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Shor participles of transition into another state

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The article examines attributively used Shor participles describing an acquired state (like *ripened* or *melted*). These participles are formed from verbs denoting their subject's gradual transition into a new state. Such verbs are intransitive; they express an involuntary dynamic terminative action of an inactive subject. Shor has a choice between quite a number of participial formants, but only two of them can appear in participles of this semantic type. The meaning of a concrete participial form is determined by a number of semantic and structural factors: the semantics of the verbal stem, the semantics of the participial formant, the presence of voice markers and analytical action modifiers of the *aktionsart* type. The article analyses the components constituting the semantics of such participles.

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Participles are verbal forms. They are built by joining participial affixes to a verb stem. In modern Shor, such affixes are *-r*, *-ġan*, *-čatqan*, *-čaj*, *-ġalaq* and *-ġadig*. Participles can be formed from an analytical verb (containing auxiliary verbs) and from voice derivatives of a verb. Participles can govern oblique cases of nouns, be modified by adverbs, and express temporal and modal meanings. Their characteristic feature is that they can function as attributes, unlike all the other verbal forms.

Frequency of occurrence of different participial forms (or even of the positive and the negative form of a participle) differs greatly in the Shor language. Participles formed from voice derivatives can be interpreted in two ways. The same participial form can render different temporal and modal semantics. We want to show what factors determine the concrete meaning of each participial form, and what is the role of the verb semantics in it. We will describe only attributive functions of participles.

As it is known, a participial attribute expresses a dynamic or static characteristic of an entity by its head noun. Dynamic attributes characterize an entity by some action, static attributes describe a state of an entity which is the result of some action. The former can be expressed by the majority of Shor participial forms, while the latter almost exclusively consist of participles with the affix *-ġan*.

The participles under examination belong to the second group. Among such participles, we can point out the following subgroups, differing in the type of resultative state:

- 1) participles denoting changes in an object's appearance as the result of an action which leaves some material traces on it: *uğzal parğan qolı* 'his broken arm';
- 2) participles denoting absence of any outer traces on an object, as if it has not changed: *ayttırğan qıs* 'a given away (lit. talked-away) girl, i.e. a girl whose parents have already given their consent to her marriage with someone, often without asking for her opinion', *pallarğa salap pergen üyçek* 'a room given to children, meant for children';
- 3) participles denoting inner state of an object: *qoruq parğan qıs* 'a frightened girl';
- 4) participles denoting completion of an object's transition into a new state: *pışqan čestek* 'ripened berry';
- 5) participles denoting coming into existence (creation, emergence, birth, origin) or disappearance of an object: *tigineş iştəp alğan şanam* 'my ski made of fir-wood';
- 6) participles denoting location of an object: *mında çilğan qalıq* 'people who gathered here';
- 7) participles denoting some relation with or attitude towards other objects: *kölengen qıs* 'a beloved girl', *Ay Sabaq şeni çajalğan qıs* 'a girl looking like Ay Sabak (a girl made to resemble Ay Sabak)'.

These participial meanings were first pointed out by P. A. Noženko (1972: 57). In our materials, not all the semantic types of participles are equally frequent. Therefore, we will describe the most frequent types first. We have already dealt with participles denoting changes in an object's appearance as a result of a participial action (Esipova 1981: 71-81). In the present article, we analyze participles denoting completion of an object's transition into a new state.

Such participles are formed from verbs with the meaning of "their subject's gradual transition into some state" (Avilova 1976: 168). These verbs are intransitive, and most of them are derived from nominal stems. They include (a) verbs of acquiring some colour quality: *ağar-* 'to grow white', *qarar-* 'to darken, to grow black', *köger-* 'to grow green or blue', *qizar-* 'to become red, to redden'; (b) verbs of gradual acquisition of some quality as a characteristic feature of their subject (Avilova 1976: 168): *irik-* 'to rot', *qayıl-* 'to melt', *qara-* 'to get older', *köy-* 'to burn', *qur-* 'to dry', *musta-* 'to get frozen, icy', *öl-* 'to die', *öl pol-* 'to soak', *ös-* 'to grow', *poş pol-* 'to become empty', *pış-* 'to ripen', *tatta-* 'to get rusty', *toñ-* 'to get cold', *topay par-* 'to get blunt, not sharp'; *torsla-* 'to get calloused', *uş-* 'to fall', *üş-* 'to grow feeble, to go out'.

