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Four Uyghur fragments of *Qian-zi-wen* 'Thousand Character Essay'

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Qian-zi-wen, 'Thousand Character Essay' is a Chinese poem formerly used as a primer. It has 1,000 characters, not one of which is repeated. The author of this poem dedicated it to the Emperor of the Liang dynasty. It has been said that the story was composed in a single night. Four fragments of a Chinese-containing Uyghur scroll from the Krotkov collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences were identified as the Old Uyghur translations of this famous Chinese work. The edition of these four Uyghur fragments is the subject of this paper.

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0. Introduction

So far most Uyghur texts containing Chinese characters have been identified as Buddhist texts. However, the following Chinese-containing Uyghur scroll, which contains Chinese characters and exists in four fragments catalogued as 4B Kr. 181 (13 cm × 47 cm), 4B Kr 182, 4b Kr 185 (13 cm × 26 cm) and 4b Kr 194 in the Krotkov collection at the St. Petersburg Branch for Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, shows different features in its content from other Chinese-containing Uyghur texts. It was identified as a fragment of the Uyghur translation of *Qian-zi-wen* 'Thousand Character Essay', a Chinese poem formerly used as a primer.¹ *Qian-zi-wen* has 1,000 characters, not one of which is repeated. Its author, Zhou Xingsi (周興嗣, 470?-521) from the Liang Dynasty² dedicated it to the Emperor of 梁 the Liang dynasty. It has been said that the story was composed in a single night.

As far as we know, there are three Uyghur translations of *Qian zi-wen*. One of

¹ We would like to express our warmest thanks to Professor Akiyoshi Kida, Kyoto University, for his kind help in identifying this text.

² Cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 385); Giles (1898: 161, item 416).

them is a block print catalogued as Ch/U 8152v in the Berlin collection and only known in one line [*ming už]ik-lar-nīng ċizi-y-i* ‘The Essay of a Thousand Characters’, should be the translation of the Chinese title just beside it.³ The second one includes three fragments, 4b Kr 182 (= Fragment A), 4b Kr 194 (= Fragment B), 4b Kr 185 (= Fragment D), in the Krotkov collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences. Judging from its content, Fragment B is a continuation of Fragment A, and Fragment D is a translation of the last parts of *Qian zi-wen*. As a third version, 4b Kr 181 (= Fragment C) can be introduced. According to the handwriting and the content it should belong to another version. From its content we can judge that it comes just after Fragment A and Fragment B, and its first two lines (ll. 1-2) repeat the last three lines (ll. 11-13) of Fragment B. However, the style and the method used in the second and third versions are totally identical: First a leading Chinese character is provided, then an Uyghur translation of that line follows. After the leading characters, there always follow three horizontal strokes that stand for the next three Chinese characters. It should be noted that besides the leading Chinese characters, some other Chinese characters are used, but these characters should be considered as part of the Uyghur translation, since they were found as original Chinese spellings of the Chinese words given in the Uyghur transcription or just as a note for some Uyghur words used in special meanings. In this paper we will edit the second and third versions in transliteration, transcription and translation, together with notes based on our comparison of these two versions with the parallel Chinese passages.⁴ The order of fragments will be given according to their content corresponding to the parallel Chinese text.

It is very well known that *Qian zi-wen* has many Chinese versions from different ages, but which Chinese version underlies our versions is not clear to us. The orthography of our two versions suggests that this text should be dated back to the thirteenth century, like the block print version preserved in the Berlin collection.

1. On the Chinese pronunciation given in Uyghur script

The date of some Chinese words transcribed in Uyghur script can be fixed based on their form. For example, 陽 is transcribed as *yang* in the London version of the *Sākiz Yūkmāk Yaruq Sutra*, but as *yo* in the Kyoto and Berlin versions. In the North-Western dialect of Chinese at the end of the Tang dynasty, final *-ng* of 陽 *yang* is omitted,

³ Cf. Nishiwaki, Tsuneki. *Studien zu den chinesischen Fragmenten der Turfan-Sammlung zu Berlin* (in Japanese). 1997, Kyoto, pp. 98-109 + plate Ch/U8152v.

⁴ There is an English translation of *Qian zi-wen* by Giles: Herbert A. G. Giles (transl.) 1873. *The San Tzu Ching or Three Character Classic and the Ch'en Tzu Wen or Thousand Character Essay*. Shanghai. Our English translation of the Chinese text is mainly based on Paar (1963) with consultation of the Japanese translation and commentary by Ogawa & Kida (1997).

and the Kyoto and Berlin versions display this omitted form. Consequently, the London version displays the form before such an omission had appeared. On the other hand, 丁 *ding* is transcribed as *te* in most Uyghur texts, but as *ting* in TT VII No. 18 from the 14th century. In this period a Chinese pronunciation containing the syllabic ending *-ng* spread into the Western Region, and it was reflected in *ting*. However, the Uyghurs developed an “Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation” (the Uyghur reading of Chinese characters) based on the North-Western Chinese dialect used from the 唐 Tang until the beginning of the 宋 Song (dynasties), and this Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation was still used in the Yuan period. Therefore, in most cases it is difficult to date the texts according to the Chinese pronunciation. The Chinese pronunciation found in this text also displays forms that can be classified back to this Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation. In Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation final *-ng* is omitted in the 宕 *dang*, 梗 *geng* rhyme groups. Unfortunately, the compound vowels which belong to this rhyme group could not be found in this text. The finals *-k*, *-t*, *-b* in the Chinese words were lost in the Northern Chinese dialects of the Yuan period. Similar finals are frequently dropped in the Uyghur texts, in particular in colophons. But these finals are preserved in the Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation, e.g. 国 <kuək>, Uyg. *quy* (C36). In turn, fusion of *-m* and *-n* found in late Uyghur texts also does not appear in this text: 恬 <diem>, Uyg. *tem* (D10). However, compared to the developed Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation, this text preserves some old forms. For example, 蔡 <ts’äi> 倫 <liuēn> is indicated as *tsai luin* (D11, *ts’y lwyn*) in this text, but it is expressed as *sai lun* in Uyghur Chinese Pronunciation. The following are the Chinese characters and their Uyghur transcriptions found in this text.

- 化 <xua> 国 <kuək>, Uyg. *qw’ qwq xua quy* (C22)
 杜 <do> 操 <ts’äu>, Uyg. *tww ts’v tuu tsav* (C7)
 夫 <viu> 子 <tsiäi>, Uyg. *vw sy fu ši* (C7)
 呂⁵ <lio> 布 <po>, Uyg. *lw pw lupu* (D5)
 楚⁶ <ts’io> 王 <fiuāŋ>, Uyg. *cyw { } ciu {wang}* (C35)
 石 + 番 <bun> <k’iei>, Uyg. *p’nky panki* (C21)
 碑 <piuē>, Uyg. *py pi* (C20)
 蔡 <ts’äi> 倫 <liuēn>, Uyg. *ts’y lwyn tsai luin* (D11)
 西 <siei> 施 <çiē>, Uyg. *{ } sy {si} ši* (D16)
 趙 <ḍieü> 国 <kuək>, Uyg. *{ }w qwq {çe}u quy* (C36)
 草 <ts’au> 書 <ḥio>, Uyg. *ts’v sw tsav⁷ šu* (C8)
 樓 <ləu>, Uyg. *lww luu* (B4)
 旦 <tän>, Uyg. *d’n dan* (C26)
 甲 <kap>, Uyg. *q’p qab* (C26)

⁵ The compound vowel of 呂 is usually transcribed as *yw*, and indicates *iu*.

⁶ 楚 is fundamentally spelled as *cw* or *cww*. *cyw* probably also refers to 趙 *zhao*.

⁷ Just as 草 is represented by *tsav*, there are also other examples for indicating final *u* with *v*. Cf. Shōgaito (1986: 65).

- 踏 <t'äp> 道 <däu>, Uyg. t'p tw *tap to* (B11)
 篆 <ɬiuɛn> 書 <ɕio>, Uyg. cwn⁸ sw *čun šu* (C9)
 簾 <lien>, Uyg. lyn *len* (C16)
 千 <ts'ien>, Uyg. syn *sen* (C15)
 阮 <ɲiun> 籍 <dziek>, Uyg. q'n tsyk (~sk) *yan⁹ tsek* (D9)
 漆 <ts'iat>, Uyg. tsyr *tsir* (C10)
 蒙 <mun> 恬 <diem>, Uyg. mwnk tym *mung tem* (D10)

2. Text

2.1. Fragment A (= 4b Kr 182)

2.1.1. Transliteration

1. []dyqy l'r 上||| []
2. []||| p'ky 'wynt'dy []
3. []nty l'r 'wlwq l'r []
4. []/ 'n' twyrw syn []
5. []nysy 'rs'r 猶 []
6. []/ 'wqs'tmys t'k []
7. []| pyr yyd []
8. []// l'r k'mysty l'r []
9. []yp 仁|||y'v's []
10. []造 |||k'syklyk 'ys kwydwyk
11. []|||twtmys twyrw syn tyn
12. []/t'ksylm'dy 情||| kwynkwł
13. []t'pr's'r pylyk ywryllwr
14. []kwysws q'nwr ||| 'dyk
15. []twz wn s'v []/d []

2.1.2. Transcription, translation and commentary

1. [qo]dīqī-lar 上||| []: *qodīqī-lar* 'of inferior men' corresponds to Chin. 卑 *bei* 'low, humble'. The Chinese line connected with this word reads as 礼别尊卑 *li bie zun bei* 'Rules of propriety, such as those in the Book of Rites, distinguish between superiors and inferiors'.

The Chinese line led by 上 *shang* 'superior, upper, supreme, first or best; the Emperor' (Giles 1912: 9729), can be reconstructed as 上和和睦 *shang he xia mu* 'When superiors are kindly, inferiors will be peaceful'. The Uyghur equivalent of this line is missing.

2. [夫|||bāgi üntä]di [ärsär]: The Chinese letters can be reconstructed as 夫唱婦隨 *fu chang fu sui* 'The wife follows her husband's lead'. *bāgi üntädi [ärsär]*

⁸ The compound vowel *iuen* is usually spelled as *wyn*, but there are also exceptions, e.g. *kwnn*.

⁹ 阮 is usually spelled as *kwn* and represents *gun*.

‘if her husband calls ...’. Here *bägi* corresponds to 夫 *fu* ‘husband’ and *üntä-* ‘to call’ corresponds to 唱 *chang* ‘to lead, call out’.

3. |外|| *tägi|nti-lär uluy-lar|-nǐng* |: The Chinese line led by 外 *wai* is 外受傳訓 *wai shou fu xun* ‘Outside, away from home, the teacher’s instructions are received’. [*tägi|nti-lär uluy-lar|-nǐng*] can be translated as ‘received greats’. In this line, [*tägi|nti-lär* ‘received’ corresponds to Chin. 受 *shou* ‘to receive, bear’. *uluy* ‘big, great’, metaphorically also ‘grand(father); eldest (son)’ (Clauson 1972: 136). Here *uluy-lar* certainly refers to ‘master’ or ‘teacher’, because its Chinese correspondence is 傳 *fu* ‘master, teacher’.

4. | | *ana törüsin*: Meaning ‘mother’s instruction’, it is clearly connected with 母儀 *mu yi* ‘maternal instruction’ or ‘maternal precepts’. The Chinese line is 入奉母儀 *ru feng mu yi* ‘Inside, at home, maternal precepts are respectfully received’. Here *ana* ‘mother’ is an equivalent of 母 *mu* ‘mother’, and *törü* ‘model, rule, custom’ corresponds to 儀 *yi* ‘etiquette, ceremony, rites’.

5. |qangning i|nisi ärsär 猶 |||| |: [*qangning i|nisi ärsär* ‘if father’s younger brother ...’]. The original Chinese line is 諸姑伯叔 *zhu gu bo shu* ‘All paternal aunts and paternal uncles’. Here [*qangning i|nisi*, also possibly [*ataning i|nisi*, since we have *ana* in l. 4 of this fragment, and whole phrase corresponds to 叔 *shu* ‘father’s younger brother’.

The Chinese line led by 猶 *you* is 猶子比兒 *you zi bi er* means ‘(they should regard their nephews) like their own sons or as comparable to their own children’.

6. | | / *oxšatmīš täg* |: *oxšatmīš täg* ‘just as compared’, connects with 比 *bi* ‘compare, emulate; as...as,’ in the Chinese text. This line is a continuation of the previous line.

The Uyghur sentence which corresponds to 孔懷兄弟 *kong huai xiong di* ‘Cherish greatly your elder and younger brothers’ is missing.

7. |同||| | *bir yǐd|tīn* |: The Chinese sentence led by 同 *tong* reads 同氣連枝 *tong qi lian zhi* ‘They share the same life with you; you and they are joined like branches on the same tree’. *bir yǐd* means ‘same smell’ or ‘same breath’; here it translates 同氣 *tong qi* ‘same breath’ or ‘same origin’. *bir yǐd|tīn*] can be translated as ‘from the same breath’ or ‘from the same origin’.

8. |交|||/-lar *kāmišti-lär* |: The Chinese line led by 交 *jiao* reads 交友投分 *jiao you tou fen* ‘There is a sharing, a give and take, between those joined in friendship’. *kāmišti-lär* ‘they threw away’ translates Chin. 投 *tou* ‘throw, fling; send’.

9. |äriqlä|šip 仁||| *yavaš* | *yarliqančuči* |: Only [*äriqlä|šip* ‘to give advice to each other’ remains from the Uyghur translation of 切磨箴規 *qie mo zhen gui* ‘Mutual improving is a valuable lesson’. Here [*äriqlä|šip* translates 箴 *zhen* ‘to pierce, to warn, exhort’ in the Chinese sentence. In Uyghur texts *äriqläš-* appears together with *ütläš-* as a biverb (Erdal 1991: 556), and that is probably the case in this context, too. If so, [*ütläšip äriqlä|šip* also is a possible reconstruction, and certainly translates 箴規 *zhen gui* ‘admonition, remonstrance’.

The Chinese line led by 仁 *ren* can be reconstructed as 仁慈隱測 *ren ci yin ce* ‘Humanity, compassion, commiseration and sympathy’. *yavaš* corresponds to 仁 *ren*

‘perfect virtue; benevolence’, and supposedly there should be *yarliqančuči* for 慈 *ci* ‘to sympathize’. But the reading of *yavaš* is not so certain, and may have been erased by a writer or copyist.

10. | 造||| *kāsiglig iš küdüg* |: The Chinese line led by 造 *zao* can be reconstructed as 造次弗離 *zao ji fu li* ‘From these, even in moments of haste, we should not be separated’. *kāsiglig iš küdüg* can be translated as ‘affairs to be done by turns’, and it translates 造次 *zao ci* ‘hurriedly, to be occupied’. In this context *kāsiglig iš küdüg* probably means ‘busy works (Hend.)’ or ‘busy affairs’.

11. | 節||| *tutmış törü-sin-tin*: The Chinese sentence led by 節 *jie* is 節義廉退 *jie yi lian tui* ‘Moderation, righteousness, integrity, and humility’. *tutmış törü-sin-tin* ‘from the reasons that have been kept’. *tut-* ‘to hold’ here corresponds to 節 *jie* ‘to regulate’, and *törü* ‘traditional law, customary’ (Clauson 1972: 531-532) translates 義 *yi* ‘righteousness, morality, loyalty, reason’. In Shōgaito (1993: 365) *törü* also stands for 道理 *daoli* ‘right principle; doctrine; reason; argument’ and 理 *li* ‘principle, rule’, which have similar meanings to 道 *dao*.

12. /*tägsilmädi* 情||| *kögüz* |: *tägsilmädi* means ‘were not altered’ or ‘were not changed’, and corresponds to Chin. 匪虧 *fei kui* ‘should not be lacking; should not be missing’ in the Chinese sentence 顛沛匪虧 *dian pei fei kui* ‘these, even in moments of danger, should not be lacking’.

Using 情 *qing* as a leading character should be an error. The first character of this Chinese sentence is 性 *xing*, and the whole line comes as 性靜情逸 *xing jing qing yi* ‘If you are of a calm temper, your emotions will be quiet’. *kögüz* meaning ‘chest, breast’, and also ‘thought’ and ‘mind’, here it translates 情 *qing* ‘passion, feelings’. In other texts *kongül* also corresponds to 情 *qing* (Shōgaito 1993: 281), and also translates 心 *xin* and 意 *yi* (Zieme & Kudara 1985: 291-2; Shōgaito 1993: 281).

13. | 心||| *yüräk* | *täpräsär bilig yoril{ur}*: The original Chinese sentence led by 心 *xin* is 心動神疲 *xin dong shen pi* ‘but if your heart is excited, your spirit gets weary’. [*yüräk*] *täpräsär bilig yorillur* can be translated as ‘if the heart works, the wisdom will be tired’. This is a word by word translation of the Chinese sentence, *yüräk* is an equivalent of 心 *xin* ‘heart, mind’, and *täprä-* ‘to move, stir, shake’ corresponds to 動 *dong* ‘to move, rouse, excite’ (the same case also can be found in Shōgaito 1993: 353). Usually *bilig* ‘wisdom’ translates Chin. 知 *zhi*, 智 *zhi*, 識 *shi* (cf. Shōgaito 1993: 244; Shōgaito 1982: 84), but here it corresponds to 神 *shen* ‘deity, spirit’. *ywryllwr* can be transcribed as *yorillur* or more correctly *yoril{ur}*, and is an erroneous rendering of *ywryllwr yorilur* ‘will be tired, will get weary’, an aorist of *yoril-* ‘to be tired’ and comes from *yor-* ‘to tire’ + passive *-il*. This verb exists in Turkish in the form of *yorul-*, passive of *yor-* ‘to tire, to weary, to fatigue’ (cf. Redhouse 1998: 1261b, 1262a), and here it corresponds to 疲 *pi* ‘tired, weary, exhausted’.

14. | 守||| | *küsü qanur* 逐||| *ädig*: The original Chinese sentence led by 守 *shou* is 守眞志滿 *shou zhen zhi man* ‘Hold on to what is genuine, and your ambition will be satisfied’. *küsü qanur* ‘wishes will be fulfilled’ translates 志滿 *zhiman* ‘the ambition will be satisfied’.

The original Chinese sentence led by 逐 *zhu* is 逐物意移 *zhu wu yi yi* ‘In pursuing worldly things, our thoughts become disoriented’. Only *ädig*, the objective case form of *äd* ‘material property’ is preserved from the Uyghur translation. Here *äd* corresponds to 物 *wu* ‘article, thing, matter, substance, goods’.

15. | 堅|| | *tüz-ün säv[ig(?) /d]* | : The original Chinese sentence led by 堅 *jian* is 堅持雅操 *jian chi ya cao* ‘Hold firmly to a correct fidelity’. Only *tüz-ün sävig(?)* ‘gentle and love’ is retained from its Uyghur translation. Supposedly *tüz-ün sävig(?)* corresponds to 雅 *ya* ‘correct, elegant, refined, polished’.

2.2. Fragment B (= 4b Kr 194)

2.2.1. Transliteration

1. [] synt'[] rt'cy []
2. [] ' ywwz ynt' ky š'n[]
3. [] 宮||| ' wrdw l'ry ny[]
4. [] 樓||| lww l'ry kwyrwnc lwk l'[]
5. [] y'r'q lyq cysyq lyq 'wl qws l'ry []
6. [] b'dyz lyk 'wl 'rž y l'r qwtlwq []
7. [] k' kwyrwr 'vnyrk y'nyn tyn[]
8. [] 甲||| 'wynklwk q'p yrw k'[]
9. [] l'ry kwyršy 肆||| twylt'klyk / []
10. [] 鼓||| t'pr'twr l'r 'wywn[]
11. [] / t'ptw c' kyrwr[]
12. [] / t'ksynwr qw[]
13. [] / yn[]

2.2.2. Transcription, translation and commentary

1. [|synt'| | rt'cy(?) |] : Only some letters have remained in this line. This line should be a translation of 東西二京 *dong xi er jing* ‘are Lo-yang in the East and Ch'ang-an in the West’.

2. | 背||| *arq|a yüüz-intä ki šan*: The original Chinese sentence led by 背 *bei* is 背芒面洛 *bei mang mian luo* ‘Behind Lo-yang is Mang Hill, in front is the river Lo’. [*arq|a yüüz-intä ki šan*] can be translated as ‘on its back side is *Ki shan*’. Clearly [*arq|a yüüz-intä*] corresponds to 背 *bei* ‘back, behind’. *ki šan* is a transcription of 𡵓山 *qi shan* or 𡵓山 *qi shan*, but does not correspond to 芒山 *mang shan* or 𡵓山 *mang shan* ‘a mountain in the north of Lo Yang, old Chinese capital’, MChin. *miān šān*. Supposedly this is a mistaken reading by the Uyghur translator, and the Uyghur text should be based on a Chinese text where the first character of this word is spelled with 𡵓 *mang*, which is very similar to 𡵓 *qi*. The same spelling can be found in the 上野 *Ueno* manuscript of the *Qian Ziwen* commentary (cf. Kuroda 1982: 48).

One Uyghur sentence which corresponds to 浮渭據涇 *Fu wei ju jing* ‘Ch'ang-an rises from the River Wei, and has the River Ching for its defense’ is missing.

3. [|宮||| *ordu-larī-nī[ng]* | : The Chinese sentence led by 宮 *gong* can be reconstructed as 宮殿磐鬱 *gong dian pan yu* ‘In the capitals, there is a dense maze of pal-

aces and halls'. *ordu* 'palace' translates 宮 *gong* 'palace, mansion, temple'. In other Uyghur texts, e.g. Shōgaito (1982: 71), Zieme & Kudara (1985: 134), *ordu* also equals to 宮 *gong*.

4. [楼|||luu-larī körünč-lük lä|ri]: The Chinese sentence led by 楼 *lou* reads 楼觀飛驚 *lou guan fei jing* 'There is a startling upsurge of soaring towers and look-outs'. *luu-larī körünč-lük-lä|ri* means 'many-storied buildings' or 'two-storied buildings'. *luu* is a phonetic transliteration for 楼 *lou*. Here, *luu-larī körünč-lük-lä|ri* corresponds to 楼觀 *louguan* 'many storied-buildings' (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 175).

körünčlük appears in U II 22:3-4: *Braxmadati eligning körünčlüki qayu ärki*, and at on the same page 5-6: *Braxmadati eligning [körünčlüki] ona iraqtan közüni turur*. Müller translated it as 'Abzeichen(?)'. Bang and Gabain supposed it to be 'eine Art von Schaugerüst oder gar einen Wagen' (cf. Bang & von Gabain 1929: note 124). Clauson preferred 'a state chariot' (Clauson 1972: 170, 746). DTS explained it as 'the outward appearance, characteristic' (DTS 319a). From our context it is clear that together with *luu-larī* it stands for 楼觀 *louguan* or 樓閣 *louge* 'high building' or 'many-storied building', especially the high buildings in the palace. The case in U II seems to be the same.

5. [圖|||] *yaray-līy čisīy-līy ol quš-larī []*: The Chinese line led by 圖 *tu* is 圖寫靈獸 *tu xie qin shou* 'In the palaces there are pictures of birds and beasts'. *yaray-līy čisīy-līy ol quš-larī* 'those birds which are made and drawn'. *yaray-līy* 'useful, suitable' corresponds to 圖 *tu* 'a picture, a portrait'; *čisīy-līy* comes from *čiz-* 'to stretch, to draw' + *-īy-līy*, is an equivalent of 畫 *xie* 'to write, to sketch'. *quš-larī* 'birds' is an equivalent of 禽 *qin* 'birds'. The Uyghur word for 獸 *shou* 'animal, beast' is damaged.

6. [| bādiz-lig ol arž-i-lar qutluγ: 'Those ornamented immortals, and blessed...'. This is one part of the Uyghur translation of 畫采仙靈 *hua cai xian ling* 'and brightly colored paintings of genii and spirits'.

arž-i < Skr. *ṛṣi*, usually corresponds to Chin. 仙 *xian*, 神仙 *shenxian* 'the genii, immortal'; cf. SH 166a, 334b. In this text it also translates Chin. 仙 *xian*. However, in various Uyghur texts it translates different Chinese and Sanskrit words. For detailed information and analysis cf. Röhrborn (1977-1998: 221-222). *qutluγ* usually means 'blessed', but here corresponds to 靈 *ling* 'spirit, divine, supernatural'. In the *Sākiz Yükmäk Yaruq Sutra* 靈 *ling* also is translated with *qut waxšik* 'spirits (Hend.)'. Cf. Haneda (1915, ll. 114, 373). *waxšik* < Sogd. *w'xšyk* (Gharib 1995: 400).

7. [丙|||]-*kä körür ävning yanintin* |: The Chinese line led by 丙 *bing* reads 丙舍傍啓 *bing she pang qi* 'On the sides of the palaces there are bright houses that open out.' *körür ävning yanintin* means 'from one side of the house which is [faced] to ...', and - *kä körür äv* is 'the house which [faced] to ...', here *körür äv* translates 丙舍 *bing she* 'third house in the palace' or 'a house by the side', which refers to the houses in the palace. *yanintin* corresponds to 傍 *pang* 'side'.

8. [| 甲 ||| önglög qap y(a)ru kä|räkü(?)]: The Chinese line led by 甲 *jia* reads 甲帳對楹 *jia zhang dui ying* 'First-quality screens are opposite the pillars'. *önglög*

‘coloured’ translates 甲 *jia*, which has the meaning ‘beautiful’ in this context (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 178). *qap* is a transcription of Chin. 甲 *jia*, MChin. *kap* ‘first Heavenly stem; shell; armour’ (cf. Shōgaito 1986: 140; Barat 1996: 60); *y(a)ru* should be ‘side, direction’ (cf. Clauson 1972: 955-956), and is possibly connected with the meaning ‘first Heavenly stem’ of 甲 *jia*. *kā[rākū(?)]* ‘the lattice-work wooden frame’ (Clauson 1972: 744) probably corresponds to 藝 *ying* ‘a column, pillar’. But such a reconstruction is not so certain.

9. ||-l’ry *körši* 肆 || |töltäg-lig | |: *körši* < *kör-üş-i*, can be translated as ‘contrary, to face, in view of’, and appears in Arat (1991: 10.11 and 13.107), Tezcan (1974: 940, 956). For an analysis see Tezcan (1974: 66, note 940), Kara (1983: 49-50), Erdal (1991: 343). Here *körši* translates 對 *dui* ‘to be opposite to, to oppose, to correspond with, to make a pair ...’ in the previous line (l.8).

The original Chinese line led by 肆 *si* is 肆筵設席 *si yan she xi* ‘Various banquet mats are spread out’. *töltäglig* ‘bedding that is spread out’ comes from *tölt* + *-ä* ‘to provide with cushions, lay out cushions’ (Clauson 1972: 494; Erdal 1991: 425), and here it corresponds to 筵 *yan* ‘bamboo mat’.

10. | | 鼓 || |täprätür-lär oyun| |: The Chinese sentence led by 鼓 *gu* can be reconstructed as 鼓肘吹笙 *gu se chui sheng* ‘Music is heard with the striking of the *se* and the blowing of the *sheng*’. *se* is ‘a large horizontal stringed instrument’, and *sheng* means ‘a small wind instrument with pipes of different lengths’. *täprätür-lär* ‘to stir, move or shake something’ translates 鼓 *gu* ‘to drum, to rouse’. *täprätür-lär oyun* certainly refers to the ‘playing of music’. This is also documented in other Uyghur texts: Müller (1920: 46.8-9): *t(ä)ngridäm ir oyun täprätip* ‘playing heavenly music’. Zieme & Kudara (1985: 202-203): *t(ä)ngridäm oyun [bädizi]in täprät-mišlärin saqınyu ol* ‘are playing heavenly music, thus one should think’.

11. | 升 || |// taptu-ča kirür| |: The Chinese sentence led by 升 *sheng* is 升階納陛 *sheng jie na bi* ‘Officials ascend the stairs and are presented at the steps of the throne’. *taptu-ča kirür* can be translated as ‘enters by stairs ...’ or ‘to enter in a tramp’. *taptu* comes from Chin. 踏道 *ta dao*, MChin. *t’äp d’äu* ‘step, tread, tramp’. For an analysis see Kara (1983: 48-50). Here *taptu* corresponds to 階 *jie* ‘stairs, degrees’, and in this place it refers to the steps used by emperors when they enter or leave the palace (Ogawa & Kida 1997: 183). *kirür* translates 納 *na* ‘to enter, to be appointed, to insert...’ (Giles 1912: 8106).

12. | 升 || |// tägsinür qw| |: The Chinese sentence led by 升 *bian* reads 弁轉疑星 *bian zhuan yi xing* ‘The sight of their caps moving around makes one think of a sky full of twinkling stars’. *tägsinür* ‘revolves, rotates, travels about’, spelled as *t’kz yn* in Fragment D 20; here it translates 轉 *zhuan* ‘turn around, revolve’.

