatoni*, *hakatonlarni*; *hackathonlar*. Constructional evidence comprises 13 izofa and 5 attributive uses. Whatever its spelling, the family therefore inflects as an Uzbek noun. Register shows a comparatively strong association with variant choice (Cramér's V = 0.333, permutation p = 0.005): all 9 government/legal documents containing the family are led by *xakaton*, whereas sector/media documents split between *xakaton* (18), *hakaton* (13) and *hackathon* (8). Official materials nevertheless contain all three spellings, so institutional use has not produced orthographic uniformity.

The *FinTech* family (427 occurrences; 376.7 npm; 172 documents, 17.0%) presents a different type of competition. Within it, the retained international spelling *fintech* (237; 55.5%) and the Uzbek-oriented adaptation *fintex* (188; 44.0%) are nearly balanced, and *fintek* is marginal (2; 0.5%); Hn is 0.649. The inventory is small (13 forms, 10 of them affixed, 76.9%). Case, plural and possessive forms are attested for both main spellings (*fintechlar*, *fintechni*, *fintechga*; *fintexning*, *fintexni*, *fintexda*), and hybrid formations such as *fintech-hub* and *fintex-akselerator* also occur. Constructional evidence includes 56 izofa and 17 attributive uses; the single LV document falls below the two-document confirmation threshold.

Beyond spelling, the family competes with the descriptive Uzbek expression *moliyaviy texnologiyalar*. This expression was analysed as a separate naming strategy and is not part of the 427 family total. The register comparison, based on 160 documents after the exclusion of 30 ties, is significant (Cramér's V = 0.281, permutation p < 0.001) and shows a clear split. In government/legal documents the descriptive form leads in 6 documents, *fintech* in 2 and *fintex* in 1. In sector/media documents the borrowed spellings predominate and are almost evenly divided, *fintech* leading in 55 and *fintex* in 53, against 19 for the descriptive form. In academic documents *fintech* leads in 18, *fintex* in 4 and the descriptive form in 2. Official materials document *moliyaviy texnologiyalar*, *fintex* and *FinTech*. *FinTech* is thus the clearest case in the set of competition operating on two levels at once: between spellings of the borrowed item, and between borrowing and descriptive naming.

4.3 Variant dominance versus discourse distribution: *kraudfanding*

The *crowdfunding* family is the smallest in the set: 162 occurrences (142.9 npm) in 27 documents (2.7% of the corpus). The adapted spelling *kraudfanding* accounts for 90.7% of occurrences (147) and retained *crowdfunding* for 9.3% (15); Hn is 0.445. The inventory contains 7 forms, 5 of them affixed (71.4%), mainly case forms (*kraudfandingni*, *kraudfandingning*, *kraudfandingga*, *kraudfandingdan*, *kraudfandingda*). Constructional evidence is thin: 13 izofa and 2 attributive uses, and a single LV document below the confirmation threshold. Right-hand collocates cluster on *platforma* 'platform' (*platformalari*, *platformasi*). Register differences were not statistically confirmed (Cramér's V = 0.273, permutation p = 0.379), with only 26 documents entering the test. Official government use of *kraudfanding* is documented, but no normative definition or spelling codification was established.

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Startup offers a telling contrast: the dominant adapted shares of the two families are almost identical, 90.7% for *kraudfanding* and 90.1% for *startap*, yet *startup* occurs in 880 documents and *crowdfunding* in 27. Occurrences per covered document also differ (12.72 versus 6.00), but the decisive difference is document range: *kraudfanding* is a settled spelling in the texts that use it, while such texts form a very small part of the corpus. Dominant-form share measures how much agreement there is on a form where the concept is discussed; document range measures how widely the concept is discussed at all. A high dominant share alone is not evidence of broad conventionalisation.

5. Discussion

5.1 Adaptation is term-specific rather than uniform

The five families do not occupy positions on a single scale from "foreign" to "integrated". *Startap* combines high frequency, very wide document range, strong dominance and an extensive paradigm; *akselerator* is dominant and fully integrated but far less widespread; *xakaton* is morphologically integrated but orthographically unsettled; *FinTech* is split almost evenly between *fintech* and *fintex* and additionally challenged by a descriptive expression; *kraudfanding* is dominant but narrowly distributed. Ordering the families by frequency (*startup* > *accelerator* > *FinTech* > *hackathon* > *crowdfunding*), by dominant share (*crowdfunding* ≈ *startup* > *accelerator* > *hackathon* > *FinTech*) and by entropy (*hackathon* > *FinTech* > *accelerator* > *crowdfunding* > *startup*) yields three different rankings. Within the present dataset, then, adaptation outcomes are term-specific, and a one-dimensional label cannot describe them adequately. The findings do not explain why the profiles differ; the age of a concept in Uzbek discourse, its institutional salience and the availability of a transparent descriptive equivalent are possible factors that the present data cannot test.

5.2 Orthographic stabilisation and morphological integration can develop at different rates

Hackathon is the clearest illustration. Its affixed-form share (89.7%) is comparable to those of *startup* (86.9%) and *accelerator* (91.2%), and every spelling accepts plural, case and possessive suffixes. Morphologically, the word is an Uzbek noun. Yet its spelling is the least settled in the set, and the official record itself contains three spellings. *FinTech* shows the same dissociation in a milder form: both *fintech* and *fintex* are inflected, while neither has clearly prevailed. These cases indicate that morphological integration can proceed despite unresolved orthographic variation: in the present data, suffixation is attested across competing base forms. Orthographic stabilisation, by contrast, is a slower and more socially mediated process that depends on the convergence of writing conventions across producers and registers. The register results are consistent with this reading: for *startup* and *hackathon*, government/legal texts are more uniform than sector/media texts, and it is in the latter that competing spellings persist.

5.3 High variant dominance does not equal broad discourse distribution

The *startup–crowdfunding* comparison shows that a dominant adapted form can arise in two different situations: as the outcome of corpus-wide use, or as the practice of a small set of documents in which the concept happens to be discussed. The 90.7% dominance of *kraudfanding* is not weaker than the 90.1% dominance of *startap*, but it rests on 27 documents rather than 880. In the broad sense, conventionalisation—a term becoming part of the general written repertoire of a discourse community—involves both agreement on form and diffusion across texts. The corpus indicates that these can be separated, and that share-based descriptions of loanword status should be accompanied by document-range measures. *FinTech* shows the reverse: its document range (17.0%) is the third-widest in the set, yet no spelling clearly dominates, so diffusion has not yet produced orthographic agreement.

5.4 Corpus evidence, terminology planning and codification

The results bear on terminology work in Uzbek, but the inference from corpus to norm must be handled carefully. All five families are attested in official materials: for *startup* and *hackathon* the adapted spelling leads in government/legal documents, and for *accelerator* and *crowdfunding* official use of the adapted spelling is documented. Yet none of the five has progressed beyond partial institutional status;

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official use coexists with unresolved variation, and for *hackathon* the official record is itself heterogeneous. Corpus conventionalisation, institutional usage and formal codification are therefore three distinct states, and dominance in the corpus should not be reported as standardisation. What the corpus can offer planners is a description of the options in circulation and their register distribution: for *FinTech*, for instance, that the descriptive expression *moliyaviy texnologiyalar* leads in official prose while *fintech* and *fintex* divide sector/media writing. Whether a planning body should ratify the dominant borrowed form, the descriptive form, or both is a normative decision that corpus evidence can inform but not settle.

6. Conclusion

This study set out to compare how five purposively selected English startup terms differ in orthographic adaptation, morphological integration, variant competition, frequency and document range in contemporary Uzbek written discourse. On the evidence of the Uzbek Startup Discourse Corpus, the five families display distinct profiles. *Startap* is a broadly conventionalised adapted form with very high frequency, a document range of 87.0%, 90.1% dominance and a rich affixal paradigm. *Akselerator* is a stable adapted form (84.1%) competing only with the retained spelling. The *hackathon* family is morphologically integrated in all three of its spellings while *xakaton, hakaton* and *hackathon* continue to compete. *FinTech* shows a near-even division between *fintech* and *fintex* together with competition from the descriptive expression *moliyaviy texnologiyalar*, which leads in official prose. *Kraudfanding* is 90.7% dominant yet restricted to 27 documents.

Theoretically, orthographic stabilisation, morphological integration, variant dominance and discourse-wide distribution thus emerge as related but analytically distinct dimensions of adaptation. A borrowed term may be integrated while orthographically unstable, or strongly dominant in its adapted form while narrowly distributed. Descriptions of loanword status in Uzbek, and by extension in other recipient languages of English digital terminology, should measure these dimensions separately.

The study's limitations follow from its design. The five terms were chosen as contrasting cases and are not a statistically representative sample; the evidence is written and says nothing about pronunciation; and the corpus reflects a particular composition of sources dominated by web texts. Further research could extend the same multidimensional comparison to a larger number of naming families, apply register-sensitive analysis across all of them with adequate document counts, and track change across successive corpus versions.

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ENANTIOSEMY IDENTIFICATION CRITERIA: AN OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK BASED ON ENGLISH AND UZBEK DATA

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ABSTRACT

Enantiosemy, the coexistence of opposed meanings within a single linguistic form, presents a persistent classification problem in lexical semantics because apparent opposition may arise from polysemy, homonymy, pragmatic inference, or discourse-specific reinterpretation. This study develops an operational framework for identifying enantiosemy through a qualitative comparison of English and Uzbek data. A controlled set of 24 candidate units, evenly divided between the two languages, was evaluated using six diagnostics: semantic polarity, single-unit identity, contextual disambiguation, collocational differentiation, translation sensitivity, and functional classification. The analysis classified 12 candidates as robust, six as borderline, and six as non-enantiosemic. English examples were concentrated primarily at the lexical level, whereas Uzbek candidates more frequently involved grammatical and phraseological mechanisms. The findings indicate that semantic opposition alone is insufficient for classification: robust cases require evidence that opposed senses belong to one linguistic unit and are systematically activated by distinguishable contexts. The proposed framework therefore integrates structural, cognitive, pragmatic, and cross-linguistic evidence. It also provides a transparent basis for separating genuine enantiosemy from ordinary polysemy, homonymy, and context-induced contrast. Although the dataset is limited, the model offers a replicable foundation for future corpus-based research, lexicography, translation studies, and contrastive semantic analysis across typologically different languages, and pedagogy.

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Keywords: *enantiosemy, contronymy, semantic polarity, lexical semantics, English-Uzbek linguistics, pragmatics.*

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Introduction

Enantiosemy refers to a semantic configuration in which one linguistic form is associated with meanings that stand in an oppositional relation. In English-language discussions, related labels include contronym, auto-antonym, antagonym, and Janus word. Canonical examples include sanction, which can indicate authorization or punishment, and dust, which can describe either removing a substance or applying a fine substance to a surface. Such items appear paradoxical because a single form seems to encode incompatible directions of meaning. Yet the paradox is partly methodological: without a principled procedure, analysts may classify any contextually variable or historically divergent sense as enantiosemic.

The problem matters beyond terminological precision. Enantiosemy lies at the intersection of polysemy, antonymy, homonymy, semantic change, pragmatics, and phraseology. Antonymy normally

relates two distinct forms, whereas enantiosemy localizes opposition within one form. Polysemy permits multiple related senses without requiring polarity, and homonymy groups formally identical but historically or semantically unrelated lexemes. Consequently, the existence of two dictionary glosses that appear different is not enough to establish enantiosemy. A convincing analysis must show both internal semantic relatedness and systematic opposition. This requirement becomes more important in cross-linguistic research, where a form that appears internally contradictory in one language may be translated by entirely different lexical or grammatical resources in another.

The present study addresses this problem through a controlled comparison of English and Uzbek. The dataset contains 24 candidate units, 12 from each language, evaluated through six proposed diagnostics. The analysis develops these diagnostics into an explicit operational model. It asks three questions: (a) What minimum criteria are necessary to distinguish enantiosemy from neighboring semantic phenomena? (b) How do context and collocation contribute to the activation of opposed senses? and (c) Does the English-Uzbek comparison suggest different structural locations for enantiosemic contrast? The central argument is that enantiosemy should not be identified from semantic polarity alone. It is better treated as a constrained form of sign-internal opposition whose classification depends on converging lexical, contextual, collocational, translational, and functional evidence.

Literature Review

Lexical-semantic theory provides several competing ways to interpret enantiosemy. Structural approaches traditionally distinguish lexical relations by the organization of senses and forms. Cruse (1986, 2000) emphasizes the need to separate paradigmatic opposition from sense relations within polysemous items, while Murphy (2003) shows that antonymy is not merely logical negation but a conventional lexical relation shaped by linguistic knowledge and use. From this perspective, enantiosemy cannot simply be called “antonymy inside a word” unless the opposed senses can be shown to participate in a stable semantic relation.

A cognitive-semantic perspective shifts attention from fixed dictionary senses to categorization and meaning construction. Prototype models allow one lexical category to extend through metaphor, metonymy, and perspectival shifts rather than through a set of sharply separated definitions (Taylor, 2003). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) similarly demonstrate that conceptual mappings can motivate apparently distant meanings, while Evans (2009) argues that lexical meaning is dynamically elaborated in context. These approaches help explain why opposite interpretations may remain connected through a common conceptual schema. For example, a lexical item can profile opposite endpoints of the same event frame, or the same action can be construed from agent and patient perspectives. Such mechanisms make enantiosemy compatible with motivated polysemy rather than treating it as an accidental lexical defect.

Historical semantics adds a diachronic explanation. Traugott and Dasher (2002) show that semantic change often develops from recurring pragmatic inferences that become conventionalized. Geeraerts (2010) likewise situates polysemy and semantic change within a broader history of lexical-semantic theory. Enantiosemic pairs may therefore arise when contextual reinterpretations stabilize in different directions, when evaluative meanings ameliorate or deteriorate, or when an event is reconceptualized from different participant roles. Diachrony is important, but it cannot be the sole diagnostic: two historically unrelated homonyms should not be reclassified as enantiosemy merely because contemporary glosses happen to be opposite.

Specialist studies reinforce the need for explicit criteria. Kajberuny and Hakobyan (2020), using dictionary data and the British National Corpus, argue that English enantiosemy can be analyzed as motivated polysemy and stress the value of collocation in separating senses. Avdeeva et al. (2019) likewise discuss classification criteria and the heterogeneous factors that produce intra-word opposition. More recent comparative work distinguishes autoantonymy and enantiosemy while emphasizing context and translation problems (Sotvoldiev, 2024). These studies converge on an important methodological principle:

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opposite meanings must be demonstrably associated with the same form, but their distribution must also be observable in recurrent linguistic environments.

Uzbek evidence broadens the phenomenon beyond isolated lexical words. Odilov (2014) demonstrates that phraseological units may develop opposed interpretations and proposes distinctions such as symmetric versus asymmetric and synchronic versus diachronic phraseological enantiosemy. Odilov (2016) further argues that enantiosemy in Uzbek can arise through semantic development, grammatical factors, and speech-based reinterpretation. This is particularly relevant to a comparison with English because the structural locus of opposition may differ across languages. A language with productive agglutinative morphology and a rich phraseological system may distribute semantic contrast across grammatical or multiword constructions more visibly than a language in which dictionary headwords often carry the contrast.

Corpus methodology also informs the proposed framework. Sinclair (1991) established the importance of collocation and repeated co-occurrence patterns for lexical interpretation. For enantiosemy, this means that opposed senses should not be demonstrated through invented examples alone. Even in a small qualitative study, collocational evidence can test whether different interpretations repeatedly occur in distinct lexical or syntactic environments. Likewise, linguocultural analysis is relevant when phraseological or evaluative meanings depend on shared cultural knowledge. Wierzbicka (1992) argues that lexical meaning can encode culture-specific conceptualizations, cautioning against assuming that cross-linguistic equivalents have identical semantic boundaries.

Taken together, the literature suggests four unresolved methodological issues. First, semantic opposition must be distinguished from mere difference. Second, formal identity must be separated from homonymy. Third, context should function as evidence rather than as an unlimited source of ad hoc reinterpretation. Fourth, a cross-linguistic model must be capable of classifying lexical, grammatical, and phraseological units without assuming that all languages realize enantiosemy in the same structural way. The six-diagnostic framework developed below is designed to address these four problems.

Method

The study employs a qualitative comparative design with limited descriptive quantification. The aim is not to estimate the frequency of enantiosemy in English or Uzbek, but to test whether a consistent set of diagnostics can classify plausible candidates more reliably than intuitive judgment. The dataset consists of 24 candidate units, equally divided between English and Uzbek. Candidates were selected through literature-based and lexicographic screening to include lexical, grammatical, deictic, and phraseological patterns. The design reports aggregate classification outcomes and representative examples in order to test the diagnostic procedure; it does not claim to provide an exhaustive inventory of enantiosemic forms in either language.