These verbs express a dynamic action with an non-agentive subject. This action is involuntary; it proceeds irrespective of its subject's will. Such actions have some critical point, a limit at which they are completely fulfilled and, consequently, exhausted. An action stops after the critical point has been reached. A potential limit of a verbal action

allows for the combining of such verbal stems with the affix *-ğan*. In these combinations, the participial affix denotes a completion of the verb's action, and not its time reference. These participial forms render some state of an object; this state is achieved as a result of their action. The resulting state is new for this object; it was not in this state before the action had been completed. Since such participles are formed from verbs denoting a *dynamic* action (even though their subject is non-agentive), they are also dynamic: they express a *transition* from one state into another one. For example, in the attributive group *köygen töğneş* 'a burnt stump', the object *töğneş* 'stump' has acquired a new state as a result of the process *köy* 'to burn': a stump was burning, burning and, finally, has burnt out.

In our materials, these participles are represented only by the forms *-ğan* and *-ğalaq*. The former signals the transition of an object into a new state; the latter stresses that this transition has not been achieved yet. For example, *Petya emdi kürdek sandıge Tubun tağdın tözündagı üyçekte çatça, sug kežire ezil-gelek qarlıg tasqıl çyltrapça* (AT, 14) 'Petja lives now in a hut at the foot of the steep humpback Tubun (a mountain); across the river, a bare mountain (devoid of vegetation), covered with snow which has not melted yet, is shining'.¹ *Kižiler poğda öskelek qalbanı čipčalar* (Čisp.) 'People eat *kalba* (a plant) which has not grown big yet.'

As we have already stated, the described participles are formed from intransitive verbs. Therefore, the noun they modify is the subject of their action (*ölgen kiži* 'a deceased person', cf. *kiži ölgen* 'a person deceased'). The following sentence can be an illustration of this: *Eski baliq aakelgende – čizi-ğan baliq aakeltirzar dep, soyçağnar bolturlar*. 'When (fishermen) brought old fish, (tradesmen) beat (them), saying 'You brought spoiled fish!' (ŠF, 306)

Intransitivity of the main verb also presupposes that these participles rarely have voice markers (only 3% of the forms described, according to our data). They are possible only if the head noun is an inanimate object. The markers are *-l-* and *-n-* affixes with a reflexive-passive semantics. On the one hand, they indicate that an action is directed to the subject itself. On the other hand, they denote that this action is involuntary, it is instigated by some circumstances, it proceeds irrespective of the subject's will. For example:

Monitor musta-n par-ğan čerdi pary-čoq küžübe tegdirgen, tooñ parğan čer teze perinmeen. (AT, 9)

¹ Translations given without an indication of the source, and word for word translations are made by the author of the article. We use the system of *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta* (1959) for the transliteration of Shor, although we write *ğ* instead of *γ*. For the transliteration of Russian, we use the international scholarly system (Shaw 1967).

'The monitor was beating the ice-covered soil very strongly, but the frozen soil did not give in.' (ZG, 18).

Art-il par-ğan qarları körüp, tuyuqa erbektedi:.. (AT, 10)

'And looking at lots of overhanging (piled up) snow, he said warningly:...' (ZG, 19)

Compare the semantics of attributive groups *musta-n par-ğan çer* and *art-il par-ğan qarlar*. 'Ice-covered soil' denotes that 'soil was covered with ice' and 'lots of piled up snow' denotes that 'lots of snow was piled up'. The soil was covered with ice because of the frost, and lots of snow was piled up (on trees, mountains, roofs) because of great snow-falls.

Most of the participles described are formed from analytical verbs. The choice of an auxiliary verb is determined by the semantics both of the main verbs and of the participial affix. Main verbs express changes in their subjects' state and their transition into another state. The transition process has its starting and finishing points. The participial affix *-ğan* denotes the completion of this process. Hence an auxiliary verb in the participle's composition either indicates its finishing point (*par-*, *per-*, *is-*) or signifies that the subject of this process remains in a new state achieved as a result of this transition (*qal-*, *sal-*, *tur-*). For example: *çizip par-ğan toğalaq* 'a rotten beam (log)', i.e. 'a beam which has gone rotten' (completion of the process of becoming rotten); *ös qal-ğan öleñ* "'grown-up" grass, grass that has grown'; literally: 'grass that remained grown'.