13. ... /yn...: only three letters remain, and nothing can be understood from this line. Supposedly this line is a translation of 右通廣內 *you tong guang nei* ‘On the right you go through to the Guang nei Hall’. For an explanation of this Chinese sentence see Ogawa & Kida (1997: 186-187); Paar (1963: 154).

2.3. Fragment C (=4B Kr 181)

2.3.1. Transliteration

1. [] / 'ywr'r py lyr cymqwy 昇 []
2. []]l'r yyrtyn twypync c' 弁 []
3. [] / k'z yk 'wyz ' syz yklyk l'r / []
4. []] kyrs'r t'kyr 承明 tykm []
5. []] ||ty' []] tyrylw yyq lw []
6. [] / sstr l'r [] || []] 'wyk []
7. []] vw sy pylk' []] yk 杜 tww ts'v []
8. []] ts'v sw 草書 'wysyk y'rtidy []
9. []] /y//n cwnsu 篆書 tykm' []
10. []] || tsyr 'wyz ' pytydy t'm tyn []
11. []] l'ryk 府 ||| wrdw 'ycynt' []
12. []] l'ryk 路 ||| ywl 'ykytyrt' []
13. []] yk 'ylyk l'ryk 戶 ||| []
14. []] q'ry lyq k'ntyk 家 ||| []
15. []] syn swwk 高 ||| 'ydyz []
16. []] l'n l'r 驅 ||| q'nkly qwsmys []
17. []] yz yk l'ryk t'pr'ty 世 ||| []
18. []] /// p'yyn 車 ||| qwsmys []
19. []] lwq l'r 策 ||| 'l []
20. []] l'r 勒 ||| py t's twqytdy []
21. []] ||| p'nyk 石 + 番溪 'wykwz []
22. []]] 公 pylk' qw ' qwq 化国 []
23. []]] pwl'r 'ykykw 佐 ||| p'swt []
24. []]] swynk pwlty 湯王 'ylyk []
25. []]] 奄宅 'tlq yyr t'ky 曲阜 []
26. []] ||| kyck d'n 'rk'n pwykw []
27. []]] yytyp b'lyq 'yqwcy qylty 桓 []
28. []]] qwrtp q'm'q p'kl'r yk pyrk'rtidy []
29. []]] //ty 'mytmys l'r yk ywl'dy 綺 []
30. []]] yk 'wydl'p 廻y'ntwrdy 漢 []
31. []]] // tykyn y qylm'dyn []
32. []]] /q q'n q' 'yl p'sl'd'cy []
33. []]]]tdy 'rm'z 'ys lyk []
34. []]]]cynl'yw 'ync qylty []
35. []]] / 'wyz ' 楚王 cyw []
36. []]]]w qwq 趙国 []
37. []]]]twqr'q 'mk'dy l'r []
38. []]] ||| ywlwq []

2.3.2. Transcription, translation and commentary

1. []] *ürär pi lir čimuy* 昇 []]: Can be translated as 'blows the *pilir* and *čimuy*'. *ürär* meaning 'blow(s)', translates 鼓 *gu* 'to drum' in the Chinese text, but it was translated with a rather general word *täprät*- 'to stir, to play' in l. 10 of Fragment B.

pilir also appears in other Uyghur texts, as *bilur* in Tezcan (1974: 970), and as *pilir* in Shōgaito et. al. (1998: 1349). This word corresponds to Chin. 悲篳 *bei li*, MChin. 悲 <fiēi> 篳 <liät>. It is a compound of 悲 *bei* ‘sad’ and 篳 *li* ‘Bamboos used for spears, punt-poles, etc. A kind of horn or pipe’ (Giles 1912: 6979). In Middle Chinese the initial of 悲 is labio-dental *f*. This *f* was a bilabial when *Qie Yun* 切音 was established. This initial found in Uyghur texts is represented by a labio-dental, excluding some exceptions, such as *bur(xan)* 佛. Supposedly *pilir* is not a borrowing of Chinese 悲 *bei li*, but preferably was adopted from a Central Asian language other than Chinese.

čimyu also means ‘pipe’, and both *pilir* and *čimyu* translate Chin. 笙 *sheng* ‘an oboe, a pipe; a flute’. *čimyu* should be a word from the same origin as *čimyuq* in Tezcan (1974), where it is explained as ‘eine Art Flöte (?)’ (Tezcan 1974: 68, note 973).

The original Chinese sentence led by 昇 *sheng* is 昇階納陛 *sheng jie na bi*. In Fragment B l. 11 there is *taplu-ča kirür* for this sentence. It should be noted that here 昇 *sheng* is given a different form from the one in Fragment B. This implies that Fragment C is based on another version of the Chinese text, different from the Chinese text that was a base for Fragment B, for example, a similar version which is edited in Kuroda (1982) and where we also found 昇 instead of 升. Cf. Kuroda (1982: 49).

2. [|-l’r yertin tüpin<č>-čä 弁] | : *yertin tüpin<č>-čä* ‘from the ground to the root’ or ‘from the ground to the foundation’, here translates 納陛 *na bi* ‘to be presented at the steps of the throne’.

For the Chinese sentence led by 弁 *bian* and its translation see Fragment B note 12. In Fragment B only *tägsinür* is preserved as the translation of this sentence. In this fragment there is *käzig üz-ä sez-iklig-lär* from its translation (cf. next line).

3. [| käzig üz-ä sez-iklig-lär] : can be translated as ‘those who were suspicious of its revolving’. In this context it should be a literal translation of 轉疑 *zhuan yi*, which can be directly translated as ‘to doubt about revolving’ (cf. Fragment B note 12; Paar 1963: 116).

4. [| kirsär tägir 承明 tegm(ä) | ordu-qa] : ‘If (you) enter [from the left side], you will reach the Chengming [Hall], namely ...’. This line translates 左達承明 *zuo da cheng ming* ‘On the left you penetrate into the Ch’eng-ming Hall’. Here *tägir*, aorist of *täg-* ‘to reach’, corresponds to 達 *da* ‘to penetrate, reach to’. 承明 *Cheng-ming*, MChin. *čjēn miaŋ*, probably its Uyghur pronunciation is **šin me*.

The Uyghur translation of 右通廣內 *you tong guang nei* ‘On the right you go through the Kuang-nei Hall’ before 左達承明 is missing.

5. [既|||ty | terilü yïy(i)lu |] : The Chinese line reads 既集墳典 *ji ji fen dian* ‘Here have been collected the three ‘fen’ and the five ‘tien’’. ‘fen’ (墳) and ‘tien’ (典) are ‘books about the emperors and kings’; here it refers to all classic Chinese books, cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 188). As a translation of *fendian* there is *š(a)st(i)r-lar* in the next line.

Only *ty* is visible from the first word. *terilü yïy(i)lu* ‘assembling and accumulating’

or ‘collecting (Hend.)’ here translates 集 *ji* ‘to flock, group together, gather’. The spelling of *yŷy(i)lu* as *yyq lw* is somehow special.

6. | | š(a)st(i)r-lar | 亦 ||||[ym]ä ök | | : š(a)st(i)r < Toch. A/B. šästär < Skr. śāstra, and translates 典 *dian* ‘standard, rule, norm’ in l. 5.

The Chinese sentence led by 亦 *yi* reads 亦聚群英 *yi ju qun ying* ‘Also, a multitude of eminent men is assembled here’. [ym]ä ök ‘moreover’ corresponds to 亦 *yi* ‘also’, the first word of the Chinese sentence.

7. fu ši bilgä-|lär|ig 杜 ||| tuu tsau | | : fu ši bilgälär ‘the wise masters’ translates 群英 *qunying* ‘gifted people, people of talent’ or ‘scholars, wise people’ in l. 6. *fu ši* goes back to Chin. 夫子 *fu zi*, MChin. *fiu tsiqi* ‘a sage, a prophet, a hero; added as a title of respect to the names of great teachers; the Master’ (Giles 1912: 3612), cf. Bang & von Gabain (1929: note 106).

The Chinese sentence led by 杜 *du* is 杜高鍾隸 *du gao zhong li* ‘The manuscript collections include grass calligraphy of Tu Cao and writing in ‘li-shu’ by Zhong Yao’. 高 *gao* refers to *Caoshu* and 隸 *li* refers to *Lishu* in this Chinese sentence, and the *cao shu* (草書) and *li shu* (隸書) are styles of writing of the Chinese characters (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 190-191).

tuu tsau is the transcription for 杜操 *Du Cao*, a prime minister of the Han dynasty. It is said that he was a better hand at the *Caoshu* style of writing. Zhong Yao (鍾繇) was the military chief of the Wei dynasty. It is said that he improved the *xiaozhuan* type of writing, and invented *lishu* (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 191).

8. | | tsav šu CAOSHU ušik y(a)ratdī | | : ‘invented the CAOSHU character, a rapid style of writing’. *tsav šu* is a transliteration of Chin. 草書 *cao shu*, MChin. *ts’au čio* ‘the ‘grass’ character or running hand; said to be so-called of a document, which was formerly written on straw paper’ (Giles 1912: 11, 634). *ušik* ‘letter, font, writing’, should be the category name for CAOSHU. Here it refers to 書 *shu* in CAOSHU.

9. / y//n/ čunšu 篆書 tegmā/ : ‘čunšu refers to ZHUANSHU, a style of Chinese calligraphy...’. *čunšu* is a transliteration of Chin. 篆書 *zhuan shu*, MChin. *čiuən čio* ‘seal character, a style of Chinese calligraphy, often used on seals’ (HanYing: 1354).

10. | 漆 ||| tsir üzä bitidi tam-tīn | | : The original Chinese sentence led by 漆 *qi* is 漆書壁經 *qi shu bi jing* ‘Also, there are old books written with varnish and classics that had been hidden in the wall’. *tsir üzä bitidi* means ‘wrote with varnish’. *tsir* is a transcription for 漆 *qi*, MChin. *ts’iEt* ‘the varnish tree, (*Rhus vernicifera* or *Venix vernicia*) from which the Chinese collect sap for lacquer ware; paint; to paint or varnish; black; sticky’ (Giles 1912: 1023). Concerning the system of such Uyghur transcription cf. Shōgaito 1995, p. 130.

tam-tīn means ‘from the wall’, and *tam* translates 壁 *bi* ‘wall, screen, partition’ in the Chinese sentence.

11. | | -lärig 府 ||| ordu ičintä | | : *l’ryk*, probably can be reconstructed as [bit-ig]/lärig ‘books’, which translates 將 *jiang* ‘book, doctrine’ in the previous line.

The Chinese sentence led by 府 *fu* reads 府羅將相 *fu luo jiang xiang* ‘Generals and ministers are in orderly formation in the halls of government’. *ordu ičintä* means

‘at the palace’. Here *ordu* translates 府 *fu* ‘a store-house; a treasury; a palace’, also ‘a political division or ‘prefecture’ as established under the Tang dynasty’ (Giles 1912: 3682).

12. | |lärig 路 ||| yol ikitirtä | |: The Chinese sentence led by 路 *lu* is 路俠槐卿 *lu xia huai qing* ‘Out along the roadways there are high officials together under the ‘huai’ trees’. *yol ikitirtä* ‘on the two sides of the road’, here *yol* is an equivalent of 路 *lu* ‘a road, a path, a journey’. *ikitirtä* probably comes from *iki* ‘two’ + *-tirtä*. *-tirtä* is supposedly a variant of *-tirti* / *-türti* (cf. Clauson 1972: xl).

13. | |bäglärig elig- lärig 戶 ||| |: *bäglärig elig-lärig* ‘officials and kings’ translates 槐卿 *huai qing*, which refers to dukes and ministers (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 193).

The Chinese sentence led by 戶 *hu* is 戶封八縣 *hu feng ba xian* ‘Some of these officials are from families that have been invested with a fief of eight districts’.

14. | |qarī- līq kántig 家 ||| |: *qarīliq kántig* means ‘old aged town’. *qarīliq* usually refers to the old age of a person, but in this text qualifies *kánt* ‘town’ (< Sogd. *knd*). In Osmanli *qarīliq* is ‘womanhood, wifehood’ (Clauson 1972: 659; Redhouse 1998: 607b). Here *qarīliq* probably translates 封 *feng* ‘to enfeif; fief’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 95), and *kánt* translates 縣 *xian* ‘district’. *qarīliq kánt* seems to refer to ‘a town which is enfeifed’.

The Chinese sentence led by 家 *jia* reads 家給千兵 *jia gei qian bing* ‘Each family has been given a thousand soldiers’.

15. | |sen süüg 高 ||| ediz: *sen süüg* means ‘a thousand soldiers’. *sen* is a transcription for Chin. 千 *qian*, MChin. ts’ien ‘thousand’. *sen süüg* translates 千兵 *qian bing* ‘a thousand soldiers’ in the previous line. The Chinese sentence led by 高 *gao* reads 高冠陪輦 *gao guan pei lian* ‘Wearing high caps, they accompany the imperial man-drawn carriage’. This sentence describes the situation of the high officials taking the same carriage with princes; cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 200). *ediz* ‘high, lofty’ is an equivalent of 高 *gao* ‘high, tall, lofty’.

16. | |len-lär 驅 ||| qanglī qošmīš | |: *len* is a transcription for 輦 *lian*, MChin. *lien* ‘man-drawn carriage’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 225) in the previous line. *len-lär* ‘man-drawn carriages’.

The Chinese sentence led by 驅 *qu* reads 驅轂振纓 *qu gu zhen ying* ‘As the chariot is urged on, the wheels turn rapidly and the tassels on the officials’ caps get shaken’. *qanglī qošmīš* ‘drive a wagon...’ translates Chin. 驅轂 *qugu* ‘drive the carriage’. *qoš-* ‘to put to or drive a pair of beasts’ (cf. Redhouse 1998: 675b).

17. | |ti|z-ig-lärig täprät(d)i 世 ||| |: *[ti]z-ig-lärig täprät(d)i* ‘shake the row’ translates 振纓 *zhen ying* ‘shake the tassels; shake the fringe’ in the previous line.

The Chinese sentence led by 世 *shi* reads 世祿笠富 *shi lu chi fu* ‘They have hereditary incomes and are wealthy enough to live on a lavish scale.’

18. | |/// bayīn 車 ||| qošmīš | qanglī |: *bayīn* is the instrumental form of *bay* ‘rich, a rich man’. Here it corresponds to 富 *fu* ‘rich, wealthy’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 101) in the previous line.

The Chinese sentence led by 車 *che* reads 車駕肥輕 *che jia fei qing* ‘They yoke

sleek steeds to their light chariots'. Here carriages (車), corpulent horse (肥), and light leather overcoat (輕) refer to the things used by the rich. *qošmīš* [qangli] 'a joined chariot', *qošmīš* is a past participle form of *qoš-* 'to conjoin, unite (two things), ...' (Clauson 1972: 670), and here it translates Chin. 駕 *jia* 'to yoke, harness; yoked carriage; drive a chariot'.

19. | ton|luy-lar 策 ||| al | |: [ton]luy-lar 'those who wear ... clothes' is supposedly a part of the phrase [yenik teri ton]luy-lar 'those who wear light fur coats', which stands for 輕 *qing* 'light' in the previous line, the shortened form of 輕裘 *qing qiu* 'light leather coat'. For *teri ton* 'a fur coat' (cf. Clauson 1972: 531).

The Chinese line led by 策 *ce* reads 策功茂實 *ce gong mao shi* 'Their exuberant plans and solid achievements'. The word *al* 'device, method of doing something' is often used together with *altay* or *čäviš*. Here it seems that *al* or *al* [altay] translates 策 *ce* 'a plan, a scheme, a stratagem'. Usually this is natural, since the meaning of these two words is almost the same. Another meaning of 策 *ce* is 'to write' or 'to render' (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 204-205).

20. | | l'r 勒 ||| bi taš toqïtdï | |: *l'r* may be reconstructed as [ärdäm]-lär 'goodness, virtue, good qualities' (Clauson 1972: 206), and supposedly translates Chin. 實 *shi* 'full, solid; fruit; true' (Pulleyblank 1991: 283).

The Chinese sentence led by 勒 *le* is 勒碑刻銘 *le bei ke ming* 'have been commemorated with inscriptions engraved on stone tablets'. *bi taš toqïtdï* 'had a memorial stone carved / written' is an exact translation of the Chinese sentence. *bi* can be traced back to Chin. 碑 *bei*, MChin. *piuě* 'a large stone tablet; a tombstone' (Giles 1912: 8764), and *taš* should have the same meaning as 碑 in this context.

A similar expression appears in KT S 12-13, BK(K)15: *bängü taš toqïtdim* 'I had a (memorial) stone carved'. Orkun translated it 'abide tašini yontturdum' in Orkun (1994: 28), and Tekin as 'I had the memorial stone inscribed' in Tekin (1968: 263), correctly. However, Clauson suggests "I had a (memorial) stone driven into (the ground)" (1972: 467). Obviously, the key word in this sentence is *toqïtdim*. Clauson explained it as "to have (something) woven" (1972: 467), and Erdal considers that "hewn" or even 'incised' seems just as possible" (1991: 789). In our context *toqït-* is clearly identical with Chin. 勒 *le* 'a bridle; to curb; to coerce. to carve; to engrave' (Giles 1912: 7316), and this interpretation can also be applied to the Orkhun inscriptions. *pi t[a]š yaratdïlar* in Röhrborn (1991: 315-316) should be a similar expression to *bi taš toqïtdi*.

21. | 石+番 ||| | banki 石+番溪 ögüz | |: The Chinese sentence led by 番 *ban* is 石+番溪伊尹 *Ban xi Yi Yin* 'Those who are commemorated are famous men like Lü Shang, the Tai Gong, who fished at Banki, and also the minister, Yi Yin'. Tai Gong or Tai Gongwang (太公王) is a popular title of a high officer of state named Lü Shang (呂尚) who lived from the 11th to the 12th century B.C., during the Zhou dynasty, cf. Giles (1898: 135-136, item 343; 708-709 item 1862). Yi Yin is a minister who rendered outstanding service to Tangwang of the Yin dynasty (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 206-210).

Banki is an Uyghur transcription of 石+番溪, MChin. *ban k^{hi}* 'a rivulet at the

South-Eastern part of present Baoji city, Shanxi province. According to legend Lushang, from the time of Zhou, 周 used to angle there before his meeting with Wenwang’ (Dacidian VII p. 1112). *ögüz* ‘river’ corresponds to 溪 *xi* ‘rivulet’.

22. | 太|公 *bilgä xua quy* 化国 | |: [太]公 *bilgä xua quy* means ‘the wise man Tai Gong’. Tai Gong *bilgä* refers to Tai Gongwang. It is said that he was a wise and virtuous man, and there are many stories about him. Cf. Giles (1898) and Ogawa & Kida (1997) (pages given in l. 21).

Xua quy is a transcription for 化国 *huaguo*, MChin. *xua kuEk*, and is probably an error of 華国 *hua guo*, a name for China. cf. Giles 1912: 5005.

23. | | bular *ikigü* 佐|| basut | |: *bular ikigü* ‘both of them’ here refers to Tai Gongwang and Yi Yin.

The Chinese sentence led by 佐 *zuo* is 佐時阿衡 *zuo shi a heng* ‘The former was a timely help, a Man of the Hour; the other was given the title of ‘A-heng’’. Yi Yin was a minister of Tang Wang and was called A-heng (阿衡) with respect. 阿 *a* is a ‘familiar prefix to names and terms of relationship’, and 衡 *heng* means ‘crosswise; balance arm of a steelyard’.

basut ‘support, help’ here renders 佐 *zuo* ‘to aid, to assist’.

24. | |söng *bolti* 湯王 *elig* | |: ‘? became the king Tang wang’. 湯王 *Tang wang*, MChin. *t’ân huiân* ‘King Tang’ was an emperor of the Yin dynasty. *elig* ‘king’ is an equivalent to Chin. 王 *wang* in 湯王 *Tang wang*.

25. | 奄|| |奄宅 *atl(i)y yer-täki* 曲阜: The Chinese sentence led by 奄 *yan* reads 奄宅曲阜 *yan zhai qu fu* ‘[Zhou Gongdan] resided in Qu Fu for a long time’. Zhou Gongdan (周公旦, Duke of Zhou (周公), who died in B.C. 1105, is known under the title *Dan* (旦), fourth son of Wen Wang and younger brother to Wu Wang, and is generally known in history, though sometimes spoken of as 姬公 *Ji Gong* ‘Duke of Ji’. Cf. Giles (1898: 162, item 418). 曲阜 *Qu fu* is a place name in Shandong province, China. Once it was the capital of Lu State (魯 841-476 B.C.) during the Zhou dynasty, and is also known as a place where Kong Fuzi, a famous Chinese philosopher, was born (cf. Cihai 1979: 1199).

Yanzhai atl(i)y yer-täki Qu Fu can be translated as ‘Qu Fu at a place named Yanzhai’. Interpreting *Yanzhai* as a place name is not correct. In this context 奄 *yan* means ‘long, for long’, and 宅 *zhai* is ‘to live, to stay’, and when put together they mean ‘to stay for a long time’ or ‘live for a long time’ (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 211-212).

26. | 微|||kičig *dan ärkän bögü*| |: The Chinese sentence led by 微 *wei* is 微旦孰營 *wei dan shu ying* ‘Who, if not Dan, could have managed this?’. *kičig dan ärkän bögü* means ‘when Zhou Gongdan was a child, he has wise ...’. This sentence can hardly be regarded as a literal translation of the Chinese. *kičig dan* seems to translate 微旦 *wei dan*. Usually 微 *wei* has the meaning ‘small, minute’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 320), but here it means ‘were it not for...’. Translating it with *kičig* is not correct. *Dan*, Chin. 旦 refers to 周公旦 *Zhou Gongdan*. However, this reading is not certain.

27. | | yetip *balıq ayyučı qilti* 桓||| |: *yetip balıq ayyučı qilti* means ‘arrived

and made the governor of the city'. As the title *ayyučī* appears in many Uyghur documents and religious texts in the form of *iš ayyučī*, *šazīn ayyučī*, *tamya ayyučī*, etc., in most cases it means 'someone who is in charge of practical affairs' (cf. Umemura 1977: 253 (03)-252 (06); Röhrborn 1977-1998: 299-300). We also found *balīq ayyučī* in Yamada et al. (1991: Mi01, 19): *qočo balīq ayyučīqa bir kümüş yastuq berip* 'dem Befehlshaber der Stadt Qoco ein 1 Silber-yastuq geben' and in Kara & Zieme (1986: 382-383): *muntada in(a)ru Qayču čiu balīq ayyučī bāg ävindikilärkä ayip artuqraq kertgüntürdi* 'Von nun an sprach (?) der die Stadt Huaizhou beherrschende Bāg zu den Angehörigen seines Anwesens, und ihm wurde äußerst vertraut'. In the latter sentence *ayyučī bāg* stands for Chin. 刺史 *ce shi* 'a governor of a province under the Han dynasty; the magistrate of a Department under the Sung dynasty' (Giles 1912: 12412). But in the previous two cases *balīq* mostly seems to be a part of the preceding place names *Qočo* and *Qayču čiu*. In our text *balīq ayyučī* is very obviously a title just as *iš ayyučī*, *šazīn ayyučī* etc., and probably refers to 'governor of the city' or 'mayor'. Here it concretely refers to Zhou Gongdan's managing of Qu Fu, the capital city, enfiefed by Lu State (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 212).

The Chinese sentence led by 桓 *Huan* reads 桓公匡合 *Huan gong kuang he* 'Huan Kung united the feudal princes, and put the country right'. Huan Gong or Huan Kung (684-642 B.C.) is the title of a duke of the Qi State, whose surname was 終 *Jiang*, and whose given name was 小白 *Xiaobai* (cf. Giles 1898: 327-328, item 841).

28. | *olyjurtup q(a)may bäglär-ig birgärti*: 'placed [the country] and assembled all officials'. The whole sentence translates 桓公匡合 *Huan gong kuang he* in the previous line. Here *olyurt-* 'to place' corresponds to 匡 *kuang* 'to aid, correct', *q(a)may bäglär* 'all officials' translates 公 *gong* 'duke, public just', and *birgärt-* 'to unite, assemble' translates 合 *he* 'to join, unite'.

29. | |//ty ämitmiş-lärig yülädi 綺||| |: *ämitmiş-lärig yülädi* means 'supported those who were inclined to'. This sentence translates 扶傾 *fu qing* 'overturned one' in 濟弱扶傾 *qi ruo fu qing* 'He helped the weak, and helped up the falling' in the Chinese text. This sentence follows the sentence in l. 28.

The Chinese line led by 綺 *qi* is 綺迴漢惠 *Qi hui Han Hui* 'Qi Liji restored Hui Di of the Han dynasty to the throne of crown prince'. *Qi* refers to Qi Liji (綺李季), one of the Four Gray-heads, whose surname was 朱 *Zhu*, and whose given name was 暉 *Hui*. Here he stands for the Four Gray-heads (四皓), namely Tang Xuanlang (唐宣朗), Cui Guang (崔廣), Zhou Shu (周術) and Qi Liji, of the Han dynasty; cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 215-218); Giles (1898: 124, item 309; 164, item 423; 714, item 714; 775, item 2038).

30. | *lyk ödläp 迴 yanturdi* 漢: Can be translated as 'gave advice to... and returned Han...'. This line translates 綺迴漢惠 *Qi hui Han Hui* 'Qi Liji restored Hui Di of the Han dynasty to the throne of crown prince' in the previous line. 迴 *hui* usually means 'to go back; to return', but here refers to Qi Liji and the other three virtuous men who changed the situation and advised the emperor not to abolish Hui Di. Maybe this is the reason for adding the Chinese character 迴 before its Uyghur translation *yanturdi* in order to clarify its special meaning.

31. | **oyul|uy tegin-i qïlmađın|** |: Can be translated as ‘without making [the son of ...] the prince’. Probably it is connected with the content of the previous line. It is said that Liu Bang (劉邦), the first emperor of the Han dynasty, first wanted his oldest son Liu Ying (劉盈, whose emperor name is Hui Di 惠帝) to be the crown prince. Later he loved his second wife and tried to abolish Liu Ying and make his son by a concubine the crown prince. On the advice of the Four Gray-heads he changed his idea and kept his first decision. *tegin-i qïlmađın* is connected with this historical matter (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 216-217; Giles 1898: 553, item 1442).

32. | **|/q qan-qa el bašladačï|** |: ‘one who ruled the country for the king’. *el bašla-* is identical with Chin. 治 *guo* ‘to govern a country’ from a passage in *Uigurica* I 25 given with its Chinese parallel text: *el bašlayu törüsin ötünürsi[z]lär ayıtu* ‘fragt ihr mich nach dem Reichsregierungs-Gesetz’ (= Chin. 問我治國法). There are two words *tut-* and *bašla-* in the Orkhun texts for this concept: *qırq yıl el tutdum bodun bašladım* ‘for forty years I held the realm and ruled the people’, and these two verbs should have a similar meaning to *el bašla-*. In this line *qanqa el bašladačï* translates 密勿 *mi wu* ‘one who works hard; minister who participates in confidential matters of the country’; cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 220).

The original Chinese sentence reads 俊乂密勿 *jun yi mi wu* ‘Thus, superior and able men have exerted themselves in the service of the emperors’.

33. | **|tdy ärmāz iš-lig| är** |: *ärmāz* may be connected with the verb preceding it. *iš-lig| är* ‘hard-working person’, is possibly an another translation of 密勿 *mi wu*. Kāšyarī (Dankoff & Kelly 1982-1985: 244) has *išliy är* meaning ‘a man who completes a job and leaves nothing over for someone else’. Clauson quotes Turkmen *išli* ‘busy, fully occupied’ (1972: 262).

34. | **|čïnlayu enč qïlti|** |: Can be translated as ‘really made in peace’ or ‘really made peaceful’. The Chinese sentence is 多士寔寧 *duo shi shi ning* ‘With the help of these many scholars, there was a true peace in the empire’. *čïnlayu enč qïlti* corresponds to 寔寧 *shi ning* ‘really at peace’.

35. | **|üzä 楚王 čiu |wang|** |: *üzä* means ‘above, on high’ and has several other meanings as a postposition (cf. Clauson 1972: 280). 楚王 *Chuwang* ‘ruler of the feudal Chu State’, here it refers to a feudal state in Hu Guang under the Zhou dynasty (cf. Paar:1963: 143). *čiu wang* is an Uyghur transcription for 楚王 *Chuwang*, MChin. ts’io iuŋ (cf. Dacidian IV p. 1148).

The original Chinese sentence reads 晉楚更霸 *Jin Chu geng ba* ‘Jin and Chu were, one after the other, the chiefs of the feudal states’. Jin and Chu are state names during the time of Chun Qiu (春秋). This sentence also refers to Wen Gong of Jin, and Zhuang Wang of Chu both becoming the supreme rulers (cf. Ogawa & Kida 1997: 222). The Uyghur translation seems to be based on the latter explanation.