Each candidate was evaluated against six operational criteria summarized in Table 1. Semantic polarity asks whether the two interpretations can reasonably be represented as opposed directions, states, evaluations, or participant perspectives. The single-unit constraint tests whether both interpretations belong to the same lexical or constructional unit rather than to accidental homonymy. Contextual disambiguation examines whether naturally interpretable discourse can select one sense without making the other equally plausible. Collocational differentiation asks whether the senses prefer different lexical, syntactic, or constructional environments. Translation sensitivity examines whether the single source-language form regularly requires distinct target-language equivalents across its opposed uses. Functional classification assigns the candidate to a lexical, grammatical, deictic, or phraseological level so that cross-linguistic comparison does not collapse structurally different phenomena.

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Table 1

Operational Criteria for Identifying Enantiosemy

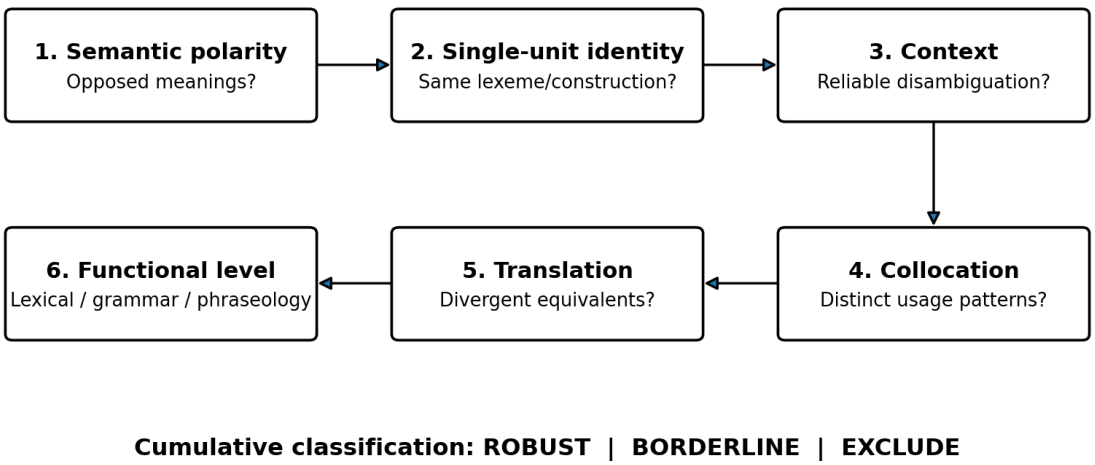
Criterion	Operational question	Typical evidence	Role in decision
Semantic polarity	Do the senses encode genuinely opposed directions, states, evaluations, or perspectives?	Dictionary definitions; componential contrast; contextual paraphrases	Mandatory gate
Single-unit constraint	Do both senses belong to the same lexeme or conventional construction rather than homonyms?	Lexicographic structure; morphology; etymology where needed	Mandatory gate
Contextual disambiguation	Can ordinary discourse reliably select one opposed sense?	Natural examples; discourse frames; syntactic cues	Primary support
Collocational differentiation	Do the senses prefer distinguishable lexical or syntactic environments?	Collocates; argument structure; recurrent phrase patterns	Primary support
Translation sensitivity	Does one source form require different target-language equivalents across opposed uses?	Parallel translation choices; bilingual lexicography	Secondary support
Functional classification	At what structural level is the opposition conventionalized?	Lexical, grammatical, deictic, or phraseological analysis	Prevents category error

Note. Robust classification requires both mandatory gates plus converging evidence from at least two contextual or distributional diagnostics.

The decision process was cumulative rather than mechanical. A candidate was classified as robust when semantic polarity and single-unit identity were supported and at least two contextual diagnostics converged. Borderline status was assigned when opposition was plausible but depended heavily on pragmatic inference, historical interpretation, or a weakly established structural relation. Candidates were excluded when the contrast was better explained by ordinary polysemy, homonymy, or a contextually created opposition not conventionalized in the unit itself. Figure 1 represents this sequence as a replicable workflow.

Figure 1

Operational Decision Pathway for Enantiosemy Identification



Note. Semantic polarity and unit identity function as exclusion gates; context, collocation, and translation provide converging support before final functional classification.

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The analysis proceeded in five stages. First, each item underwent semantic screening. Second, structural verification tested whether the readings belonged to one unit. Third, contextual examples were compared to determine how discourse resolved the polarity. Fourth, collocational and translation behavior was considered as supporting evidence. Finally, candidates were classified and compared across English and Uzbek by structural type. This procedure follows corpus-informed principles without claiming a full corpus study: corpus methodology motivates the attention to recurrent contexts and collocations, but no frequency statistics or significance tests are reported.

Results

Application of the framework produced three outcome groups. Of the 24 candidates, 12 were classified as robust instances of enantiosemy, six as borderline, and six as non-enantiosemic under the stricter criteria. Thus, half of the initial candidates survived as robust cases, while the remaining half required qualification or exclusion. This distribution supports the methodological premise that intuitive semantic opposition tends to overgenerate candidates when structural identity and contextual evidence are not independently tested.

The clearest English cases were lexical. Sanction illustrates a conventional polarity between authorization and punitive restriction. Dust profiles opposite directions of transfer: removing dust from a surface versus applying a powder-like substance to a surface. Screen can profile presentation, as in screening a film, or concealment/protection, as in screening something from view. These cases are robust because opposed readings are lexically established and are strongly disambiguated by syntactic and collocational environments. By contrast, fast, with older senses related to firmness or immobility and the familiar sense “moving quickly,” was treated as borderline because contemporary speakers may not experience the senses as a transparent oppositional pair. Apparent was also treated cautiously because “clearly visible/evident” and “seeming rather than necessarily real” are contrasting epistemic construals, but not a simple binary opposition in all contexts.

The Uzbek data displayed greater structural diversity. The documented candidates include chiqmoq and tushmoq, whose interpretations vary across motion and constructional contexts; hali, whose temporal interpretation depends on discourse anchoring; and the phraseological unit yuz burmoq, which can be associated with orientation toward or away from a referent in context. The analysis does not claim that every contextual alternation of these forms is enantiosemic. Rather, they demonstrate why grammatical and phraseological evidence must be evaluated differently from isolated dictionary headwords.

A cross-linguistic tendency emerged from the classified examples: English robust cases were predominantly lexical, whereas Uzbek candidates more often involved grammatical, deictic, or phraseological organization. Given the small purposive sample, this pattern should be interpreted as a structural tendency within the dataset, not as a population-level typological law. Nevertheless, it supports the need for a definition of enantiosemy broad enough to recognize sign-internal opposition beyond single free-standing lexemes while still requiring conventionalized evidence.

Discussion

The results support an operational rather than purely definitional account of enantiosemy. The key issue is not whether two glosses can be made to look opposite, but whether opposition is a stable property of one linguistic unit and whether speakers can systematically resolve it through conventional contextual cues. This position is compatible with cognitive accounts of flexible lexical categories (Evans, 2009; Taylor, 2003) while retaining the structural discipline emphasized in lexical semantics (Cruse, 2000; Murphy, 2003).

The first implication concerns the boundary between enantiosemy and polysemy. All robust enantiosemic items are polysemous in the broad sense that one form is associated with more than one interpretation, but not all polysemy is enantiosemic. The additional requirement is polarity. Even then, polarity is gradient: some sense pairs are direct reversals, while others involve opposing orientations,

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evaluations, or participant roles. This explains why a binary yes/no judgment is often inadequate at the screening stage. The robust-borderline-excluded classification gives the analyst a principled way to represent uncertainty instead of forcing marginal items into the category.

Second, context is necessary but not sufficient. If context alone can create the opposite meaning, any ironic or creative use could be labeled enantiosemic. The proposed framework therefore treats contextual disambiguation as evidence only after single-unit identity and plausible conventional polarity have been established. Collocation strengthens this distinction. The English verb dust, for instance, is not ambiguous in the same way across all environments: constructions specifying a surface versus a substance help select whether material is removed or applied. This distributional perspective is consistent with Sinclair's (1991) account of collocation and with Kajberuny and Hakobyan's (2020) corpus-supported treatment of English enantiosemy.

Third, the English-Uzbek comparison shows why a strictly word-based definition may be too narrow for cross-linguistic work. Odilov's (2014, 2016) research demonstrates that Uzbek phraseological and grammatical structures can host oppositional semantic relations. The present dataset likewise contains candidates whose contrast emerges through constructional or discourse organization. However, expanding the domain beyond words creates a methodological risk: analysts may begin labeling any reversible construction as enantiosemic. Functional classification is therefore not a decorative typology; it is a control mechanism. A lexical candidate should be tested as a lexeme, a phraseological candidate as a conventional multiword unit, and a grammatical candidate as a recurrent construction. The relevant "same unit" must be defined at the level where conventional meaning is actually stored and activated.

Fourth, translation sensitivity offers a useful secondary diagnostic. When one English form such as sanction requires different Uzbek equivalents depending on whether permission or penalty is intended, the translation split makes the internal polarity visible. The same principle works in the opposite direction: a multifunctional Uzbek form may need different English renderings across contexts. Translation divergence is not proof by itself, because ordinary polysemy also produces multiple translations. Its value lies in triangulation. When translation divergence aligns with semantic polarity, contextual disambiguation, and collocational separation, confidence in the classification increases.

Fifth, linguocultural interpretation is particularly important for phraseological and evaluative enantiosemy. Wierzbicka (1992) argues that languages package cultural conceptualizations differently, and fixed expressions often depend on shared scripts of evaluation, interpersonal stance, or social behavior. This helps explain why apparently equivalent phrases may not preserve the same polarity across languages. It also cautions against deriving Uzbek classifications solely from English metalanguage. The analytical categories should be comparable, but evidence for conventionality must come from usage within each language.

The framework also clarifies the relation between synchronic and diachronic explanation. Historical semantic change may explain how opposite senses developed, as suggested by Traugott and Dasher's (2002) model of pragmatic inference and conventionalization. Yet a synchronic identification procedure should not require a complete etymological history. A present-day item can be classified operationally if its opposed senses are conventional and structurally related, even when the historical path is uncertain. Conversely, historical cognacy alone does not establish contemporary enantiosemy if the meanings now belong to separate lexemes or survive only in archaic usage.

Overall, the study's main contribution is methodological. Rather than proposing another list of contronyms, it specifies what evidence should count when deciding whether a candidate belongs to the category. The six diagnostics make disagreements inspectable: researchers can identify whether they disagree about polarity, unit identity, context, collocation, translation behavior, or structural level. This is a more productive basis for replication and corpus expansion than an intuition-driven inventory.

Implications, Limitations, and Future Research

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The framework has practical value for lexicography, translation, and language teaching. Dictionaries can mark opposed senses more transparently when the senses are supported by recurrent collocations. Translators can treat polarity-sensitive units as risk points that require contextual verification rather than direct word-for-word substitution. For advanced language learners, contrastive examples can demonstrate that knowing a headword does not guarantee correct interpretation when the same form participates in opposed constructions.

Several limitations remain. The 24-item dataset is small and purposive, so the numerical distribution cannot be generalized to English or Uzbek as whole languages. The controlled candidate set was not derived from a reproducible corpus sampling frame; accordingly, the study does not claim frequency-based validation. In addition, judgments of semantic opposition may vary between analysts, especially for evaluative, deictic, and historically layered senses. Future research should therefore expand the dataset, preregister explicit coding rules, and report inter-rater agreement. A larger study could combine lexicographic screening with balanced corpora, compare collocational profiles statistically, and test whether native speakers consistently recognize the proposed polarity. Cross-linguistic extension to other Turkic and Indo-European languages would further show whether the lexical-versus-constructional tendency observed here is typologically robust.

Conclusion

Enantiosemy is best understood not as a lexical curiosity but as a problem of identifying conventionalized opposition within a single linguistic unit. The English-Uzbek comparison shows that semantic polarity alone is too permissive: apparent opposites may result from ordinary polysemy, homonymy, pragmatic inference, or translation asymmetry. The proposed six-diagnostic framework responds to this problem by combining semantic polarity, single-unit identity, contextual disambiguation, collocational differentiation, translation sensitivity, and functional classification.

Applied to the controlled 24-item dataset, the framework yielded 12 robust cases, six borderline cases, and six exclusions. The documented English examples primarily support lexical enantiosemy, whereas the Uzbek examples point to a wider role for grammatical, deictic, and phraseological organization. Because the dataset is limited, this contrast should be treated as a hypothesis for larger corpus-based testing rather than as a categorical typological claim.

The broader significance of the model lies in replicability. It converts a traditionally intuitive label into a sequence of questions that can be checked against linguistic evidence. In doing so, it preserves the insight that word meaning is context-sensitive while preventing context from becoming an unrestricted explanation for any contradiction. A future corpus study with explicit sampling, collocational statistics, and independent coding can test and refine the framework. For current lexical-semantic and translation research, however, the operational approach provides a clearer basis for deciding when semantic opposition genuinely belongs to one sign and when it does not.

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REWRITING THE SUFI SAINT IN UZBEK CLASSICAL LITERATURE: NARRATIVE EXPANSION, FAMILY ETHICS, AND LYRICIZATION IN HUVAYDO'S "HIKOYATI IBROHIM BIN ADHAM"

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ABSTRACT

This study examines how Xo'janazar Huvaydo reworks the transregional hagiographic tradition of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham in the "Hikoyati Ibrohim bin Adham rahmatulloh alayhi" episode of Rohati dil. Rather than treating the episode as merely a repetition of an inherited Sufi plot, the article argues that Huvaydo creates a distinctive Uzbek literary configuration through three interrelated strategies: narrative expansion, family-centered ethical conflict, and lyricization of the hagiographic tale. Comparative close reading places Huvaydo in dialogue with ʿAttar's Tazkirat ul-avliyo, Alisher Navoiy's Nasoyim ul-muhabbat and Hayrat ul-abror, and classical Sufi biographical traditions represented by Al-Qushayri. The analysis shows that Huvaydo extends the saint's story backward through genealogy and his mother's apparent death and recovery, then forward through marriage, fatherhood, separation, bereavement, and posthumous confirmation. Embedded ghazals and marsiya forms shift focalization away from the saint alone toward Zulhayo and Muhammad, rendering renunciation emotionally costly rather than merely exemplary. The Kaʿba–Rābiʿa episode further reframes ritual achievement through compassion and divine favor. These structural innovations transform a mobile hagiographic tradition into a quasi-qissa whose didactic force arises from the tension between human attachment and mystical exclusivity. Huvaydo's originality thus lies in reorganizing inherited materials into an emotionally plural, genre-hybrid narrative form for Uzbek readers.

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Keywords: *Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, Huvaydo, Rohati dil, Sufi hagiography, Uzbek classical literature, lyricization.*

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Introduction

Ibrāhīm ibn Adham occupies a distinctive position in the literary memory of Islamic mysticism. The historical figure appears to have been an eighth-century ascetic associated with Balkh and Syria, but the early documentary record is comparatively sparse. In subsequent centuries, biographical and hagiographic writing transformed him into a paradigmatic ruler-turned-saint whose abandonment of status, wealth, and social privilege dramatized tawba (repentance), zuhd (ascetic renunciation), tawakkul (trust in God), and the authority of the walī, the "friend of God" (Alikberov, 2018; Sato, 2007). This distinction matters methodologically: literary analysis should not treat every marvelous episode as historical

biography. Instead, the Ibrāhīm tradition is best understood as a mobile repertoire of motifs that authors repeatedly select, intensify, omit, and recombine.

In Persian and Turkic literary cultures, this repertoire acquired exceptional durability. ʿAttar's *Tazkirat ul-avliyo* gives Ibrāhīm a highly developed saintly profile, while Alisher Navoiy records his conversion and ascetic life in *Nasoyim ul-muhabbat* and employs the well-known Ibrāhīm–Rābiʿa encounter in *Hayrat ul-abror* (ʿAttar, 2012; Navoiy, 2013a, 2013b). Such recirculation is typical of Islamic hagiography, in which the value of a story does not depend primarily on plot novelty: repetition can reinforce exemplary patterns, while variation adapts the saintly figure to new linguistic, social, and didactic environments (Renard, 2008). Huvaydo's *Rohati dil* belongs to this continuum but is not reducible to it.

The episode titled "Hikoyati Ibrohim bin Adham rahmatulloh alayhi" is unusually expansive within Huvaydo's didactic-mystical project. It begins before Ibrāhīm's birth with his mother's apparent death and recovery, moves through childhood and accession to kingship, narrates the conversion from sovereign hunter to itinerant ascetic, includes the Kaʿba–Rābiʿa complex, and then develops a family sequel centered on Zulhayo and Muhammad. The expanded plot and unusually dense system of principal and episodic characters are central features of Huvaydo's treatment. The episode also incorporates six ghazals, a marsiya-ghazal, and a marsiya; these insertions enlarge the work toward the scale and internal complexity of a qissa rather than a compact exemplary hikoyat (Huvaydo, 1994, pp. 88–110).