Aside from some *aktionsart* meaning, all the above-mentioned auxiliary verbs denote the completion of an action, which is also characteristic of the participial affix *-ğan*. The latter "takes" this meaning off the auxiliary verb, which, therefore, renders only the *aktionsart* characteristics of the action modified: Its duration (*qal-*, *sal-*, *tur-*), direction (*par-*), phase (*per-*) or rapidness, unexpectedness and frequency (*is-*).

The latter verb appears only once in our material. Its occurrence is not accidental. In this example, the main and the auxiliary verbs express opposed characteristics of the action modified: the main verb shows its gradualness while *is-* ascribes instantaneousness to it:

Tozun ayğarba ol poş polub-us-qan (< polip+is-qan) uşqa qošta kelip, tubannig kürüptü kördü, anañ-la pažin čaba tudundu. (AT, 41)

'When the dust cleared, he ran to the empty edge (literally: to the edge which became empty), looked into the foggy abyss, and grasped his head.' (ZG, 72)

In the attributive group *poş polub-us-qan uşqa* 'to the edge which became empty' the auxiliary verb *is-* indicates that the edge suddenly became empty, i.e. rapidly and unexpectedly.

The auxiliary verb *par-* (its lexical meaning is ‘to go, to go away’) is most frequent among the analysed participles. It usually expresses the spreading of an action along the surface, upwards or downwards. For example:

Tegen, tatap parğan, gayka anda tese sug şurlağı! (AT, 17)

‘Well, it is only a rusty female screw (literally: a screw which became rusty), and there is a water drop on it!’ (ZG, 34)

The female screw was gradually getting rustier and, at last, got rusty, i.e. first, its surface was clean, and later, it became covered with rust.

Qızar par-ğan çüzübe komsomolets Alyoşa köründü. (AT, 7)

‘With a flushed face, the young Comsomol League member Aleša appeared.’ (SG, 18)

In the attributive group *qızar par-ğan çüzübe* ‘with a flushed face’, the verb *par-* denotes, as in the previous example, the spreading of the action along the surface: the whole face went red.

... tooŋ par-ğan çer teze perinmeen (AT, 9)

‘... but the frozen soil did not give in’ (ZG, 18)

In the group *tooŋ par-ğan çer* ‘the frozen soil’, the verb *par-* indicates that the action was directed downwards from the surface: frost reached even lower layers of the soil. Examples to show that *par-* can express “upward directedness” will be given later.

In two-component participles, the verb *par-* can express completion of an action without its directedness. E.g.:

Po erten Čekmasovğa topay par-ğan qaylardı čidigede tartıbizarğa kerek polğan. (AT; 41)

‘This morning, Čekmasov had to sharpen blunt hacks (hacks that got blunt).’ (ZG, 72)

In the group *topay par-ğan qaylardı* ‘blunt hacks (hacks that got blunt)’, it is difficult to make out directedness of the action *topay par-* ‘to get blunt’. In this group, *par-* renders completion of the action: hacks became blunt in the process of being used.

In combinations with the converb *-a* of a main verb, the auxiliary verb *per-* (its lexical meaning is ‘to give’) denotes completion either of each phase of an action or of its first stage (Dyrenkova 1941, 218). The first meaning of *per-* will be described later. Here, we give an example illustrating its second meaning (completion of the first stage of an action).

Emniņ ištın anañ körüp čörgeñin - pir eski irikte ber-gen qara sunduq čatča ... (ŠF, 320)
 ‘When he was walking and scrutinizing the house inside (literally: the inner part of the house), he saw: an old black chest which had begun to rot was lying there.’ (ŠF, 322)

The verb *per-* also expresses completion of the first phase of an action in Khakas, Tuvian and Karagas (Juldašev 1965: 79-80; Rassadin 1978: 150). According to Rassadin, it is one of the characteristic features of the Sayano-Altay areal group of Turkic languages, whereas in other Turkic languages (Uzbek, Karakalpak, Turkmen, Tatar) the analytical construction *-a ber* denotes an action in progress (Rassadin 1978: 150).