36. | **čïju quy|** |: *čïu quy* is an Uyghur transcription of 趙國 *Zhaoguo* ‘an ancient state name during the time of the Warring States (戰國 *Zhanguo* 475-221 B.C.)’. Dacidian IX p. 1132.

The Chinese sentence reads 趙魏困橫 *Zhao Wei kun heng* ‘Zhao and Wei encountered difficulties due to the system of alliances that created a horizontal barrier

across China'. Here *Zhao* and *Wei* are state names during the time of the Warring States.

37. [ar|tuqraq ämgädi-lär|]: Can be translated as 'they excessively suffered'. [ar]tuqraq ämgädi-lär translates 困 *kun* 'to torment, to torture, to hurt, to distress' in the previous line.

38. [假||| yoluy|]: The Chinese sentence led by 假 *jia* is 假途滅虢 *jia tu mie Guo* 'Duke Xian of Qin, under false pretences, obtained permission to pass through Yu, in order to subjugate Guo'. *yol* 'road, way' translates 途 *tu* 'path, road-way' in the Chinese sentence.

2.4. Fragment D (= 4b Kr 185)

2.4.1. Transliteration

1. []|||t'wyz ynt'ky kyryk s[]
2. []kwys'ywr swqyq yq 驢[]
3. []qyr l'r 駭|||ywkwrrwp sykryp []
4. []||| 'wylwrmys pycmys k'rk'k 'wqry[]
5. []k y'qy l'ryq 布||| lwpw 呂[]
6. [] / t' 'wz 'nm'qlyq 'rty 宜了[]
7. []k'd 'rty 嵇琴 kyšwq []
8. [] 阮籍 ''tlq 'wywncy syqyrq'ly []
9. [] t'n tsyk < q'n sk > 肥籍 ''tlyq []
10. [] / mwnk tym 蒙恬 ''tlq kysy[]
11. [] 倫紙 ts'y lwyn 蔡倫 []
12. [] 鈞巧p' qwnk[]
13. [] |||| pwytydm'k t'[] 'wz 'nm'q []
14. [] // 'wyz ' bwlq'nmys s'ry l'ryq[]
15. [] ||| pyr y'nklq p'rc' yyk 'dkw []
16. [] sy 西施 ''tlq pw 'yky qyz[]
17. [] y'r'q lyq pwldy l'r 工 ||| []
18. [] kyn lyk kwylcyrk' ywwz lwk[]
19. [] ''tmys 'wq t'k twrq'rw[]
20. [] vswrw t'kz ynyp |||sy[]
21. [] kwyk q'lyq t' []
22. [] //dy 'wyz ' 'y[]
23. [] swrwky 'wyz ' []

2.4.2. Transcription, translation and commentary

1. [骸||| ät'öz-intäki kirig s|uv-da]: The Chinese sentence led by 骸 *hai* reads 骸垢想浴 *hai gou xiang yu* 'When the body is dirty, one thinks of bathing'. ät'öz-intäki kirig s|uv-da] 'with water (wants / hopes to wash) the dirt on the body', is an almost word by word translation of the Chinese sentence.

Usually ät'öz corresponds to 体 *ti*, 身 *shen* (cf. Shōgaito 1993: 234a, etc.), but here it translates 骸 *hai* 'bones of the body, skeleton'.

2. [執||| |küsäyür soyıq-ıy 驢|||]: The Chinese sentence led by 執 *zhi* is 執熱願涼 *zhi re yuan liang* ‘When you have taken hold of something hot, you wish for something cold’. *küsäyür soyıq-ıy* ‘desire for cold (thing)’, corresponds word by word to 願涼 *yuan liang* in the Chinese sentence.

The Chinese sentence led by 驢 *lü* is 驢騾犢特 *lü luo du te* ‘Donkeys, mules, calves and bulls’.

3. [|sä|yir-lar 駭|||yügürüp sekrip|]: [sä|yirlar means ‘oxen’, and here it translates 特 *te* ‘bulls’. The Chinese sentence led by 駭 *hai* is 駭躍超驤 *hai yue chao xi-ang* ‘when startled, will leap more than a spirited horse’. *yügürüp sekrip* ‘running and jumping’ corresponds to 躍超驤 *yue chao xiang* ‘leap over a spirited horse’ in the Chinese sentence. The Uyghur word which corresponds to 駭 *hai* ‘startled, frightened’ is missing, and supposedly there is a converb of *ürk-* ‘to be startled, scared, frightened’ (Clouston 1972: 221).

4. [誅||| ölürmiş bičmiş kargäk oyri|-larıy]: The Chinese sentence led by 誅 *zhu* reads 誅斬賊盜 *zhu zhan zei dao* ‘Thieves and robbers are punished and beheaded’. *ölürmiş bičmiş kargäk oyri|-larıy*] can be translated as ‘should kill and cut the thieves’ or ‘should kill (Hend.) the thieves’. *bič-* ‘to cut’ is used in the same meaning as *ölür-* ‘to kill’ in some texts. Examine the following verse in Kāşyari (Dankoff & Kelly 1982-1985: 327):

<i>tünlä bilä bastimiz</i>	we attacked them at night;
<i>tägmä yayaq bustimiz</i>	we lay in ambush on every side;
<i>käsmälärin kästimiz</i>	then we cut their horses’ forelocks;
<i>miñlaq ärin bičtimiz</i>	and killed the men of miñlaq (a place name).

Obviously, in our text *ölürmiş bičmiş* translates 斬 *zhan* ‘to behead, to cut into’.

5. [tutmiş k(ä)rgäk yayı-larıy 布||| löpu 呂: [tutmiş k(ä)rgäk] yayı-larıy ‘should catch the enemies’. This sentence translates 捕獲叛亡 *pu huo pan wang* ‘Rebels and fugitives are seized and arrested’ in the Chinese text. In the Uyghur translation *yayılar* ‘enemies; hostiles’ corresponds to 叛亡 *panwang* ‘to forsake and escape’ in the Chinese text, and [tutmiş k(ä)rgäk] ‘should capture’ corresponds to 捕獲 *pu huo* ‘to seize, to capture’.

The Chinese sentence led by 布 *bu* is 布射遼丸 *Bu she Liao wan* ‘Lü Bu was skilled as an archer, and Yi Liao excelled in shooting clay balls’. *lö pu* is a transcription for 呂布 *Lü Bu*, MChin. *lio po* (?-198), the name of a famous general of the Late Han dynasty, who was born in Jiu Yuan, and whose honorific name is Fengxian. He killed Dong Zhuo, surrendered to Yuan Chao and was killed by Cao Cao (cf. Kokan Jiten p. 554). Yi Liao (宜遼), whose full name is Xiong Yiliao (熊宜遼), was a native of Chu during the Warring States. It is recorded that he played ball excellently; cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 329).

6. [| t’ uz-anmaqlıy ärti 宜了|]: *t’ uz-anmaqlıy ärti* means ‘was master in...’, and it should be part of the Uyghur translation of the Chinese sentence in the previous line.

宜了 *yi liao* is another spelling for 宜遼. According to Ogawa & Kida, the Chinese characters for 遼 *liao* are different in various *Qian zi-wen* versions. Some texts use 遼 and others use 僚. Using 了 in this text should be another variant; cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 329-330).

7. ||kād ārti 嵇琴 *kişuy* | 嵇叔 |: *kād ārti* ‘were extremely good’. 嵇琴 *Ji Qin* is the name of a stringed musical instrument which was invented by 嵇康 *Ji Kang*, an ideologist and poet during the time of Three-States and Wei. His honorific name is 叔夜 *Shuye*. *kişoq* is an Uyghur transcription of 嵇叔 *Ji Shu*, MChin. *xişuy*, which was coined by the Uyghurs taking *xi* (Uyghur pronunciation is *ki*), the Kei Kang’s surname, and 叔 *Shu* (Uyghur Chinese pronunciation is *şuy*) from his honorific name 叔夜 *Shuye*. In some Chinese records we found 嵇叔夜 *Ji Shuye*, composed of Kei Kang’s surname 嵇 *Ji* and his honorific name 叔夜 *Shuye*. *kişuy* 嵇叔 should be a name made by the Uyghurs in a similar way, or it could also be based on 嵇叔夜. For more detailed information see Kokan Jiten vol.1, p. 1099c; Jinshu (pp. 1369-1372); Ma Zonghu (1982: 461-471).

The Chinese sentence is 嵇琴阮嘯 *Ji qin Ruan xiao* ‘Ji Kang was master in playing the Chinese lute, Ruan Ji was skillful in flute playing’.

8. ||阮籍 *atl(i)y oyunī sīyīryālī* |: ‘A musician named Ruan Ji [was skillful] in whistling’, is a translation of 阮嘯 in the previous line. 阮籍 *Ruan Ji* (210-263 AD.), was a poet and ideologist of Wei during the Three-States Period, and his honorific name is Si Zong (嗣宗). He is one of the seven virtuous men at the Groves of Bamboo’ (Kokanjiten vol. 3 p. 1086b). For more detailed information see Jinshu (pp. 1359-1362); Cihai (1979: 408b). Here he is mentioned as *oyunčī* < *oyun* + *čī* ‘musician’ or ‘one who loves amusement’. This word also can be read as *ōtčī*, which comes from *ōt* ‘advise’ + *čī*, literally meaning ‘someone who gives advice’. Here it probably stands for Chin. 賢人 *xian ren* ‘virtuous man’. It should be noted that this line has been circled by the writer or the copyist; therefore, it may be that this line was erased.

9. ||tan tsik 阮籍 *atlīy 肥* |: *tan tsik* is an Uyghur transcription for 阮籍 *Ruan Ji*, MChin. *ñiun dziek*. This transliteration was corrected to *yan s(i)k*, and it is written beside the word with a thin pen. *tsyk* is an early Chinese pronunciation of 籍 *Ji*, which later changed to *s(i)k*, and *tan* is for 阮; it may also represent an early pronunciation of it or is an error for *yan*.

阮籍 *atlīy* means ‘(a person) named RUANJI’. Concerning 阮籍 *Ruan Ji* see our note in l.8.

10. | / mung tim 蒙恬 *atl(i)y kiši* |: Can be translated as ‘a person named Meng Tian’. *mung tim* is a transliteration of 蒙恬 *Meng Tian*, which is the name of a general in the time of Qin (秦). He worked as Neishi (內史) ‘officers of the Censorate under the Han dynasty’ at the time of Qin Shihuang (秦始皇). He led an army of 30,000, drove Huns out, and constructed the Great Wall; in the time of the second ruler of Qin, he was sentenced to death (?-210 B.C.). It was recorded in Shi Ji (史記) ‘Historical Records’ that he invented the writing brush. Some other records also say that he improved the writing brush (cf. Kokan Jiten vol. 3, p. 440a; Cihai 1979: 1627b).

The Chinese sentence is 恬筆倫紙 *Tian bi Lun zhi* ‘Meng Tian invented the writing brush, Cai Lun invented paper’.

11. | 蔡 | 倫紙 *ts'y lwyn* 果倫 | : [蔡] 倫紙 *Cai Lun zhi* means ‘a paper invented by Cai Lun’ or ‘paper of Cai Lun’. Since Cai Lun was a lord (候 *hou* ‘marquis’) of Long Ting (龍亭), this paper is also called 蔡候紙 *Cai Hou zhi* ‘paper of Lord Cai’; cf. Dacidian vol. IX p. 538; Kokan Jiten vol. 3 p. 456b.

ts'y lwyn is a transliteration of the next Chinese characters 蔡倫 *Cai Lun*, MChin. *ts'äi liuën*.

12. | | 馬鈞 *pa qong* | : The Chinese sentence is 馬鈞任釣 *Jun qiao Ren diao* ‘Ma Jun was a skillful artificer, Ren Gongzi excelled in fishing’. 馬鈞 *Jun qiao* in this text is a citation from the first two characters of the Chinese sentence. *pa qong* is a transcription for Ma Gong (馬公), which is composed of Ma Jun’s family name Ma, MChin. *ma*, and the first letter of Ren Gongzi’s given name Gong, MChin. *kuŋ*.

Ma Jun (馬鈞) was a scholar of Wei during the time of the Three-States. Ren Gongzi (任公子) is a person of the First Qin (先秦). For detailed information cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 335-336).

13. | |//// bötidmäk-tä uz-anmaq | : Can be translated as ‘to be master in making dance’. *bödit-* ‘to make dance (a person or one’s feet)’. Kāšyarī (Dankoff & Kelly 1982-1985: 416): *ol oylini böditti* ‘He made his son dance’. *uzanmaq* ‘to be master’, the preceding noun always with the locative (examples and analyses cf. Clauson 1972: 289; Erdal 1991: 768, also cf. l. 6 of this fragment). *-tä* is not clear from the photograph.

According to *Zhuang Zi* (「莊子」), Ma Jun made a doll from wood, and dressed it with colourful silk cloth. The doll danced by itself without being any different from human beings. This line is connected to this story. For details cf. Ogawa & Kida (1997: 336).

14. | | üz-ä bulyanmīs sav-larīy | : This phrase can be translated as ‘disordered affairs by ...’. The Chinese sentence is 釋紛利俗 *shi fen li su* ‘They cleared up confusion and they were of profit to the commonalty’. *bulyanmīs sav-lar* ‘disordered affairs, confused matters’ corresponds to 紛 *fen* ‘confused, disorderly, mixed’.

15. | 並 |||| bir yanglīy barča yeg ädgü |ärti | : The Chinese sentence reads 並皆佳妙 *bing jie jia miao* ‘They were all excellent and admirable men’. *bir yanglīy barča yeg ädgü* [ärti] ‘all was best and good of one kind’ is an almost word by word translation of the Chinese sentence.

16. |mau čo毛 嬌ši|ši 西施 atl(i)y bu iki qīz: This line can be translated as ‘Mao Qiang, Xi Shi these two girls...’. Both Mao Qiang and Xi Shi were remarkable for their great beauty at the time of Chunqiu (770 - 476 B.C.). A Chinese classic book entitled *ZhiZi*, *XiaoCheng* (智子. 小称) thus records: 毛嬌, 西施, 天下之美人也 ‘Mao Qiang and Xi Shi are the beauties of the world’ (Dacidian vol. VIII pp. 744-5). For detailed information also see Giles (1898: 271, item 679; 575, item 1497). *ši ši* is a transcription of 西施 *Xi Shi*, MChin. *siei çiě*.

The Chinese sentence is 毛施淑姿 *Mao Shi shu zi* ‘Mao Qiang and Xi Shi were beautiful and charming’.

17. | **[yaray-līy boldī-lar 工///]** | : *yaray-līy boldī-lar* can be translated as ‘became suitable...’ or ‘became useful’. *yaraylīy* means ‘suitable, opportune, useful’ and the like’ (Clauson 1972: 964). Here it is used to describe the beauty of Mao Qiang and Xi Shi.

18. | **[kin -lig külčirgä yūüz-lüg]**: This phrase means ‘beautiful and smiling faced’. *kinlig* ‘beautiful’ comes from *kin* < Chin. 妍 *yan*, MChin. *ȝien* which means ‘beautiful’ (Pulleyblank 1991: 356) + *-lig*. *külčirgä* comes from *külčir-* ‘to smile’ (< *kül-* ‘to laugh’ + *-čir*) + *gä*. *külčirgä yūüz-lüg* appears in Tezcan (1974: 998): *külčirgä yūüz-lügün* ‘mit lächelndem Gesicht’, and as a name in BT VII A 152 and 621, and *külčirä yūüz* appearing in TT X 322 and MaitriH. 1450, 2418, etc. also has the same meaning (cf. Clauson 1972: 716; Tezcan 1974: 70, note 998; Erdal 1991: 377, 537-538).

The Chinese sentence is 工口+頻妍咲 *gong pin yan xiao* ‘The one seemed to have achieved a work of art when she knit her brows; the other was beautiful when she smiled’. This sentence also describes the beauty of Mao Qiang and Xi Shi.

19. | **[atmīš oq täg turqaru |]** : This phrase can be translated as ‘like a shot arrow, always...’. The Chinese sentence comes as 年矢每催 *nian shi mei cui* ‘The years fly like arrows, each pushing on the other’.

20. | **[qa]všuru tägz-inip ///sy|** | : *[qa]všuru tägz-inip* can be translated as ‘revolving together ...’. This line should be connected to 璇王+畿懸幹 *xuan ji xuan e* ‘The astrolabe hangs and turns’ in the Chinese text. *tägz-inip* corresponds to 幹 *e* ‘to revolve’. Concerning the Chinese character corresponding to *[qa]všuru* ‘collecting, bringing together, putting together’ we have no clear idea.

21. | **[kök qalīy-ta]** | : *kök qalīy-ta* means ‘on the sky’, it is certainly connected with the Chinese sentence in the previous line.

22. | **[///dy üz-ä ay]** | : ‘by / with ... the moon ...’. This line is connected with 晦魄環照 *hui po huan zhao* ‘The moon wanes and becomes dark, then after a circuit it shines again’. Supposedly *ay* ‘moon’ together with the word before it corresponds to 晦魄 *hui po* ‘hidden moon at the end of the month’.

23. | **[sürügi üz-ä |]** | : *sürüg* (spelled as *swrwk*) means ‘something driven’ (Clauson 1972: 850) or ‘a flock, herd’ (Erdal 1991: 205). *sürügi üz-ä* ‘on the herd’, can also be read *sürük* ‘within the deadline’ (Modern Uyghur *sürük* corresponds to Chin. 期間 *qijian*, 期限 *qixian* ‘time limit, deadline’). In this text the latter one is the most probable.

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- | | | |
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| ana törüsin A4 母儀 | ät'öz body 骸 | C1 a musical instrument |
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| a. ämgädi-lär C37 困 | körür ä.-ning B7 丙舍 | b. yangliŷ D15 |
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| C25 D8,9,10,16 | barča all 皆 D15 | b.-ti C24 |
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| ädgü good 妙 D15 | bay rich 富 | bögü wise C26 |
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ök
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önglüg colourful 甲 B8
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sekri- to jump 驢
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tägin- to receive
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tägšil- to change 虧
 t.-mädi A12 匪
tägšin- to revolve 轉
 t.-ür B12
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ti < Chin. 笛? a pipe 笙
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 u.-larnıng A3
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yaraylıy suitable, drawn 圖
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yarat- to invent
 y.-dī C8
yarlıqančuçı compassionate
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y(a)ru side, direction B8
yeg good, best 佳 D15
yer ground, place
 y.-tin C2
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yet- to arrive
 y.-ip C27
yıd scent 氣
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yıyıl- to assemble 集
 y.-u C5
ymä also 亦
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yügür- to run 躍
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yülä- to support 扶
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yorıl- to tire 疲
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A retrospective view of the passive, reflexive, reciprocal, causative and decausative in Azerbaijani

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Sultanzade, Vügar 2001. A retrospective view of the passive, reflexive, reciprocal, causative and decausative in Azerbaijani. *Turkic Languages* 5, 29-67.

The paper investigates the semantico-syntactical and morphological aspects of the passive, reflexive, reciprocal, causative and decausative in Modern Azerbaijani and compares them with the corresponding categories in the oldest texts of this language.

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0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the passive, reflexive, reciprocal, causative and decausative in Modern Standard Azerbaijani and to compare them with the corresponding categories in the oldest texts of this language. The categories in question are important means of conveying subject-object relations, which hold a cardinal place in practical and perceptual activities of language-speakers. Many problems of the mentioned categories, especially the syntactical aspect, have not been considered in Azerbaijani linguistics up to now, nor have they been studied in Old Azerbaijani (henceforth OA) material.

We will not discuss the question whether the passive, reflexive, reciprocal, causative and decausative are the elements of one and the same category or whether they are different independent categories. Their common feature is that their functioning changes the verb valency, and consequently, the syntactic structure. We call this their diathetical aspect. Nevertheless, the corresponding meanings, e.g. reflexive or reciprocal, can be expressed by non-diathetical means too.

The changes in the verb valency mostly involve the morphological modification of the verb form, i.e. the passive, reflexive, reciprocal, causative and decausative affixes are markers of the corresponding syntactical transformations. This paper investigates both the syntactical constructions and morphological affixes, but not similar lexical forms such as, e.g. *yayın-* 'to evade' < *yay-* 'to spread', because they do not denote regular transformations.

The data of OA are taken from the texts of the XIII-XIV centuries, namely, the verses of İzzeddin Hasan-ogly, the poem *Dastan'ı Ahmed Herami* (The Story of

Robber Ahmed) by an unknown author, Qazi Burhaneddin's *Divan*, the works of Imadeddin Nesimi, Yusif Meddah's *Varqa and Gulshah*, Ibn Muhanna's dictionary *Kitab'i Hilyat'ul Insan ve Hilbat'ul Lisan*, three different *Yusif and Zuleykha* poems by Khatayi,¹ Mustafa Zarir and Suli Feqih, and also the epic *Kitab'i Dede Qorqud* (The Book of Dede Qorqud), both existing manuscripts of which are probably from the sixteenth century; however, "as to the language of the text, it is consistent with the books belonging to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century" (Lewis 1974: 22).

Ibn Muhanna's Dictionary and the poems of Mustafa Zarir and Suli Feqih are used only as additional sources and quoted sparingly in this paper, because they can equally be considered Turkish sources in their own right.² The point is that in the XIII-XIV centuries Azerbaijanian and Turkish had not yet emerged as separate distinct branches of Oghuz Turkic. Yet in the rest of the mentioned texts Azerbaijanian elements are dominant, and these texts are mostly regarded as Azerbaijanian sources rather than Ottoman ones. The following remarks by Muharrem Ergin regarding Qazi Burhaneddin's *Divan* could be applied equally well to all of them:

"It is true that in the fourteenth century the Azeri Turkic and Anatolian dialects had not developed yet along their separate lines, and two or three centuries more were needed for this. However, Kadi Bürhaneddin's language does differ slightly from other Anatolian texts and bears certain of the distinguishing features of Azeri Turkic, which gave promise of its becoming a separate dialect. In view of this, although it is not possible to consider the work entirely a product of Azeri Turkic, yet it is not far off the mark to consider it the product of the period when the Azeri Turkic dialect was heading straight towards separation." (Ergin 1952: 287)³

We have also used the poem *Qisse'i Yusif* (The Story of Joseph) written in 1213 by Ali, about whose life there is practically no information. Unknown also is the place where he lived. The prevalent point of view in this matter is the opinion of Tatar philologists, according to whom the poem was created in Tatarstan. However, this opinion does not correspond to the facts. Analysis of the oldest manuscripts of the poem shows that they were written in an Oghuz language rather than in a Kipchak one. The Kipchak-Tatar elements are only predominant in the manuscripts dated XVI century and later, i.e. they are a consequence of later alterations. Nevertheless, since the poem's belonging to Azerbaijanian is questionable, this paper contains only few examples from it.

The texts in question have been published, except Khatayi's poem. Beside the manuscripts, we have used the Baku editions of the mentioned sources and the St.

¹ Not to be confused with Shah Ismail Khatayi (XV century).

² Ibn Muhanna's dictionary also contains many Kipchak elements.

³ The translation by Buril (1972: 46).

Petersburg edition of Ibn Muhanna's Dictionary. Their list is given at the end of the paper with the corresponding abbreviations.

The investigated data of Modern Azerbaijani (henceforth MA) are taken from the standard language.

The modern Latin-based script of Azerbaijani is used both for the presentation of the MA material and the transliteration of the examples from the OA texts. All examples are translated by the author of the paper, except the data from KDQ, for which the translations in Lewis 1974 and Sümer et al. 1972 are used.

1. Passive

1.1. Semantics and syntax

Passive constructions are derived ones and they are in opposition with their basic forms—active constructions. Within passive constructions the hierarchy of the semantic actants does not correspond to that of the syntactic ones. The semantic actants are such elements as agent, patient, recipient, instrument, etc. The given order of semantic actants reflects their hierarchy, established psycho-linguistically (Axutina 1989), typologically (Givón 1984) and lexicographically (Xrakovskij 1974). The syntactic actants occupy the syntactic valency-slots of verbs. They are also hierarchically ordered. The first position belongs to the surface, i.e. syntactic subject (henceforth S_{syn}), and the second one is the position of surface objects, i.e. complements. There are micro-hierarchy relations among complements too: direct object > indirect object, expressed with case endings > indirect object, expressed with postpositions.

In active constructions the semantic actants of a given verb correspond to the syntactic actants hierarchically, i.e. the S_{syn} realizes the agent, and complements express non-agentive roles according to their ranks; e.g.:

- (1) a. *Gənc ustalar bir ev tikdilər.*
 young master:PL a house build:PAST/3PL
 'The young masters built a house.'

Passive constructions appear when the Agent- S_{syn} correspondence is obliterated, i.e. when the agent is realized by a different syntactic actant than S_{syn} or not at all (see Xrakovskij 1974). This transformation does not change the given situation (state of affairs) or the propositional meaning of the main verb (cf. Xolodovič 1979).

There are different types of passive constructions in Azerbaijani.

1.1.1. Canonical passive constructions

The canonical passive is the exact opposite of the active diathesis. Here the syntactic positions of the S_{syn} and a complement are occupied by a non-agentive role and the agent, respectively; cf.:

- (1) b. *Ev gənc ustalar tərəfindən tikildi.*
 house young master:PL POSP build:PASS:PAST
 'The house was built by the young masters.'

Since within the canonical passive constructions the agent is realized by a complement, the latter is traditionally called "agentive complement". In MA this complement is expressed by a noun phrase plus the postposition *tərəfindən* 'by', which literally means 'from the side of' (side:POSS:ABL). In OA the morpheme *-dən* (*-dan*) was added directly to the noun phrase avoiding the word *tərəf* 'side', i.e. the complement was formed with the ablative affix. Cf. in Nesimi:

- (2) *Ey evin Həqdən yapılmış ...* (N 191)
 o house:POSS Truth:ABL build:PASS:PART
 'O you, whose house has been created by God...'
- (3) *Həm yenə səndən düzülmüş*
 CONJ again you:ABL put right:PASS:PF

uşbu bazarım mənim. (N 148)
 this bazaar:POSS/1SG I:GEN
 'And this my bazaar has been put right again by you.'
- (4) *Çox könüllər yağmalandı sən üzü mehparədən.* (N 154)
 many heart:PL pillage:PASS:PAST you face:POSS piece of moon:ABL
 'Many hearts were pillaged by you, moon-faced.'
- (5) *Vəzribu⁴ buyruldu Həqdən, həm buyurdu Mustafa.* (N 527)
 wadribu order:PASS:PAST Truth:ABL CONJ order:PAST Mustafa
 "'Wadribu" was ordered by God, and Mustafa (i.e. Prophet Muhammed) ordered (the same).'

In MA the "agentive" complement of the passive constructions derived from some transitive verbs denoting unintentional action has the dative form; e.g.:

⁴ The transliteration *fəzrəbu* in the Baku edition is not correct. The word is a quotation from the Qur'an: *wadribu* (Al-Nisa: 35), which has (at least) two interpretations. Ahmed Ali (1988: 78) has translated it 'and go to bed with them', based on Raghīb's *Lisan al-'Arab*, where the author points out that *daraba* metaphorically means 'to have intercourse'. Another interpretation of *wadribu*, and one which is widespread, is 'and punish them', e.g. "and scourge them" (Pickthall 1952: 97); "and beat them" (Palmer 1949: 70). Nesimi surely meant the 'punish' meaning, as the first line of his distich indicates: *Türabiler elinde Zülfiqar şəmşirü-tiğ* (N 527) 'At the hands of the people of Turab (the nickname of Imam Ali) the Zulfıqar (Ali's sword) is a saber and sword'.

- (6) *Uzaqda bizə Savalan*
 far:LOC we:DAT Savalan

dağının zirvəsi görünürdü.
 mountain:POSS:GEN top:POSS see:PASS:PRES:PAST
 'The top of the mountain Savalan was seen by us in the distance.'

We set the word “agentive” in inverted commas because from the semantic point of view the subjects of verbs denoting unintentional action, like *gör-* ‘to see’, *eşit-* ‘to hear’, are not real agents, i.e. they are neither active nor volitional substances. Constructions of type (6) are to some extent similar to ergative structures. Such ergative-like constructions exist in the OA texts too; cf.:

- (7) *Ol öylə adam degildir kim, sana görinə.* (KDQ 54)
 she such man not:COP CONJ you:DAT see:PASS:SUBJ
 ‘She is not the sort of person who would show herself (lit. be seen, V. S.) to you.’ (Sümer et al. 1972: 46)

- (8) ... *Maliknin qulağına eşitüldi.* (A 6)
 lord:GEN ear:POSS:DAT hear:PASS:PAST
 ‘... was heard by the lord’s ear.’

As passive constructions are used with the purpose of “focusing”, i.e. putting in the forefront the object of the action, the expression of the agentive complement is optional, and in speech these constructions usually occur without it. It is the same in the OA texts, where one finds few examples with the agentive complement.