This article develops that structural observation into a broader argument. Huvaydo converts a saint's conversion legend into a multiperspectival family narrative in which spiritual perfection is tested against love, grief, bodily vulnerability, and social obligation. The resulting text does not weaken the Sufi ideal of renunciation; rather, it makes that ideal narratively legible by rendering its human costs visible. The study therefore asks three questions: (1) How does Huvaydo reorganize inherited Ibrāhīm motifs? (2) What functions do the added family characters and lyric insertions perform? (3) How does this reorganization reshape the didactic meaning of sainthood for an Uzbek-reading audience?

Literature Review and Research Gap

Modern scholarship provides two complementary contexts for these questions. Research on early Sufism warns against reading mature saint legends backward as transparent records of eighth-century figures. Knysh (2000, 2017), Karamustafa (2007), and Schimmel (1975) situate figures such as Ibrāhīm within the heterogeneous ascetic and devotional currents from which later Sufi institutions and literary self-understandings emerged. Sato (2007) traces the geographical diffusion of the Ibrāhīm legend across the Middle East, Central and South Asia, and Southeast Asia, demonstrating that the saint's literary afterlife became far wider than the recoverable historical record. Alikberov (2018) similarly emphasizes the transformation of Ibrāhīm into a "holy ruler," a narrative image structured by the dramatic opposition between sovereignty and sanctity. Al-Qushayri's *Risāla*, one of the major classical manuals of Sufi teaching, preserves anecdotes of Ibrāhīm that stress generosity, hardship, companionship, lawful livelihood, and spiritual discipline (Al-Qushayri, 2007). Together, these sources clarify the conventional symbolic repertoire available to later poets.

A second body of scholarship concerns Turkic and specifically Uzbek adaptations. Zaripova (2024) compares Ibrāhīm narratives in ʿAttar, Navoiy, and Huvaydo and emphasizes Huvaydo's distinctive treatment of the saint. Recent studies of *Rohati dil* likewise discuss the poem's religious-didactic orientation, Sufi ethics, and use of traditional narrative materials (Aliyeva, 2026; Sayidolimov & Ne'matova, 2026). These studies are valuable for locating Huvaydo within Uzbek didactic literature; however, there remains room for an integrated account of form in which genealogy, conversion, pilgrimage, family separation, embedded lyric genres, and the son's death are analyzed as components of a single compositional system. The present reading addresses that gap.

The term "lyricization" is used here in a limited narratological sense. It does not imply that the entire hikoyat becomes lyric poetry. Rather, at moments of emotional pressure, narrative movement yields

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to first-person or strongly focalized verse—especially ghazal and marsiya—so that an event is not only reported but also inwardly experienced. This distinction matters because hagiography often organizes lives typologically: the saint's acts exemplify conversion, asceticism, miracle, service, and death (Renard, 2008). Huvaydo retains that exemplary architecture, but lyric insertion complicates it by distributing affect among the wife, the son, and the saint-father. Ibrāhīm remains the axis of the plot, yet he is no longer its sole center of consciousness.

Method

The study uses comparative textual analysis, close reading, motif analysis, and narratological description. The primary text is Huvaydo's *Rohati dil* (1994 edition), with particular attention to the Ibrāhīm episode on pp. 88–110. The comparison corpus comprises ʿAttar's *Tazkirat ul-avliyo*, Navoiy's *Nasoyim ul-muhabbat* and *Hayrat ul-abror*, together with classical sources and modern scholarship on the Ibrāhīm tradition. The aim is not to establish a complete stemma of textual transmission, which would require manuscript collation, but to identify the literary operations by which Huvaydo modifies widely attested motifs.

Three analytical units are distinguished. First, a motif unit is a recurrent hagiographic action or situation, such as royal status, an awakening call, renunciation, pilgrimage, ascetic labor, an encounter with Rābiʿa, or posthumous vindication. Second, a narrative-expansion unit is material that enlarges causal or emotional context, especially Ibrāhīm's parents, Zulhayo, Muhammad, and the sequences of recognition, departure, reunion, and mourning. Third, a lyric-interruption unit is an embedded poem whose function is evaluated in relation to the surrounding narrative: whether it delays action, changes focalization, interprets an event, or intensifies grief. English analytical prose uses a light scholarly transliteration (e.g., Ibrāhīm, Rābiʿa, Kaʿba), whereas Uzbek titles and quoted passages retain source orthography. Brief English translations are provided for analytical clarity and are not presented as definitive philological translations.

The method also imposes an important limit. Claims about Huvaydo's "innovation" refer to the comparison set used here, not to absolute uniqueness across all Persianate or Turkic Ibrāhīm texts. Any claim to textual priority would require systematic comparison with manuscript and lithographic witnesses. The present study therefore speaks of distinctive reorganization and intensification rather than invention ex nihilo.

Results and Discussion

Narrative Aggregation: From Saintly Core to Family Prehistory

Table 1 compares the principal motifs across the selected traditions and highlights the compositional expansions that distinguish Huvaydo's treatment.

Table 1

Comparative Motif Matrix for the Ibrāhīm ibn Adham Tradition

Motif and Function	Classical Sufi and ʿAttar Tradition	Navoiy	Huvaydo, *Rohati dil*
Royal identity	Later hagiographic traditions strongly associate Ibrāhīm with royal or elite status followed by renunciation.	*Nasoyim ul-muhabbat* records royal origin; *Hayrat ul-abror* presupposes established saintly prestige.	Kingship is narratively established through recognition by the maternal royal household and is later renounced.
Awakening / tawba	Unseen admonitions and disruptive signs precipitate conversion.	*Nasoyim ul-muhabbat* summarizes his conversion.	The hunt, an admonitory voice, and the rooftop-camel episode accumulate as successive shocks to worldly certainty.
Pilgrimage / Kaʿba	Mecca and itinerant asceticism are central settings in the saintly tradition.	*Hayrat ul-abror* foregrounds the Ibrāhīm–Rābiʿa encounter at the Kaʿba.	The encounter is retained and expanded with the thirsty-dog episode, foregrounding compassion.

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Motif and Function	Classical Sufi and ʿAttar Tradition	Navoiy	Huvaydo, *Rohati dil*
Ascetic labor	Lawful subsistence, poverty, generosity, and travel recur in Sufi anecdotes.	*Nasoyim ul-muhabbat* notes lawful work in Syria.	Firewood labor is narrated in detail and linked to giving to dervishes, widows, and orphans.
Family narrative	Generally secondary to the saint's conversion and ascetic trajectory.	Not central to the Ibrāhīm–Rābiʿa exemplum.	Adham, Ibrāhīm's mother, Zulhayo, and Muhammad create a multigenerational counterplot.
Lyric / elegiac insertion	Anecdotal narration is primarily biographical and exemplary.	The didactic hikoyat remains comparatively compact.	Six ghazals, a marsiya-ghazal, and a marsiya distribute grief among wife, son, and father.

Note. The matrix synthesizes the comparison corpus and does not imply that any source preserves a single fixed version of the legend.

The comparison shows that Huvaydo works primarily by aggregation. The inherited saintly core remains recognizable: sovereignty, awakening, abandonment of wealth, movement toward Mecca, ascetic livelihood, and divine recognition. Yet Huvaydo surrounds this core with narrative material that changes its scale and ethical texture. The most striking addition is the backward extension to Ibrāhīm's parents. Adham is not a king but a gravedigger, while Ibrāhīm's mother is a king's daughter who is mistakenly buried and later recovers. Their marriage leads to Ibrāhīm's birth; he is subsequently recognized by the royal household and ultimately inherits kingship. The pattern produces a double movement between low and high social status: graveyard and palace, poverty and sovereignty, burial and recovery. Before Ibrāhīm renounces the world, his genealogy has already destabilized worldly hierarchy.

This opening is more than ornamental prehistory. Hagiographic narratives often use extraordinary beginnings to mark a saint as providentially significant (Renard, 2008). Huvaydo adapts that logic to familial causality: the mother's extraordinary recovery creates the conditions for Ibrāhīm's birth, while recognition by the maternal royal line makes his eventual kingship narratively plausible. Renunciation therefore becomes the reversal of a status that the plot has carefully constructed. The reader has watched Ibrāhīm acquire lineage, legitimacy, household, and rule; when he abandons them, the sacrifice carries measurable narrative weight.

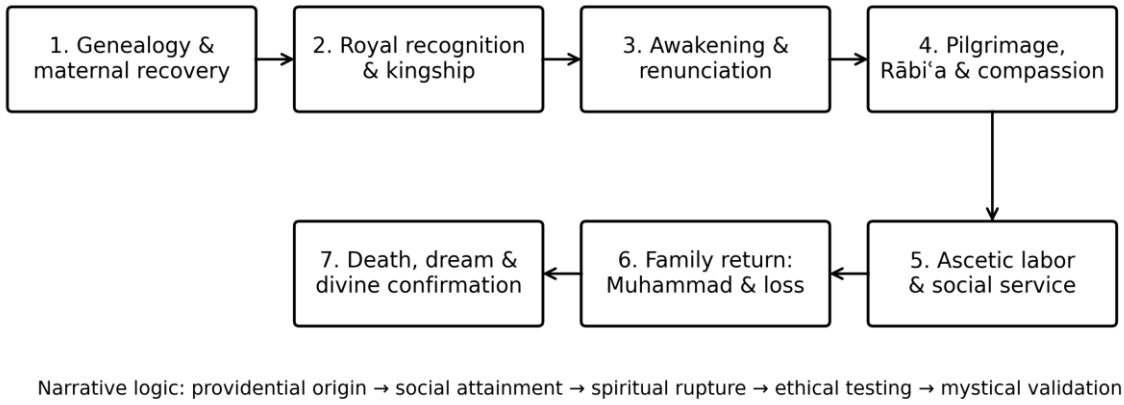
The conversion sequence retains the well-known ruler-to-ascetic pattern. In the broader Ibrāhīm tradition, calls from the unseen, destabilizing encounters, and speaking animals expose the futility of seeking permanence in royal life (ʿAttar, 2012; Sato, 2007). Huvaydo combines several awakening signals: the hunt, an admonitory voice, and the nocturnal encounter with a man searching for a camel on the roof. Their cumulative function is a shock to worldly certainty. Kingship is presented as a mistaken mode of orientation: the ruler can govern territory yet does not understand what he was created for. Once this disorientation is recognized, he exchanges the external signs of sovereignty for a shepherd's rough garment and begins his journey toward Mecca.

The pilgrimage section also illustrates selective inheritance. Navoiy's *Hayrat ul-abror* juxtaposes Ibrāhīm's laborious devotional progress with Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiyya's niyoz, or inward supplication: the Kaʿba itself goes to meet her. Huvaydo preserves the basic reversal but adds the episode of the thirsty dog, whose prayer is accepted after Rābiʿa gives it water. The text states, "Duo aylab dedi it, yo ilohe! / Hama darmondaning san-san panohe … Ijobat bo'ldi ul itning du'osi" (Huvaydo, 1994, p. 99). A functional English translation is, "The dog prayed: O God, You are the refuge of all the helpless … and its prayer was accepted." The episode redirects the logic of spiritual rank from countable ritual exertion toward compassionate responsiveness. Ibrāhīm's repeated two-rakʿa prayers remain admirable, but the narrative refuses to make measurable effort the sole index of proximity to God. Figure 1 summarizes the resulting expansion from inherited saintly motifs to family and posthumous closure.

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Figure 1

Narrative Expansion Arc in Huvaydo's Ibrāhīm ibn Adham Episode



Note. The figure models the compositional sequence emphasized in this analysis; it is not a chronological reconstruction of the historical Ibrāhīm ibn Adham.

Family Counterplot and the Ethics of Separation

Huvaydo's most consequential expansion occurs after renunciation, at a point where many saintly biographies might have moved directly toward further ascetic feats and death. Instead, *Rohati dil* reopens the abandoned household. Zulhayo, left pregnant in Balkh, gives birth to Muhammad and raises him until he becomes pious like his father. This apparently secondary line becomes the emotional counterplot to the saint's journey. Ibrāhīm travels away from family toward divine exclusivity; Muhammad travels toward the absent father; Zulhayo remains spatially fixed but passes through hope, fear, consent, separation, and bereavement. Three trajectories—away, toward, and waiting—organize the middle and final sections of the story.

This geometry of separation explains why the inserted lyric forms are structurally necessary. When Muhammad asks permission to seek his father, Zulhayo's speech cannot be reduced to a didactic statement. Huvaydo suspends the plot and gives her a ghazal: "Na hasratu yordin ayrilib xonumon boʻlmoq, / Xayolimda yoʻq erdi yordin mundogʻ judo boʻlmoq" (Huvaydo, 1994, p. 103). In approximate English, "What grief—to lose one's beloved and one's home; / I never imagined such a separation from the beloved." The ghazal relocates the language of classical separation from the conventional lover to a wife and mother whose household has been fractured by sacred renunciation. The lexical field of firoq (separation) thus becomes simultaneously mystical and domestic.

A second lyric sequence appears when the departing son disappears from view. The seven-bayt ghazal with the radif "firoq" represents separation as an active force that destroys the "throne of fortune" and reduces the speaker to poverty. This metaphor is especially resonant in a narrative in which literal kingship has already been abandoned. Worldly sovereignty is relinquished by Ibrāhīm voluntarily; emotional sovereignty is destroyed in Zulhayo involuntarily. The poem thereby creates a gendered counterpoint to ascetic agency. Zulhayo does not reject the divine order—indeed, she repeatedly submits to it—but submission is represented as the labor of grief rather than as effortless assent.

Muhammad's own ghazal in the firewood market extends this technique. He arrives in Mecca but cannot immediately find his father; his speech turns toward death, exile, and frustrated longing. The son's piety is represented not through abstract doctrinal vocabulary alone but through filial desire. When he finally recognizes Ibrāhīm by the physical and devotional signs described by his mother—tall stature, reddish face, black beard, rough shawl, constant dhikr, and prayer at each step—the narrative converts Zulhayo's remembered portrait into a set of recognition markers. Her perspective thus prepares the reunion even though she remains absent from it.

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The reunion is the story's climactic ethical crisis. A voice from the unseen confronts Ibrāhīm with an absolute choice: "Mani suygilu yo o'g'lingni suygil" (Huvaydo, 1994, p. 107)—"Love Me, or love your son." Read narrowly, the line might appear to oppose religion and family affection. Within the full composition, however, its function is more severe and paradoxical. The text has invested considerable narrative space in making the son lovable, pious, obedient, and sacrificial. The command therefore tests not whether Ibrāhīm possesses affection but whether any created attachment can claim ultimate allegiance. Mystical exclusivity gains force precisely because ordinary attachment has been made morally valuable.

Muhammad's death and Ibrāhīm's marsiya prevent the father's renunciation from being represented as affective indifference. He mourns, "Ayo o'g'lim jigarbandim qulunum, / G'ariblikda sanga kelgan bu o'lum" (Huvaydo, 1994, p. 108), approximately, "O my son, my own flesh and blood, my dear one; / death has come to you in exile." The marsiya acknowledges parental love, unrealized youth, and the mother's waiting even as Ibrāhīm submits to divine decree. Huvaydo thus stages a distinction central to the episode: renunciation is not the absence of love but the refusal to absolutize attachment to the created world. Table 2 summarizes the major lyric insertions and their narrative functions.

Table 2

Embedded Lyric Forms and Their Narrative Functions

Lyric Moment	Speaker or Focalizer	Formal Marker	Narrative Function
Separation from husband	Zulhayo	4-bayt ghazal; radif "bo'lmoq"	Recasts classical separation language as domestic and marital grief.
Son prepares to depart	Zulhayo	7-bayt ghazal; radif "firoq"	Slows the departure and frames consent as emotionally costly submission.
Search in Mecca	Muhammad	5-bayt ghazal; radif "o'lum"	Turns filial search into first-person exile, mortality, and longing.
Death of Muhammad	Ibrāhīm	Marsiya	Restores paternal affect after the mystical command to privilege divine love.
News of the son's death	Zulhayo	16-bayt marsiya-ghazal; radif "bolam"	Makes maternal bereavement an independent ethical center of the story.
Final mystical closure	Narrator / saintly frame	Concluding ghazal passages and dream report	Moves from human loss toward posthumous validation and divine vision.

Note. Bayt counts and radif labels follow Huvaydo (1994, pp. 103–110); "marsiya-ghazal" designates a ghazal-form lament functioning as elegy.