The auxiliary verbs *qal-* ‘to remain’, ‘to stay’, *sal-* ‘to put’, ‘to keep’, and *tur-* ‘to stand’, ‘to be’ denote that the subject remains in a resulting state after the action has come to an end. For example:

Pir tudamaš piltirgī öleñni pasoq qur qal-ğan iygi širbačaq čigip aldım. (AT, 56)
 ‘I have gathered one armful of last year’s grass and two bundles of dried-up bushes.’ (ZG, 88)

In the attributive group *qur qal-ğan ... širbačaq* ‘dried-up bushes’, the participle *qur qal-ğan* can be literally translated as ‘remaining dried-up’, i.e. the bushes have been drying up for some time; now they are already dry, and will remain in this state furthermore.

Tüüle čat sal-ğan nebe, öre qabıldı, čiške lenta čilep künge čiltıraš erti. (G-Č, 26)
 ‘Having curled itself into a ring, it sprang up into the air and sparkled in the sun like a narrow band.’ (Č-G, 26)

In *tüüle čat sal-ğan nebe* (literally: ‘a tied-up, remaining lying thing’), the verb *sal-* denotes that the thing (a grass-snake is meant) was in a curled (tied-up) position for some time.

Ağariš tur-ğan talaydañ šığara salğın puluttar čügğča. (G-Č, 18)
 ‘Over the grown-white sea, the wind is gathering clouds.’ (G-Č, 18)

In *ağariš tur-ğan talaydañ* ‘over the grown-white sea’, the verb *tur-* means that the sea has grown white (because of the foam) and remains white.

The analysed participles can contain several auxiliary verbs which add different semantic components to their meanings. For example:

Ol keletkiler payağı-la sug čörüzün, sug šaalagin, köbük ižilağın - tag keštine čažingän ozuba šiqqalaq aydiñ kök kümüş suzuba pirge urulup, šimil par tur-a per-gen čerdi qoşqapčatqan, qanče-le ünnerdi šimidarğa sanapčatqannar oşqaš. (G-Č)

‘As if those shadows wanted to stop all the movements of the water, all the lapping of the waves, all the sighs of the foam, (as if they wanted) to muffle all the sounds accompanying the silent space bathed in silver-blue rays of the Moon which, having hidden itself behind the mountain, had not yet risen (literally: gone out).’

In the attributive group *šimil par tur-a per-gen čer* ‘silent space (literally: the ground which became silent)’, the main verb *šim-* has the meaning ‘to grow silent’, i.e. a gradual process of transition into a new state (that of silence). The passive voice marker *-il-* denotes that the participial action belongs to the head noun *čer* ‘soil, ground, land, space, place’. The auxiliary verb *par-* denotes directedness of the action away from the subject. We can understand that it was not the ground itself that became silent, but silence spread all over the contiguous space. Besides, the verb *par-* indicates that the process of transition into a new state has been completed, i.e. all the space, all the nature became silent. The auxiliary verb *tur-* indicates that this state is being maintained. And, finally, the verb *per-* shows that all the phases of the process of transition have been completed, and silence has fallen.

Several verbs expressing separate actions can come together to contribute to the participial semantics. For example:

Üstüneŋ urulčatqan tobıraqtı arıġlabıza perip, Petya iygi kögere puġlap par-ğan, šiŋçaŋ čerdi tutčatqan stolbalar körüp aldı. (AT, 22)

‘Having taken away the soil which was falling down from the top, Petya saw two mouldy poles which were supporting the exit.’

In the group *kögere puġlap par-ğan stolbalar* ‘mouldy poles, literally: poles that became mouldy’, the verb *köger-* means ‘to become green’, *puġla-* ‘to tie’, *par-* ‘to go away’. Altogether, they create a picture of some green substance (*köger-*) that covered the poles (*puġla-*). This substance formed a porous (loose) layer on the poles, as if it were coming off their outer surface (*par-*). In this combination, the verb *par-* denotes directedness of the action away from the entity denoted by the head noun.

Judging by the two last examples, multicomponent participial attributes give a picturesque description of the object modified. This effect can sometimes be achieved by a two-component participle. For example:

Qara Šebeldeydiŋ quur par-ğan qursaġı qurču ŋenge čet partür.

‘Qara Šebeldey’s dried-up belly became like a thimble.’ (ŠF, 130)

In the attributive group *quur par-ğan qursaġı* ‘dried-up belly’, the verb *qur-* means ‘to become dry’, while *par-* expresses directedness of the action downwards from the former surface of the belly: the belly was sinking deeper and deeper while drying up. We can see

an image of a dried-up belly. This image is supported by the comparison with a thimble, which has a hollow too.