In the case of canonical passives the omission of an agentive complement is not a fact of deletion, but only a grammatical ellipsis⁵, i.e. one can reconstruct this position. It means that in the canonical passive transformation the syntactic valency of the main verb does not change quantitatively. However, it changes qualitatively, because the agentive complement is lower than the direct object of the related basic diathesis in rank.

1.1.2. Adversative constructions

In Azerbaijanian the adversative constructions fall into two groups. The first group is formed in MA on the basis of four verbs: *basıl-* ‘to be defeated’ (< *bas-* ‘to defeat’), *döyül-* ‘to be beaten’ (< *döy-* ‘to beat’), *yenil-* ‘to be conquered’ (< *yen-* ‘to conquer’) and *uduz-* ‘to lose’ (< *ud-* ‘to win’). In these constructions the agentive complement is formed with the dative affix; e.g.:

⁵ This kind of ellipsis is different from contextual ellipsis (cf. Lyons 1968: 174).

- (9) *Osmanlılar italyanlara basıldılar.* (C. Məmmədquluzadə)
 Ottoman:PL Italian:PL:DAT defeat:PASS:PAST/3PL
 'The Ottomans were defeated by the Italians.'

The adversative constructions have the same characteristics in OA. Cf.:

- (10) *Bu qıza basılacaq olursam...*
 this girl:DAT defeat:PASS:PART be:COND/1SG
 'If I am beaten by this girl...' (Lewis 1974: 64)

The adversative construction focuses the object of the related basic verb and denotes an action / event unfavorable to the animate (mostly human) referent of this object. Thus, the adversative combines semantic features of the canonical passive, on the one hand, and the non-volitional permissive-causative, on the other hand (cf. Malchukov 1993). It is not by mere chance that the above-mentioned verbs take the passive *-(ı)l* and the causative *-uz* (see section 4.2.4) affixes. However, unlike both canonical passive and permissive, within the first group of the adversative constructions the focused participant of the situation is not a non-active, but an active referent, which shows a certain resistance to the action of the agent.

Nevertheless, one can consider the mentioned constructions to be a kind of passive. First, syntactically, the adversative transformation is similar to passivization. Second, semantically, the initial situation as well as the propositional meaning of the main verb do not change. And finally, the affinity of adversative to the passive can be proved in many cases by substitution testing. For example, the above-illustrated sentence (9) can be used as a canonical passive:

- (9) a. *Osmanlılar italyanlar tərəfindən basıldılar.*
 Ottoman:PL Italian:PL POSP defeat:PASS:PAST/3PL
 'The Ottomans were defeated by the Italians.'

The second group of the adversative constructions is formed only on the basis of the verb *tut-* 'to seize' (> *tutul-* 'to catch') ; e.g.:

- (11) a. *Uşaqları xəstəlik tutdu.*
 child:PL:ACC illness seize:PAST
 lit. 'An illness seized the children.' (basic)
- (11) b. *Uşaqlar xəstəliyə tutuldular.*
 child:PL illness:DAT seize:PAST/3PL
 'The children caught an illness.' (adversative).

This type of adversative construction is semantically closer to the permissive rather than to the passive. Indeed it is distinguished to a considerable extent from the first group mentioned. This adversative construction denotes the situation where there are not two, but one animate participant, and the latter has a quite passive role within

the “unpleasant” event, which does not depend on him / her. However, since the syntactic valency of the main verb does not increase, one cannot consider transformations like (11a)-(11b) to be permissive-causative. On the other hand, the fact that in these transformations the S_{syn} and the complement exchange their positions and the valency of the verb is decreasing only in rank gives grounds for relating the adversative to the passive constructions.

The second group of adversative constructions exists in OA too; e.g.:

- (12) *Qılıncıma toğranayın!*
 sword:POSS/1SG:DAT slice:PASS:SUBJ
Oxıma sancılayın! ... (KDQ 59)
 arrow:POSS/1SG:DAT spit:PASS:SUBJ
 ‘May I be sliced on my own sword, may I be spitted on my own arrow ...’
 (Lewis 1974: 73)
- (13) *Yaxıldım eşqinə manəndi-Məcnun. (N 194)*
 burn:PASS:PAST:1SG love:POSS/2SG:DAT like Majnun
 ‘I was burned with your love, like Majnun.’
- (14) *Necə tutulmayam bən ol tuzağa. (QB 454)*
 how catch:PASS:NEG:SUBJ/1SG I that trap:DAT
 ‘How can I not be caught in that trap?’

In OA the adversative constructions formed on the basis of the verb *tut-* could also be related to the first group. This can be indirectly proved by the following instance, where the *tut-* root of the predicate demands a noun in the dative denoting an animate participant:⁶

- (15) *Yəqin bildi kim, oğlu kafərə tutsaqdır (KDQ 74)*
 for certain know:PAST CONJ son:POSS infidel:DAT captive:COP
 ‘He knew then for certain that his son had been captured by the infidels.’
 (Sümer et al. 1972: 81)

As one can see from the instances above, the spectrum of verbs forming adversative constructions in OA was wider than now. It is interesting to note that the verb *aldan-* ‘to be deceived, tempted, enticed’ also belonged to this domain. Cf.:

- (16) *Ey Xətayi, əmrə aldanma kim ... (X 11b)*
 o Khatayi order:DAT deceive:PASS:NEG CONJ
 ‘O Khatayi, don’t be deceived by the order that ...’

⁶ It is not by mere chance that Sümer et al. translated this predicate into English as a passive verb.

- (17) *Aldanma anın alına ...* (N 42)
 entice:PASS:NEG he:GEN lie:POSS:DAT
 'Don't be enticed by his lie.'

Similar constructions, like *Onun sözünə aldandım* 'I was enticed by his word' cannot be considered in MA as derived ones, because there is no basic verb form *alda-* 'to tempt, entice, deceive', which, on the other hand, we meet in the OA texts; e.g.:

- (18) *Aldayuban ər tutmaq övrət işidir* (KDQ 124)
 Deceive:GER man take:INF woman work:POSS:COP
 'To take a man by deceit is woman's work.' (Lewis 1974: 185)

1.1.3. Conversive constructions

The conversive constructions are formed on the basis of such verbs as *bürün-*, *dövrələn-*, *örtül-*, and so on, which mean 'to be surrounded', 'to be covered'. Here the initial S_{syn} is demoted to the complement position, the marker of which is not the postposition *tərəfindən*, but *ilə* 'with'; e.g.:

- (19) a. *Şam ağacları bu dağları örtmüşdü.*
 pine tree:PL:POSS this mountain:PL:ACC cover:PF:PAST
 lit. 'Pine trees had covered these mountains.'
- (19) b. *Bu dağlar şam ağacları ilə örtülmüşdü.*
 this mountain:PL pine tree:PL:POSS POSP cover:PASS:PF:PAST
 'These mountains had been covered with pine trees.'

The complement of conversive constructions differs from the agentive complement of canonical passives not only formally, but also semantically, since it does not denote an agent, an animate and volitional actor of action. Both participants of the "conversive" situation possess equal rights from the natural activity (or precisely, inactivity) point of view, and the agent / non-agent division of their semantic roles is a conditional division. Therefore, in the semantic respect, both (19a) and (19b) can be viewed as basic (or quite the reverse, derived) constructions.

However, as the verb is marked in (19b), only this construction is considered to be a derived diathesis. The form of the verb marker and the syntactic transformation (demotion of the initial S_{syn} to an indirect object position) are characteristic for the passive.

The conversive constructions in the OA texts do not differ from the contemporary examples; cf.:

- (20) *Havanın yüzü toz ilə büründü.* (DH 29)
 weather:GEN surface:POSS dust POSP cover:PASS:PAST
 'The sky was covered with dust.'

1.1.4. Modal-passive constructions

In these constructions the object of the action is realized with S_{syn} , but the agent does not have any syntactic expression, as in (21b):

- (21) a. *Dəniz suyunu içməzlər.*
 sea water:POSS:ACC drink:NEG:AOR/3PL
 'One cannot drink sea-water.'
- (21) b. *Dəniz suyu içilməz.*
 sea water:POSS drink:PASS:NEG:AOR
 'Sea-water cannot be drunk.'

Unlike canonical passive, in (21b) one cannot add an agentive complement, i.e. in this case we have a fact of deletion rather than a grammatical ellipsis. Thus, in the modal-passive transformation the valency of the verb is changed quantitatively, decreasing by one.

In MA the modal-passive constructions convey two kinds of modal meaning: possibility / impossibility and assessment, as illustrated in (22) and (23), respectively.

- (22) *Kəşfiyyatçılar ağ xalatda*
 scout:PL white cloak:LOC

qardan seçilmirdilər.
 snow:ABL distinguish:PASS:NEG:PRES:PAST/3PL
 'One could not distinguish the scouts in white cloaks from snow.'
- (23) *Mişar iti olanda ağac asan kəsilir.*
 saw sharp be:GER tree easy cut:PASS:AOR
 'It is easy to cut a tree when the saw is sharp.'

When the modal-passive constructions have the possibility / impossibility meaning the verb is usually used in negative aorist form. The modal-passive constructions of assessment meaning usually have an adverbial modifier of manner, such as *asan* 'easy', *çətin* 'hard', *tez* 'quickly', etc.

Only transitive verbs have a modal-passive diathesis. Furthermore, the modal-passive transformation occurs only on the basis of non-causative transitive verbs, such as *oxu-* 'to read', *ye-* 'to eat', *tik-* 'to build', whose object undergoes (or appears as a result of) the action of animate creatures but not elemental forces, and where the action cannot be spontaneous. Hence one can claim that despite the deletion of the syntactic actant in the modal-passive transformation the semantic role structure of the verb is not changed, i.e. the agent does not disappear, because the action cannot be conceived without an agent.

We have met only the possibility / impossibility meaning of modal-passive constructions in the investigated material of OA. The semantico-syntactical features of these constructions do not differ from the ones in the modern language. Cf.:

- (24) *Seçilməz bir-birindən sözləri qənd.* (DH 41)
 distinguish:PASS:NEG:AOR each other:ABL word:PL:POSS candy
 'Their sweet words cannot be distinguished from each other'
- (25) *Bulunmaz dünyadə bir yari-sadiq.* (DH 44)
 find:PASS:NEG:AOR world:LOC a friend:EZ devoted
 'A devoted friend cannot be found in the world.'
- (26) *Qaracığa qıymayınca yol alınmaz.* (KDQ 31)
 Qaracığ:DAT not sacrifice:NEG:GER way take:PASS:NEG:AOR
 'Distances cannot be covered without spurring the horse.'
 (Sümer et al. 1972: 4)
- (27) *Ömrün keçəni keçdivü*
 life:GEN past:PART:POSS past:PAST:CONJ

baqisi bilinməz. (QB 355)
 remaining:POSS know:PASS:NEG:AOR
 'What has passed in life is past and it is impossible to know about what remains.'

1.1.5. Impersonal constructions

While the canonical passive transformations are possible only on the basis of transitive verbs, the main verb of the related basic structure of the impersonal construction is an intransitive verb. The impersonal construction has no S_{syn} position. Here the agent occupies the position of indirect (agentive) complement, and as for the initial indirect object, it changes neither its syntactic position nor its morphological form; e.g.:

- (28) a. *Komissiya məsələyə baxdı.*
 commission problem:DAT consider:PAST
 'The commission considered the problem.'
- (28) b. *Məsələyə komissiya tərəfindən baxıldı.*
 problem:DAT commission POSP consider:PASS:PAST
 'The problem was considered by the commission.'

In other respects impersonal constructions do not differ from the canonical passive, even functionally. Thus they are used mainly for the purpose of focusing on the object of the action.

The impersonal construction is a rare phenomenon in OA but does exist:

- (29) *Nola bir məmləkətdə gər azıla.* (QB 264)
 what be:SUBJ a country:LOC if lose:PASS:SUBJ
 ‘No wonder if one gets lost in a country.’

1.1.6. Modal-impersonal constructions

The modal-impersonal constructions are also possible only on the basis of intransitive two-valent verbs. This diathesis of a verb occurs as a result of deletion of the initial S_{yn} position. In this transformation the initial complement does not change its syntactic position nor its grammatical features; e.g.:

- (30) a. *[Tədqiqatçılar] Azərbaycanca*
 researcher:PL Azerbaijan:LOC

bu bitkilərə rast gəlirlər.
 this plant:PL:DAT meet-with:PRES/3PL
 ‘Researchers meet these plants in Azerbaijan.’
- (30) b. *Azərbaycanda bu bitkilərə rast gəlinir.*
 Azerbaijan:LOC this plant:PL:DAT meet-with:PASS:PRES
 ‘These plants are found in Azerbaijan.’;
 lit. ‘These plants can be met in Azerbaijan.’

As distinct from the impersonal constructions, it is impossible to add an agentive complement here. In this respect and in their property of expressing modality (possibility), the modal-impersonal constructions are rather similar to the modal-passive ones.

Modal-impersonal constructions are rare both in MA and OA. In the OA texts we have found the following instance, which is a hapax legomenon:

- (31) *Ömür axar suya bənzər*
 life flowing water:DAT resemble:AOR

keçənə yetilməz. (QB 134)
 past:PART:DAT reach:PASS:NEG:AOR
 ‘Life is like flowing water: the past cannot be reached (again).’

1.2. Morphology and morphonology

The passive transformations in Modern Standard Azerbaijanian are marked in the morphological structure of the verb by the $-(ı)l$ morpheme, which has the phonetic variants $-ıl$, $-il$, $-ul$ and $-ül$ due to vowel harmony; e.g.: *açıl-* ‘to be opened’; *seçil-* ‘to be elected / selected’; *duyul-* ‘to be felt’; *süzül-* ‘to be filtered / strained’, etc. In two cases this morpheme is replaced by its allomorph $-n$ (with the phonetic variants: $-in$, $-in$, $-un$, $-ün$): (a) when the verb base has a consonant ending in l ; e.g.: *alın-* ‘to be bought’; *bilin-* ‘to be known’, etc.; (b) when the verb base has a vowel ending

(except monosyllabic roots); e.g.: *doğran-* ‘to be sliced; be chopped’; *yaralan-* ‘to be wounded’, etc.

The verb *gör-* ‘to see’ is the only exception to the mentioned distribution rule. It is used with the affix *-ün*. However, when the verb has a figurative meaning, it takes the normal *-ül*; e.g.:

- (32) *Bu işlər də bələdiyyə tərəfindən görülür.*
 This work:PL CONJ municipality POSP see:PASS:PRES
 ‘And these works are done (lit. seen) by the municipality.’

In the OA texts, beside *gör-*, there are two verbs which have double passive markers, yet the use of the affix *-in* in these cases is occasional. Cf.: *satın-* (QB 96) vs. *satul-* (A 8, 9) ‘to be sold’; *yaxın-* (QB 526) vs. *yaxıl-* (N 194; YM 174; QB 117, 130, 189, 314 ...) ‘to be burned’. The occasional passive marker of the verb *gör-* is *-ül* (as in MA); cf.: *görül-* (DH 14) vs. *görün-* (DH 26, 29; KDQ 38, 72, 73, 79; N 262, 266 ...) ‘to be seen’.

The passive diathesis of the verb *gör-* was marked also by a unique morpheme *-ük (-ik)*; e.g.:

- (33) *Görükməz gözümə*
 see:PASS:NEG:AOR eye:POSS/1SG:DAT
zərrəcə ağyar, nə yar. (N 531)
 very small rivals CONJ lover
 ‘Neither rivals nor the lover are visible to my eyes at all.’
- (34) *Bən yaxılurəm tütün görükməz.* (QB 101)
 I burn:PASS:PRES/1SG smoke see:PASS:NEG:AOR
 ‘I am burned (but) the smoke cannot be seen.’

The verb *görük-* is still used in Azerbaijanian dialects. The affix *-(ü)k* seems to originally have been a denominal verb form and not just a passive marker. There are more than 30 verbs in this denominal formation in Old Turkic texts (see Erdal 1991: 492). The affix *-(ü)k* was added to the noun *göz* ‘eye’ to form the verb *gözük-* ‘to be seen’, which was then changed to *görük-*.

The verb *gözik-* is attested in QB (117, 133, 160, 163 ...). It disappeared in MA but remains in Turkish.

Another difference between MA and OA is in the passive forms of the monosyllabic verb stems ending in a vowel. There are three such verbs in MA: *de-* ‘to say, tell’, *ye-* ‘to eat’ and *yu-* ‘to wash’. They take the affixes *-il* / *-ul* with a buffer consonant *y*: *deyil-* ‘to be said, be told’, *yeyil-* ‘to be eaten’ and *yuyul-* ‘to be washed’.

Beside the mentioned monosyllabic verbs, we also encounter in OA the verbs *qo-* (KDQ 43, 50; N 275, 381, 417 ...) ‘to put, place’ and *sı-* (KDQ 40, 47; QB 339, 585) ‘to break’. The passive forms of the verbs *de-* and *qo-* were used with different

buffer consonants, namely *n* and *y*; cf.: *denildi* (N 564) ‘was said’, *denilməsəydi* (KDQ 564) ‘if it was not said’ vs. *deyilür* (QB 165) ‘is told’, *deyilə* (QB 208) ‘if it be said’; and *qonuldu* (DH 64) ‘was put’ vs. *qoyulubdır* (KDQ 61) ‘has been put’.

In the OA texts the passive marker of the verb *ye-* is the affix *-n*; cf.:

- (35) *Içildi şərbət anda, yendi çün xon.* (DH 31)
 drink:PASS:PAST şerbet there:LOC eat:PASS:PAST CONJ food
 ‘As şerbet (a kind of syrup) was drunk and food was eaten there.’

As for the verbs *yu-* and *sı-*, they are not used in the passive in the OA texts.

In the majority of the investigated sources the passive markers are used in conformity with vowel harmony; e.g.: *yazıldı* (H 25) ‘was written’; *verilibdi* (YM 137) ‘has been given’; *bulunmaz* (MZ 240) ‘cannot be found’; *zıkr olundu* (SF 40) ‘was mentioned’; *asıldı* (N 104) ‘was hanged’; *qurulmuş* (N 197) ‘has been established’; *çalınır* (N 197) ‘is played’.

In QB the passive morphemes do not obey the labial harmony; cf.: *dökilür* (QB 18) ‘is poured (out)’, *tutulur* (QB 64) ‘is caught’, *düzildi* (QB 139) ‘was arranged’, *urıldı* (QB 347) ‘was beaten’, *bulunur* (QB 357) ‘can be found’, *yolındı* (QB 467) ‘was plucked’, etc. Ibn Muhanna also wrote the *-l* with kesre in passive forms; e.g.: *sındurıldı* ‘was broken’, *açıldı* ‘was opened’, *vurıldı* ‘was beaten’ (IM LIV). This might be an influence of the Ottoman language (more precisely, orthography), where not only the passive but also reflexive and reciprocal morphemes were used only with non-labialized vowels, i.e. in two phonetic variants (see Ergin 1962: 192-198).

We see this practice in Dede Qorqud too, although in few instances and furthermore, with the normal parallel forms; cf.: *dögil-* (KDQ 126) yet *dögül-* (KDQ 66, 75) ‘to be beaten’; *qurıl-* (KDQ 68) yet *qurul-* (KDQ 42, 95) ‘to be built’; *tökil-* (KDQ 45) yet *dökül-* (KDQ 90) ‘to be poured’; *tutıl-* (KDQ 53, 82) yet *tutul-* (KDQ 77) ‘to be caught’.

In Ali’s poem, quite to the contrary, the passive markers are used with labialized vowels; e.g.: *eşitül-* (A 6) ‘to be heard’, *satul-* (A 8) ‘to be sold’, *ayrul-* (A11) ‘to be separated’, etc. The fact that the affixes *-ul*, *-ül* do not obey the labial harmony of verb bases also obtains in Old Turkic texts (see Ercilasun 1984:28). This “anomaly” might be a trace of the verb *ol-*, which, according to Ščerbak (1981:107-108), is at the origin of the passive morpheme.

It should be noted that the verb *ol-* ‘to be’ itself can take the passive morpheme, even though it is an intransitive verb. In all such cases *ol-* appears as an auxiliary verb. Here are instances both from MA and OA:

- (36) *Uca dağlar şam və ardıc ağacları*
 high mountain:PL pine CONJ juniper tree:PL:POSS

ilə əhatə olunmuşdu. (I. Vəlizadə)
 POSP surrounding be:PASS:PF:PAST

‘The high mountains had been surrounded
by pine and juniper trees.’

- (37) *Hərgiz həll olunmadı bu müşkil.* (DH 27)
never solution be:PASS:NEG:PAST this problem
‘This problem was by no means solved.’

- (38) *Niyyətin təsdiq olunmaz ...* (N 502)
resolve:POSS/2SG affirmation be:PASS:NEG:AOR
‘Your resolve cannot be affirmed.’

The given sentences can be considered to be passive constructions, yet their related basic syntactic structures are formed by another auxiliary verb: *et-* ‘to do’. For instance, the active structure of (36) is (36a) and not (36b):

- (36) a. *Şam və ardıc ağacları*
pine CONJ juniper tree:PL:POSS

uca dağları əhatə etmişdi.
high mountain:PL:ACC surrounding do:PF:PAST
‘Pine and juniper trees had surrounded the high mountains.’
- (36) b. **Şam və ardıc ağacları*
pine CONJ juniper tree:PL:POSS

uca dağları əhatə olmuşdu.
high mountain:PL:ACC surrounding be:PF:PAST
*‘Pine and juniper trees had surrounded the high mountains’

On the other hand, the verb *et-* itself has the passive form: *edil-* ‘to be done’. Within complex verbs *edil-* and *olun-* have one and the same meaning. In MA *olun-* can always be substituted with *edil-* but not vice versa, i.e. the spectrum of *olun-* is restricted. This spectrum seems to be wider in OA. For instance, in YM we find the following line:

- (39) *Yeddi gün düğün olundu müdam.* (YM 151)
seven day wedding be:PASS:PAST continually
‘The wedding was celebrated seven days continually.’

The phrase *toy⁷ olundu* is not used in MA, but it is possible to say *toy edildi* ‘the wedding was celebrated’ or *toy oldu* ‘there was a wedding ceremony’.

⁷ The word *toy* is the contemporary equivalent of *düğün* ‘wedding’.

2. Reflexive

The reflexive constructions can be divided into two groups: diathetical and non-diathetical.

2.1. Diathetical reflexive constructions

2.1.1. Semantics and syntax

The diathetical reflexive construction occurs as a result of deletion of the initial complement. Within this transformation the basic Agent ~ S_{syn} relation remains, but at the same time the S_{syn} takes the semantic “load” of the deleted complement; e.g.:

- (40) a. *Arzu qızı bəzədi.*
 Arzu girl:ACC beautify:PAST
 ‘Arzu beautified the girl’
- (40) b. *Arzu bəzəndi.*
 Arzu beautify:REF:PAST
 ‘Arzu beautified herself.’

The double semantic function of the S_{syn} is possible in (40b) because here the agent and patient have the same referent. In reflexive transformations like (40a) → (40b) the syntactic valency of the main verb is decreased by one.

The canonical reflexive constructions denote situations where a referent carries out the function of the subject performing action and at the same time the same referent, or more precisely, his / her body or body-part, is the object undergoing this action. Thus one of the distinctive features of the reflexive constructions is the fact that here the S_{syn} position is occupied only by the word (or phrase) denoting an animate participant.

Beside the canonical type, there are also two semantic types of the reflexive: autive and benefactive. As distinct from the canonical reflexive, the autive meaning expresses the action of the subject by means of his / her body and not on his / her body; e.g.: *atıl-* ‘to throw oneself’ (< *at-* ‘to throw’). The autive transformations are to some extent like decausative ones of the type *boğ-* ‘to choke (tr.)’ → *boğul-* ‘to choke (intr.)’, *yix-* ‘to pull down’ → *yixıl-* ‘to fall down’ (see section 5). However, in autive transformations the position of the initial complement and not the S_{syn} is deleted. And secondly, unlike decausatives, the autive verbs denote intentional actions.

The benefactive reflexive denotes the situations in which the subject takes action for his / her own benefit. In these constructions the agent and beneficiant roles of the verb are coreferents.

2.1.2. Semantics and morphology

2.1.2.1. Canonical reflexive

The canonical reflexive transformations are marked in the morphological structure of the verb by the *-(t)n* morpheme. The morpheme is subject to vowel harmony when it is added to bases ending in a consonant, i.e. it has the *-in*, *-in*, *-un*, *-ün* variants.

In MA the reflexive affix *-n* is added indirectly to the monosyllabic verb *yu-* 'to wash', using the buffer consonant *y*: *yuyun-* 'to wash oneself'. In the OA texts we find the affix *-n* connected directly to the verb: *yundılar-* (DH 66).

It should be noted that in MA the canonical reflexive transformation is not productive. In other words, the number of verbs which have this diathesis is limited to the following simple verbs only: *boya-* 'to paint', *bürü-* 'to cover', *qası-* 'to scratch', *qoru-* 'to defend', *dara-* 'to comb', *yu-* 'to wash', *ört-* 'to cover', *sarı-* 'to wind'. And yet a couple of derivative verbs like *ətirlə-* 'to scent', *xınala-* 'to dye with henna', taking the morpheme *-n*, make canonical reflexive constructions.

However, in OA the canonical reflexive was characteristic for more verbs. Cf.:

- (41) *Oğlan, yüzüği alıb taqındınmı?* (KDQ 101)
 boy ring:ACC take:GER put on:REFL:PAST/2SG:PART
 'Young man, did you put on the ring?' (Sümer et al. 1972: 129)
- (42) *Dizcik, qarucıq bağlandı.* (KDQ 112)
 greave armlet tie:REFL:PAST
 'He tied on his greaves and his armlets.' (Lewis 1974: 165)
- (43) *Qazan qalqan yapındı ...* (KDQ 126)
 Qazan shield shut:REFL:PAST
 'Kazan took up his shield.' (Lewis 1974: 188)
- (44) *Qaçan xurşid ki, məşriqdən göründi,*
 when sun PART east:ABL see:PASS:PAST

ulu dağlar qamu nur tac urundi. (DH 26)
 great mountain:PL all light crown put:REFL:PAST
 'When the sun appeared from the East, all the great mountains
 were crowned by light.'
- (45) *Yar görür özini, çünki güzgüyə baxınur.* (QB 526)
 lover see:PRES PRN:ACC CONJ mirror:DAT look:REFL:PRES
 'The lover sees herself because she is looking
 (lit. looking at herself) in a mirror.'

2.1.2.2. Autive forms

The main autive markers in Azerbaijani are the affixes *-(t)n* / *-(t)l* and their phonetic variants. The rule of their distribution is mostly the same as the above-men-

tioned distribution rule of the passive markers. Cf.: *fırlan-* 'to whirl (intr.)' (< *fırla-* 'to whirl (tr.)'); *atıl-* 'to throw oneself' (< *at-* 'to throw'); *çevril-* 'to turn (intr.)' (< *çevir-* 'to turn (tr.)'); *qoşul-* 'to join (intr.)' (< *qoş-* 'to join (tr.)'); *düzül-* 'to line up (intr.)' (< *düz-* 'to line up (tr.)'); in OA: *qırq incə qız yayıldılar* (KDQ 39) 'the forty slender maidens scattered' (Lewis 1974: 37); *köpək çəkildi* (KDQ 45) 'the dog slunk off' (Lewis 1974: 47); *ol xəlayiq бүкүlmüşdür* (YM 163) 'that people have stooped'. However, there are some verbs ending in a consonant but forming the autive by means of the affix *-(ı)n* instead of the expected *-(ı)l*: *çırp-* 'to flutter (tr.); to beat' > *çırpın-* 'to flutter (intr.); to struggle'; cf.: *çırbın-* (KDQ118); *dart-* 'to stretch, pull' > *dartın-* 'to stretch oneself, to pull oneself'; cf. *tartın-* (QB 367, 384...); *dürt-* 'to plunge (tr.), thrust' > *dürtün-* (in parallel with *dürtül-*) 'to plunge (intr.); *qıs-* 'to press' > *qısın-* (in parallel with *qısıl-*) 'to press oneself close'.

In the OA texts we even find *atın-* (QB 96) 'to throw oneself' and *qoşın-* (QB 261) 'to join'.

In the old period the autive affix *-n* was added directly to the mono-syllabic verb *qo-* 'to put'; e.g.:

- (46) *Bu yandan dəxi bəzırganlar gəlübəni*
this side:ABL PART merchant:PL come:GER

Qara Dərvənd ağzına qonmuşlardı. (KDQ 53)
Qara Dervend mouth:POSS:DAT put:REFL:PF/3PL:PAST
'Meanwhile, the merchants had come to the Pass of Kara Dervend,
in Pasin, and had set up camp [lit. put themselves, V. S.] there.'
(Sümer et al. 1972: 42)

The verb *qon-* 'to settle; to perch' exists in MA too, but it cannot be considered a morphological reflexive, because there is no basic *qo-* form. Besides, the semantics of *qon-* has changed and become narrow: its first actant can denote not all animated objects but only birds and flying insects.