Lyricization, Focalization, and Genre Hybridity

The embedded poems also alter genre. The base form is a didactic hikoyat with masnavi-like narrative movement, but the repeated ghazals and elegiac passages create a hybrid architecture. The 1994 edition contains six ghazals, one marsiya-ghazal, and one marsiya within the episode. Their placement is patterned rather than random. Lyric intensity rises at narrative thresholds: recollection of the absent husband, permission for the son's departure, the son's unsuccessful search, the father–son reunion, death, and maternal mourning. In narratological terms, these poems slow story time while expanding discourse time. A few minutes of narrated action—saying farewell, waiting, or receiving news—can occupy many lines because the work privileges affective interpretation over event progression.

This is why "lyricization" is more precise than treating the poems as ornament. If the poems were merely decorative, removing them would not substantially alter the narrative's ethical architecture; here, it would. Without Zulhayo's ghazals, the story would still communicate that a wife and mother suffers, but

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the reader would experience Ibrāhīm's renunciation chiefly from the saint's perspective. With the poems included, Huvaydo requires the reader to inhabit the costs borne by those who remain behind. The saint's path is therefore framed by emotional testimony from others.

The distribution in Table 2 is especially significant after Muhammad's death. The sixteen-bayt "bolam" ("my child") lament moves the emotional center away from the saint at precisely the point when hagiographic narrative might otherwise celebrate triumph over attachment. The mother's voice insists on the irreducible human reality of loss. Yet her grief does not cancel the religious conclusion; rather, the story holds grief and submission together. This coexistence gives Huvaydo's didacticism unusual psychological depth.

The same hybrid strategy appears in the posthumous close. After Ibrāhīm's death, a disciple sees him in a dream and asks about his state in the grave. Ibrāhīm reports divine favor and the promise of beholding God. The dream functions as hagiographic verification: the saint's ascetic choices are retrospectively authorized from the unseen world. Structurally, it closes the chain opened by earlier voices from the unseen. At conversion, the unseen disrupts kingship; at the father–son climax, it demands exclusive love; after death, it confirms the saint's reward. The narrative therefore forms an arc from interruption to trial to validation.

Sufi Ethics: Renunciation, Compassion, and Social Service

The episode's ethical system can be described through four linked values: renunciation, compassionate service, lawful subsistence, and submission to divine judgment. Asceticism alone is insufficient. In Mecca, Ibrāhīm gathers and sells firewood, gives portions of his earnings to dervishes, widows, and orphans, and lives in poverty. This motif corresponds to early Sufi ideals in which reliance on God did not necessarily exclude lawful work and generosity (Al-Qushayri, 2007; Karamustafa, 2007). Huvaydo's saint is therefore not merely a man who leaves society; he re-enters social relations through service rather than status.

The Rābiʿa episode complements this ethic by placing mercy toward a vulnerable animal beside formal worship. The contrast is not an argument against ritual prayer. Instead, Huvaydo's sequencing implies that divine proximity cannot be reduced to visible religious labor. Rābiʿa's response to the thirsty dog becomes a sign of inward orientation and compassionate responsiveness. In this sense, the dog is not simply a conventional emblem of loyalty; it becomes a narrative witness whose accepted prayer discloses the hidden value of mercy.

Family ethics operate within the same system. Adham rescues the buried princess and marries her lawfully; the royal family recognizes kinship; Zulhayo raises Muhammad; Muhammad seeks paternal recognition; and Ibrāhīm mourns the son he must surrender. Huvaydo does not represent worldly life as intrinsically worthless. It contains legitimate marriage, parental care, generosity, and social justice. The danger lies in treating these goods as ultimate possessions. Consequently, the story's Sufi didacticism operates through a hierarchy of values rather than simple negation: worldly ties are real and morally serious, but divine love remains ultimate.

This hierarchy helps explain the continuing pedagogical power of the episode. In a modern classroom, the text can support discussion of genre hybridity, adaptation, gendered focalization, emotional ethics, and the historical distinction between saintly legend and recoverable biography. Its didactic relevance is strongest when the text is not simplified into the injunction to "abandon the world." Huvaydo's composition asks a more demanding question: how does spiritual commitment interact with obligations that are themselves ethically meaningful?

Conclusion

Huvaydo's "Hikoyati Ibrohim bin Adham" is a revealing example of how Uzbek classical literature receives and transforms a transregional Sufi saint legend. The narrative preserves the recognizable Ibrāhīm paradigm—royal privilege, awakening, renunciation, pilgrimage, ascetic labor, Rābiʿa, and final divine

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favor—but reorganizes it within a much broader family and emotional frame. The prehistory of Adham and the king's daughter gives Ibrāhīm a providential genealogy; the later Zulhayo–Muhammad sequence invites renunciation to be viewed from the perspective of those who are left behind; and the dream epilogue completes the saint's trajectory through posthumous confirmation.

The paper's central finding is that Huvaydo's originality is compositional rather than doctrinal. He does not introduce a new theory of tasavvuf; instead, he alters how inherited doctrine is experienced by reshaping narrative form. Embedded ghazals and marsiya passages redistribute consciousness, slow the action at moments of separation, and allow domestic grief to stand beside mystical aspiration. In this configuration, saintly perfection is not represented as emotional emptiness. Ibrāhīm loves, loses, mourns, gives, works, and submits; Zulhayo and Muhammad make the human costs of his path visible.

The Kaʿba–Rābiʿa episode reinforces the same principle at another level. Spiritual rank cannot be reduced to an arithmetic of outward effort. Compassion, niyoz, humility, and divine acceptance resist visible measurement. Huvaydo's text therefore binds mystical exclusivity to ethical service rather than to isolated withdrawal. The resulting work is best understood as a genre-hybrid, quasi-qissa narrative whose didactic authority derives from the tension it sustains: family bonds are honored, grief is given voice, and worldly goods retain relative value, yet none is permitted to become absolute.

Future research should test this argument through manuscript and lithographic comparison where relevant witnesses are available. Such work could examine whether lyric placement, omitted or added bayts, orthographic variants, and episode boundaries alter interpretation of the Ibrāhīm narrative. Bringing close literary reading into dialogue with textual scholarship would further clarify Huvaydo's position within the wider Persianate and Turkic transmission history of the Ibrāhīm ibn Adham tradition.

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ARGOTISMS AS SOCIAL INDEXES AND LITERARY DEVICES IN TOHIR MALIK'S SHAYTANAT: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND LINGUOPOETIC STUDY

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ABSTRACT

This study examines argotisms in Tohir Malik's Shaytanat as socially indexical and literary-stylistic resources. Building on sociolinguistic approaches to language variation, identity, register, and in-group vocabulary, the paper distinguishes argot from the neighboring categories of jargon, slang, colloquialism, and professional vocabulary. The analysis is qualitative and contextual: it focuses on ten lexical items explicitly foregrounded in the source manuscript and groups them into criminal-organizational, gambling, and drug-related domains. Particular attention is given to the way specialized vocabulary marks group membership, encodes hierarchy and solidarity, contributes to character differentiation, and strengthens the realism of the criminal milieu. The study also considers the role of Russian-mediated lexical influence, while avoiding unsupported etymological claims for items whose origins are not established in the available material. The findings suggest that argotisms in Shaytanat function not merely as nonstandard vocabulary but as indexical signs that connect linguistic choice with social identity and narrative positioning. Their literary value lies in their contextual placement: they help construct social worlds, characterize speakers, represent group boundaries, and communicate the author's critical stance toward crime, addiction, and moral degradation. The paper concludes by proposing corpus-based and diachronic directions for future research.

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Keywords: *Tohir Malik, Shaytanat, argot, argotism, slang, jargon, sociolinguistics, social identity, criminal vocabulary, linguopoetics.*

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Introduction

Language varies systematically across social groups, situations, activities, and relationships. Sociolinguistics has long shown that variation is not random noise around a neutral standard; rather, linguistic choices can index social position, group membership, stance, and identity (Labov, 1972; Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021). In literary discourse, these social meanings acquire an additional aesthetic dimension because authors select linguistic varieties in order to construct characters and social worlds. Tohir Malik's Shaytanat is especially suitable for such analysis because the work represents a criminal milieu whose members are differentiated not only by action and status but also by their speech.

The present paper focuses on argotisms: socially restricted lexical items associated with relatively closed groups and often used to signal solidarity, specialized knowledge, or distance from outsiders. The category is difficult to delimit. In both general sociolinguistics and studies of slang, boundaries among argot, jargon, slang, cant, and other nonstandard varieties are treated as porous and historically variable

(Coleman, 2012; Mattiello, 2008). Uzbek linguistic tradition likewise recognizes socially restricted vocabulary as a distinct lexical layer, although terminological practice is not always uniform (Hojiyev, 2002; Madvaliyev, 2006–2008). This makes a contextual approach essential: a word should not be labeled an argotism merely because it is informal, expressive, or culturally marked.

The problem is particularly important in literary analysis. A specialized lexical item may have one function in everyday group communication and another within a novel. In real interaction, it may identify insiders, compress shared knowledge, or obscure meaning from outsiders. In fiction, the same item can also mark a speaker's social location, individualize dialogue, intensify conflict, and make a represented environment more credible. Such functions are consistent with approaches that treat identity as interactionally produced and linguistically indexed rather than simply reflected by language (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Eckert, 2000). From this perspective, argot is not only a vocabulary list; it is a resource through which characters are positioned in relation to one another and to the social order represented by the narrative.

This revised study therefore asks three questions: (1) How can argotisms in Shaytanat be distinguished from neighboring categories such as slang, jargon, colloquialism, and professional vocabulary? (2) What semantic and social domains are represented by the focal lexical items discussed in the manuscript? (3) What sociolinguistic and literary functions do these items perform in characterization, social-world construction, and the representation of group boundaries? The aim is not to produce an exhaustive dictionary of criminal vocabulary in Shaytanat, but to provide a theoretically clearer and methodologically transparent analysis of the examples already identified in the study.

Theoretical Framework: Argot, Slang, Jargon, and Social Indexicality

A useful starting point is the relationship between linguistic variation and social meaning. Labov's (1972) foundational work established that linguistic forms pattern with social structures, while later research emphasized the active role of speakers in using variation to construct styles and identities (Coupland, 2007; Eckert, 2000). Bucholtz and Hall (2005) further argue that identity emerges through interaction and can be indexed by linguistic choices, stances, labels, and styles. This framework is relevant to literary dialogue because a character's lexical selection can signal affiliation, authority, distance, or familiarity even when the narrative does not state those relations explicitly.

Argot belongs to a broader field of socially marked vocabulary. Slang is commonly associated with informality, innovation, expressiveness, and group affiliation, but it can circulate beyond the group in which it originated (Coleman, 2012; Eble, 1996). Jargon is often understood more broadly as specialized vocabulary connected with an occupation, activity, or community of practice. Argot or cant, by contrast, is frequently associated with socially closed or stigmatized groups and may carry a stronger function of concealment or exclusion. Mattiello (2008) emphasizes that slang overlaps with cant and jargon and that secrecy can be one of its social uses; Allan and Burridge (2006) likewise situate slang and jargon within broader processes of social regulation, taboo, and group-sensitive language choice.

For this study, an argotism is operationally defined as a lexical unit whose interpretation depends substantially on its association with a socially restricted milieu and whose use contributes to in-group meaning, social identification, or the representation of a closed communicative sphere. This definition deliberately excludes ordinary cultural vocabulary. Terms such as to'y (wedding), sovchi (matchmaker), quda (relation by marriage), mahalla (neighborhood community), osh (pilaf), and choyxona (teahouse) may be culturally specific, but they are not argotisms simply because they are locally meaningful. The central criterion is social restriction, not cultural distinctiveness.

A second theoretical issue is the dynamic status of nonstandard vocabulary. A term may originate in a narrow group and later diffuse into everyday speech. Consequently, contemporary familiarity cannot by itself establish that an item was non-argotic in the period represented by the novel. Agha's (2007) account of social meaning and enregisterment is useful here: linguistic forms can become socially

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recognizable through repeated association with particular speakers, activities, and values. In literary texts, authors can exploit such recognizability to evoke a social type or environment with minimal explanation.

Methodology

The primary text is Tohir Malik's Shaytanat series (Malik, 2009). The original manuscript identifies a set of socially restricted lexical items and discusses them through sociolinguistic, semantic, contextual, and linguopoetic approaches. The present revision preserves that qualitative orientation but makes the sampling procedure explicit. Rather than implying a complete corpus survey, it treats the ten lexical items explicitly foregrounded in the manuscript as a purposive focal sample: krysha, obshchak, ment, obez, stavka, dilyor, vabank, doza, ukol, and lomka.

Each item was examined in relation to three analytic dimensions. First, semantic domain was used to group items according to the social activity or milieu with which the manuscript associates them. Second, social-indexical function was considered, including group membership, status, solidarity, and insider/outsider boundaries. Third, literary function was evaluated in relation to characterization, realism, psychological portrayal, and authorial positioning. This procedure follows sociolinguistic approaches that interpret linguistic forms in relation to speakers, situations, and identities rather than treating vocabulary as socially meaningful in isolation (Holmes & Wilson, 2022; Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2021).

The analysis is intentionally conservative with respect to etymology. The source manuscript explicitly states that ment, obshchak, krysha, and obez entered Uzbek criminal speech through Russian. Those four items are therefore treated as Russian-mediated in the descriptive visualization below. The other six items are not assigned a language-of-origin category in this paper, because doing so would require independent etymological verification. Uzbek lexicographic sources, including Hojiyev (2002), Madvaliyev (2006–2008), and Rahmatullayev (2000), provide the broader lexical context for distinguishing standard, borrowed, and socially marked vocabulary.

Because the study does not use a fully digitized corpus of the four-volume work, no claim is made about the total number or statistical frequency of argotisms in Shaytanat. The figures therefore visualize the composition of the focal examples discussed in this article, not the distribution of all argotic vocabulary in the novel cycle. This distinction is important for methodological validity and for avoiding numerical claims unsupported by the available data.

Results

Semantic Domains of the Focal Argotisms

The ten focal items fall into three semantic domains. Four are associated with criminal organization and internal group relations: krysha, obshchak, ment, and obez. Three are associated with gambling: stavka, dilyor, and vabank. Three are associated with drug use: doza, ukol, and lomka. Figure 1 summarizes this descriptive distribution. The largest category in the focal sample is criminal-organizational vocabulary, but the difference is small and should not be interpreted as a frequency pattern for the complete text.

The criminal-organizational items are especially important because they represent the internal structure of the criminal milieu. The manuscript explains krysha in contexts where it refers to a protective or patronizing force and obshchak as a shared fund accumulated for group interests. Such items condense social relations into specialized lexical forms. Their use can indicate who possesses protection, who contributes to collective resources, and who belongs to the communicative network in which these meanings are understood. In this sense, argot operates as a compact social code.

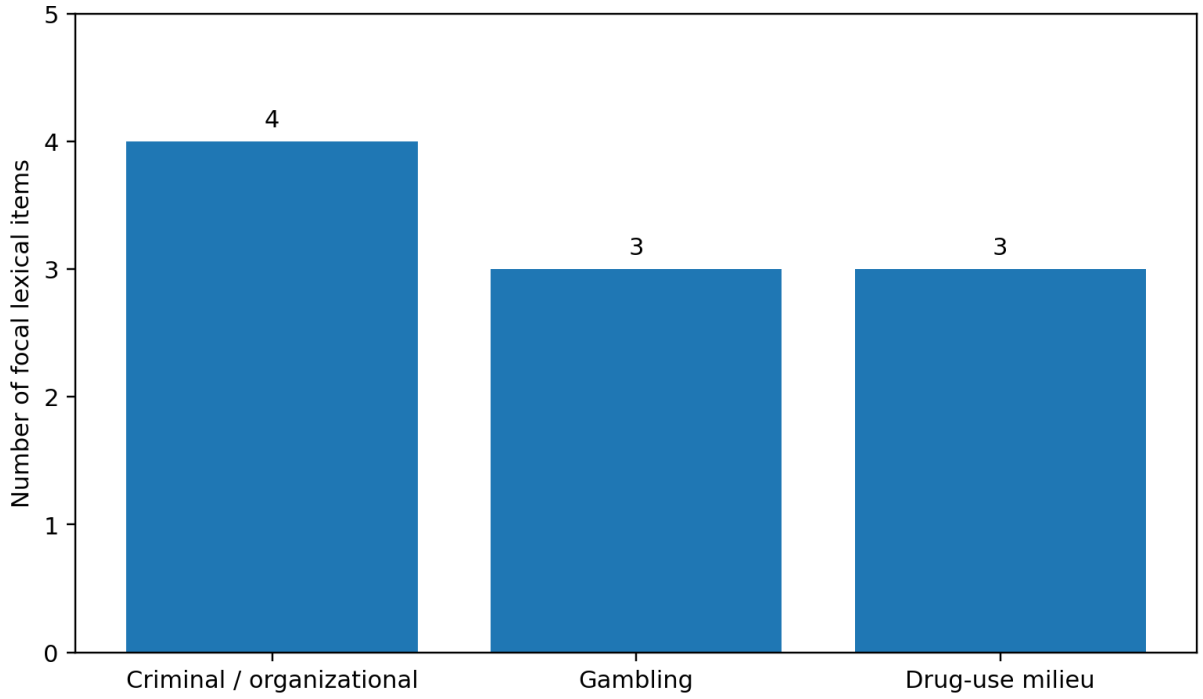
The gambling-related items construct a different but related social environment. Stavka, dilyor, and vabank evoke risk, money, competition, and the behavioral logic of gambling. Importantly, the argotic status of such terms is contextual rather than absolute. Some may circulate in wider contemporary speech. Their relevance in Shaytanat lies in the way they become associated with particular speakers, activities, and moments of risk. The terms thereby contribute to the portrayal of characters whose decisions and identities are shaped by money, chance, and high-stakes behavior.