Participles of transition into a new state are mostly used in combination with a head noun alone, without other satellites. But they may sometimes have an adverbial modifier of manner, place and time. For example:

Erelen ösken er artıq. (ŞF, 222)

'The best (man) is a man who grew up in need (literally: suffering).' (ŞF, 223)

The attributive group *erelelen ösken er* 'a man who grew up suffering' includes the adverbial modifier of manner *erelelen* 'suffering'.

... sooq salgın ... sug qaštada ös par-ğan aralaqtar qağzırağın čazı ištinde aal čördü.

(G-Č, 32)

'... the cold wind ... was carrying the rustle of the bushes which grew on the river bank all over the steppe.'

The attributive group *sug qaštada ös par-ğan aralaqtar* 'bushes which grew on the river bank' contains the adverbial modifier of place *sug qaštada*.

Emdegi ösken er čaqšizi eski čaapsip čörbezin. (ŞF, 370)

'Let the best men who grew up recently not stick to the old (ways).'

In the participial attribute *emdegi ösken*, there is the adverbial modifier of time *emdegi* 'recently'.

Conclusion

The described participles are formed from verbs that express the meaning of their subjects' gradual transition into a new state. In such participles, auxiliary verbs denote either completion of this action or transition into and staying in a resultative state. In attributive groups formed by these participles, the head noun can only be the subject of the participial action. These participles can contain the reflexive and the passive voice markers, which seldom occur. These voice affixes indicate that the head noun is the subject of the participial action. Judging by our material, the head noun denotes an inanimate object in this case. Such participles are most often used without their satellites (except for their subject), but they can sometimes be modified by various adverbials.

A participle formed from a simple verb expresses completion of its action, i.e. completion of the transition into a new state. If such a participle includes an auxiliary verb, the meaning of completion moves to the background and the participle expresses other shades of meaning: a phase (*per-*), rapidness, frequency, or unexpectedness (*is-*), directed-

ness (*par-*) of its action. If a participle has several verbs, including auxiliary ones, in its composition, these verbs describe different sides or stages of its action, often creating a picturesque image of the object described.

A participial meaning is created by the semantic coordination of the meanings of the main verb, of the auxiliary verb, and of the participial affix. All the three components can express the completion of an action. The main verb possesses a binary grammatical semantics which is based on its limitedness: it may express both a starting and a finishing point of some process. This semantics presupposes that participles formed from such verbs can include two types of auxiliary verbs: (a) verbs denoting completion of a whole action (*par-*), of its first stage, or of all its stages (*per-*), and (b) verbs denoting completion of an action and a starting point of a new state (*qal-*, *sal-*, *tur-*). The affixes *-ġan* and *-ġalaq* denote completion / non-completion of an action and allow for a verbal form to assume an attributive position in the sentence.

All the semantic components of the main verb contribute to the participial semantics:

- *Dynamics* presupposes changes of different kinds in the subject's state. The character of these changes can be defined by auxiliary verbs: *par-* (directedness), *is-* (rapidity, frequency, unexpectedness).
- *Gradualness*, i.e. smoothness, prohibits including *is-* in a participle composition (since this verb has the opposite meaning), but *dynamics* allows that. This is the reason why this verb was met only once in our material.
- *Limitedness*, i.e. possession of some relevant limit to their action, allows that such verbs can combine with auxiliary verbs rendering completion of an action, and with participial formants of the same grammatical semantics (*-ġan* of completion and *-ġalaq* of non-completion).
- *Activeness* of the action presupposes a subject; therefore such participles are met in attributive groups, the head noun of which is the subject of the participial action.
- *Intransitivity* explains why voice markers are so rare in such participles and why the voice markers have a reflexive-passive meaning when they do occur: on the one hand, they show that the action is directed on its subject, on the other hand, they indicate that the action is involuntary; it proceeds without its subject's will and is influenced by some external circumstances.

In a participle, each component has, as a rule, only one meaning: the main verb has a lexical meaning, the auxiliary verb has an *aktionsart* meaning, the participial formant has a meaning of completion or non-completion of the action. Sometimes their meanings combine in the following way: the main verb renders a lexical meaning, the auxiliary verb has an *aktionsart* meaning and that of completion of the action, and the participial formant introduces the verbal form into an attributive position.

We can conclude that the meaning of the participle is formed by semantic coordination of its components' meanings: those of the main verb, of the auxiliary verb, of the voice and participial formants.

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