There is a type of autive verb characterized by collective subjects, i.e. these verbs describe the activity / action of more than one referent. They can express gathering, joining, parting and arrangement. The verbs which express gathering have double forms in MA, with *-n* / *-ıl* and *-(ı)ş* affixes. They are the following verbs: *cəmlən-* / *cəmləş-* 'to assemble, gather together' (< *cəmlə-* 'to sum up, put together'); *cütlən-* / *cütləş-* 'to pair (intr.)' (< *cütlə-* 'to pair (tr.)'); *qoşalan-* / *qoşalaş-* 'to pair (intr.)' (< *qoşala-* 'to pair (tr.)'); *toplan-* / *toplaş-* 'to gather (intr.)' (< *topla-* 'to gather (tr.)'); *yığıl-* / *yığış-* 'to gather (intr.)' (< *yığ-* 'to gather (tr.)'). Cf.:

- (47) a. *Bir dəqiqədə arvad-uşaq*
a minute:LOC household

gəlinin başına toplandı. (Y. V. Çəmənəminli)
 bride:GEN head:POSS:DAT gather:REFL:PAST
 'Within a minute the household gathered around the bride.'

- (47) b. *Bu vaxt karvan oğlanlarının hamısı*
 this time caravan boy:PL:POSS:GEN all:POSS

bir ocaq başına bir-bir toplaşmışdı. (Ə. Məmmədخانlı)
 a fireplace head:POSS:DAT one-one gather:REFL:PF:PAST
 'At this time all of the caravan boys gathered one by one by a fireplace.'

- (48) a. *Onları ötürmək üçün xeyli adam yığılmışdı.* (İ. Əfəndiyev)
 they:ACC see off:INF POSP many man gather:REFL:PF:PAST
 'Many people have gathered to see them off.'

- (48) b. *Nə vaxt ki Tiflisdə oldum,*
 what time CONJ Tbilisi:LOC be:PAST/1SG

görüşüb Mirzə Şəfigilə yığışarıq. (Ə. Nicat)
 see:REC:GER Mirza Shafi:COLL:DAT gather:REFL:AOR/1SG
 'Always when I'm in Tbilisi, we are meeting and gathering at Mirza Shafi's.'

We have not come across any *-(t)ş* uses of active verbs in the OA texts. Another difference between MA and OA is in the use of some archaic active verbs; e.g.:

- (49) *Yumurlanıb yerindən uru turdı.* (KDQ 38)
 roll:REFL:GER place:POSS:ABL rise up:PAST
 'She gathered herself and rose up.' (Lewis 1974: 33)

- (50) *İç Oğuz, Taş Oğuz bəgləri*
 inner Oghuz outer Oghuz noble:PL:POSS

söhbətə dərilmişdi. (KDQ 94)
 chat:DAT gather:REFL:PF:PAST
 'The nobles of the Inner Oghuz and Outer Oghuz
 had assembled to the gathering' (Lewis 1974: 33)

The semantics of the illustrated verbs has changed, and they can be used in MA as passive (*yumurlan-* 'to be rolled, rounded'; *dəril-* 'to be picked, gathered') or decausative (*yumurlan-* 'to get / become rounded') forms only.

2.1.2.3. Benefactive reflexive

In comparison to OA, not only the number of reflexive verbs but also the spectrum of reflexive meanings are limited in MA today. The benefactive type of reflexive meanings has no morphological representation in MA, whereas the morphologically

marked benefactive reflexive was wide-spread in Old Turkic languages as well as in OA. Cf.:

- (51) *Bən axirətlik səni qardaş edindim,*
 I adopted you:ACC brother do:REFL:PAST/1SG
Gönüldən yarü həm yoldaş edindim. (DH 55)
 heart:ABL friend:CONJ CONJ companion do:REFL:PAST/1SG
 'I sincerely adopted you as a brother, and as a friend and a companion.'
- (52) *Baqdı gördi kəndünün dəniz qulunu*
 look:PAST see:PAST own:GEN sea foal:POSS
Boz ayğır bunda otlanub turar. (KDQ 60)
 gray stallion here:LOC graze:REFL:GER stay:PRES
 'When he looked about, he saw his own gray stallion grazing at hand.'
 (Sümer et al. 1972: 56)
- (53) *Könlümün Mənsuri çünkim*
 heart:POSS/1SG:GEN Mansur:POSS CONJ
zülfünü edindi dar ... (N 64)
 lovelock:POSS/2SG:ACC do:REFL:PAST gallows
 'Since the Mansur of my heart made (for himself)
 your lovelock a gallows ...'
- (54) *Ol nigarın kəndi halın söylənür.* (YM 118)
 that beautiful girl own state:POSS talk:REFL:PRES
 'That beautiful girl is talking to herself about her own state.'
- (55) *Hər kim ki içinə*
 everybody CONJ drink:REFL:SUBJ
ləbi camı ilə əyax ... (QB 598)
 lip:POSS cup:POSS POSP drinking cup
 'Everybody who drinks (lit. drinks for himself) from her lip cup ...'

The reflexive morpheme as well as the benefactive reflexive marker are not subject to labial harmony in QB; cf.: *Bir şərbət ağızundan umaram yutınam* (QB 210) 'I hope to swallow (lit. to swallow for myself) a şərbət from your mouth'; *Hüsni-rəngin eşqi çünki dutına könli vətən ...* (QB 591) 'Since love of beauty holds (i.e. considers) the heart as (its) motherland...'

The verbs *deyin-* (< *de-* 'to tell, say'), *söylən-* (< *söylə-* 'to tell') and *dilən-* (< *dilə-* 'to wish') preserve signs of the benefactive reflexive in MA, however, the affix *-(yi)n* now appears rather as a lexical, word-building affix than as a morphological one, because it marks non-regular, non-standard transformations: the verbs *deyin-* and

söylən- convey the meanings ‘to mutter, grumble; to complain’ and not just ‘to tell oneself’, and the verb *dilən-* means ‘to beg as a mendicant’ and not just ‘to wish / ask for oneself’.

2.2. Non-diathetical reflexive constructions

2.2.1. Semantics and syntax

The canonical, autive and benefactive types of reflexive meaning are characteristic for these constructions also. The transformation from the corresponding basic structures to the non-diathetical reflexive constructions does not change the syntactic valency of the main verbs; cf.:

- (40) a. *Arzu qızı bəzədi.*
 Arzu girl:ACC beautify:PAST
 ‘Arzu beautified the girl.’

- (40) c. *Arzu özünü bəzədi.*
 Arzu herself:ACC beautify:PAST
 ‘Arzu beautified herself.’

In these constructions the reflexive meaning is expressed using reflexive pronouns or nouns that denote body-parts. In OA it was possible to use the personal pronouns instead of reflexive ones; e.g.:

- (56) *Gördünmi mən mana netdim?* (KDQ 86)
 see:PAST/2SG:PART I I:DAT what do:PAST/1SG
 ‘Did you see what I did?’ (Sümer et al. 1972: 100);
 lit. ‘Did you see what I did to me?’

- (57) *Vərqa aydur: Sən sənin işini qıl.* (YM 174)
 Varqa say:PRES you you:GEN business:POSS:ACC do
 ‘Varqa says: You do your business (affairs).’

- (58) *Bəndən bəni aldı gözü, zülfündə yitirdüm bəni.* (QB 39)
 I:ABL I:ACC take:PAST eye:POSS/2SG hair:POSS/2SG:ABL lose:CAUS:PAST/1SG I (mole):ACC
 lit. ‘Your eye(s) took me from me, I lost myself in your hair’

The limited number of examples shows that such constructions were archaic even for the investigated period. Qazi Burhaneddin, for instance, used (58) just to play upon

the word *bən*, which indicates not only the first person but also means ‘mole’.⁸ In other cases he always used reflexive pronouns; e.g.: *yazdı kəndüzini* (QB 73) ‘he wrote himself’; *bənzədürəm öz-özümü* (QB 169) ‘I am resembling myself’, etc. However, it should be noted that constructions with a reflexive use of personal pronouns are found in the following centuries too (see Islamov 1986).

2.2.2. Morphology

In MA the non-diathetical reflexive constructions are not marked in the morphological structure of the main verbs. However, in OA the verbs of these constructions took the morpheme *-n* (with its phonetic variants); e.g.:

- (59) *Şoluq dəm belinə qılıc quşandı.* (DH 22)
 that time waist:POSS:DAT sword gird:REFL:PAST
 ‘That time (the robber) girded (lit. girded himself) his waist with a sword.’
- (60) *Həqa əgri həqan gözdən*
 Truth:DAT slantwise look:PART eye:ABL

yaşınur yüzini dilbər. (NDL 545)
 hid:REFL:PRES face:POSS:ACC beloved
 ‘The beloved is hiding his face from the eye
 which looks at God with evil intention.’
- (61) *Gizləndi günəş, yüzinə dutındı sitara.* (QB 170)
 hid:REFL:PAST sun face:POSS:DAT hold:REFL:PAST veil
 ‘The sun hid itself, veiled its face.’
- (62) *Çü eşqün odına*
 CONJ love:GEN fire:POSS:DAT

canum özini ud edinmişdür. (QB 397)
 soul:POSS/1SG itself:ACC aloe do:REFL:PF:COP
 ‘Because my soul has made itself an aloe for the fire of love.’

In each of the given clauses the reflexive meaning is given twice: by the morpheme *-(t)n* and by reflexive pronouns or body-part names. Cf. also: *Sən ... öz-özünü sınan* (QB 113) ‘You try yourself’; *Aşıq ... can oyun özünə sud edinmişdür* (QB 397) ‘The lover has made use of the play with his life’; *Qası qəmzəsi əlindən başını qaşınmazam* (QB 199) ‘lit. I cannot scratch my head because of her eyebrow (and coquetry’; *Belümə müşk saçını, şəha, kəmərlənürəm* (QB 535) ‘O my ruler, I am girdling my waist with your hair’; etc.

⁸ That is why the phrase *zulfündən yitirdüm bəni* has the second translation: ‘I lost the mole in your hair’ (i.e. ‘your hair hid the mole in your face from me’).

Languages always try to get rid of pleonasms. In this case the affix *-(t)n* has lost its position, and in MA it is never used in non-diathetical reflexive constructions.

3. Reciprocal

In reciprocal transformations the denoted initial situation yields to a new, “symmetrical” one, where two referents are required to perform the same action with respect to each other. The reciprocal constructions are also of diathetical and non-diathetical types.

3.1. Diathetical reciprocal constructions

3.1.1. Semantics and syntax

In diathetical reciprocal constructions the referents, which are simultaneously the subjects and objects of the corresponding action, have two kinds of syntactical representation.

(a) One of the referents is represented by the S_{syn} and another one by the complement formed with the postposition *ilə* ‘with’. This is the result of the canonical type of reciprocal transformations, where the syntactic valency of the main verb is decreased in rank: the initial complement with a case ending is demoted to the complement position formed with a postposition. Within this transformation the S_{syn} is not formally changed; however, it (as well as the complement), unlike the basic diathesis, corresponds to two semantic actants; e.g.:

- (63) a. *Ata oğlunu qucaqladı.*
 father son:POSS:ACC embrace:PAST
 ‘The father embraced his son.’
- (63) b. *Ata oğlu ilə qucaqlaşdı.*
 father son:POSS POSP embrace:REC:PAST
 ‘The father embraced with his son.’

(b) The referents are represented at the syntactic level by one actant (S_{syn}) and are expressed as homogenous parts or as a (pro)noun in the plural. The second syntactic actant of this structure is also the complement governed by the postposition *ilə* yet the postposition is added here to the phrase *bir-biri* ‘each other’, which can change according to persons (*bir-birimizlə*, *bir-birinizlə*, *bir-birləri ilə*) and which indicates that the action is directed between the subjects themselves; e.g.:

- (63) c. *Ata və oğul bir-biri ilə qucaqlaşdılar.*
 father CONJ son each other POSP embrace:REC:PAST/3PL
 ‘The father and the son embraced’; lit. ‘The father and the son embraced each other.’

In many cases such constructions are used in a grammatically elliptic form where the phrase *bir-biri ilə* is not realized; cf.:

- (63) d. *Ata və oğul qucaqlaşdılar.*
 father CONJ son embrace:REC:PAST/3PL
 'The father and the son embraced.'

All of the syntactical structures mentioned have parallels in OA; cf.:

- (64) *Vərqa tayısilə həm qucuşdular.* (YM 175)
 Varqa uncle:POSS:POSP CONJ embrace:REC:PAST/3PL
 'And Varqa embraced with his uncle.'
- (65) *İki xurma talı biri biriylə sevişdilər.* (QB 493)
 two date flower bud each other:POSP love:REC:PAST/3PL
 'Two handsome youths (lit. flower bud of the date palm) loved each other.'
- (66) *Buluşdu ol iki bədri-minəvvər.* (DH 65)
 meet:REC:PAST that two full moon:EZ enlightened
 'Those two handsome youths (lit. enlightened full moon) met.'

The quoted reciprocal constructions are derived on the basis of two-valent verbs. In MA few three-valent verbs have the reciprocal diathesis. As a result of reciprocal transformation these verbs become two-valent ones, because they lose their second syntactic actant (direct object). Other actants change according to the above-mentioned general rule of the reciprocal transformation. Cf.:

- (67) a. *O, Budağa güllə atdı.*
 he Budaq:DAT bullet throw:PAST
 'He fired (lit. threw a bullet) at Budaq.'
- (67) b. *O, Budaqla atışdı.*
 he Budaq:POSP throw:REC:PAST
 'He exchanged fire (lit. threw at each other) with Budaq.'
- (68) a. *O, dostuna məktub yazdı.*
 he friend:POSS:DAT letter write:PAST
 'He wrote a letter to his friend.'
- (68) b. *O, dostu ilə yazışdı.*
 he friend:POSS POSP write:REC:PAST
 'He corresponded with his friend.'

The initial direct object is not realized in the derived constructions because the sem structures of the verbs *atış-* and *yazış-* contain the meanings 'bullet' and 'letter', respectively. In such reciprocal clauses the double semantic function is realized not

on the basis of the subject and object but of the subject and addressee of the action. That is why the corresponding constructions are called addressative reciprocals.

In the OA texts the realization of the direct object is possible within addressative reciprocals; e.g.:

- (69) *Söyləşir idi ki, bu sözü bular ...* (YM 179)
 tell:REC:PRES COP:PAST CONJ this word:ACC they
 ‘When they were discussing (lit. telling each other) this word ...’

3.1.2. Morphology

The reciprocal diathesis is marked in the verb by the morpheme *-ş*. The morpheme is added to bases with a final consonant with a buffer vowel which appears in four variants due to vowel harmony. It is the same in the OA texts; e.g.: *At üzərindən ikisi qarvaşdılar, tartışdılar* (KDQ 109) ‘They grappled while riding their horses, pushing and pulling (Sümer et al. 1972: 143); ... *sevişmişlər ol iki mahi-ru* (YM 150) ‘those two moon-faced (ones) have loved each other’; *Anunla cəng edəlim uruşalım* (DH 52); ‘Let us quarrel, fight with him’; *Bərü gəl, dögüşəlim* (KDQ 108) ‘Come and let us fight’ (Sümer et al. 1972: 142); etc. In QB the buffer vowel is not subject to labial harmony; cf.: *görişəyüm* (QB 351); *sorışayum* (QB 352); etc.

The affix *-ş* is directly added to polysyllabic bases with a final vowel; e.g.: *Üç oq, Boz Oq qarşulaşdılar* (< *qarşula-* ‘to meet’) (KDQ 126) ‘The Üch Ok and the Boz Ok met face to face’ (Lewis 1974: 188); *söyləş-* (< *söylə-* ‘to tell’) (DH 71; KDQ 47) ‘to tell each other’. In the investigated texts this morphonological norm is violated only once: *oxşayışum* (< *oxşa-* ‘to be like’) (QB 232).

3.2. Non-diathetical reciprocal constructions

3.2.1. Semantics and syntax

The non-diathetical reciprocal constructions also denote that a referent exerts an influence on another referent and at the same time is subject to this kind of influence from the second referent. Within these constructions the semantics of mutual activity is conveyed by the phrase *bir-biri* ‘each other’ in the accusative, dative or ablative. The case form depends on the main verb, which demands the same case in basic constructions also. This means that, as distinct from the *bir-biri ilə* forms, the transformations from the corresponding basic non-reciprocal constructions to such structures are not accompanied by changes in the syntactic valency of the main verbs. Cf.

- (70) a. *Səttar təkrar Mahmuda baxdı.*
 Sattar again Mahmud :DAT look:PAST
 ‘Sattar looked at Mahmud again.’

- (70) b. *Səttarla Mahmud təkrar bir-birinə baxdılar.*
 Sattar:POSP Mahmud again each other:DAT look:PAST/3PL
 ‘Sattar and Mahmud looked again at each other.’

In other words, within transformations like (70a) → (70b) the basic syntactic “S_{syn} – complement in a case form – Verb” structure is not changed. This is the principal difference between diathetical and non-diathetical reciprocal constructions.

3.2.2. Morphology

In MA the transformations in question are not marked in the morphological structure of the verb by any endings. However, in OA the affix *-(t)ş* marked the verbs of non-diathetical reciprocal constructions, too; e.g.:

- (71) *Məktəb içində bular biri-birin*
 school inside:POSS:LOC they each other:ACC

Can içində sevişib qıldı bərin. (YM 150)
 soul inside:POSS:LOC love:REC:GER do:PAST sublime
 ‘At school they truly loved and glorified each other.’
- (72) *Qəməzlər bir-birini qovlaşırlar.* (QB 622)
 twinkle:PL each other:ACC chase:REC:PRES/3PL
 ‘The coquettish glances are chasing each other.’
- (73) *Bir-birinə baxışurlar, ey əmu.* (MZ 278)
 each other:DAT look:REC:PRES/3PL o uncle
 ‘They are looking at each other, o uncle.’

The same holds for non-diathetical addressative reciprocals; e.g.: *Bir-birinə söz atışdılar* (KDQ 94) ‘They exchanged (harsh) words’ (Lewis 1974: 134); *Bir-birinə ipini sunuşdular* (YM 171) ‘They handed the string to each other’.

In the quoted instances the morpheme *-(t)ş* is pleonastic because the reciprocal meaning is already given by the phrases *bir-birini* and *bir-birinə*.

In QB the non-diathetical reciprocal construction has another and very rare type, which occurs without the *bir-biri* phrase. This type is realized in the following instances:

- (74) *Yüzümi ay yüzinə sürişəyüm.* (QB 351)
 face:POSS/1SG:ACC moon face:POSS:DAT rub:REC:SUBJ/1SG
 ‘Let me rub my face against her moon face
 (and at the same time be rubbed by her).’
- (75) *Bən ağızımı ağızına anun,*
 I mouth:POSS/1SG:ACC mouth:POSS:DAT she:GEN

Qəmzəsini canuma urışayum. (QB 352)
 twinkle:POSS:ACC soul:POSS/1SG:DAT touch:REC:SUBJ/1SG
 'Let me touch my mouth to her mouth (and) her coquettish
 glance to my soul face (and at the same time be touched by her).'

The affix *-ış/-iş* is the only element carrying the reciprocal meaning here. Syntactically, these constructions do not differ from their basic counterparts; cf. (74a) with (74):

- (74) a. *Yüzümi ay yüzinə sürəyüm.*
 face:POSS/1SG:ACC moon face:POSS:DAT rub: SUBJ/1SG
 'Let me rub my face against her moon face.'

Since there is no syntactical derivation, sentences like (74), (75) should be considered non-diathetical constructions. Their limited use shows that they were already archaic in the investigated period.

3.3. Cooperative verbs

The morpheme *-(ı)ş* can be added to one-valent verbs also. In this case, and the case of some intransitive two-valent verbs, the morpheme adds to the bases a cooperative meaning. Such transformations do not change either the syntactic valency of the verb or the correspondence between its syntactic and semantic actants. Cf.:

- (76) a. *Uşaqqlar ağladılar.*
 child:PL cry:PAST/3PL
 'The children cried.'
- (76) b. *Uşaqqlar ağlaşdılar.*
 child:PL cry:COOP:PAST/3PL
 'The children cried (together).'

In the OA texts the affix *-(ı)ş* is used in cooperative meaning not only with intransitive but also with some transitive verbs; e.g.: *Ağ boz atlar binübən yortuşdılar* (< *yort-* 'to gallop (tr.)') (KDQ 103) 'They mounted grey-white horses and galloped away' (Lewis 1974: 149); *Ərənlər düşmənləri avlaşurlar* (< *avla-* 'to hunt') (QB 622) 'Brave men are collectively hunting the enemies'.

Compared with the current period, in OA the affix could be added to more verbs. Such reciprocal and cooperative verbs as *yiləş-* (KDQ 93, 97) 'to smell each other'; *böğürüş-* (KDQ 58) 'to lament together'; *yortuş-* (KDQ 93) 'to gallop together'; *aziş-* (QB 320) 'to get lost (together)'; *ödəş-* (QB 508) 'to pay each other'; *kükrəş-* (QB 622) 'to roar together' and so on are not used in MA.

4. Causative

4.1. Semantics and syntax

There are different ways of expressing causal relationship in Turkic languages (see Johanson 1993). Only one of them involves the valency modification of the verb. It is the following type of derivation where the main verb gains an additional semantic actant:

- (77) a. *Şam söndü.*
candle go-out:PAST
'The candle went out.'
- (77) b. *Arzu şamı söndürdü.*
Arzu candle:ACC blow-out:CAUS:PAST
'Arzu blew the candle out.'

In such cases the derivative construction denotes a new, complex situation consisting of at least two micro-situations, one of which is the initial situation. As these micro-situations are connected with causal relations, the complex situation and the corresponding syntactic structure are called causative.

As a result of the causative derivation both the semantic and the syntactic valency of the main verb are increased by one. Within the derivative structures the new semantic actant always occupies the S_{syn} position. The initial S_{syn} is demoted to a complement position. The morphological form of the latter depends as a rule on the basic verb, i.e. it is in the accusative case if the verb is intransitive, and in the dative if the verb is transitive. The same was true in OA; cf.:

- (78) a. *Yer dırəyirdi.*
earth shake:PRES:PAST
'The earth was shaking.'
- (78) b. *Ditrədirdi yeri təblin gərvəşi.* (YM 168)
shake:CAUS:PRES:PAST earth:ACC drum:GEN beat:POSS
'The drum-beat shook the earth.'
- (79) a. *Zindancı qapuyı açdı.*
jailer door:ACC open:PAST
'The jailer opened the door.'
- (79) b. *Xatun ... zindancıya qapuyı açdırdı.* (KDQ 116)
lady jailer:DAT door:ACC open:CAUS:PAST
'The lady had the jailer open the door.' (Lewis 1974: 172)

Causation on the basis of three-valent verbs is very limited. When such a possibility is realized, only the facultative (optional) valency of the verb is increased.

Causative constructions have mostly factitive and permissive meanings. The factitive meaning is more characteristic in Azerbaijanian: the realization of the permissive meaning, as a rule, requires special contextual conditions. In the OA texts the frequency of permissive constructions and the number of verbs which may have permissive meaning are greater than in the modern language. Consider the following example from KDQ, where there are three permissive verbs in a brief passage:

- (80) *Xanm baba, qorxuram səgirdərkən Qonur atın sürücdirsən. Savaşdügin vaxtin kəndüni tutdurasan. Ğafillüca gözəl başın kəsdürəsən.* (KDQ 74)
 'My Khan my father, I am afraid, As you gallop you may let your chestnut horse stumble, As you fight you may let yourself be taken, may let your lovely head be cut off before you know it.' (Lewis 1974: 100).

Today, it is impossible to use the verbs *sürüşdür-* 'to slip / slide' and *kəsdür-* 'to make cut (off)'⁹ to denote permissive content.

According to another semantic principle, it is possible to distinguish distant and contact types of causative meaning (Nedjalkov, Sil'nickij 1969). In the terminology of M. Shibatani (1976) they correspond to the directive and manipulative types. The distant (or directive) type signifies such relations between the subject and the state of causation where the effect necessary for the subject of causation is not produced by the subject. The contact type of causation does not imply such a meaning.

As a rule, the causative derivations of intransitive and transitive verb bases correspondingly give the contact and distant meanings; cf.:

- (81) a. *O, maşını boşaltdı.* (< boşal- (intr.) 'to get unloaded')
 he truck:ACC get unloaded:CAUS:PAST
 'He unloaded the truck.'
 (81) b. *O, maşını fəhlələrə boşaltdırdı.* (< boşalt- (tr.) 'to unload')
 he truck:ACC worker:PL:DAT get unloaded:CAUS:CAUS:PAST
 'He had the workers unload the truck.'

In some cases the mentioned principle is violated. For instance, the affix *-izdir* in combination with a transitive verb *əm-* 'to suck' expresses contact causation: *əmizdir-* 'to suckle'. Intransitive verbs denoting consciously performed actions can express distant causation, combining a causative indicator: *yüyür-* 'to run' → *yüyürt-* 'to make somebody run'; *oyna-* 'to dance' → *oynat-* 'to make somebody dance'; *sus-* 'to become silent' → *susdur-* 'to make silent', etc.

⁹ The current forms of *sürücdür-* and *kəsdür-*, respectively.

4.2. Morphology

The syntactical causative derivations in MA are marked in the morphological structure of the verb by the affixes *-t* (*-it*, *-it*, *-ut*, *-üt*); *-dır* (*-dir*, *-dur*, *-dür*, *-dar*, *-dər*); *-ır* (*-ir*, *-ur*, *-ür*, *-ar*, *-ər*); *-ız* (*-uz*); *-ızdır* (*-izdir*, *-uzdur*); *-ğuz*; *-kəz*; *-sət*. They also exist in the OA texts, except the forms *-ızdır* (*-izdir*, *-uzdur*) and *-kəz*, instead of which *-zir* / *-zür*, and *-küz*, *-kür* / *-gür* / *-ğur* are used.

Only the affixes *-(i)t* and *-d(i)r* are productive. They realize both contact and distant types of causation. Other, less productive ones express only contact causation.

4.2.1. *-t* (*-it*, *-it*, *-ut*, *-üt*)

Actually the consonant of the morpheme is *d* and not *t*. It becomes voiceless at the end of words, according to the general phonetic rule of the Turkic languages, yet it displays its original appearance before all affixes starting with a vowel. Cf.: *ağlat* ‘to make someone cry’ vs. *ağladır* (MA) / *ağladur* (QB 270) ‘he makes cry’; *qanat* ‘to bleed (tr.)’ vs. *qanadım* (MA) / *qanadayım* (QB 313) ‘let me bleed’; *sağalt* ‘to cure’ vs. *sağaldır* (MA) / *sağaldur* (QB 167) ‘he is curing’; *yüyürt* ‘to make someone run’ vs. *yüyürdən* (MA) / *yügürdən* (KDQ 45) ‘who makes run’; etc. In one place in KDQ the morpheme keeps *d* even before a consonant: *Qaraqucın oynadı Uruz ...* (KDQ 71) ‘Uruz let his black horse prance’ (Sümer et al. 1972: 76).

The morpheme is added to bases with a final vowel or the final *l* and *r* consonants (except monosyllabic stems); cf.: *ağrı* ‘to hurt, cause to ache’; *saralt* ‘to yellow, cause to yellow’; *yaşart* ‘to water, cause to water’; in OA: *Sən əritdün odlara yağım bənüm* (H 25) ‘You melted my ointment in fire’; *Yasadub bir köşki bəzətmışdi ol* (X 8) ‘He had caused (someone) to prepare a palace and to decorate it’; *bərkitdi* (KDQ 43) ‘fastened’; *qarartdı* (KDQ 71; N 295) ‘blackened’; *bəlürdürəm* (QB 301) ‘I am making clear’; *sağaldur* (QB 167) ‘is curing’; *dirilt* (N 254, 276, 286; QB 133, 136, 167...) ‘to bring to life; to revive’; etc.

A few other verbs, namely, *ax*- (which has the *aq*- variant in OA) ‘to flow’; *qırp* ‘to pluck’; *qorx*- (which has the *qorq*- variant in OA) ‘to be frightened’; *hürk*- (the old form: *ürk*-) ‘to be startled’; and in addition, in OA *az*- ‘to go astray; to lose (one’s way)’; *tüt*- ‘to smoke; to fume’ take the morpheme *-t* in the causative too. The morpheme is added to these verbs with a buffer vowel, which in some places in the OA texts does not obey labial harmony; cf.: *tütitməz* (QB 495) ‘it does not smoke’; *ürkitdi* (KDQ 113) ‘he startled’, but *qorqudan*, *ürküdən* (KDQ 45), *qorxudur* (KDQ 57). The form *azıt*- (QB 299, 332) is used in parallel with *azdur*- (QB 444) and *azdır*- (YM 153) ‘to make lose one’s way’. Only the last form is characteristic for MA.