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Drug-related items perform a similarly contextual function. Doza, ukol, and lomka belong to a lexical field connected with drug use and dependence. Within the novel's negative social environment, such vocabulary helps portray deterioration without requiring extended psychological exposition. The specialized lexicon can function metonymically: a single word evokes a wider social practice, bodily condition, and moral atmosphere. The result is a form of compressed characterization in which vocabulary contributes directly to the reader's understanding of a character's condition.

Figure 1

Focal Lexical Examples by Semantic Domain



Note. Counts represent only the ten lexical examples explicitly analyzed in this article (4 criminal-organizational, 3 gambling, 3 drug-related). They are descriptive sample counts, not corpus frequencies for the complete Shaytanat series.

Borrowing and Russian-Mediated Lexical Influence

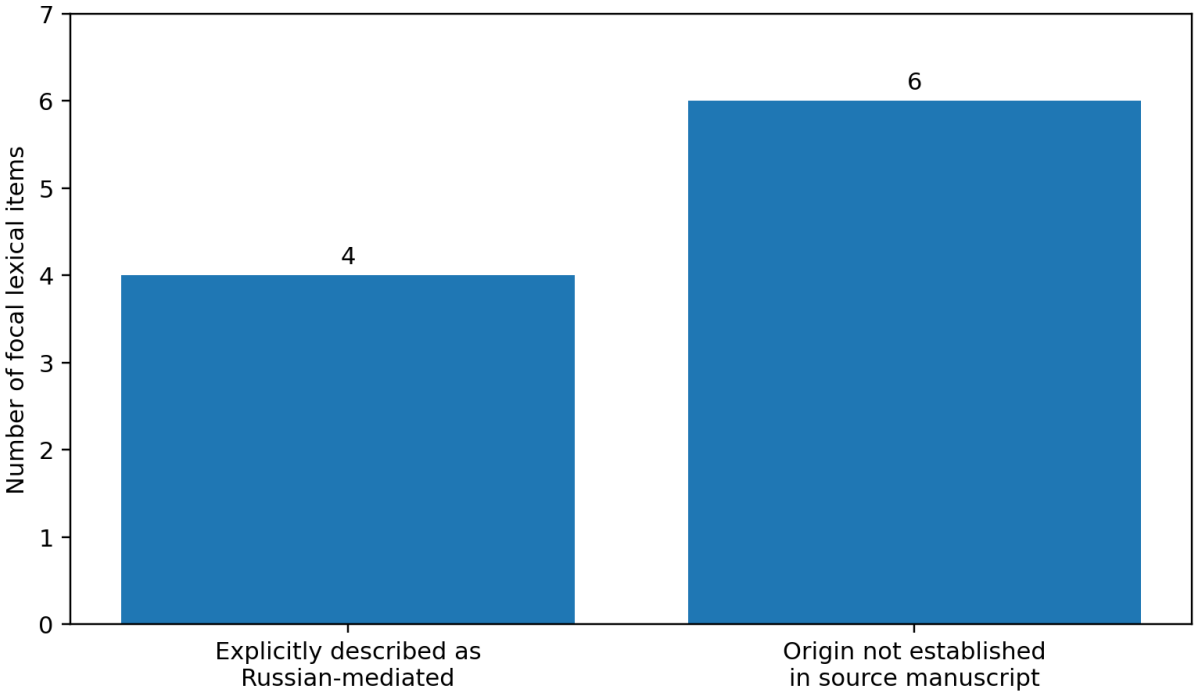
The source manuscript also highlights Russian-mediated influence in the criminal lexical layer. Four of the ten focal items—ment, obshchak, krysha, and obez—are explicitly described as having entered Uzbek speech through Russian. Figure 2 visualizes only this source-supported distinction. The remaining six items are left unclassified with respect to origin. This conservative treatment is preferable to assuming that every phonologically Russian-looking form has the same borrowing history or social trajectory.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, borrowing is significant not only as a historical process but also as a marker of social contact. A borrowed item may acquire meanings and social associations that differ from those of its source language. In a literary text, the presence of Russian-mediated criminal vocabulary can index the historical multilingual environment in which particular urban and criminal subcultures developed. At the same time, the novel integrates such items into Uzbek discourse, where their narrative effect depends on the surrounding Uzbek syntax, dialogue structure, and character relationships rather than on etymology alone.

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Figure 2

Origin Status of the Ten Focal Examples



Note. The source manuscript explicitly identifies ment, obshchak, krysha, and obez as having entered Uzbek speech through Russian. The other six items are intentionally left unclassified here because their origins are not established by the available source material.

Sociolinguistic and Literary Functions

Across the three semantic domains, four recurrent functions emerge. First, argotisms individualize character speech. A character who selects a specialized in-group term instead of a neutral literary equivalent is linguistically positioned within a particular social world. Second, argotisms contribute to hierarchy and group structure. Forms of address, evaluative vocabulary, and specialized naming can indicate authority, dependence, or distance. Third, they create group boundaries by distinguishing insiders from outsiders. Eble (1996) shows that in-group vocabulary can strengthen sociability and group cohesion; in Shaytanat, the same mechanism helps represent a criminal sphere that is partially closed to ordinary society. Fourth, argotisms intensify realism by introducing socially differentiated speech into a narrative where uniformly neutral language would be less credible.

These functions are not mutually exclusive. A single term may simultaneously identify a speaker, evoke a social practice, and position the speaker within a hierarchy. This multifunctionality explains why a purely dictionary-based approach is insufficient. The literary effect of an argotism emerges from who uses it, to whom, in what situation, and with what consequences.

Discussion

The findings support a view of argot as an indexical resource rather than a static lexical category. Socially restricted vocabulary works because speakers and readers connect forms with recognizable social meanings. This aligns with sociolinguistic theories in which variation is part of social practice (Eckert, 2000) and style involves meaningful linguistic choices that position speakers in relation to identities and situations (Coupland, 2007). In Shaytanat, argotisms help the narrative accomplish this positioning economically: they signal criminal affiliation, gambling practices, drug dependence, and internal group relations without requiring explicit sociological commentary in every scene.

The analysis also clarifies the distinction between argot and broader nonstandard vocabulary. Not every colloquial or expressive item should be treated as argotic. A useful classification must ask whether a lexical item is socially restricted, whether it has a specialized meaning within a group, and whether its

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interpretation is tied to a particular communicative network. This point is especially important in Uzbek literary studies, where national-cultural words, conversational forms, borrowed vocabulary, and criminal argot may coexist in the same passage. Treating all of them as a single category would weaken both sociolinguistic precision and literary interpretation.

The literary function of argotisms is also inseparable from characterization. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) emphasize that identity is produced in interaction rather than merely expressed from a pre-existing social essence. A similar principle operates in fictional dialogue: characters become socially recognizable through repeated patterns of lexical choice, address, evaluation, and stance. Malik's use of specialized vocabulary therefore contributes to what may be called a speech portrait. Readers infer social affiliation not only from what a character does but also from how that character names institutions, money, risk, protection, or bodily dependence.

Another important function is ideological. The novel's representation of criminal and drug-related vocabulary does not automatically amount to endorsement of the practices named by those terms. On the contrary, the manuscript consistently interprets the lexical layer as part of Malik's critical representation of crime, addiction, and moral degradation. This distinction matters because socially marked language can fascinate readers through novelty or expressive force. In the novel, however, argot is embedded in consequences: conflict, dependency, violence, unstable loyalty, and social isolation. The aesthetic realism created by specialized vocabulary therefore supports rather than cancels the text's critical social perspective.

The role of borrowing further complicates the picture. Russian-mediated forms show that the criminal milieu represented in the work is not linguistically sealed. Its vocabulary reflects histories of contact and circulation. Yet borrowing should not be equated automatically with argot. A borrowed word becomes relevant to this study only when it functions as socially restricted or contextually marked vocabulary in the represented milieu. This distinction prevents etymology from replacing sociolinguistic analysis.

Finally, the analysis demonstrates why literary texts are valuable sources for the historical study of social vocabulary. Slang and argot are highly mobile: forms can emerge in restricted communities, spread into popular speech, change meaning, or disappear (Coleman, 2012; Mattiello, 2008). Fiction preserves socially situated uses that may later become difficult to reconstruct. Shaytanat can therefore be studied not only as a literary work but also as evidence of the social meanings attached to particular lexical forms in a specific historical and cultural setting.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The principal limitation of the present study is the absence of a complete searchable corpus of Shaytanat. The ten focal items are a purposive sample drawn from the examples explicitly discussed in the source manuscript; they cannot support claims about overall frequency, dispersion across volumes, or statistically dominant semantic domains. The two figures are therefore descriptive visualizations of the sample, not corpus statistics.

A second limitation concerns etymology and diachrony. Only four items are classified here as Russian-mediated because that claim is explicit in the source manuscript. Establishing the histories of the remaining forms would require systematic consultation of historical dictionaries, dated textual evidence, and possibly Russian and Uzbek criminal-lexicon sources. Future research should also distinguish authorial narration from character dialogue, identify speakers and scenes, and record each occurrence in a reproducible coding scheme.

Conclusion

Argotisms in Tohir Malik's Shaytanat are best understood as multifunctional linguistic resources situated at the intersection of sociolinguistics and literary stylistics. Their importance lies not simply in their nonstandard form but in the social meanings they activate. The focal examples examined here

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represent criminal organization, gambling, and drug-use milieus; within those domains, they contribute to social identification, hierarchy, solidarity, insider/outsider boundaries, psychological characterization, and narrative realism.

The study also shows that rigorous analysis requires terminological restraint. Argot should be distinguished from general colloquial vocabulary, culturally specific words, professional terminology, and slang of broad circulation. Context is decisive. A lexical item becomes analytically significant when its meaning and effect are tied to a socially restricted environment and to the interactional position of its speaker.

For future research, the most productive next step is a corpus-based study of all four volumes of Shaytanat. Such a corpus could record lexical form, speaker, interlocutor, narrative context, semantic domain, presumed origin, and pragmatic function. Frequency and co-occurrence analysis could then be combined with close reading to test whether the patterns identified qualitatively in this article recur systematically across the work. Such research would contribute to the description of Uzbek social vocabulary while also demonstrating how literary language preserves and reshapes the linguistic codes of particular social worlds.

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IDEOLOGY AND LITERARY PROCESS: BHAKTI AND SUFI LITERATURE IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT
This article examines the parallel development of Bhakti and Sufi literary traditions in medieval India and considers their relationship to the ideological, linguistic, and literary processes of the period. It focuses on the historical conditions in which devotional and mystical communities expanded, the literary forms associated with them, and the role of vernacular languages in making religious and philosophical ideas accessible to wider audiences. Particular attention is given to the interaction of Bhakti and Sufi thought, the reworking of epic and devotional traditions, the development of Braj, Awadhi, and Dakhini as literary media, and the continuing significance of works associated with poets such as Surdas and Tulsidas. The article argues that Bhakti and Sufi literature should be understood not simply as religious writing but as an important part of the social and literary history of medieval India, where devotional ideas, vernacular expression, and cultural exchange contributed to durable literary traditions.

ACCEPTED

07.09.26

Keywords: *Bhakti, Sufism, medieval Indian literature, Braj, Awadhi, Dakhini, Ashtachhap, Krishna Bhakti, Rama Bhakti, vernacular literature.*

CC BY

Ideology and Literary Process: Bhakti and Sufi Literature in India

Literature reflects the intellectual, spiritual, and social formations of its period. In medieval India, Bhakti and Sufi traditions became influential modes of religious expression and literary production, although modern scholarship cautions against treating either tradition as a single, uniform movement (Hawley, 2015; Schimmel, 1975). Their poets and teachers articulated religious, ethical, and philosophical ideas through literary forms that circulated across linguistic and social boundaries. This article examines the socio-political and spiritual context of medieval North India, the devotional and mystical traditions that developed within it, and their influence on literary production. Particular attention is given to ideological affinities, vernacularization, genre formation, and literary exchange. From this perspective, the importance of Bhakti and Sufi literature lies not only in its devotional themes but also in its contribution to the development of Braj, Awadhi, and Dakhini literary cultures and to shared forms of cultural expression across Hindu and Islamic contexts (Behl, 2012; Khodjaeva & Mukhibova, 2020; Snell, 1991).

Historical and Socio-Political Context

Medieval North India was marked by political transition, regional competition, religious diversity, and substantial social inequality. Hindu, Islamic, Buddhist, Jain, and, from the late fifteenth century, Sikh traditions coexisted in different regions, while political authority remained divided among competing states. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Lodi dynasty ruled the Delhi Sultanate. Sikandar Lodi reigned from 1489 to 1517 and was succeeded by Ibrahim Lodi, whose defeat by Babur at the First Battle of Panipat in 1526 ended Lodi rule and opened a new phase of Mughal political consolidation (Chandra, 2005). These political changes did not produce a single cultural pattern; rather,

courts, religious communities, pilgrimage centers, and regional literary networks continued to interact in complex ways.

The expansion of Mughal power created a new political framework for North Indian society, but the literary growth of the period cannot be attributed to imperial policy alone. Caste hierarchy, regional devotional communities, temple and Sufi institutions, courtly patronage, and expanding vernacular audiences all shaped literary production. Bhakti traditions responded in different ways to ritual authority and social hierarchy, while Sufi communities offered parallel vocabularies of devotion, discipline, love, and spiritual guidance. The convergence of these traditions was therefore cultural and literary as well as religious, and it developed unevenly across regions and communities (Hawley, 2015; Schimmel, 1975).

Bhakti and the Literary Process

Bhakti was promoted by a wide range of teachers and poet-saints rather than by a single founder. Ramanuja was especially important to the development of South Indian Vaishnava theology, while Ramananda, Vallabhacharya, Chaitanya, Nimbarka, and other teachers became influential in later North Indian devotional traditions. Their teachings differed in theology and practice, but many emphasized personal devotion, the accessibility of divine grace, and forms of religious expression that could reach beyond elite Sanskrit learning. This emphasis helped create conditions in which devotional poetry became a major vehicle for religious and ethical reflection (Hawley, 2015; Muhammad, 1971).

The Sanskrit term bhakti broadly denotes participation, devotion, or loving attachment to a deity. In medieval devotional traditions, it came to signify an intensely personal relationship between devotee and divine. Bhakti poetry often challenged the sufficiency of ritual status and emphasized devotion as a meaningful path to spiritual fulfillment. Although ideas of social equality were expressed differently by different poets and communities, the use of vernacular languages enabled devotional literature to reach audiences beyond learned religious elites. This wider circulation was one of the most important literary consequences of the Bhakti traditions (Mishra, 2010; Hawley, 2015).

Bhakti traditions developed over many centuries and in multiple regions. South Indian devotional traditions associated with the Alvars and Nayanars predated the major North Indian efflorescence, while between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries North India produced a particularly rich body of devotional poetry. The sixteenth century, including the reign of Akbar (1556–1605), was especially significant for the circulation and institutionalization of several Vaishnava communities. It is therefore more accurate to understand Bhakti as a network of regional traditions and literary communities than as a single movement progressing uniformly from south to north (Hawley, 2015).

Bhakti did not introduce an entirely new religious idea into India. Rather, it developed within older Hindu devotional and theological traditions and took different forms in relation to Shaiva, Vaishnava, and other religious communities. In North Indian literary history, Bhakti is often discussed in relation to critiques of ritualism, caste hierarchy, and sectarian exclusivity. These critiques, however, were neither identical nor equally radical across all poets. The literary value of Bhakti lies partly in this diversity: poets used devotional language to address theology, love, ethics, social experience, and the relationship between the individual and the divine (Mishra, 2010; Muhammad, 1971).