4.2.2. *-dır* (*-dir*, *-dur*, *-dür*, *-dar*, *-dər*)

This is another principle causative marker. The morpheme is mainly added to bases ending in consonants. Here are examples from the OA texts: *Sənə ertə bitilər yazdırayım* (< *yaz* ‘to write’), *Həkimə dəxi şərbət düzdürəyim* (< *düz* ‘to prepare’) (DH 81) ‘Let me tomorrow have prescriptions written for you and have the doctor prepare şərbət’; *Güni gəldi, yen-yaqalar dikdürəyim* (< *dik* ‘to stitch’) *səninçün ...*

Güni gəldi, kafər başın kəsdürəyim (< kəs- 'to cut') *səninçün* (KDQ 70) 'Its day has come, I shall have sleeves and collar stitched for you ... Their day has come, I shall have them cut off infidel heads for you (Lewis 1974: 92); *Toquzını bir yerinə saydurayım* (< say- 'to count'), *Urşmadan, döğüşmədən aləmi toldurayım* (< tol- 'to fill') (KDQ) 'I shall make nine of them count as little as one; I shall fill the world with battle and slaughter (Lewis 1974: 103); *Yandurub* (< yan- 'to burn') *eşqin məni xar eylədi* (X 5b) 'Your love burnt and disgraced me'; *Öldürür* (< öl- 'to die') *yetmiş bəhadır, ey əxi* (YM 165) 'He kills seventy valiants, o brother'; *Andururlar* (< an- 'to call to mind') *könlümə Hindustan* (QB 157) 'lit. They recall India to my soul'; etc.

The morpheme is also added to the monosyllabic verb stems ending in vowels; e.g.: *dedür-* (QB 373) 'to cause someone to say'; *yedür-* (A 18; QB 97) / *yedir-* (DH 40; KDQ 60, 73; N 216) 'to feed'. The modern morphonological norm requires double causative affixes for these forms; cf.: *dedirt-*; *yedirt-* (or *yedizdir-*); *yudurt-* (or *yuduzdur-*) 'to cause someone to wash'.

As apparent from the instances above, the morpheme, which is subject to vowel harmony in MA, was mostly used with rounded vowels in the old period. However, there are also counter-examples, where the bases contain a rounded vowel, yet the causative affix has the form *-dır*: *qurdırmışdı* (KDQ 34), *qusdıran* (KDQ 49, 50), *soldıran*, *toldıran* (KDQ 33), etc.

The morpheme has *-dar* (*-dər*) allomorphs, which is common in the Chuvash and Yakut languages. In MA it is used with two verbs only: *dön-* 'to turn (intr.)' and *qon-* 'to settle; to perch'. The affix *-dər* has been petrified in the verbs *əndər-* 'to pour out' and *göndər-* 'to send'. In the OA texts the shapes *döndər-* (A 15; KDQ 37, 40, 112, 118) 'to turn (tr.)', *qondar-* (KDQ 39; QB 87) 'to put / place on' and *göndər-* (YM 183, N 414) are used in parallel with *döndür-* (KDQ 33; QB 315), *qondur-* (KDQ 34, 99; NDL 404) and *göndür-* (YM 176).

In MA the morpheme *-d(ı)r* has no voiceless variants, which were dominant in Old Turkic (see Erdal 1991: 799-831). They are petrified in the verbs *gətir-* 'to bring' and *otur-* 'to sit', the original forms of which we encounter in Ali's Qisse'i Yusif: *gəltür-* (Hacıyev & Vəliyev 1983: 107), from *gəl-* 'to come' and *oltur-* (A 4), from *ol-* 'to be', respectively. Beside these, we have attested only two verbs with the voiceless variants in the OA texts: *əstür-* 'to cause to blow' (< əs- 'to blow') and *yastur-* 'to cause to flatten' (< yas- 'to flatten') (QB 372).

4.2.3. *-ır* (*-ir*, *-ur*, *-ür*, *-ar*, *-ər*)

The morpheme is subject to labial harmony in MA. Yet in OA it was normally used with rounded vowels; e.g.: *artur-* (KDQ 41; YM 199; NDL 37; QB 88, 119...) 'to raise, increase'; *bişür-* (KDQ 46, 99; QB 268, 273...) / *pişür-* (KDQ 99; NDL 160) 'to cook'; *uçur-* (KDQ 38, 73, 119; QB 281, 599) 'to pull / bring down'; *yetür-* (KDQ 53, 56, 60; QB 39, 60...) 'to deliver, cause to reach'; *yitür-* (NDL 549; QB 315319, 624) 'to lose'; etc.

Only the following causative verbs contained the allomorph *-ar* / *-ər*: *çıxar-* (KDQ 36; N 271; QB 53, 65 ...) 'to take / pull out', from *çix-* 'to go out'; *çökərt-* (QB

304) 'to cause to collapse', in parallel with *çökür-* (KDQ 88, 103), from *çök-* 'to collapse; to kneel down'; *dönər-* (YM 184) 'to turn (tr.)', in parallel with *döndər-* and *döndür-*, from *dön-* 'to turn (intr.)'; *gedər-* / *gidər-* (DH 29; QB 132, 133...) 'to send / drive away; to remove', in parallel with *gedir-* (N 357, 416), from *get-* 'to go'; *qaytar-* (QB 180, 233, 456) 'to return (tr.)', from *qayıt-* 'to return (intr.)'; *qopar-* (KDQ 46, 99; NDL 405; QB 155, 218...) 'to pluck, tear away', from *qop-* 'to tear / come off'.¹⁰

The mentioned verbs exist in MA too, except those used in parallel forms, i.e. *çökərt-*, *dönər-*, *gedər-*. In MA the causative forms of the verbs *çök-* and *dön-* are *çökdür-* and *döndər-*, respectively. The causative counterpart of the verb *get-* is a suppletive form: *apar-* 'to carry, drive'.

In comparison to the OA texts, the morpheme *-(ı)r* now has a very narrow use spectrum. In MA it is added only to bases ending in *t*, *ç* and *ş* consonants. Yet historically there was no such limitation, and the morpheme *-(ı)r* could be added to more verbs; cf.: *basur-* (QB 570) 'to bury', from *bas-* 'to push'; *bilür-* (QB 236, 270) 'to inform', from *bil-* 'to know'; *çökür-* (KDQ 88, 103) 'to cause to collapse; to make kneel down', from *çök-* 'to collapse; to kneel down'; *dəgür-* (NDL 245; QB 84) 'to bring', from *dəg-* 'to touch; to reach'; *enür-* (A 28) 'to cause to descend', from *en-* 'to descend'; *geyür-* (A 28; KDQ 31, 65; NDL 445; QB 166, 171, 224) 'to dress', from *gey-* 'to put on, wear'; *irür-* (NDL 114; QB 30, 37...) 'to cause to reach', from *ir-* 'to reach'; *sağır-* (KDQ 38) 'to ask / cause someone to milk', from *sağ-* 'to milk'; *sinür-* (QB 219) 'to absorb', from *sin-* 'to subside and be absorbed'; *toyur-* (QB 465; KDQ 35, 38 ...) 'to satiate, satisfy, fill', from *toy-* 'to become filled and satiated'; *yanur-* (YM 181) 'to burn (tr.)', from *yan-* 'to burn (intr.)'.

All these verbs (except *irür-*, the base of which has become archaic) are now used with the morpheme *-d(ı)r*, instead of *-(ı)r*. The bases of almost 40% of the above-mentioned verbs (namely, *bas-*, *bil-*, *gey-* and *sağ-*) are transitive, whereas the morpheme can be added only to one transitive verb in MA: *içir-* 'to give to drink; to get someone drunk', from *iç-* 'to drink'.

The morpheme denotes contact causation. Only within one verb did it have distant causation meaning:

(82) *Dəpə kibi ət yığdım,*
hill POSP meat heap:PAST/1SG

göl kibi qımız sağırdım. (KDQ 38)
lake POSP koumiss milk:CAUS:PAST/1SG
'I had meat heaped up like a hill; I had lakefuls of koumiss fermented
(lit. caused smb. to milk, V.S.).' (Sümer et al. 1972: 16)

¹⁰ There is also a verb *qızar-* (QB 136, 279 ...) 'to turn / grow red, redden', yet it has no causative relationship with its base *qız-* 'to get / grow warmer'.

It should be noted that in the modern spoken language the morpheme *-(t)r* is in many cases expanded with *-t* without any change in meaning; e.g.: *keçirt-* 'to pass (tr.)'; *köçürt-* 'to move, cause to migrate'; *şişirt-* 'to blow up; to inflate'; *çixart-* 'to take out, extract'; *qopart-* 'to tear away; to pluck'; etc. These verbs convey a single causation and not a double one. Such use of the *-(t)+t* combination is not characteristic for the OA texts, where there are few instances of it: *keçirt-* (YM 206), *çökərt-* (QB 304).

4.2.4. *-iz (-iz, -uz)*

In MA the morpheme *-(t)z* can be added to three verbs, namely *dad-* 'to taste', *qalx-* 'to rise, stand up' and *qorx-* 'to be frightened, scared': *dadız-* 'to ask / cause to taste'; *qalxız-* 'to raise'; *qorxuz-* 'to frighten, scare'.

All three of these verbs have morphological variants which are more appropriate for the standard language: *daddır-* / *dadızdır-*; *qaldır-* and *qorxut-*, respectively.

The morpheme was unproductive in OA too, occurring with only one verb in the texts: *əmiz-* 'to suckle' (< *əm-* 'to suck'). We have found it in the Baku manuscript of *Varqa and Gulshah*:

- (83) *Dayələr əmizdi bir yıl onları.* (YMB 1a)
 nurse:PL suck:CAUS:PAST one year they:ACC
 'The nurses suckled them one year.'

In the corresponding place of the Istanbul manuscript, upon which the printed edition was based, the verb has the form *əmzürdi* (YM 149).

4.2.5. *-zir / -zür and -ızdır (-izdir, -uzdur)*

The above-mentioned causative verb is also attested in KDQ, but in the shape *əmzir-* (KDQ 33, 82). We have not come across any other verbs with the *-zir / -zür* affixes. They are not used in MA either.

The corresponding form of the verb *əmzir-* in the modern language is *əmizdir-*. Both *-zir* and *-izdir* affixes are originally double causative formants: *-z + ir* and *-iz + dir*. The morpheme *-izdir* has the phonetic variants *-ızdır* and *-uzdur*. They can be added to few bases; e.g.: *dadızdır-* 'to ask / cause someone to taste', from *dad-* 'to taste'; *damızdır-* 'to pour out drop by drop', from *dam-* 'drip'; *doğuzdur-* 'to help to give birth', from *doğ-* 'to give birth'; *doyuzdur-* 'to satiate', from *doy-* 'to be satiated'; *içizdir-* 'to give to drink', from *iç-* 'to drink'; *yatızdır-* 'to put to bed, to lull to sleep', from *yat-* 'to sleep'.

Most of these verbs convey a more or less assistive semantics. The verbs *dam-*, *doy-*, *yat-* are intransitives, while *dad-*, *doğ-*, *iç-* and *əm-* are transitives. Contrary to the general rule, the morpheme adds to transitive bases the contact causation meaning and not the distant one. This can be explained by the fact that all transitive bases taking the morpheme are non-causative verbs.

The morpheme does not exist in the OA texts.

4.2.6. -ğuz / -ğiz

In MA there is only one verb with this affix: *durğuz*- ‘to raise’. Only this verb form occurs also in the OA prosaic and poetical works of the investigated period: *turğiz*- (KDQ 104). However, the forms *durğuz*- and *turğiz*- differ not only phonetically (the *d ~ t, u ~ ı* alternations) but also semantically. The verb *dur*- has three main meanings: (1) ‘to rise, get up’; (2) ‘to stop (intr.)’; and (3) ‘to stand; to be’. In the modern language the verb can only take the affix *-ğuz* when it has the first meaning. The morphological way of realizing causation is not possible for other meanings; they are expressed by suppletive means, cf.: *dur*- ‘to stop (intr.)’ – *saxla*- (or *əylə*-) ‘to stop (tr.)’; *dur*- ‘to stand; to be’ – *qoy*- ‘to put; to leave’.

Yet in KDQ the affix *-ğiz* is added to the verb when the latter has the meaning ‘to stop (intr.)’:

(84) *Həman yayı biləgindən çıxarardı,*
that bow:ACC wrist:POSS:ABL go out:CAUS:AOR:PAST

buğanın- sığının boynına atardı,
bull:GEN cattle:GEN neck:POSS:DAT throw:AOR:PAST

çəkib turğızardı. (KDQ 104)
pull:GER stop:CAUS:AOR:PAST

‘He used to remove his bow from over his wrist and just throw it around the neck of the male deer or wild cattle, and stop the animal by pulling it.’
(Sümer et al. 1972: 135)

Beside *durğuz*-, the following four verbs with the affix *-ğuz* are attested in Ibn Muhanna’s Dictionary: *yatğuz*- ‘to put to bed’; *toyğuz*- ‘to satiate’; *oyanğuz*- ‘to wake’; *əmğüz*- ‘suckle’.

Yet as the author himself noted (IM 035), they were rarely used.

4.2.7. -kəz / -küz and -sət

All of these affixes can be added to one and the same verb: *gör*- ‘to see’. There is a chronological distribution with the use of *-kəz* and *-küz*, i.e. *görkəz*- in MA and *görküz*- in OA (IM 0111) ‘to show’.

The affix *-sət* exists both in MA and OA. In the OA texts it is a rare form: *görsət*- (N 114; QB 224) ‘to show’. The meaning ‘to show’ was usually expressed by the verb *göstər*- (KDQ 69, 86, 113; QB 64, 94, 331; N 268, 287, 293 ...), which is normal for the modern standard language as well. The forms *görkəz*- and *görsət*- are mostly used in the spoken language.

The forms *görsət*- and *göstər*- are alike. Probably, Kononov (1956: 203) was right in asserting that the affix *-sət* appeared as a result of the metathesis: *görset* < *göster* < *gözter*.

4.2.8. -ğur / -gür / -kür

These affixes, which can be considered phonetic variants of one and the same morpheme, do not exist in MA. They were already archaic in the XIII-XIV centuries. We have found only the following verbs in the investigated texts: *turğur-* (KDQ 118) 'to leave', from *tur-* 'to stand'; *irgür-* (KDQ 73; QB 252; YM 159; MZ 286) 'to cause to reach', from *ir-* 'to reach'; *dirgür-* (KDQ 40, 119) 'to let someone live', from *dir-* (QB 212) 'to live'; *yetkür-* (A 8) 'to make enough', from *yet-* 'to be enough'.

5. Decausative

5.1. Semantics and syntax

Transformations like (78a)-(78b) have a syntactically double character. They are characterized as causation from the point of view of (78a). Yet if we take (78b) as a starting point of the transformation, (78b) → (78a) is a decausation process.

Decausation is characterized by one-unit reduction of the syntactic actants, in other words, by a decrease in the syntactic valency of the verb by one. Semantically, it indicates the simplification of the sem structure of the verb, i.e. it is a transformation in a negative sense in that the "cause" component is withdrawn from the verb.

5.2. Morphology

In Azerbaijanian there exist possibilities of marking the decausative transformation in the morphological structure of the verb; e.g.:

- (85) a. *Təbil səsi yeri silkələdi.*
 drum beat:POSS earth:ACC shake:PAST
 'The drum-beat shook the earth.'

- (85) b. *Yer silkələndi.*
 earth shake:DEC:PAST
 'The earth was shaken.'

The markers of decausation are the affixes *-ıl*, *-il*, *-ul*, *-ül*; *-n*, *-ın*, *-in*, *-un*, *-ün*; *-ş*, *-ış*, *-uş*, *-üş*. The main decausative morphemes are *-(ı)l* and *-(ı)n*, whose allomorphs and distribution rule are the same as the passive ones. Here are some examples of decausative verbs from OA: *yıqıl-* (KDQ 36, 38) 'to be overthrown'; *qırıl-* (KDQ 41) 'to be broken'; *boğul-* (KDQ 60) 'to choke'; *boyan-* (QB 144, 196...) 'to be stained', etc. Again in QB the distribution rule is violated in some places, namely, in *asın-* (QB 253) 'to hang (intr.)' (< *as-* 'to hang (tr.)'); *ayın-* (QB 330) 'to sober up' (< *ay-* 'to sober') and *bayın-* (QB 330) 'to faint' (< *bay-* 'to cause to faint') the affix *-ın* is used instead of the normal *-ıl*.

In MA the affix *-(ı)ş* as a decausative indicator is seen in the following few verbs: *bulaş-* (also attested in OA: KDQ 39; QB 101, 529, 569) 'to become smeared', from *bula-* 'to smear'; *calaş-* 'to be inoculated', from *cala-* 'to inoculate'; *qatış-* 'to mix (intr.)', from *qat-* 'to mix (tr.)'.

Bulaş- and *calaş-* are used in parallel with the forms *bulan-* (also found in the OA texts: YM 189) and *calan-*, respectively.

5.3. Decausative vs. causatives

The relations between syntactic constructions, formed with non-causative verbs on the one hand, and causative verbs on the other, irrespective of the direction of morphological derivation, are always the same; cf. (78a) and (78b) with (85b) and (85a). The semantic correlations *ditrə* – *ditrət* and *silkələn* – *silkələ* also have the same character despite the fact that their opposite poles are marked. It is irrelevant to the semantics whether the first or second pole is marked. Diachronically, morphological markers can move from one pole to another one without changing the causal relations. For instance, in OA the causal relations ‘to be broken – to break’; ‘to sober up – to sober’ and ‘to faint – to cause to faint’ were morphologically marked in the first, i.e. non-causative pole:

<i>sin-</i> (YM 167; QB 314) ‘to be broken’	– <i>sı-</i> (KDQ 40, 47; QB 339, 585) ‘to break’
<i>ayıl-</i> (QB 73, 93, 150) ‘to sober up’	– <i>ay-</i> (QB 108, 322) ‘to sober’
<i>bayıl-</i> (QB 73, 345, 371) ‘to faint’	– <i>bay-</i> (QB 108, 322) ‘to cause to faint’

However, in MA the verbs *sı-*, *ay-*, *bay-* have become archaic, and the mentioned causal relations are marked in the second, i.e. causative pole: *sin-* / *sindir-* ‘to break’; *ayıl-* / *ayılt-* ‘to sober’; *bayıl-* / *bayılt-* ‘to cause to faint’.

Another instance is the relation ‘to be born – to bear’, which is marked in the non-causative pole in MA:

doğul- ‘to be born’ – *doğ-* ‘to bear (children)’

In OA the *doğ-* verb meant ‘to be born’, and consequently, the mentioned relation had the morphological marker (*-ur*) in its causative part:

doğ- (X 16b; YM 149) /
toğ- (KDQ 49; QB 127) ‘to be born’ – *toğur-* (KDQ 35; NDL 345).

In Azerbaijani some causal relations are morphologically marked in either pole. They are the following verbal sets:

<i>dağıl-</i> ‘to scatter (intr.)’; to fall to pieces’	– <i>dağıt-</i> ‘to scatter (tr.)’; to break to pieces’
<i>isin-</i> ‘to grow warm’	– <i>isit-</i> ‘to warm’
<i>islan-</i> ‘to get wet’	– <i>islat-</i> ‘to wet’
<i>ovun-</i> ‘to be consoled’	– <i>ovut-</i> ‘to console’
<i>qurtul-</i> ‘to escape’	– <i>qurtar-</i> ‘to save, rescue’
<i>tərpən-</i> ‘to move (intr.)’	– <i>tərpət-</i> ‘to move (tr.)’
<i>tükən-</i> ‘to be exhausted’	– <i>tükət-</i> ‘to exhaust’

uzan- 'to be extended,
to become lengthened' – *uzat-* 'to extend, to lengthen'.

Compare in the OA texts:

<i>dağıl-</i> (DH 65) /	– <i>dağıt-</i> (N 268, 283, 285...) / <i>tağıt-</i>
<i>tağıl-</i> (KDQ 91,125; NDL 335; QB 635)	(KDQ 44, 69, 92; QB 23, 133 ...)
<i>avın-</i> (DH 62; YM 151) 'to get distracted'	– <i>avit-</i> (YM 186) 'to distract'
<i>oyan-</i> (KDQ 116; N 186, 404, 416; QB 38, 130...)	– <i>oyar-</i> (KDQ 91, 113; N 110; QB 49, 328, 385 ...)
<i>qurtul-</i> (KDQ 56, 117; YM 169, 175) /	– <i>qurtar-</i> (KDQ 35,46; YM 168, 175; N 464; QB 23, 58 ...)
<i>qurtıl-</i> (KDQ 88; QB 64, 69)	
<i>dəprən-</i> (NDL 234; QB 229, 246 ...) /	
<i>dəbrən-</i> (DH 23)	– <i>dəprat-</i> (KDQ 77; QB 25, 42 ...)
<i>tükən-</i> (KDQ 50; N 278, 291, 303; QB 182, 210 ...) / <i>dükən-</i> (KDQ 44, 65, 95; NDL 255; QB 147, 212 ...)	– <i>dükət-</i> (KDQ 99)
<i>uzan-</i> (KDQ 44; QB 60, 107, 135 ...)	– <i>uzat-</i> (YM 186; N 355, 451; QB 73, 84 ...).

The mentioned verbs in MA are simplexes. However, the binary semantic and formal opposition of the counterparts allows us to differentiate formal bases and suffixes; e.g.: *dağıl* / *dağıt*; *qurtıl* / *qurtar*; *tükən* / *tükət*; etc. The differentiated suffixes (-ıl, -n) and (-t, -ar) are just decausative and causative markers, respectively.

The formal bases *dağ-* (or *tağ-*), *isi-*, *isla-*, *qurt-*, *ovu-* (or *avı-*), *oya-*, *təprə-* (or *təprə-* / *dəprə-*), *tükə-* (or *dükə-*) and *uza-* were apparently used as independent verbs in proto-Turkic, yet they are not attested in OA, except the verb *uza-* (YM 159; QB 288) 'to extend'.

Some of the above-mentioned decausative verbs can take a causative affix: *isindir-*, *ovundur-*, *oyandır-* (also attested in the OA texts: N 258) and *uzandır-*. The verbs *isindir-* and *isit-*, *ovundur-* and *ovut-*, *oyandır-* and *oyat-* are synonyms, but *uzandır-* and *uzat-* have different meanings. The verb *uzandır-* 'to help to lay down' is the causative of the verb *uzan-* in the autive meaning (i.e. 'to lie, stretch oneself') and not in the decausative one. It expresses the assistive type of causative meaning, while the verb *uzat-* has the factitive semantics.

In Azerbaijanian a causative affix can be added not only to the incorporated decausative marker. There are some instances where the combination of the decausative and causative markers takes place despite the fact that the verbal bases exist as independent words. In these cases the affixes having opposite functions neutralize each other, and as a result the meaning of the base is not changed; e.g.:

zəhərləndir- (< *zəhərlən-* 'to be poisoned') 'to poison' = *zəhərlə-* 'to poison',
calaşdır- (< *calaş-* 'to be inoculated') 'to inoculate' = *cala-* 'to inoculate'

However, in some instances the combination of the affixes appears as a word-building element; cf.:

süründür- (< *sürün-* ‘to drag (intr.)’) ‘to procrastinate’, yet *sürü-* ‘to drag (tr.)’.

In the above-mentioned cases the decausative marker is always *-n* or *-ş* and never *-(t)l*. However, in OA we found an exception: *yorult-* (KDQ 75, 114) ‘to weary, tire’ (< *yorul-* ‘to be tired’ < *yor-* ‘to weary, tire’).

6. Conclusion

In general, the passive, reflexive, reciprocal, causative and decausative meanings and forms are almost the same in Modern and Old Azerbaijani. However, the present investigation shows that there are also differences in the use of the categories in question.

The reflexive, reciprocal-cooperative, permissive causative forms and the adversative type of passives are characteristic for more verbs in OA, in comparison to the contemporary period. On the other hand, the modal-assessment semantics of passive found in MA is not present in the old texts.

The agentive complement in passive constructions is not common in Azerbaijani; when it does occur, MA uses the postposition *tərəfindən* ‘by’ to mark it, yet the same complement is formed with the ablative affix in OA. From the syntactical point of view, the modern language is unlike OA also in that it avoids the direct object in addressative reciprocal constructions and does not use the personal pronouns to express the reflexive meaning.

Both in MA and OA the passive, active and decausative transformations are marked in the morphological structure of the verb by the morpheme *-(t)l* and its allomorph *-(t)n*. In the current language some active verbs are also formed with the affix *-(t)ş*, which is not encountered in the old texts.

The canonical reflexive marker is the affix *-(t)n*. In addition, in OA the affix also marks the main verbs of the benefactive reflexive and non-diathetical reflexive constructions, which have no morphological marker in MA.

The morpheme *-(t)ş* indicates all reciprocals in OA, yet it marks only diathetical reciprocals in the current language.

In MA the causative derivation is marked in the verb by the affixes *-(t)t*, *-d(t)r*, *-(t)r*, *-(t)z*, *-ğuz*, *-sət*, *-(t)zd(t)r* and *-kəz*. With the exception of the latter two, they also exist in the OA texts. Other causative affixes existing in the old texts—*-zir* / *-zür*, *-küz*, *-kür* / *-gür* / *-ğur*—have disappeared in the modern language, and the affix *-(t)r*, which was used with many verbs in OA, has become unproductive.

All affixes mentioned are subject to vowel harmony both in MA and OA. Yet labial harmony is not strong in the old texts, especially in QB, where the passive, reflexive and reciprocal morphemes are used only with unrounded vowels, whereas most of the causative affixes appear with rounded ones.

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Abbreviations / sources

A = *Ali. Qisse'i Yusif*. [MS in the Institute of Manuscripts in Baku: B – 3422. The facsimile of the MS in: *Keçmişimizdən gələn səslər* 1. Bakı: Elm, 1983]
 DH = *Dastani- Əhməd Hərami*. Bakı: Gənclik, 1978.
 H = İzzəddin Həsənoğlu. In: *XIII-XVI əsrlər Azərbaycan şe'ri* 3. Bakı: Elm, 1984, 24-25.
 IM = Melioranskij, P. 1900 (ed.) *Arab-filolog o tureckom jazyke*. Sankt-Peterburg.
 KDQ = *Kitab-ı Dədə Qorqud*. Bakı: Yazıçı, 1988.
 MZ = *Mustafa Zərir. Yusif və Züleyxa*. Bakı: Elm, 1991.
 N = *Nəsimi. Seçilmiş əsərləri*. Bakı: Azərbaycan Dövlət Nəşriyyatı, 1973.
 NDL = Qəhrəmanov, C. 1970. *Nəsimi "Divan"ının leksikası*. Bakı: Elm.
 QB = *Qazi Bürhanəddin. Divan*. Bakı: Azərnəşr, 1988.
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 X = *Xətai. Yusif və Züleyxa*. [MS in the Institute of Manuscripts in Baku: M – 185/2438.]
 YM = *Yusif Məddah. Vərqa və Gülşah*. In: *XIII-XVI əsrlər Azərbaycan şe'ri* 3. Bakı: Elm, 1984. 148-207.
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Euphemismen in der türksprachigen Pflanzenlexik: Eine Untersuchung anhand von Giftpflanzennamen

Ingeborg Hauenschild

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The topic of this paper is the tabooing of plant names in the Turkic area, a matter hardly dealt with in the literature. We have chosen toxic plants as objects of our study as they have from early times inspired awe and fear, leading men to taboo their names through superstition or religion. Although not quite definitive, our research leads to the result that different parts of the Turkic world applied such taboo to differing degrees: such plant names were replaced by euphemisms mainly in South Siberia and Central Asia but not all in the South West. The remaining parts of the Turkic world take an intermediary position.

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1. Zum Sprachtabu bei Giftpflanzen

Das universale Phänomen des Sprachtabus ist im türksprachigen Bereich wenig erforscht. Hinweise zu dieser Thematik finden sich bei Zelenin, der in seiner zweiteiligen Abhandlung *Tabu slov u narodov vostočnoj Evropy i severnoj Azii* (1929-1930) u.a. zahlreiche türkische Ersatzwörter für tabuierte Tiernamen vorgestellt hat, sowie bei Brands (1973: 92-94), der ein Worttabu innerhalb der Turcia speziell für Tierbezeichnungen geltend macht.

In einer jüngeren Studie über Euphemismen im Altaitürkischen führt Jaimova (1990: 63-64) eine Reihe von Pflanzen an, die in der Frauensprache mit Hüllwörtern benannt werden. Es handelt sich dabei vornehmlich um Kräuter, Bäume und Sträucher, deren Fruchtstände die Frauen für den Nahrungsbedarf einsammeln. Die Liste der in der Männersprache üblichen Decknamen enthält keine Pflanzen, erfaßt aber viele jagdbare Tiere, die teilweise mit vergifteten Ködern zur Strecke gebracht werden. Obgleich der Einsatz von Giftpflanzen zu Jagdzwecken ein Sprachtabu wahrscheinlich macht, scheinen entsprechende Auskünfte vermutlich aus abergläubischen Bedenken vermieden worden zu sein.