A common distinction in North Indian Bhakti literature is between nirguna and saguna devotion. Nirguna traditions emphasize a formless or attributeless divine, whereas saguna traditions focus on devotion to a deity with identifiable attributes and form. Saguna Vaishnava poetry is often further associated with Rama-centered and Krishna-centered traditions. These categories are useful for literary analysis, but they should not be treated as rigid boundaries, because medieval poets frequently drew on shared devotional vocabularies and overlapping philosophical ideas (Hawley, 2015).

The literary heritage of Krishna Bhakti is especially prominent in Braj. The Pushtimarg tradition founded by Vallabhacharya and developed by his successors became associated with a group of Krishna-devotee poets known as the *Ashtachhap*, or “eight seals.” Their poetry elaborated episodes from Krishna’s

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life, especially childhood, pastoral play, love, separation, and divine grace. Surdas became the best-known poet associated with this literary world, and the Sur tradition contributed substantially to the prestige of Braj as a language of devotional poetry (Snell, 1991).

Rama Bhakti is closely associated with Tulsidas and the *Ramcharitmanas*, composed in Awadhi. Tulsidas's retelling of the Rama story became one of the most influential works of North Indian devotional literature, combining epic narrative, theology, ethical instruction, and poetic artistry. Its continuing reception demonstrates how vernacular retellings of Sanskritic narratives could acquire independent authority and become central works within later literary and religious traditions (Tsvetkov, 1987).

The growth of Bhakti literature also contributed to the refinement and wider circulation of existing poetic forms. Doha and chaupai became especially important, alongside other meters and stanzaic forms used across regional traditions. Rather than creating an entirely separate poetic system, Bhakti poets adapted inherited Sanskritic, Apabhramsha, and vernacular conventions to new devotional purposes. This interaction between inherited poetics and vernacular creativity is one reason medieval devotional literature became so influential in the history of Hindi literary expression (Snell, 1991).

Bhakti traditions also contributed to the development of prose. The varta genre, associated especially with Vaishnava communities, records the lives, teachings, and exemplary conduct of devotees. Works such as *Chaurasi Vaishnavan ki Varta* ("Lives of Eighty-Four Vaishnavas") and *Do Sau Bavan Vaishnavan ki Varta* ("Lives of 252 Vaishnavas") illustrate the growth of hagiographic prose in Braj. These narratives are important not only as religious documents but also as sources for the study of community formation, vernacular prose, and the social world of devotional practice.

Mughal-period political consolidation coincided with an important phase in the development of vernacular literary cultures. The relationship between empire and Bhakti literature, however, was indirect and varied by region. Courtly patronage, temple institutions, religious networks, and local audiences all shaped literary production. Scholarship on Mughal-era Hindi literature shows that Braj and other vernaculars circulated in both devotional and courtly settings, making the literary culture of the period more diverse than a simple opposition between religious and imperial traditions would suggest (Busch, 2011).

Sufi Traditions and Literary Exchange

Indian Sufi literature developed within the wider history of Islamic mysticism and the institutional growth of Sufi orders. These traditions reached the subcontinent through Persianate networks linking Central Asia, Khurasan, Afghanistan, and India. Sufi communities adapted to local cultural environments while retaining distinctive practices of spiritual discipline, master-disciple transmission, remembrance, and devotional love (Schimmel, 1975).

Several Sufi orders became influential in South Asia, including the Chishti and Naqshbandi traditions. The Chishti order, which originated in the wider Khurasan-Afghanistan region, became especially prominent in the Indian subcontinent. Sufi ideas were transmitted through khanqahs, oral teaching, poetry, music, and hagiography. In literary terms, the presence of Sufi communities helped create a rich Indo-Islamic tradition in which Persianate mystical concepts interacted with regional languages, narrative conventions, and Indian symbolic worlds (Behl, 2012; Schimmel, 1975).

The Chishti tradition spread through major centers in North India and developed several branches and lineages. Its appeal extended beyond narrowly defined social or ethnic boundaries, and Sufi shrines frequently became spaces of interaction among different communities. By the early modern period, khanqahs and shrine networks were established across Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Sindh, the Deccan, and other regions. Such institutions contributed to the circulation of devotional vocabulary, stories, music, and ethical ideals across a broad social landscape (Schimmel, 1975).

Contact between Bhakti and Sufi communities did not erase theological differences, but it encouraged forms of cultural and literary exchange. Shared themes included divine love, longing, the

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authority of the spiritual guide, criticism of empty ritual, and the search for an inward relationship with the divine. Indo-Islamic literary traditions also incorporated Indian narrative motifs, aesthetic categories, and regional linguistic forms. Such interaction is particularly visible in the Sufi romance tradition, where Islamic mystical interpretation and Indian literary conventions were brought into sustained dialogue (Behl, 2012; Sharma, 1977).

A substantial body of Sufi literature emerged in Indian languages between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries. Important works include Mirigavati, Padmavat, Madhumalati, Chandayan, and other romances in which love narratives are interpreted through mystical and ethical frameworks. These texts demonstrate the creative integration of Persianate Sufi concepts with Indian storytelling traditions and regional literary languages. Sufi literary culture also employed established Persian and Arabic poetic forms such as the ghazal, rubai, qit'a, and masnavi, while adapting them to South Asian contexts (Behl, 2012; Lal, 1977; Schimmel, 1975).

Bhakti literary culture was similarly diverse. Works associated with Surdas, Nanddas, Kumbhandas, Kabir, Tulsidas, Mirabai, and other poets represent different theological, linguistic, and poetic traditions. Rather than forming a homogeneous corpus, they demonstrate the range of literary strategies through which devotional communities represented divine love, ethical reflection, social critique, and sacred biography. This diversity is essential to understanding the broader literary process of medieval North India (Hawley, 2015; Snell, 1991).

Vernacular Languages and Literary Culture

Language is central to the significance of both Bhakti and Sufi literature. Krishna-centered devotional poetry became strongly associated with Braj, Rama-centered literature with Awadhi, and several Indo-Muslim literary traditions with forms of Hindavi and Dakhini. These languages should not be understood merely as “folk” alternatives to Sanskrit or Persian; they became sophisticated literary media capable of expressing theology, aesthetics, narrative, and complex emotional states (Behl, 2012; Snell, 1991).

Braj is a Western Hindi variety that became one of the most important literary languages of early modern North India. From roughly the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, Braj was used well beyond its core spoken region and acquired considerable prestige as a language of poetry, devotion, aesthetics, and courtly culture. Its literary history therefore cannot be reduced to the history of a local dialect (Busch, 2011; Satendra, 1978; Snell, 1991).

Historically, Braj was associated with the region around Mathura and with neighboring areas of present-day Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Haryana, and Madhya Pradesh. Yet literary Braj circulated much more widely than the boundaries of everyday speech. Its mobility across courts, temples, devotional communities, and manuscript networks helped establish it as a transregional literary language in the Mughal period (Busch, 2011; Snell, 1991).

The rise of Braj as a major literary medium was closely connected with Krishna devotion, but its development was not limited to Bhakti poetry. Devotional poets, court poets, intellectuals, and prose writers all contributed to its expansion. The Ashtachhap poets played a particularly important role in Krishna-centered literature, while hagiographic prose such as the varta tradition demonstrated Braj’s capacity for sustained narrative. Later courtly literature further extended the language’s aesthetic and intellectual range (Busch, 2011; Snell, 1991).

Lexicographical and philological scholarship has been essential for the study of medieval Braj. Specialized dictionaries and glossaries, including works devoted to Braj vocabulary and the language of Surdas, enable scholars to interpret archaic words, theological terms, idioms, and poetic conventions that are no longer transparent to readers of modern Hindi. Such tools are comparable to the specialized dictionaries used in Uzbek literary studies for reading classical authors such as Alisher Navoi.

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Classical Indian poetics also remained important to vernacular literary practice. Concepts such as rasa, alankara, and dhvani provided critical vocabularies for understanding emotion, ornamentation, suggestion, and aesthetic effect. Braj poets adapted these inherited categories within vernacular compositions, demonstrating that the growth of regional literary languages did not represent a simple rejection of Sanskritic tradition. Rather, vernacular literature often developed through creative reworking of earlier aesthetic systems (Busch, 2011; Snell, 1991).

The Surdas tradition illustrates the literary richness of Braj and the scholarly challenges involved in studying a large, historically transmitted poetic corpus. Dictionaries, concordances, critical editions, and philological studies help clarify the vocabulary and textual history of these works. They also make it possible to investigate wider questions of grammar, lexicology, religious thought, performance, cultural memory, and literary reception (Sazanova, 1973; Snell, 1991).

The poetry associated with the Ashtachhap is especially rich in terminology connected with Krishna theology and lila, or divine play. Different poetic traditions emphasize episodes such as Krishna's childhood, pastoral life, love with Radha and the gopis, separation, and rasa-lila. These thematic categories are not merely narrative labels; they structure devotional emotion and shape the aesthetic experience of Krishna-centered poetry.

For this reason, the study and translation of medieval Bhakti literature require close attention to historical vocabulary, sectarian concepts, genre conventions, and regional language. Explanatory dictionaries and critical editions are therefore indispensable tools. Without this philological foundation, important distinctions in devotional theology and poetic meaning can easily be flattened or mistranslated.

Conclusion

1. Bhakti and Sufi literary traditions developed during a period of political transition and cultural vitality in medieval India. Their growth was shaped by regional religious communities, transregional networks, and changing systems of patronage rather than by a single historical cause. Sufi orders entered and expanded within India through wider Persianate networks, while Bhakti traditions developed through multiple regional lineages and devotional communities.

2. The interaction between Bhakti and Sufi literary cultures contributed to a shared repertoire of themes and forms without eliminating religious difference. Divine love, longing, spiritual guidance, ethical discipline, and the critique of empty ritual appear in different ways across both traditions. Indo-Islamic romance, devotional lyric, hagiography, and epic retelling show how Hindu, Islamic, Sanskritic, Persianate, and vernacular literary resources could coexist and interact (Behl, 2012; Hawley, 2015).

3. Vernacularization was one of the most important features of this literary process. Braj, Awadhi, Dakhini, and related literary varieties enabled poets and religious communities to address audiences beyond the traditional scholarly domains of Sanskrit and Persian. At the same time, these vernaculars developed sophisticated literary conventions of their own and became vehicles for theology, aesthetics, narrative, and cultural memory (Busch, 2011; Snell, 1991).

Indian Bhakti and Sufi literature therefore constitutes a major part of the medieval and early modern literary heritage of South Asia. Its significance lies in the interaction of ideology, language, genre, religious practice, and social experience. Many texts and regional traditions still require sustained philological and comparative study, particularly within Uzbek Indology. Further research that combines literary history, textual scholarship, and comparative religious studies can clarify both the distinctiveness of these traditions and the forms of cultural exchange that connected them.

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THE FORMATION AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF UZBEK LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP: FROM MYTHOPOETIC THOUGHT TO CONTEMPORARY LITERARY STUDIES

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ABSTRACT
This article examines the formation and historical development of Uzbek literary scholarship from early mythopoetic reflection to contemporary academic literary studies. Building on Uzbek scholarship and situating it within wider Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Russian, and European traditions, the study argues that Uzbek literary thought developed through continuity rather than abrupt disciplinary rupture. A historical-comparative and source-critical method is used to distinguish changing objects of analysis, conceptual vocabularies, institutions, and evaluative criteria across major periods. The analysis identifies four broad stages: mythopoetic thought; classical poetics and the formation of Turkic literary scholarship; twentieth-century transformation, including Jadid and Soviet-era reconfiguration; and the independence period. Particular attention is given to the classical system of aruz, qafiya, and badi'; the contribution of scholars and writers such as al-Farabi, Mahmud Kashgari, Alisher Navoi, and Babur; and the twentieth-century expansion from normative poetics toward literary history, criticism, textual scholarship, and theoretically differentiated approaches. The article further shows that modern Uzbek literary scholarship is best understood as a layered field in which Eastern poetics and Western theoretical models coexist, interact, and are repeatedly reinterpreted. This framework clarifies periodization and strengthens comparative understanding of Uzbek literary studies. It also proposes clearer criteria for future historiographic and comparative research.

ACCEPTED

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Keywords: *Uzbek literary scholarship, poetics, literary history, Turkic literature, periodization, textual criticism.*

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Introduction

The history of Uzbek literary scholarship cannot be reduced to the moment when a modern disciplinary label entered academic use. The source manuscript correctly emphasizes that the term "literary scholarship" became established only in the early twentieth century, while activities recognizable today as literary theory, criticism, textual interpretation, genre reflection, and poetics existed much earlier in Turkic and broader Islamic intellectual traditions. The methodological consequence is important: a history of Uzbek literary studies must trace conceptual practices before the institutionalization of the modern discipline, rather than projecting twentieth-century categories backward without qualification (Hamroyeva, 2026; Valikhodjaev, 1993).

For English-language discussion, this article uses "literary scholarship" as an umbrella term broadly corresponding to literary studies. The phrase includes literary history, literary theory, criticism, poetics, textual scholarship, and related forms of systematic reflection on verbal art. At the same time, historically specific categories should be preserved. Classical Eastern poetics was not simply an early version of a modern university department. It operated through overlapping disciplines such as adab ilmi (the science or cultivated knowledge of literature), 'ilm al-'aruz (prosody), 'ilm al-qafiya (rhyme), and 'ilm al-badi' (rhetorical and figurative artistry). These categories organized knowledge around poetic craft, eloquence, meter, genre, and the ethical and aesthetic functions of language.

The central argument of this paper is that Uzbek literary scholarship developed through layered continuity. Its early forms emerged from mythopoetic and oral-cultural reflection; its classical phase was shaped by Arabic and Persian intellectual traditions while developing a distinct Turkic literary language and poetics; its twentieth-century phase transformed under print culture, Jadid reform, Soviet institutions, new genres, and imported theoretical vocabularies; and its post-independence phase expanded through source studies, textual criticism, specialized author studies, comparative literature, and reassessment of the national canon. This developmental sequence is not purely chronological. Each stage is defined by changes in the object of study, the vocabulary of analysis, the institutions producing knowledge, and the criteria used to evaluate literary value.

Such an approach also helps place Uzbek literary scholarship within world literary history. Comparative work on historical poetics, structuralism, and literary theory shows that disciplines change when literary forms, media, institutions, and interpretive communities change (Lotman, 1977; Veselovsky, 1989; Wellek & Warren, 1949). Uzbek literary studies therefore should be read neither as an isolated national phenomenon nor as a derivative copy of Western theory. It is better understood as a historically situated intellectual tradition formed at the intersection of Turkic, Arabic, Persian, Russian, Soviet, and global scholarly systems.

Method and Analytical Framework

This study employs a historical-comparative and source-critical method. Its primary point of departure is the periodization proposed in Uzbek scholarship, especially the sequence summarized by Hamroyeva (2026): mythopoetic thinking; classical poetics and the formation of Turkic literary scholarship; twentieth-century literary scholarship; and the independence period. That sequence is compared with broader theoretical accounts of poetics and literary historiography, including historical poetics, structural approaches to the artistic text, and general theories of literary study (Khalizev, 1999; Lotman, 1977; Veselovsky, 1989).

Four criteria are used to distinguish one developmental stage from another. First is the object of analysis: for example, ritualized oral expression, poetic craft, the individual literary text, literary history, or the institutional literary process. Second is conceptual vocabulary, including genre names, metrical categories, rhetorical devices, and theoretical concepts. Third is scholarly practice: commentary, anthology, treatise, biography, criticism, textual editing, historical synthesis, or comparative research. Fourth is institutional context, such as courtly patronage, manuscript culture, reformist print networks, Soviet academies, universities, and post-independence research institutions.

This framework avoids equating periodization with political chronology alone. Political change matters because it reorganizes institutions and cultural authority, but the history of literary scholarship must be periodized primarily through changes in literary-theoretical thought and scholarly practice (Boltaboyev, 2016). The distinction between "period," "stage," and "epoch" is therefore analytically useful: a period denotes a relatively bounded temporal segment, an epoch a broader historical formation, and a stage a functional phase within a developmental process. For Uzbek literary scholarship, "stage" is often the most productive term because it highlights transformation in methods and intellectual structures rather than merely the passage of time.

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From Mythopoetic Reflection to Classical Turkic Poetics

The earliest stage is best described as mythopoetic because literary reflection had not yet separated into autonomous theory, criticism, and history. Early Turkic inscriptions and oral-poetic materials preserved in later written sources display sophisticated awareness of formula, parallelism, praise, lament, heroic memory, and socially authoritative speech. The Orkhon-Yenisey inscriptions, for example, demonstrate that verbal artistry and political memory were already intertwined. Mahmud Kashgari's eleventh-century Diwan Lughat al-Turk preserved poetic fragments and ethnolinguistic observations that permit comparison among genres, dialects, oral traditions, and expressive forms. These materials are not "literary theory" in the modern sense, but they constitute evidence of reflexive literary culture and provide a foundation for later systematic classification.

The decisive transition occurred when literary reflection became organized through the learned traditions of the Islamic world. Arabic philosophy and rhetoric transmitted and transformed Greek concepts, while Persian literary culture developed highly influential models of poetic form, courtly ethics, imagery, and criticism. Aristotle's Poetics became one important point of reference, but its reception in Arabic philosophy was selective and creative. Al-Farabi and Avicenna interpreted poetic discourse within broader logical and philosophical systems, emphasizing the cognitive, imaginative, and persuasive operations of poetry (Aristotle, 1996; Kemal, 1991). This history matters for Central Asia because it demonstrates that "Eastern poetics" was itself intellectually plural, combining Greek philosophical inheritance with Arabic linguistic sciences, Persian literary practice, and local Turkic traditions.

Within this environment, the classical science of literature came to be structured around several specialized domains. Prosody explained the quantitative organization of verse; rhyme studies classified patterns and constraints; and badi' systematized rhetorical embellishment and figurative expression. Treatises by figures such as al-Farabi, 'Abd al-Qahir al-Jurjani, Shams-i Qays al-Razi, and later scholars provided conceptual languages for discussing form, eloquence, authorship, and poetic excellence. Persian literary culture further linked aesthetics to ethical and social functions, especially in court poetry, where literary mastery operated within systems of patronage, education, and moral exemplarity (Meisami, 1987).

The formation of a distinct Turkic literary scholarship took place through both reception and adaptation. Turkic authors wrote within a Persianate cultural world in which Persian served as a major transregional language of literary and scholarly exchange, while Turkic languages increasingly developed their own high literary functions (Green, 2019). The Chaghatay literary tradition became especially important. Linguistic scholarship confirms the maturity of Chaghatay as a literary language and the centrality of authors such as Alisher Navoi and Babur to its textual canon (Eckmann, 1966). During the Timurid period, bilingual and multilingual literary culture allowed Persian and Turkic poetics to interact rather than operate as sealed traditions.

Alisher Navoi represents a major turning point because his contribution was simultaneously creative, critical, biographical, linguistic, and theoretical. Works such as Majalis al-nafa'is, Mizan al-awzan, and other prose writings address poets, literary authority, metrical systems, artistic responsibility, and criteria of verbal mastery. Navoi therefore exemplifies a form of literary scholarship embedded in creative authorship. His work helped establish Chaghatay Turkic as a language capable of sophisticated literary and meta-literary discourse. Babur's Mukhtasar continued the development of Turkic aruz studies, while later treatises on prosody and poetic craft demonstrate the durability of the classical system.

This classical stage should not be described as static traditionalism. It was characterized by internal differentiation, commentary, codification, and adaptation. The relationship among Arabic, Persian, and Turkic traditions created a multilingual scholarly ecology. In that ecology, "poetics" named a broad field that included what would later be separated into theory, criticism, biography, rhetoric, metrics, and literary history. The modern narrowing of the term poetics therefore represents a change in disciplinary organization, not the sudden birth of reflection on literature.

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Twentieth-Century Transformation: Jadidism, New Genres, and Disciplinary Differentiation

The early twentieth century introduced structural changes that made inherited poetics insufficient as the sole framework for literary analysis. Uzbek literature expanded through new genres, new media, new audiences, and new social functions. Drama acquired new prominence; prose became institutionally central; journalism and criticism grew through print culture; and poetic practice increasingly included syllabic forms alongside or in place of classical aruz. These changes altered not only literature but also the questions scholars asked about literature.

Jadidism was crucial to this transformation. Central Asian Jadid intellectuals promoted new-method education, print, public debate, and cultural reform while rethinking the relationship between inherited Islamic learning and modern knowledge (Khalid, 1998). Literary criticism became closely connected to debates about language, education, nation, social reform, and cultural renewal. As literature became a medium for addressing modern public life, evaluation could no longer depend exclusively on mastery of classical meter, rhyme, and rhetorical embellishment. Plot, characterization, realism, social function, genre innovation, and readership became increasingly significant critical categories.

The Soviet period further institutionalized literary scholarship. Universities, academies, publishing houses, archives, and standardized curricula created a professional infrastructure for literary history, criticism, and textual research. At the same time, Soviet ideology constrained interpretation by privileging particular historical narratives and evaluative categories. The history of Uzbek literature was frequently organized through socio-political frameworks, class analysis, and officially sanctioned models of literary development. Allworth (1990) shows more broadly how Soviet historiography and nationality policy shaped the representation of Uzbek cultural history. Thus, institutional expansion and ideological restriction occurred simultaneously.

Nevertheless, twentieth-century scholarship also generated important methodological differentiation. The study of manuscripts and classical texts encouraged the growth of source studies and textual criticism. Literary history became more systematic; criticism became a specialized public and academic activity; and theoretical scholarship increasingly engaged Russian and European approaches. Historical poetics, formal analysis, structuralism, and general theories of the literary work offered new tools for studying genre, narrative, composition, and textual organization (Lotman, 1977; Potebnya, 1976; Veselovsky, 1989). The result was not a simple replacement of Eastern poetics by Western theory. Rather, modern Uzbek literary scholarship became a hybrid field in which classical categories remained necessary for premodern texts, while newer methods addressed modern genres and broader historical processes.

This transformation also explains why the term "poetics" narrowed in the twentieth century. In classical usage, poetics could encompass a large portion of systematic literary knowledge. Modern disciplinary structures separated literary theory, history, criticism, bibliography, textual scholarship, and specialized author studies. Poetics increasingly came to refer to the formal organization of a particular text, genre, authorial system, or historical type of artistic construction. The broader field came to be described as literary scholarship or literary studies (Khalizev, 1999; Wellek & Warren, 1949).

Literary Scholarship in the Independence Period

The independence period opened a new stage by changing the institutional and ideological conditions under which literary history was interpreted. Previously marginalized or ideologically constrained authors, texts, religious-intellectual traditions, and reformist movements could be reconsidered with greater attention to primary sources. Textual criticism and source studies acquired renewed importance because reassessing the national literary canon required reliable manuscripts, critical editions, archival evidence, and historically grounded attribution (Hamroyeva, 2026).

One visible outcome has been the expansion of specialized "-studies" fields devoted to major authors and movements: Navoi studies, Babur studies, Mashrab studies, Fitrat studies, and related areas. Such specialization can produce deeper philological knowledge, but it also raises a methodological

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challenge. Author-centered fields become most valuable when they remain connected to broader questions of genre, intellectual history, textual transmission, comparative poetics, and institutional history. Otherwise, specialization risks turning literary scholarship into disconnected micro-traditions.

The independence period has also encouraged renewed comparative work. The historical Uzbek literary field was multilingual and transregional; it cannot be adequately explained within a closed national framework. Persianate literary exchange, Arabic scholarly traditions, Chaghatay textual culture, Russian intellectual mediation, and Soviet academic institutions all formed part of its genealogy (Eckmann, 1966; Green, 2019). Comparative literary scholarship is therefore not an external addition to Uzbek studies but a method appropriate to the historical structure of the material itself.

A further development is methodological pluralism. Classical poetics remains indispensable for analyzing aruz, rhyme, rhetorical figures, and manuscript-era genre systems, while modern theory offers tools for narratology, structural analysis, reception, intertextuality, discourse, and literary sociology. The strongest contemporary scholarship does not force one framework onto all periods. Instead, it matches method to historical object and makes the assumptions of each analytical vocabulary explicit.

Discussion: Principles for Periodizing Uzbek Literary Scholarship

The proposed periodization becomes more convincing when stages are defined by epistemic criteria rather than by dates alone. Table 1 synthesizes the principal characteristics of the four broad stages. The first stage is characterized by embedded literary reflection: theory is inseparable from ritual, memory, oral performance, and political expression. The second stage is marked by codification: literary knowledge is organized into named sciences, treatises, anthologies, metrical systems, rhetorical taxonomies, and biographical evaluation. The third stage is characterized by disciplinary differentiation and institutionalization: criticism, theory, literary history, textual studies, and modern genre analysis become relatively autonomous. The fourth stage is characterized by reassessment, specialization, and methodological pluralism.

Table 1

Developmental Stages of Uzbek Literary Scholarship

Stage	Representative evidence	Dominant mode of literary knowledge	Defining transformation
1. Mythopoetic thought	Orkhon-Yenisey inscriptions; oral-poetic fragments; materials preserved by Mahmud Kashgari	Embedded reflection within oral memory, political speech, lament, praise, and genre practice	Artistic language becomes culturally reflexive before formal disciplinary categories emerge.
2. Classical Turkic poetics	Treatises, tazkiras, prosodic works, Navoi, Babur, Arabic-Persian-Turkic scholarship	Codified poetics through aruz, qafiya, badi', biography, commentary, and rhetorical analysis	Literary knowledge becomes systematized and Turkic develops a mature meta-literary vocabulary.
3. Twentieth-century transformation	Jadid print culture; criticism; Soviet literary histories; archives; critical editions; university curricula	Disciplinary differentiation into theory, history, criticism, textual scholarship, and genre analysis	New genres, media, institutions, and theoretical models expand the scope of literary study.
4. Independence period	Re-editions, dissertations, archival research, specialized author studies, comparative scholarship	Reassessment, source criticism, specialization, and methodological pluralism	The canon is re-examined and Eastern poetics is combined with modern comparative and theoretical approaches.

Note. The four-stage synthesis follows the broad periodization in Hamroyeva (2026) while making the analytical criteria explicit.

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This model also clarifies the relationship between literary history and the history of literary scholarship. The two are interdependent but not identical. Literary history asks how literary works, authors, genres, movements, and institutions change over time. The history of literary scholarship asks how those objects have been described, classified, evaluated, edited, and theorized. A new literary form may trigger a new critical vocabulary, but critical categories can also reshape the canon by determining which texts count as central, innovative, authentic, or representative. Periodization should therefore track both literary change and the changing conceptual apparatus used to understand it.

The Eastern-Western distinction is useful only if treated historically and relationally. Classical Eastern poetics contributed rich technical vocabularies for meter, rhyme, eloquence, figurative language, genre, and authorial mastery. Modern European and Russian traditions contributed new disciplinary distinctions and methodological systems, including historical poetics, structural analysis, and general literary theory (Lotman, 1977; Veselovsky, 1989). Yet neither side is internally uniform. Arabic philosophical poetics differs from Persian courtly criticism; Russian historical poetics differs from structural semiotics; and twentieth-century Uzbek criticism developed under changing reformist, Soviet, and post-Soviet conditions. Table 2 therefore compares not "East" and "West" as fixed civilizations, but dominant analytical tendencies that became influential at different moments.

Table 2

Dominant Analytical Tendencies in Classical Poetics and Modern Literary Studies

Dimension	Classical Eastern poetics	Modern disciplinary literary studies
Primary object	Poetic craft, meter, rhyme, eloquence, genre conventions, exemplary authorship	Texts, genres, literary systems, history, institutions, readership, discourse, and interpretation
Key concepts	Aruz, qafiya, badi', balagha, genre norms, poetic mastery	Historicism, structure, narrative, form, reception, intertextuality, ideology, literary process
Typical scholarly forms	Treatise, commentary, tazkira, anthology, metrical manual, authorial reflection	Monograph, article, literary history, critical edition, theoretical study, archival or comparative research
Validation	Technical command of inherited systems, rhetorical adequacy, authoritative precedent, learned tradition	Source criticism, explicit methodology, theoretical coherence, textual evidence, peer evaluation
Major strength	High precision for formal features of classical verse and rhetoric	Breadth across genres, periods, institutions, media, and interpretive problems
Main risk if used alone	May underdescribe modern prose, drama, social institutions, and newer readerships	May distort premodern texts if historical categories and philological detail are ignored

Note. The comparison is heuristic rather than civilizational: both columns contain internally diverse traditions and substantial historical overlap.

A historically responsible synthesis requires three safeguards. First, premodern concepts should not be translated into modern terms without noting conceptual differences. 'Ilm al-badi', for example, overlaps with rhetoric and poetics but is not identical to either modern category. Second, modern theory should not be treated as universally superior simply because it is later. Classical metrics and rhetorical sciences often provide more precise tools for texts constructed according to those systems. Third, national literary history should be connected to transregional exchange. The Persianate world, Arabic philosophical inheritance, and Turkic literary formation are constitutive elements of Uzbek literary history, not peripheral influences (Green, 2019; Kemal, 1991).

The development of Uzbek literary scholarship may therefore be described as cumulative differentiation. Knowledge does not merely replace one system with another. Older categories survive, narrow, expand, or acquire new functions. Poetics, once a broad umbrella, becomes a specialized term;

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textual criticism, once embedded in manuscript practice, becomes an institutional discipline; literary biography develops into author-centered research fields; and comparative study returns with new theoretical purposes. This cumulative model better explains continuity than narratives based on rupture alone.

Implications for Contemporary Research

Several implications follow from this analysis. First, histories of Uzbek literary scholarship should be source-based and terminologically precise. Manuscripts, treatises, tazkiras, metrical works, critical essays, textbooks, archival documents, and scholarly monographs belong to different genres of knowledge production and should not be treated as equivalent evidence. Their intended audiences and institutional functions matter.

Second, periodization should remain revisable. A four-stage model is useful for synthesis, but each stage contains internal transitions that may justify finer subdivisions. The classical stage, for example, can be separated into early Islamic intellectual formation, medieval codification, Timurid literary scholarship, and sixteenth- to nineteenth-century continuities. Likewise, the twentieth century includes Jadid, early Soviet, mature Soviet, and late Soviet configurations. The value of a periodization lies not in fixing a permanent chronology but in making the criteria of division explicit and testable (Boltaboyev, 2016; Hamroyeva, 2026).

Third, future research should integrate philology with theory. Philology secures texts, variants, authorship, historical vocabulary, and transmission; theory explains patterns, categories, and interpretive significance. Uzbek literary scholarship is especially well positioned for such integration because its archive includes oral-derived materials, manuscript culture, multilingual classical texts, reformist print, Soviet editions, and contemporary digital corpora. A mature historiography should move between these layers rather than privileging only one.

Finally, greater internationalization would strengthen the field. Scholarship on Central Asian intellectual history, the Persianate world, Chaghatay, Jadidism, and Islamic poetics already offers comparative frameworks relevant to Uzbek materials (Eckmann, 1966; Green, 2019; Khalid, 1998; Kemal, 1991). Bringing Uzbek-language scholarship into sustained dialogue with these literatures can make its distinctive evidence more visible while also correcting global literary histories that have often treated Central Asia as marginal.

Conclusion

Uzbek literary scholarship has a history much older than the modern term used to designate it. Its genealogy begins with mythopoetic and oral-cultural forms of reflection, becomes systematic through classical Islamic and Turkic poetics, undergoes major disciplinary transformation in the twentieth century, and enters a pluralized stage of reassessment and specialization after independence. Across these changes, literary scholarship develops in parallel with literature itself: changes in genre, language, medium, audience, and cultural institutions generate changes in the methods used to interpret literary works.

The most productive account of this history is therefore neither a story of uninterrupted tradition nor a story of Western-style modernization replacing an obsolete past. It is a history of layered continuity, translation, institutional change, and conceptual differentiation. Classical Eastern poetics provided durable technical and aesthetic categories; Turkic authors such as Navoi and Babur localized and expanded those traditions; Jadid and Soviet transformations created new public and academic functions for criticism and literary history; and the independence period has enabled renewed source criticism, author studies, comparative research, and methodological pluralism.

Understanding these stages clarifies the intellectual identity of Uzbek literary scholarship and provides a stronger basis for future research. It also demonstrates that Uzbek literary studies belong simultaneously to national, Turkic, Islamic, Persianate, Soviet, and global histories of literary thought.

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SOURCE-CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF ZIYĀʾ AD-DĪN AL-MAKKĪ AL-KHWARAZMĪ'S KIFĀYAT AN-NAḤW FĪ ʿILM AL-IʿRĀB

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ABSTRACT

This study presents a source-critical and philological analysis of Kifāyat an-Naḥw fī ʿIlm al-Iʿrāb, a classical Arabic grammatical manual attributed to the Khwarazmian scholar Ziyāʾ ad-Dīn al-Makkī al-Khwarazmī. Although Central Asian scholars made major contributions to Arabic linguistic thought, many instructional works from the region remain insufficiently examined as manuscript traditions. The study therefore investigates the textual transmission, codicological profile, structural organization, theoretical affiliations, and pedagogical function of Kifāyat an-Naḥw. It applies a four-part methodology combining codicological description, textual criticism, structural and terminological mapping, and intertextual source analysis across manuscript exemplars and relevant grammatical works. The findings indicate that the treatise organizes Arabic grammar through a concise tripartite framework of noun, verb, and particle, while emphasizing the concepts of iʿrāb and ʿāmil. Its terminology and organization reflect a predominantly Basran orientation, alongside identifiable affinities with al-Jurjānī and al-Zamakhsharī. Codicological evidence, including compact formats, multilingual glosses, marginal commentary, and ownership or reading marks, further suggests sustained use in madrasa instruction. The study concludes that Kifāyat an-Naḥw represents a significant Khwarazmian adaptation of classical Arabic grammatical theory for non-native learners in medieval Central Asia and contributes to understanding regional traditions of Arabic philology within broader histories of manuscript-based linguistic education and transmission.