Auf ein Sprachtabu bei toxischen Gewächsen weist Zelenin (1929: 112) hin; er vermerkt, daß sich ebenso wie bestimmte Tiere auch gewisse Pflanzen über die Nennung ihres Namens erzürnen sollen. Als Beispiel zitiert er den giftigen Wasserschier-

ling, den die Jakuten aus diesem Grund euphemistisch mit *ahii ot* umschreiben, anstatt ihn mit seinem eigentlichen Namen *tabax ot* zu benennen (s. 2.5).

In der türkischsprachigen Pflanzenlexik lassen sich in bezug auf Giftgewächse vor allem bei den südsibirischen und zentralasiatischen Türkvölkern diverse Bezeichnungen belegen, die – in Übereinstimmung mit Zelenins Angabe – offensichtlich eine euphemistische Funktion haben. Die Termini sind hauptsächlich in modernen Quellen nachweisbar und stammen wohl auch zumeist aus jüngerer Zeit. Dies ist darauf zurückzuführen, daß Decknamen allmählich in den allgemeinen Sprachschatz integriert und tabubedingt durch neue Hüllwörter ersetzt werden.

Zu den frühesten Belegen für Giftpflanzennamen mit euphemistischer Tendenz gehören die von Kāšyarī vermerkten Begriffe *qara ot* 'Sturmhut', *qarāmuq* 'Kornrade' und *ilrük ~ ildrük* bzw. *yūzärlik* 'Steppenraute'. Gemessen an der großen Bedeutung, die giftigen Gewächsen auch als Zauber- oder Heilpflanzen zukommt, und in Relation zu den über 180 botanischen Einträgen im *Dīvān luyāt at-turk* ist dies eine erstaunlich geringe Anzahl. Sie könnte aus einer gewissen Zurückhaltung bei der Erwähnung toxischer Pflanzen resultieren; ein latenter Vorbehalt gegenüber dem Sujet scheint noch heute zu bestehen und dürfte die mitunter spärlichen oder fehlenden Daten erklären.

Pflanzen sind im Gegensatz zu Tieren an einen festen Standort gebunden; ein giftiges Gewächs wird deshalb nicht als unmittelbare Bedrohung betrachtet und folglich auch mit Namen bezeichnet, die auf seine toxische Natur hindeuten. Trotzdem haftet einer Giftpflanze der Ruch des Unheimlichen an; sie stellt eine potentielle Gefahr dar und löst damit unterschwellige Ängste aus. Die Wirkung ihrer giftigen Substanzen kann sie selbst zwar lediglich dann entfalten, wenn sie von einem ahnungslosen Tier gefressen wird, in der Hand des Menschen ist ihr Gift jedoch ein gezielt eingesetztes Mittel zum Töten oder Zaubern, zur Bewußtseinserweiterung oder zur Heilung, wobei jeweils eine unterschiedliche Dosierung den beabsichtigten Effekt erzielt.

Wenn manche Pflanze, wie der Volksglaube meint, über die Nennung ihres Namens in Zorn gerät, so setzt dies voraus, daß sie die Sprache der auf demselben Territorium wohnenden Menschen versteht – eine primitive Vorstellung, die von vielen Völkerschaften im Hinblick auf Jagdtiere gehegt wird (Havers 1946: 28-31) und die offenbar auch für Pflanzen gilt. Bei einem giftigen Gewächs kann das Aussprechen des Namens nicht nur dessen Unwillen erregen, sondern zugleich seine Eigenschaften ansprechen; dem begegnet man mit der Verwendung von Ersatzwörtern. Sie sind einerseits Ausdruck einer von der Norm abweichenden individuellen Meinung und daher der Pflanze nicht verständlich. Andererseits stellen sie Höflichkeitsbezeugungen dar, die verstanden und gewürdigt werden. Decknamen scheinen die Abwehr oder Beschwichtigung der unheilvollen Kräfte von Giftpflanzen zu bezwecken, aber ebenso einer Verschleierung ihrer Rolle bei zauberischen oder rituellen Handlungen zu dienen.

Der Gebrauch von Hüllwörtern ist nur in Gegenwart der Pflanze geboten, d.h. in dem Moment, wenn ihre Wirkstoffe sich aktivieren können oder aktiviert werden. Vertuscht wird also nicht die toxische Ingredienz des Gewächses, sondern dessen

toxische Effizienz, und zwar in dem für den Sprecher wünschenswerten Sinn. Im Zusammenhang mit Tieren kann dies bedeuten, daß eine Periphrase einerseits das Weidevieh vor einer möglichen Vergiftung schützen, andererseits das Raubwild über entsprechende jägerische Praktiken hinwegtäuschen soll. Benennungen, die ein Gewächs unmißverständlich als Mörder von Nutz- oder Raubtieren definieren, sind lediglich in der oghusischen Gruppe belegbar – ein Faktum, das auf die Tabuierung von Giftpflanzen bei anderen Türkvölkern hinweist, aber ein regionales oder lokales Wortverbot im Südwesten der Turcia nicht ausschließen muß.

Ein Sprachtabu bei Giftpflanzen kann auf abergläubischen oder animistischen Vorstellungen beruhen und sowohl von Furcht wie von Ehrfurcht geprägt sein. Es erklärt sich nicht zuletzt aus der ambivalenten Natur toxischer Gewächse, deren Gift zum einen gravierende physische und psychische Veränderungen verursacht, zum andern bei analogen Krankheitserscheinungen therapeutisch genutzt wird. Dieselbe Doppelwertigkeit kommt ihnen in der Magie zu; sie können Zauber bewirken und Zauber entgegenwirken. Von besonderer Relevanz ist bei den südsibirischen Türkvölkern ein Sprachtabu aus religiöser Scheu. Es gilt für Giftpflanzen, die bei schamanistischen Ritualen verwendet werden. Zu dem religiösen Aspekt des Wortverbots vermerkt Beth (1927: 131): „Tabu ist das, was zu meiden ist, und zwar weniger deshalb, weil es gefährlich ist, als vielmehr deshalb, weil eine gewisse Ehrfurcht vor dem Objekt empfunden wird“.

Ob ein Sprachtabu vorliegt, läßt sich häufig nur aus Benennungen folgern, die eine Tendenz zur Verhüllung aufzeigen und daher als Ersatznamen für ein verbotenes Wort gebraucht sein könnten. Im folgenden werden die wichtigsten Giftpflanzen aus pharmakologischer und ethnologischer Sicht vorgestellt und ihre bei den verschiedenen Türkvölkern gebräuchlichen Bezeichnungen auf eine verhüllende Funktion hin untersucht. Die Zitate beziehen sich – falls nicht anders angegeben – auf Hauenschild (1989).

2. Giftpflanzennamen unter euphemistischem Aspekt

2.1. Sturmhut

Der Sturmhut, *Aconitum* sp., der von alters her als Gift- und Zauberpflanze bekannt und gefürchtet ist (Rätsch 1988: 31-32), wird im *Dīvān luyāt at-turk* mit *qara ot* (DLT 543) zitiert. Kāšyarī übersetzt den Begriff mit „bīš“, der arabischen Benennung für die Indische Aconitknolle, *Aconitum ferox*, und fügt hinzu, daß es sich dabei um eine Art Pflanzengift handelt (cf. Hauenschild 1994: 57). Das Gewächs ist mit zahlreichen Arten in der gesamten Turcia verbreitet; es enthält in sämtlichen Organen das hochgiftige Aconitin, das über Haut und Schleimhaut resorbiert wird, Atemnot sowie Unempfindlichkeit im gesamten Körperbereich auslöst und durch Atemlähmung schließlich den Tod herbeiführt.

Das Hüllwort *qara ot*, das die Pflanze nicht als schwarz, sondern als todbringend umschreibt, verweist auf die tödliche Effizienz des Sturmhuts. Dieselbe Funktion kommt kasachisch *uwqoryasın* bzw. kirgisisch *uw qoryošun* zu; der Ausdruck verfremdet die graubraunen Wurzelknollen zu giftigen Bleiklumpen und verwischt damit

jeden Bezug zur Pflanze. Ebenso rätselhaft ist tatarisch *öfkelderek* 'ächzend' < *öf* + *kelderä-* 'tönen, rasseln', das vermutlich die für eine Aconitintoxikation symptomatischen Atembeschwerden wiedergibt und die Pflanze nach dem Opfer ihres Giftes bzw. nach dessen Verhalten bezeichnet. Das Onomatopoetikum *öf* ahmt den knisternden Laut nach, der beim Löschen des Feuers entsteht, und entspricht damit dem letzten Lebenshauch. Auch jakutisch *čümäči ot* 'Kerzenkraut' könnte sich auf das Niederbrennen der Lebensflamme und ihr allmähliches Erlöschen beziehen, da eine Assoziation mit den meist blauviolett-helmförmigen Blüten kaum gegeben ist.

Die Blüte des Sturmhuts wird mit kirgisisch *qulunčuq* 'kleines Fohlen' euphemistisch als ungezähmtes Tier erfaßt; auf ihre zoomorphe Erscheinung verweisen gleichfalls aserbaidisch *käpänäkčičäk* 'Schmetterlingsblume' und tatarisch *käkükčitek* 'Kuckucksstiefel', die zudem die Pflanze in einen animistischen Zusammenhang stellen, da sowohl Schmetterling wie Kuckuck zu den Seelentieren zählen.

Als Ausdruck der Reverenz sind vermutlich baschkirisch *ayiw köpšähe* und tatarisch *ayu köpšäse* 'Bärenrohr' sowie baschkirisch *ayiw tabanī*, tatarisch *ayu tabanī* und usbekisch *ayiqtaʼwān* 'Bärensohle' zu bewerten; denn sie verbinden die Stengel und Blätter der stattlichen Pflanze mit der Größe und Gefährlichkeit des Bären. Auffälligerweise wird der Bär in Schmeichelnamen stets mit *ayiw* etc. bezeichnet, obwohl der Begriff unter bestimmten Bedingungen tabuiert ist. Dies dürfte auf die Vorstellung zurückgehen, daß eine Pflanze die Sprache der Menschen nur dann versteht, wenn sie mit der Norm übereinstimmt.

Ein Extrakt der Wurzelknollen wird zum Präparieren von Wolfsködern benutzt. Der narkotische Effekt von *Aconitum* entspricht dem u.a. von den altaischen Völkern bei dämonischen Tieren ausgeübten Tötungsritus, der aus Furcht vor magischen Einflüssen einen unblutigen und möglichst qualfreien Tod vorschreibt (cf. Havers 1946: 41-42 und Harva 1938: 421). Auf die Verwendung der Aconitknollen bei der Wolfsjagd deutet tschuwaschisch *kaškär timarri* 'Wolfswurzel' hin, die tödliche Wirkung auf bestimmte Tiere wird jedoch nur mit türkeitürkisch *kurtboğan*, aserbaidisch *gurdboyan* 'Wolfswürger' sowie türkeitürkisch *kaplanboğan* 'Leopardenwürger' und *itboğan* 'Hundewürger' ausgedrückt.

Schon in der Antike hat man der Sturmhutwurzel eine lähmende Wirkung auf Skorpione zugeschrieben. Sie galt immer als bewährtes Antidot, um einen Berufzauber unwirksam zu machen oder ihm vorzubeugen. Im türkischsprachigen Bereich werden einigen Sturmhutarten ebenfalls magische Fähigkeiten zugesprochen. Auf die Bannkraft der Pflanze verweisen kumükisch *obur ot* 'Hexenkraut' sowie kasachisch *bärpi*, usbekisch *parpi* und türkeitürkisch *perpi*, eine Benennung, die von dem gegen Schlangenbisse verwendeten Serpentinsteins auf den Sturmhut übertragen wurde.

Als Deckname für *Aconitum* dient zudem das persische Lehnwort *kučila*; es bezeichnet in eigentlicher Bedeutung den in Indien heimischen Brechnußbaum, *Strychnos nux-vomica*, der einen ähnlichen Ruf wie der Sturmhut hat, cf. usbekisch *kučala*, kasachisch, karakalpakisch *küşala*. In Sinkiang nennen die Uiguren den Sturmhut *biyiš* < arabisch *bīš* und *bowanä* ~ *buwanä* (< ?).

2.2. Kornrade

Die Kornrade, *Agrostemma githago* ist im *Dīvān luyāt at-turk* mit *qarāmuq* (DLT 244) vermerkt und wird von Kāšyarī als „zuʿān aṭ-ṭaʿām“ (Taumelloch im Getreide) definiert (cf. Hauenschild 1994: 57). Der Taumelloch, *Lolium temulentum*, der nur im westlichen Teil der Turcia vorkommt, ist ein Ackerunkraut. Wenn seine giftigen Samen mit dem Korn vermahlen werden, können sie bei Mensch und Tier zu Schwindelanfällen und schließlich zum Tod führen.

Eine ähnliche Effizienz haben die schwarzen kummelartigen Samen der im gesamten Bereich der Turcia verbreiteten Kornrade. Auch sie geraten bei der Ernte ins Futter- oder Brotgetreide; die in ihnen enthaltenen Saponine werden im Magen-Darm-Trakt weitgehend resorbiert und lösen Schwindel und Krämpfe, in schweren Fällen Atemlähmung aus. Der Name *qarāmuq* benennt die Pflanze nicht nach der für sie charakteristischen Farbe, wie Erdal (1991: 100) unzutreffend vermutet („a black plant which grows among wheat“), sondern nach ihren schwärzlichen bzw. todbringenden Samenkörnern.

Als Bezeichnung der Kornrade hat sich der Ausdruck mit türkeitürkisch *karamuk*, aserbaidshanisch *garamuğ*, kasachisch, kirgisisch *qaramıq*, usbekisch *qāramiq* und neuuigurisch *qarimuq* erhalten, seine Funktion als Hüllwort jedoch weitgehend eingebüßt, wie die Übertragung auf Pflanzen mit ähnlichen, aber ungiftigen Samenkörnern nahelegt. Die Abwandlungen kumükisch *qaramčiq*, kasachisch *qaramıqşa*, nogaisch *qaramatav*, kirgisisch *qara köö* und karakalpakisch *ḡaram šöp* sind hingegen euphemistische Weiterbildungen, die durch phonetische Veränderungen oder – wie bei *qara köö* ‘todbringender Ruß’ und *ḡaram šöp* ‘unreines Kraut’ – durch inhaltliche Umdeutungen entstanden sind.

In der südsibirischen Gruppe ist *qarāmuq* völlig durch Decknamen ersetzt worden. Mit chakassisch *ḡirliḡ* ‘das Geschliffene’ und tuvinisch *qirliḡqara* ‘das geschliffene Schwarze’ werden die Samen als ein scharfer Gegenstand umschrieben; denn die von ihnen ausgelösten Darmkoliken verursachen schneidende Schmerzen. Auf die narkotische Wirkung des Giftes verweist altaitürkisch *alaḡış* < *alan-* ‘verwirrt sein’.

Die Tschuwaschen, Baschkiren und Tataren benutzen anstelle von *qarāmuq* ein Lehnwort, das vermutlich auf tscheremissisch *pokro* ‘Kornrade’ zurückgeht, cf. tschuwaschisch *pukra*, baschkirisch *baḡra* ~ *baqra* sowie tatarisch *baqra* ~ *baqira*, das im Dialekt der Ural-Tataren zu *baqir tātäy* (TTDS 590) ‘Kupferblume’, umgeformt wurde. Egorov (1964: 164) bringt *pukra* ~ *baqra* wohl fälschlich in einen Zusammenhang mit *käkrä*; der Terminus *käkrä* ist bereits bei Kāšyarī (DLT 212) als Name einer Futterpflanze für Kamele belegt und benennt heute vornehmlich die zur Steppeflora gehörige Flockenblumenart *Centaurea repens* (cf. Hauenschild 1994: 49).

2.3. Steppenraute

Für die Steppenraute, *Peganum harmala* führt Kāšyarī neben dem in Kāšgar gebräuchlichen Namen *yidiy ot* ‘wohlriechendes Kraut’ zwei weitere Bezeichnungen an, die vermutlich als Ersatzwörter zu betrachten sind – *ilrük* (DLT 65) ~ *ildrük* (DLT 449 bzw. 622) in der Mundart von Uč und Barsyān sowie *yüzärlik* (DLT 449) im Dialekt

der Oyuz, jeweils mit „al-ḥarmal“ definiert (cf. Hauenschild 1994: 57, 86-87). Die Steppenraute ist innerhalb der Turcia in Südosteuropa, in Kleinasien und in Turkestan verbreitet; ihre hochgiftigen Samen werden u.a. als Zauber- und Rauschmittel verwendet (Rätsch 1988: 146-148).

Der Ausdruck *ilrük* ~ *ildrük*, der nur bei Kāšyārī belegt ist, leitet sich von *ildür* ‘aufhängen lassen’ her und bezieht sich wahrscheinlich auf den Gebrauch der Samen als Abwehrzauber. Die Amulette, an denen die Samenkügelchen in langen Schnüren befestigt sind, werden um den Hals getragen oder über den Türen aufgehängt. Auf die berauschende Wirkung der Steppenraute dürfte *yūzärlik* anspielen; es ist ein Derivat von *yüzär* < *yüz*- ‘schwimmen’ und scheint den Zustand von Menschen zu beschreiben, die auf den Wogen des Rausches treiben. Der Terminus *yūzärlik* findet sich u.a. im *Bulyat al-muštāq fī luyat at-turk wa-l-qifjāq* mit dem Eintrag „al-ḥarmal“ *yüzerlük* (Zajāczkowski 1958: 7,3).

Als Benennung der Steppenraute ist *yūzärlik* in der oghusischen Gruppe mit krimtatarisch *yüzerlik* (Hauenschild 1993: 175), türkeitürkisch *üzerlik*, aserbajdschanisch, türkménisch *üzärlik* bewahrt, cf. im anatolischen Dialektgebiet *yüzellik* ~ *yüzelik* ~ *yüzerlik* „halk inancına göre nazara karşı kullanılan bir ot“ (DS XI: 4336) und *ilezik* „üzerlik otu“ (DS VII: 2521). Der ursprüngliche Sinn des Namens ist offenbar verloren gegangen; auch eine euphemistische Tendenz läßt sich nicht mehr wahrnehmen; die Verwendung der Samen als Amulett oder als Räuchermittel gegen den bösen Blick wird eindeutig mit türkeitürkisch *nazarotu* ‘Böser-Blick-Kraut’ angesprochen.

Die zentralasiatischen Türkvölker bezeichnen die Steppenraute heute mit kasachisch *adiraspan*, kirgisisch *adiraşman*, neuuigurisch *ädrasman*. Der rätselhafte Ausdruck bedeutet wörtlich ‘Hügelhimmel’ und könnte die Pflanze nach ihrer psychedelischen Wirkung benennen, cf. neuuigurisch *gül asman* ‘Blumenhimmel’. Dies dürfte ebenso für den von den Kasachen in Sinkiang benutzten Terminus *aǰirīq* < *aǰir*- ‘abgetrennt werden’ zutreffen, der offenbar den entrückten Zustand eines Berauschten erfaßt. Mit usbekisch *isiriq* < *isi*- ‘heiß werden’ wird hingegen auf das Räuchern der Samen zu magischen Zwecken angespielt.

2.4. Gefleckter Schierling

Der Gefleckte Schierling, *Conium maculatum* ist im gesamten Bereich der Turcia verbreitet. Er enthält in allen Teilen, besonders aber in den unreifen Früchten, das stark giftige Coniin, das schon in der Antike bei der Bereitung des Schierlingsbechers eine unrühmliche Rolle gespielt hat.

Im Westen und in der Mitte der Turcia wird der Schierling mit *baldıran*, *baldırıyan* und *baltırıyan* bezeichnet, einem Terminus, der in vielen Türkssprachen auch für andere Doldengewächse oder für hochgewachsene Pflanzen mit doldenartigen Blütenständen, speziell für den Bärenklau, *Heracleum* sp., belegt ist. Die Benennung wird erstmals im *Kitāb al-idrāk li-lisān al-atrāk* (Caferoğlu 1931: 36) mit *baldaran* „naw‘ mina n-nabāt“ (eine Art Pflanze) zitiert.

Sevortjan (ESTJa II: 55) leitet den Namen von einer Basis *bal-* oder *baldir-* ab. Ein Verb *bal-* ist in den modernen Türk Sprachen nicht nachweisbar, bei Kāšyārī aber als Variante von *ban-* ‘festgebunden werden’ (DLT 278) vermerkt. Mit *baldīryan* ~ *baldīran* < *balduryan* könnte demnach eine Pflanze gemeint sein, die Bewegungslosigkeit bewirkt. Eine solche Deutung bietet sich jedoch nur dann an, wenn der Ausdruck ursprünglich eine Giftpflanze bezeichnet hat, deren Substanzen Lähmungsercheinungen hervorrufen. Dies trifft einzig für den Schierling zu, da sein giftiges Ingredienz Coniin von den Beinen her aufsteigende Lähmungen verursacht, die schließlich einen Atemstillstand herbeiführen.

In ESTJa (II: 56) wird auf eine Anmerkung von Ergin verwiesen, der einen möglichen Zusammenhang zwischen *baldīryan* ~ *baldīran* und *balir* ~ *baldir*, einer Benennung für Tang und andere Wasserpflanzen, sieht. Auch *balir* ~ *baldir* ist vermutlich mit *bal-* gebildet; es beschreibt den Zustand von Gewächsen, die mit der Strömung treiben, sich aber nicht lösen können, weil sie am Grund fest verwurzelt sind. Bei *baldīryan* ~ *baldīran* handelt es sich hingegen um ein Hüllwort, das der Pflanze unterstellt, einen analogen Zustand bei dem Opfer ihres Giftes zu erzeugen.

Die Übertragung von *baldīryan* ~ *baldīran* auf habituell ähnliche, aber meist ungiftige Pflanzen läßt vermuten, daß die Bezeichnung unverständlich geworden war und ihre euphemistische Funktion verloren hatte. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß die Volksetymologie die Komponente *baldir* in ‘Wade, Schienbein’ umgedeutet und auf die hohen, röhrenartigen Stengel der Doldenblütler bezogen hat. Ein derartiges Benennungsmotiv findet sich bereits bei Kāšyārī (DLT 228) mit dem Pflanzennamen *tawṣāč yodāsi* ‘Chinesenschenkel’ (cf. Hauenschild 1994: 74). Die Bedeutungserweiterung von *baldīryan* ~ *baldīran* zu einer generellen Benennung für gleichartige Pflanzen wird durch den Gebrauch von attributiven Ergänzungen zur Differenzierung der einzelnen Arten unterstrichen; cf. u.a. kasachisch *uwbaldīryan* ‘Schierling’, kirgisisch *ayuw baltīrqan* ‘Bärenklau’, aserbaidisch *subaldīryani* ‘Wasserschierling’, kasachisch *qoy baldīryan* ‘Engelwurz’ oder türkeitürkisch *tatlı baldīran* ‘Klettenkerbel’.

In Hinsicht auf den Schierling hat diese Entwicklung zur Bildung von neuen Ersatzwörtern geführt, die sich – wie z.B. baschkirisch *ayīw utī* ‘Giftkraut’ und kasachisch *uwtamir* ‘Giftwurz’ – gleichfalls auf die giftige Wirkung des Schierlings beziehen. Auf die schon früh einsetzende Bewußtseinstrübung verweist baschkirisch *monar köpšähe* ‘Nebelrohr’. In Form einer Antithese kennzeichnet tatarisch *su miltiṣi* die häufig an feuchten Stellen wachsende Pflanze als ‘Wassergewehr’. Mit tatarisch *sasiqay*, tschuwaschisch *šāršlakkay*, neuuigurisch *sesiq ot* und usbekisch *sassiq alaf* wird der Schierling als stinkend umschrieben, denn das Coniin verleiht ihm einen widerlichen Mäusegeruch. Der im Tschuwaschischen gebräuchliche Name *karāš kēpsī* ‘Wachtelkönigstengel’ deutet indirekt auf die Verwendung des Schierlings als Tollköder zum Vogelfangen hin. Im Sinne einer *captatio benevolentiae* dürfte baschkirisch *ayīw köpšähe* ‘Bärenrohr’ benutzt sein.

2.5. Wasserschierling

Der Wasserschierling, *Cicuta virosa* kommt nur im nördlichen Areal der Turcia vor; er enthält in Kraut, Frucht und Wurzelstock, besonders aber im Saft des Stengels, das gefährliche Cicutoxin, das epileptiforme Krämpfe hervorruft und einen Tod durch Atemlähmung bewirkt. Getrockneter Wasserschierling wird von den Schamanen geraucht, um sich in Trance zu versetzen. Auf diesen Vorgang scheint sich bei den Jakuten der tabuierte Name *tabax* ot ‘Tabakskraut’ zu beziehen, der die geheime Verwendung der Pflanze beschreibt und deshalb ihren Groll erregen könnte. Tabuverdächtig ist auch die Bezeichnung *itirik ot* ‘berauschendes Kraut’ (DSJaJa 376), die gleichfalls auf schamanistische Gebräuche verweist.

Als Ersatzwörter verwenden die Jakuten *aba ot* ‘Giftkraut’, *ahii ot* ‘bitteres Kraut’, *süögäy ot* ‘Bittersahnekraut’ (DSJaJa 380) und *burut ot* ‘Zankkraut’. Der Ausdruck *burut ot* spielt offensichtlich auf die von Toben und Schreien begleiteten Krampfanfälle an. Auf die vom Cicutoxin ausgelösten Krämpfe deutet ebenso tatarisch *tün-derbaş* < *tünder-* ‘niederwerfen’ hin. Der Terminus kennzeichnet die Pflanze nach ihrem doldenartigen Blütenstand als *baş* ‘Kopf’; er wird auch für den habituell ähnlichen Gefleckten Schierling benutzt. Die Tschuwaschen benennen den Wasserschierling mit dem Schmeichelnamen *upa kěpsi* ‘Bärenstengel’.

2.6. Weißer Germer

Der Germer ist innerhalb der Turcia mit zwei Arten vertreten – dem Weißen Germer, *Veratrum album* und dem Schwarzen Germer, *Veratrum nigrum*. Im asiatischen Teil des Areals beschränkt sich das Vorkommen des Weißen Germers auf Südsibirien, während der Schwarze Germer in Mittelasien verbreitet ist. Euphemistische Tendenzen lassen sich nur bei Benennungen des Weißen Germers beobachten, der seit altersher im Ruf einer Gift- und Zauberpflanze steht (Rätsch 1988: 112-113). Für den Schwarzen Germer, dessen toxische Bestandteile von mäßiger Wirkung sind, gibt es offenbar keine Hüllwörter. Er wird von allen zentralasiatischen Türkvolkern nach der Gestalt seiner Blätter mit *maralqulayı* ‘Maralohr’ benannt.

Die in *Veratrum album* enthaltenen Alkaloide Protoveratrin und Germanin werden perkutan resorbiert; sie verursachen eine Reizung an den Nervenenden in der Haut und lösen damit u.a. ein heftiges Niesen aus. Dieser Wirkung verdankt die Pflanze ihren türkischen Namen *aqsırıyaq* < *aqsır-* ‘niesen’, der schon bei Kāšyārī mit der Variante *asurıyu ot* (DLT 635) < *asurt-* ‘zum Niesen reizen’ belegt ist (cf. Hauen-schild 1994: 31-32). In höherer Dosierung führen die Giftstoffe des Weißen Germers zu Muskelzuckungen und Lähmungen und schließlich zum Herzstillstand. Opfer seiner tödlichen Effizienz sind vornehmlich junge Weidetiere. Auf das Ausräuchern von Tierhöhlen mit Germer weist türkeitürkisch *kunduzkökü* ‘Biberwurzel’ hin, ebenso der anatolische Dialektausdruck *kunduzagu* ~ *kunduzavu* ‘Bibergift’, der sich außerdem mit der durch Umstellung der Komponenten verfremdeten Variante *ağukunduzu* (Baytop 1994: 23) bezeugen läßt und im Karatschai-Balkarischen euphemistisch zu *kuntuş* ~ *kündüş* abgewandelt worden ist.

Die sibirischen Schamanen gebrauchen den Weißen Germer als narkotisches Räuchermedium, um sich in Trance zu versetzen. Auch bei der Inhalation von gepulvertem Germer wird zunächst ein starker Niesreiz ausgelöst. Da im Zusammenhang mit schamanistischen Praktiken die Nennung des Mittels einem Sprachtabu unterliegt, wurde der Terminus *aqsiŕyaq*, der die spezielle Wirkung des Weißen Germers eindeutig kennzeichnet, in der südsibirischen Gruppe durch Hüllwörter ersetzt. Die Decknamen beziehen sich auf die für den Rauschzustand typischen Symptome und könnten gleichfalls für ähnlich genutzte Giftpflanzen gelten: chakassisch *χalčup* < *χal* 'wirr' und tuvinisch *alaŕŕiś* < *alan-* 'verwirrt sein'.