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Introduction

The intellectual history of medieval Central Asia is inseparable from the development of Arabic philology and grammatical scholarship. Between the eighth and thirteenth centuries, scholars working in Khwarazm and Transoxiana participated actively in the production, transmission, and teaching of Arabic linguistic knowledge. Although modern scholarship often emphasizes prominent figures such as al-Zamakhsharī and al-Sakkākī, the region also produced specialized instructional manuals that supported madrasa education and the acquisition of Arabic by non-native speakers (Buzurgzoda, 1997; Versteegh, 1993). Within this broader scholarly environment, Ziyāʾ ad-Dīn al-Makkī al-Khwarazmī is noteworthy for his contribution to the study of Arabic syntax (*naḥw*) and inflectional analysis (*iʿrāb*).

Al-Makkī al-Khwarazmī's *Kifāyat an-Naḥw fī ʿIlm al-Iʿrāb* (hereafter *Kifāyat an-Naḥw*) belongs to a period in which Arabic grammar had become both a highly developed scholarly discipline and a practical educational necessity across non-Arabic-speaking Islamic societies. Grammatical instruction therefore had to preserve the analytical categories of the classical tradition while presenting them in forms suitable for systematic learning (Suleiman, 1999; Wright, 1896). The organization of *Kifāyat an-Naḥw* reflects this pedagogical requirement through concise definitions, categorical sequencing, and sustained attention to the relationship between the governing agent (*ʿāmil*) and syntactic inflection.

Despite the historical and linguistic value of *Kifāyat an-Naḥw*, the work has received limited source-critical and codicological treatment. Bio-bibliographical surveys record the title and its place within the Arabic manuscript tradition, but such references do not by themselves provide a detailed account of the work's textual transmission, structural organization, or pedagogical reception (Brockelmann, 1943–1949; Sezgin, 1967–2015). This study addresses that gap by examining the treatise as both a grammatical text and a manuscript-based educational artifact.

Research Questions and Objectives

The study is organized around three research questions:

1. What manuscript sources, textual traditions, and codicological characteristics are represented by the extant copies of Kifāyat an-Naḥw?
2. What theoretical framework, pedagogical method, and linguistic sources did Ziyāʾ ad-Dīn al-Makkī al-Khwarazmī synthesize in structuring the treatise?
3. What historical and regional significance can be assigned to Kifāyat an-Naḥw within the development of Arabic grammatical scholarship in Central Asia?

By addressing these questions, the study seeks to clarify the textual identity of the treatise, situate its grammatical method within the classical tradition, and assess the extent to which local educational conditions in Khwarazm and Transoxiana shaped its organization and use.

Method

Research Design and Materials

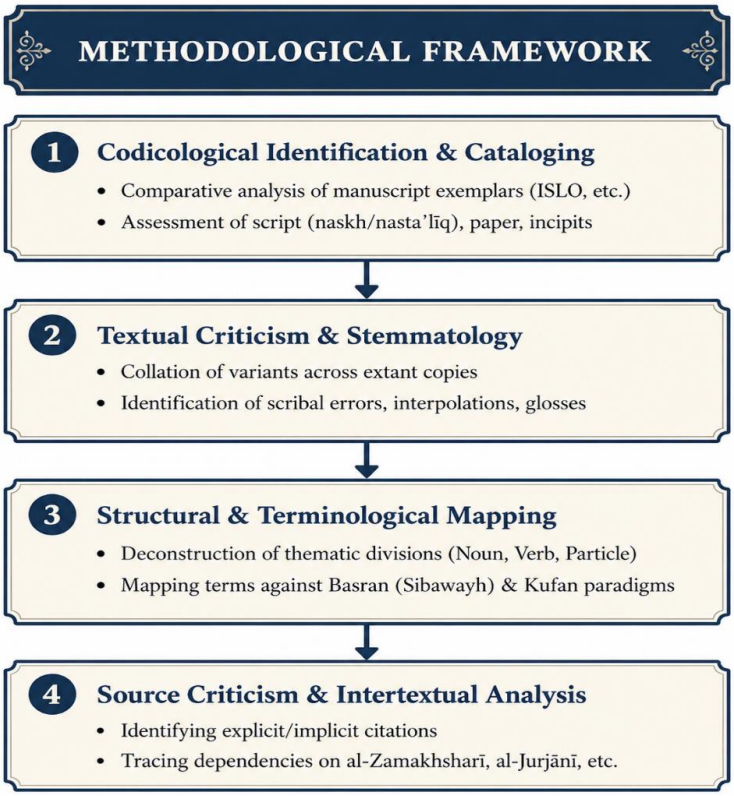
The study adopts an interdisciplinary manuscript-centered approach that combines classical philological procedures with codicological description and structural textual analysis. The primary object of investigation is *Kifāyat an-Naḥw* itself (Al-Makkī al-Khwarazmī, n.d.), examined through physical or digitized manuscript exemplars and repository descriptions. Primary attention is given to holdings associated with the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan in Tashkent, with comparative reference to cataloged materials in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul and the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg.

The analytical procedure consists of four related stages: codicological identification and cataloging; textual criticism and comparison of manuscript variants; structural and terminological mapping; and source-critical intertextual analysis. This sequence allows physical features, textual organization, and intellectual dependencies to be considered within a single framework.

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Figure 1

Methodological Framework for the Source-Critical Investigation of Kifāyat an-Naḥw fī ʿIlm al-Iʿrāb



Codicological Analysis

Each manuscript exemplar was evaluated according to the codicological features reported or observable in the study materials. Particular attention was given to script type, writing support, physical layout, marginalia, ownership evidence, and colophon information. The analysis distinguishes Naskh, Taʿlīq, and regional Nastaʿlīq hands; considers paper characteristics and visible evidence of ink use; and records interlinear or marginal glosses in Persian and Chagatai Turkic. Reader annotations, ownership seals, waqf attributions, and reading certificates were treated as evidence for the reception and educational use of the text.

Philological and Source-Critical Analysis

The grammatical and terminological structure of *Kifāyat an-Naḥw* was compared with major works that shaped the Arabic grammatical tradition and circulated in eastern Islamic scholarly contexts. The principal comparanda were al-Zamakhsharī's *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī Ṣināʿat al-Iʿrāb* (1993), ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's *Al-ʿAwāmil al-Miʾah fī al-Naḥw* (1982), and Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Al-Kāfiya* (n.d.), the latter being used for comparative structural typology. Terminological choices were categorized to assess the relative prominence of Basran principles, possible Kufan elements, and features that may reflect an eastern or Khwarazmian pedagogical synthesis.

Results

The combined codicological and philological analysis yields findings concerning the authorial context, manuscript transmission, internal structure, and intellectual lineage of the treatise.

Biographical and Bio-Bibliographical Context

Bio-bibliographical evidence places Ziyāʾ ad-Dīn al-Makkī al-Khwarazmī within the scholarly milieu of Khwarazm, while the nisbah *al-Makkī* may indicate an association with Mecca and *al-Khwarazmī* identifies a connection with the Khwarazm region. The surviving evidence does not permit a fully detailed biography; however, catalog traditions and the internal language of *Kifāyat an-Naḥw* are consistent with a late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century scholarly context (Brockelmann, 1943–1949; Haji Khalifa [Kātib

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Çelebi], 2008; Sezgin, 1967–2015). The honorific formulas, technical vocabulary, and didactic organization further align the work with the educational priorities of the late Khwarazmshah period.

Codicological Profile of the Manuscript Exemplars

The surveyed exemplars display recurrent physical features associated with compact educational manuscripts. The dimensions, script types, annotations, and colophon evidence summarized in Table 1 indicate that *Kifāyat an-Naḥw* circulated in formats suitable for consultation, memorization, and annotation.

Table 1

Codicological Characteristics of Surveyed Manuscript Exemplars

Codicological feature	**Description / empirical finding**
Average leaf dimensions	18.5 cm × 13.0 cm; compact student format
Written area	12.5 cm × 7.5 cm; approximately 13–17 lines per page
Script style	Predominantly clear Central Asian Naskh with dense Nastaʿlīq glosses
Incipit (khuṭbah)	Typically begins with a conventional praise formula, followed by a statement identifying the work as a concise treatise on iʿrāb
Marginal annotations	Extensive marginal commentary and interlinear translation notes in Chagatai Turkic and Persian
Colophon data	Copying dates range from the 14th to the 18th centuries, indicating prolonged manuscript use

Note. The table summarizes the empirical features reported in the source manuscript and its surveyed exemplars.

Taken together, these characteristics support the interpretation of the surviving copies as working educational manuscripts rather than purely ceremonial or luxury productions. Dense marginalia and interlinear glosses, in particular, point to sustained reader interaction across multiple linguistic communities.

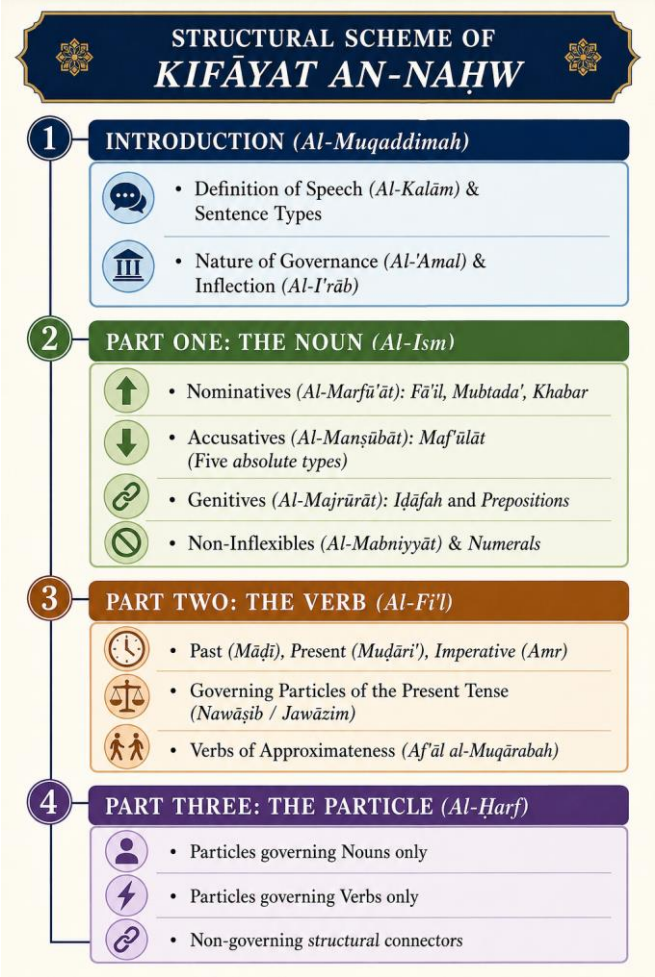
Structural Typology and Textual Architecture

The treatise is organized according to the classical tripartite division of the parts of speech, preceded by a concise theoretical introduction. The opening section defines speech and introduces the relationship between syntactic inflection (*iʿrāb*) and the governing agent (*ʿāmil*). The main body then proceeds through the noun, the verb, and the particle. This arrangement enables the text to move from foundational principles to increasingly specific categories of grammatical government.

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Figure 2

Overall Structural Framework of Kifāyat an-Naḥw



The thematic distribution reported in the study assigns approximately 50% of the text to the noun, 30% to the verb, and 20% to the particle. This distribution places nominal governance and inflection at the center of the treatise while retaining a concise treatment of verbal and particle-based government.

Source Analysis and Intellectual Lineage

Intertextual comparison suggests that al-Makkī al-Khwarazmī worked within a predominantly Basran conceptual framework while adapting established grammatical material for concise instruction. Three lines of affinity are particularly visible.

1. Basran orientation. The operational definitions in the treatise place sustained emphasis on the formal role of the governing agent (ʿāmil), a feature consistent with the analytical priorities commonly associated with the Basran tradition (Suleiman, 1999; Versteegh, 1993).
2. Affinity with al-Jurjānī. The functional categorization of governing agents parallels the organization found in al-Jurjānī's Al-ʿAwāmil al-Miʾah, especially the distinction between verbal or expressed governance (lafẓī) and abstract governance (maʿnawī) (Al-Jurjānī, 1982).
3. Affinity with al-Zamakhsharī. The treatment of non-inflected nouns and the construct state shows structural correspondence with Al-Mufaṣṣal, but Kifāyat an-Naḥw presents these matters in a more compressed, rule-oriented form suited to memorization and classroom use (Al-Zamakhsharī, 1993).

Discussion

Pedagogical Adaptation for Non-Arabic-Speaking Contexts

The principal significance of *Kifāyat an-Naḥw* lies in the way it recasts classical grammatical material for learners operating outside Arabic-speaking environments. The treatise reduces extended theoretical disputation (*khilāf*) and gives priority to compact definitions, ordered classifications, and illustrative examples. Such a strategy is consistent with the broader need to transform an advanced

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grammatical tradition into an accessible curriculum for Persian- and Turkic-speaking students in Central Asia (Buzurgzoda, 1997; Versteegh, 1993).

Two features are especially important. First, the text favors authoritative definitions over prolonged presentation of competing grammatical positions. Second, it employs relatively short Quranic phrases, prophetic traditions, and straightforward prose examples rather than relying exclusively on lexically difficult pre-Islamic poetic evidence. These choices reduce the vocabulary burden on learners while preserving the analytical categories required for grammatical parsing.

Marginalia and Reception History

The manuscript record also provides evidence for the reception history of *Kifāyat an-Naḥw*. Interlinear translations and marginal glosses show that the text was not merely copied but actively read, explained, and localized. The surviving annotations can be organized into three functional layers: linguistic glossing, grammatical clarification, and institutional or ownership evidence.

Figure 3

Layers of Textual Transmission in the Manuscript Tradition



1. Linguistic glossing. Technical Arabic terms are translated directly into Persian or Chagatai Turkic, often between the lines.
2. Grammatical clarification. Marginal notes expand difficult rules and clarify exceptional or irregular constructions (shawādh).
3. Institutional and ownership evidence. Ownership marks and reading certificates (samāʿāt) indicate supervised reading and circulation in major educational centers, including Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarkand.

These layers of annotation indicate that the manuscript tradition functioned as a dynamic instructional environment. The primary Arabic text supplied the grammatical framework, while interlinear and marginal additions mediated that framework for successive communities of readers.

Position within Khwarazmian Grammatical Scholarship

The evidence supports treating *Kifāyat an-Naḥw* as an important witness to a regional Khwarazmian mode of grammatical pedagogy. Rather than requiring the assumption of a rigidly bounded "school," the treatise demonstrates a recognizable regional pattern: systematic categorization, integration of semantic and syntactic considerations, and emphasis on the practical value of grammatical parsing for exegesis and jurisprudential study. In this sense, the work shows that Khwarazm was not simply a recipient of grammatical theories developed elsewhere; it was also a site in which those theories were reorganized for local pedagogical purposes.

Conclusion

This source-critical analysis establishes *Kifāyat an-Naḥw fī ʿIlm al-Iʿrāb* as a significant instructional text at the intersection of classical Arabic grammatical theory and medieval Central Asian pedagogy. Its textual structure, codicological profile, and intertextual affiliations together indicate a deliberate effort to organize complex grammatical knowledge in a concise and teachable form.

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Three conclusions follow from the analysis. First, the treatise presents a structured synthesis of grammatical doctrine through the tripartite sequence of noun, verb, and particle, supported by an introductory treatment of iʿrāb and ʿāmil. Second, its pedagogical method favors concise rules and accessible examples over extended theoretical controversy, making it particularly suitable for non-native learners. Third, the manuscript tradition—marked by Persian and Chagatai glosses, marginal commentary, ownership marks, and reading evidence—demonstrates prolonged regional use and active scholarly reception.

Accordingly, the study of *Kifāyat an-Naḥw* contributes to a more localized history of Arabic linguistic scholarship. It highlights the role of Khwarazmian scholars and readers not only in preserving Arabic grammatical knowledge but also in restructuring that knowledge for the educational needs of Central Asian institutions.

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