Sowohl den magischen wie den psychedelischen Aspekt des Weißen Germers betont der jakutische Terminus *käyā kulgaaya* 'Kuckucksohr', der in Form einer Antithese die mit dem Kuckuck verbundenen animistischen Vorstellungen und wahrscheinlich auch die ihm zugeschriebenen seherischen Eigenschaften auf die Pflanze überträgt.

2.7. Sumpfporst

Der Sumpfporst, *Ledum palustre*, der als Heil- und Zauberpflanze verwendet wird (Rätsch 1988: 148-151), kommt vorwiegend in Nordeuropa und Nordasien vor; seine südliche Verbreitungsgrenze erstreckt sich über Altai und Aralsee bis zum Don. Er enthält in allen Teilen ein ätherisches Öl, dessen Hauptwirkstoff – das giftige Ledol – Krämpfe und rauschartige Erregungszustände verursachen kann. Die sibirischen Schamanen benutzen die Pflanze zur Erzeugung der Trance, und zwar durch Einatmen des Rauches oder durch Auskauen der Wurzel.

Nach seinem Standort wird der Sumpfporst mit tatarisch *sazanaq* (TaRS 462) und baschkirisch *hazanaq* (TBS 122) < *saz* 'Sumpf' benannt; eine tabubedingte Abwandlung könnte kasachisch *qazanaq* (Indjoudjian 1983: 72) sein. Bei den südsibirischen Türkvölkern sind Decknamen üblich, die sich auf die berauschende Effizienz des Sumpfporsts beziehen. Mit tuvinisch *öväänči* ~ *öygäämči* (TuvRS 330, 334) < *öy-* 'umherwälzen' werden offenbar die deliranten Erscheinungen umschrieben, die der Genuß von *Ledum palustre* auslöst, cf. tofalarisch *ö"ypenji* ~ *ö"yfenji* (TofRS 56). Der jakutische Ausdruck *säppärääk* ~ *säkpärääk* (Pekarskij 1958-1959: 2167) < *säppärääχ* 'Senkblei' vergleicht die Wirkung des Ledols mit einem Senkblei, das den Konsumenten wie ein Fischernetz in die Tiefe zieht, möglicherweise eine Anspielung auf das 'Eintauchen' der Schamanen in die Unterwelt (Harva 1938: 552).

Auch jakutisch *sugun abayata* scheint euphemistisch gebraucht zu sein; es kennzeichnet den Sumpfporst kaum als 'Trunkelbeerenerle', wie die Zuordnung bei Pekarskij (1958-1959: 3) nahelegt, da es für eine solche Assoziation kein *tertium comparationis* gibt. Vielmehr dürfte der Begriff im Sinne von 'älterer Bruder des Vaters der Trunkelbeere' gebraucht sein.

Verwandschaftsbenennungen dienen als Besänftigungs- oder Schmeichelnamen für ein tabuiertes Objekt; so wird z.B. der Bär von den Jakuten mit *ähä* 'Großvater', *öbügä* 'Urgroßvater' und *abaya* angeredet. Dieselbe Motivation dürfte für *sugun abayata* gelten; der Terminus ist eine Geste der Reverenz, die dem hochgewachsenen

Sumpfporst gegenüber der kleineren Trunkelbeere, *Vaccinium uliginosum* die Stellung eines Onkels einräumt und zugleich eine narkotische Effizienz zuspricht, mit der sich die nur schwach berauschende Trunkelbeere nicht zu messen vermag. Pflanzennamen, die nur aus habituellen Gründen eine Verwandtschaftsbeziehung ausdrücken, aber gleichwohl den Generationenunterschied betonen, sind aserbaidisch *gijtkānanasī* 'Mutter der Brennessel' (= Taubnessel) und neuuigurisch *kewāzanisi* 'Mutter der Baumwolle' (= Malve).

Die Jakuten bezeichnen den Sumpfporst außerdem mit den Lehnwörtern *babialıñjik* (DSJaJa 56) < russisch *bagul'nik* und *hängärä* (DSJaJa 230) < tungusisch *sängkirä*. Auf die durch Inhalation des Rauches herbeigeführte psychedelische Wirkung des Sumpfporsts könnte auch der bei den Uiguren in Sinkiang gebräuchliche Name *kanaygül* 'Pfeifenblume' (XUL 182) hinweisen; die Tschuwaschen benennen den Sumpfporst mit *uhmah jiväśsi* 'Tollstrauch' (RČS 6).

2.8. Bilsenkraut

Das im gesamten Areal der Turcia verbreitete Bilsenkraut, *Hyoscyamus niger* wurde schon in der Antike als Heil- und Zauberpflanze geschätzt und hat diesen Ruf bis heute bewahrt (Rätsch 1988: 47-49). Es enthält insbesondere in Kraut und Samen das giftige Hyoscyamin, das – ebenso wie das nur schwach nachweisbare Atropin – in geringer Dosierung Rede- und Bewegungsdrang, bei höheren Gaben Halluzinationen, Tobsuchtsanfälle und Lähmungen bewirkt. Die psychedelische Effizienz des Bilsenkrautes verursacht das Gefühl des Fliegens, die Wahrnehmung übersinnlicher Phänomene sowie erotische Wunschträume und hat die Pflanze deshalb zu einem begehrten Rauschmittel gemacht.

Für das Bilsenkraut werden vornehmlich Decknamen benutzt, die sich auf das Opfer seiner toxischen Wirkung beziehen. Die Osttürken bezeichnen das Gewächs mit usbekisch *miñdewāna* und neuuigurisch *miñdivanä* 'tausend Verrückte', wobei *miñ* 'tausend' möglicherweise als eine volksetymologische Umbildung von persisch *mang* ~ *meng* 'Bilsenkraut' zu betrachten ist. Phonetisch abgewandelt sind kasachisch *meñduana*, kirgisisch *meñdubana* und karakalpakisch *māñduwana*. Im Karatschai-Balkarischen läßt sich die Variante *mijilan* belegen; sie könnte sich in dem vermutlich durch Kontamination entstandenen tatarischen Hüllwort *tile milän* (TTDS 604) wiederfinden, cf. krimtatarisch *deli-midan* (Hauenschild 1993: 157).

Auf den Konsumenten des Giftes verweisen gleichfalls chakassisch *ooχčaŋ ot* 'Giftnehmerkraut', kumükisch *gezegen* 'einer, der eine Reise macht' und tschuwaschisch *uhmah kuräkē* 'Narrenkraut'. In Form einer Antithese vergleicht tatarisch *tile küke* 'toller Kuckuck' (TTDS 604) einen vom Bilsenkraut Berauschten wegen seines ungehemmten wirren Geschwätzes mit einem pausenlos rufenden Kuckuck. Der usbekische Terminus *eşakmiya* 'Eselssüßholz' deutet ebenso hintergründig auf die Symptome hin, die durch die Einnahme des meist mit einer Süßigkeit vermengten Giftes entstehen.

Mit tatarisch und baschkirisch *tilebärän* bzw. tschuwaschisch *tilpären* 'tolles Lamm' wird der Zustand eines Lammes nach dem Verzehr von Bilsenkraut beschrie-

ben. Die Volksetymologie hat tatarisch *tilebärän* beschönigend in *tilebärängese* ‘Tollkartoffel’ (TTDS 604) abgeändert. Der türkmenische Begriff *čağjağunduz*, der vermutlich durch Umkehrung der Komponenten aus **ğunduzčağja* ‘Fischotter-Schnupftabaksdose’ gebildet worden ist, könnte auf den Einsatz des Bilsenkrautes bei der Jagd, d.h. auf das Ausräuchern von Otterbauten, hindeuten. Eine ähnliche Wortbildung findet sich im anatolischen Dialektgebiet mit *ağukunduzu* ‘Bibergift’, womit der Weiße Germer benannt wird. Lediglich türkmenisch *mañgırlaq* < *mañ* ‘dreijähriger Schafbock’ + *ğır-* ‘zerbrechen, töten’ bringt unmißverständlich die tödliche Wirkung des Giftes auf Tiere zum Ausdruck.

Als Rauschmittel verwendet man speziell die Samen des Bilsenkrautes; sie reifen in einer Kapsel heran, die in einem fünfzipfeligen Blütenkelch sitzt. Nach der Form des Kelches wird die Pflanze mit türkeitürkisch *çanak otu* und *çömlek otu* ‘Topfkraut’ bezeichnet. Im Usbekischen findet sich dasselbe Benennungsmotiv; der Blütenkelch ist jedoch wegen seines üblen Inhalts verfremdend als *māḫāvkāsa* ‘verfluchter Becher’ oder *şaytānkāsa* ‘Teufelsbecher’ erfaßt. Auch altaitürkisch *yıraqı ölön* ‘Krugkraut’ verweist euphemistisch auf die berauschende Wirkung der Samen; denn unter *yıraqı* ist ein gußeisernes Gefäß zu verstehen, in dem man durch Destillation aus Kumys einen Milchbranntwein, den *Arāka*, bereitet. Zur Benennung des Bilsenkrautes benutzen die Altaitürken außerdem das Lehnwort *bele* < russisch *belena* ‘Bilsenkraut’.

Ein ungewöhnlicher und im türksprachigen Bereich einzigartiger Name des Bilsenkrautes ist türkeitürkisch *gâvur haşhaşı* ‘Ungläubigenhaschisch’. Obgleich der Gebrauch von Bilsenkraut zu narkotischen Zwecken im Vorderen Orient außer Frage steht, kennzeichnet der Terminus die Pflanze als eine Droge, die von den Europäern anstelle von Haschisch konsumiert wird. Der Ausdruck scheint historische Erfahrungen zu tradieren; denn die Wundärzte der Kreuzfahrerheere benutzten Bilsenkraut zur Schmerzlinderung, und mancher Kreuzfahrer dürfte sich mit einer Prise des auch im Okzident sehr geschätzten Rauschmittels eine bessere Welt vorgegaukelt haben.

2.9. Stechapfel

Der Stechapfel, der zu den am meisten gefürchteten Gift- und Zauberpflanzen des Orients zählt (Rätsch 1988: 138-140), ist in den wärmeren Regionen der Turcia mit den Arten *Datura stramonium* und *Datura metel* vertreten. Beide Spezies enthalten wie das Bilsenkraut – jedoch wesentlich konzentrierter – die Alkaloide Hyoscyamin und Atropin, die von zentral-erregender oder peripher-lähmender Wirkung sind und zu deliranten Halluzinationen führen.

Nach der bestachelten kastanienförmigen Frucht, die einen unangenehmen Geruch verbreitet, wird der Stechapfel mit kasachisch *ıyǵaŋŋaq* und neu-uigurisch *ityaŋŋıyı* ‘Hundenuß’ sowie kirgisisch *čoço žaŋŋaq* ‘Schweinenuß’ bezeichnet. Das Benennungsmotiv assoziiert das struppige, stinkende Fell von Hund und Wildschwein mit der ähnlich gearteten Fruchtkapsel von *Datura*, involviert aber zudem den Ruch der Unreinheit, der diesen Tieren im islamischen Bereich anhaftet. Auf die Beschaffenheit der Frucht verweisen in verbrämter Form gleichfalls karatschai-balkarisch

köbdürewük < *köbdürüw* 'Anschwellen, Aufblasen' und türkeitürkisch *şeytan arabası* 'Teufelswagen' bzw. *şeytan elması* 'Teufelsapfel'.

Mit tatarisch *mingerätkeč* < *mingerät*- 'benebeln' und altaitürkisch *ap ölön* 'betäubendes Kraut' wird der Stechapfel beschönigend als Verursacher von Verwirrungszuständen umschrieben; hingegen definiert aserbaidshanisch *bihuşdari* die Samen eindeutig als eine Art Hirse, die bewußtlos macht. Der nogaische Terminus *tarsıldawıq* < *tarsıldaw* 'Krachmachen' erfaßt nicht die Pflanze selbst, sondern das tobsüchtige Verhalten, das ihr Gift bei dem Opfer bewirkt, cf. daneben nogaisch *duwşölmek* 'Tolltopf'.

Die einzige Benennung, die den Stechapfel als Mittel zum Vergiften von Tieren kennzeichnet, findet sich in der oghusischen Gruppe mit türkmenisch *itöldürgiç* 'Hundetöter'. Auch die Verwendung des Stechapfels zu magischen Zwecken wird nur im Südwesten der Turcia mit türkeitürkisch *sihirbazotu* 'Zaubererkraut' ausgedrückt.

2.10. Fliegenpilz

Der Fliegenpilz, *Amanita muscaria*, der in den Wäldern Europas und Nordasiens vorkommt, ist eine altbekannte Gift- und Zauberpflanze (Rätsch 1988: 62-63). Unter seinen giftigen Bestandteilen kommt vornehmlich dem Muscaridin eine besondere Effizienz zu, denn es verursacht rauschartige Erregungs- und Verwirrungszustände, die mit türkeitürkisch *deli mantar* (Baytop 1994: 290) 'Tollpilz' eindeutig angesprochen werden.

Die Höhe des Giftgehalts von Fliegenpilzen ist innerhalb ihres Verbreitungsgebietes unterschiedlich bemessen; wenn der Pilz eine starke Anreicherung von Muscaridin hat, kann eine Fliegenpilzintoxikation tödlich enden. Darauf scheint der baschkirische Terminus *min-tırqış* (TSB 107) hinzudeuten, der vermutlich auf *min* 'Muttermal' + *tırqış* 'Scheusal' zurückgeht und ein spezifisches Merkmal des Pilzes, den Besatz des roten Hutes mit weißlichen Flocken, aufgreift. Hingegen verweist tschuwaschisch *şelen kămpi* (Egorov 1960: 193) 'Schlangenzpilz' nicht auf die Form des Fliegenpilzes, sondern auf dessen toxische Wirkung, die indirekt durch den Vergleich mit einer Schlange angesprochen wird.

Um in Trance zu verfallen, konsumieren die sibirischen Schamanen getrocknete Fliegenpilzhüte oder Stücke, die zur Intensivierung des Rausches in dem ausgepreßten Saft der Trunkelbeere, *Vaccinium uliginosum* oder des Waldweidenröschens, *Epilobium angustifolium* eingelegt worden sind. Auf die Verwendung des Fliegenpilzes als Droge bezieht sich der chakassische Deckname *ooğçaŋ ot* (XRS 128) 'Giftnehmerkraut', der auch das ähnlich wirksame Bilsenkraut benennt.

Die sibirischen Nomaden benutzen frischen oder getrockneten Fliegenpilz gleichfalls als Rauschmittel; von ihnen wird jedoch vor allem der dem Rauschzustand folgende tiefe, mit Wunschträumen verbundene Schlaf angestrebt. Obwohl dieser Usus bei Tschirch (1910: 1020) für die Jakuten bezeugt ist, sind keine jakutischen Bezeichnungen für den Fliegenpilz belegbar. Dies könnte damit zusammenhängen, daß die Einnahme von Fliegenpilz sowohl von den Schamanen wie von der Bevölkerung praktiziert wird. Es besteht folglich ein generelles Bedürfnis zur Vertuschung,

das sich in äußerster Zurückhaltung bei der Nennung von tabuierten Namen oder von Hüllwörtern niederschlägt.

Zerschnittene frische Fliegenpilze werden – in Milch eingeweicht – als Fliegenköder angewendet; sie enthalten eine flüchtige Substanz, die auf Fliegen tödlich wirkt, ansonsten aber weder Tier noch Mensch schadet. Auch die Türkvölker verwenden den Fliegenpilz, um sich der Stubenfliegen zu entledigen. Dieser Sachverhalt wird mit türkmenisch *siŋek ğiran* (RTuS 332 s.v. *muxomor*) ‘Fliegentöter’ eindeutig beschrieben, bei kasachisch *šibin qıryış* (RKaS 359 s.v. *muxomor*) sowie kirgisisch *čimīn qıryič* (RKiS 372 s.v. *muxomor*) ‘Fliegenschabeisen’ jedoch in Form einer Antithese verbrämt, wobei vermutlich die in Nord- und Zentralasien verbreitete abergläubische Vorstellung, daß Fliegen die Ausgeburten von Dämonen sind, eine wesentliche Rolle spielen dürfte.

Erstaunlicherweise findet sich im Chakassischen aber gleichfalls eine Bezeichnung, die den Fliegenpilz als ‘Fliegentöter’ definiert, nämlich *seek ödirjeŋ* (RXS 383 s.v. *muxomor*). Es handelt sich um keine Übersetzung eines literarischen Zitats wie z.B. bei tatarisch *čeben gömbäse* (TaRS 632) ‘Fliegenpilz’, sondern um eine originäre Wortbildung, die vielleicht aus der Feder eines Gelehrten stammt. Der Ausdruck ist die einzige nichtoghussische Benennung, die auf die Effizienz einer Giftpflanze unmißverständlich hinweist.

Der rätselhafte kumükische Terminus *itqičiv* (RKuS 418 s.v. *muxomor*) könnte eine Kontraktion aus *it* ‘Hund’ + *qičitiv* ‘Kratzen, Jucken’ sein und eine Abwandlung von *šibin qıryış* ‘Fliegenschabeisen’ darstellen. Möglicherweise ist *itqičiv* jedoch auch auf ein Kompositum aus *it* + *qičiriv* ‘Schreien, Aufschreien’ zurückzuführen. In diesem Fall wäre ein Bezug auf die Hundetollwut gegeben, die ähnliche Symptome wie eine Fliegenpilzvergiftung zeigt cf. zudem die tatarische Dialektbezeichnung *ežt gömbäse* (TTDS 537) ‘Hundspilz’.

3. Formen der Substitution tabuierter Giftpflanzennamen

Die einfachste Methode, einem Sprachtabu zu begegnen, ist die lautliche Abwandlung des verbotenen Ausdrucks durch Vokaleinfügung, Metathese, Wortverkürzung, Suffigierung u.a. oder die Kontamination sinnverwandter Termini. Diese Ersatzmittel werden bei Giftpflanzen vornehmlich auf bereits eingebürgerte Decknamen angewendet, um deren euphemistische Funktion wieder herzustellen.

Im allgemeinen substituiert man tabuierte Wörter durch ein *Epitheton ornans*, das in keinem Zusammenhang mit dem Denotat zu stehen scheint oder Eigenschaften erfaßt, die nicht zwangsläufig auf das Denotat schließen lassen. Derartige Periphrasen, zu denen auch die Antithese zählt, lassen sich häufig als Benennung für Giftpflanzen nachweisen.

Ein *Epitheton ornans* kann ebenso als Besänftigungsname dienen und mit einer unverhüllten Schmeichelei auf das Wohlbefinden des Gewächses hinzielen. Begriffe, die eine *captatio benevolentiae* beinhalten, betreffen den imposanten Habitus der Pflanze und indirekt auch die Intensität ihres Giftes, denn das Vergleichsobjekt steht immer symbolhaft für Größe und Kraft bzw. Gefährlichkeit.

Der Gebrauch von Lehnwörtern ist eine weitere Möglichkeit zur Umgehung des Sprachtabus und findet sich gleichfalls in der einschlägigen Pflanzenlexik. Einheimische Giftgewächse werden mit ihren bei benachbarten Völkern üblichen Namen oder mit der originären Bezeichnung für eine ähnlich wirksame exotische Pflanze benannt. Auch diesem Usus dürfte die primitive Vorstellung zugrunde liegen, daß ein Gewächs einzig die Landessprache versteht.

Für Giftpflanzen gibt es zudem Decknamen, die sich speziell mit deren toxischer Wirkung befassen, jedoch eine deutliche Distanz zum Denotat wahren. Auf die Effizienz eines giftigen Gewächses kann mit einem deverbale Nomen verwiesen werden, das die Pflanze als Erreger bestimmter Intoxikationserscheinungen beschreibt, einen direkten Bezug allerdings ausspart. Dieser Benennungstyp ist bei nahezu allen Türk-völkern belegbar; lediglich in der oghusischen Gruppe wird eine Giftpflanze unverhohlen als Mörder gekennzeichnet, und zwar meist in Form eines Rektionskomposits, dessen Objekt mit dem Opfer identisch ist.

Eine völlige Verschleierung der Aktivitäten von Giftpflanzen bezwecken Termini, die sich auf den Konsumenten der Wirkstoffe bzw. auf dessen Verhalten bei einer Intoxikation beziehen. Die elliptischen Bezeichnungen setzen die Kenntnis des Verursachers der Vergiftung voraus und machen ihn nur indirekt durch die Nennung der von ihm erzeugten Symptome namhaft. Ausdrücke dieser Art sind auch insofern bemerkenswert, als sie von dem für türkische Pflanzennamen charakteristischen visuellen Aspekt abweichen und stattdessen in nahezu abstrakter Form eine materielle Bewertung beinhalten, die meist auf realer Erfahrung beruht.

4. Zusammenfassung

Die in der vorliegenden Untersuchung verwerteten Daten erlauben von der unterschiedlichen Quellenlage her keine definitive Aussage zu einem Sprachtabu bei Giftpflanzen. Sie lassen jedoch eine auffällige Tendenz zum Euphemismus erkennen, die bei den in Osteuropa ansässigen Türk-völkern teilweise auf slavische Einflüsse zurückgehen könnte, in Zentralasien und vor allem in Südsibirien jedoch zweifellos mit animistischen Vorstellungen und schamanistischen Praktiken zusammenhängt. Lediglich in der oghusischen Gruppe ist – abgesehen von einigen wenigen regional oder lokal gebräuchlichen Ausdrücken – keine Neigung zu einem Wortverbot auszumachen.

Wie die ausgewählten Beispiele zeigen, werden im Südwesten der Turcia Giftpflanzen eindeutig nach ihrer Effizienz bzw. nach deren Nutzung bezeichnet, während die übrigen Türk-völker einen solchen Bezug offensichtlich durch Hüllwörter vertuschen. Dies läßt sich auch anhand von zahlreichen Benennungen für andere mehr oder minder toxische Gewächse belegen.

Für die kritische Lektüre möchte ich Dr. habil. Claus Schönig sehr herzlich danken.

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Grammatik im Wörterbuch: Einige Anmerkungen

Hans-Jürgen Kornrumpf

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On the basis of the author's long experience in editing bilingual German-Turkish and Turkish-German dictionaries, the present article deals with the changing conditions for lexicographic work of this kind. In particular, the author stresses the importance of adding grammatical remarks to the lexical entries.

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Im folgenden soll nur von zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern mit Gewicht auf Deutsch-Türkisch und vice versa die Rede sein; in diesem Bereich bin ich als freier Mitarbeiter der Langenscheidt KG (Berlin und München) mehr als drei Jahrzehnte nebenberuflich tätig gewesen. Zudem handelte es sich um Wörterbücher geringeren Umfangs, deren Seitenzahl in einem Verlagsprogramm in voraus festgelegt wurden.

Derartige Wörterbücher werden von der Kritik oft nicht als wissenschaftliche Arbeit angesehen; man meint, daß es doch leicht und wenig wissenschaftlich sei, gegen 15000 oder 30000 Stichwörter unter Berücksichtigung der Zielgruppen bzw. Käufer auszuwählen, bestimmte Wörter aufzunehmen und andere zu verwerfen. Hier geht es nicht um die Bearbeitung eines zuvor statistisch errechneten Grundwortschatzes von 500 oder 2000 Wörtern. Die Auswahl der Wörter bei einem Rahmen von etwa 15000 ist eine zeitraubende Qual, keineswegs einfach aus anderen Werken abgeschrieben und selbstredend vielen subjektiven Bewertungen in der Weise unterworfen, ob etwa bei der Berücksichtigung der Zielgruppe die Aufnahme eines bestimmten Stichwortes sinnvoll sein würde oder nicht.

Bei solchen Wörterbüchern sollte es selbstverständlich sein, daß grammatische Anmerkungen auch für beide Sprachen vorgenommen werden; es handelt sich ja nicht um sog. Miniatur- oder Liliput-Wörterbücher, bei denen man gewöhnlich auf einen grammatischen Apparat verzichtet. Ansonsten ist es unwichtig, ob es um allgemeinsprachliche oder fachlich gebundene zweisprachige Wörterbücher geht. Dieser Hinweis ist nicht banal, denn eine meiner ersten Aufgaben, die Neubearbeitung von *Langenscheidts Universalwörterbuch Türkisch*, bestand gerade darin, neben einer gründlichen Überprüfung des Wortschatzes die grammatischen Ergänzungen in beiden Sprachen einzuführen; die ältere Ausgabe stellte die Lexeme beider Sprachen meist ohne Anmerkungen nebeneinander.

Hierbei war ich in völliger Übereinstimmung mit Heinz Friedrich Wendt, etwa ebenso lange bei der Firma Langenscheidt als Leiter des Lektorats Orientalische Sprachen in Berlin tätig und selbst bekannt durch *Langenscheidts Praktische Lehrbücher Neugriechisch* (1965) und *Türkisch* (1972), durch beide Teile von *Langenscheidts Taschenwörterbuch der neugriechischen und deutschen Sprache* (1969), aber auch durch das *Fischer Lexikon Sprachen* (1961).

Die allerwichtigsten grammatischen Angaben in einem Wörterbuch geringeren Umfangs, wo auf Satzbeispiele verzichtet werden muß, sind für das Deutsche an sich bekannt: Bei den Substantiven Geschlecht und Flexion (Genitiv, Plural), bei den Adjektiven möglichst die Steigerungsformen, bei den Verben die Besonderheiten bei den Stammformen und im Präsens, unbedingt aber Rektion und Präpositionen beim Objekt. Letzteres ist für Angehörige beider Sprachräume besonders wichtig, blieb aber selbst in den größten zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern früher meist unbeachtet, wofür es diverse Beispiele aus dem nahöstlichen Raum gibt. Für das Englische und Französische gilt es natürlich, ganz ähnliche entsprechende Anmerkungen zu finden, wobei man im Englischen um die Tatsache ringen muß, daß die Kasus oft nicht zu erkennen und auch die Wortarten nicht immer auf Anhieb zu definieren sind.

Das Türkische im Wörterbuch bietet weniger Probleme, da vieles engen Regeln unterworfen ist, doch gibt es die Besonderheiten beim Aoristvokal, die Palatalisierung bestimmter Endkonsonanten, die folgende Vokale verändern; sechs oder sieben Kasus des Substantivs (Lokativ, Ablativ, Instrumentalis) treten für viele Wendungen mit Präpositionen im Deutschen ein. In den türkisch-deutschen Teilen müssen aber auch türkische kausative, reflexive und passive Verben übersetzt werden und nicht nur, wie es z.B. in Karl Steuerwalds *Türkisch-Deutschem Wörterbuch* geschieht (1972, 1988) mit „Passiv zu ...“ abgetan werden. Die Auswahl der türkischen Stichwörter wie auch Übersetzungen führte immer zu der Frage, ob das jeweilige spätosmanisch-türkische oder das *öztürkçe* Wort Vorrang haben und an erster Stelle bzw. angesichts des geringen Umfangs des Buches allein aufgenommen werden sollte. Ein Beispiel soll für die Problematik der damaligen Wortauswahl dienen. Im Frühjahr 1958 – mit den Vorarbeiten hatte ich 1957 begonnen – erschienen an einem Wochentag drei türkische Tageszeitungen mit ähnlichen Überschriften, in denen der Begriff „Staatspräsident“ vorkam. Die der Republikanischen Volkspartei (CHP) nahestehende Zeitung „Ulus“ schrieb modern *cumhurbaşkanı*, die Zeitung „Zafer“ der Demokrat Parti (DP) der Menderes-Regierung unter der üblichen Wiederbelebung des Spätosmanischen *reisicumhur*, die linksliberale „Cumhuriyet“ als goldene Mitte *cumhuriysi*. Welche Form(en) sollte ich nun in das kleine Wörterbuch aufnehmen? 1961 änderte sich zudem mit dem Regierungswechsel auch wieder die Sprachpolitik, und ich mußte meine Manuskripte bzw. Fahnen soweit möglich überarbeiten.

Verzichten sollte man aber auf grammatische Anmerkungen auf keinen Fall; wenn es Probleme mit dem Verlag wegen des vorgegebenen Umfangs des Wörterbuchs gibt, ist es besser, auf das eine oder andere Stichwort zu verzichten. Wenn in dem großen *Langenscheidts Handwörterbuch Englisch* (Ausgabe Berlin / München 1988, S. 21-22) eine Spalte: „Grammatik auch im Wörterbuch?“ mit der Entschuldigung:

„Etwas Grammatik wollen wir Ihnen zumuten ...“ beginnt, ist das mit Verlaub absurd.

Was nun die Zielgruppen bei zweisprachigen Wörterbüchern für beide Sprachen betrifft, so sind sie in erster Linie wohl Personen, die in der jeweiligen Zielsprache noch weitgehend unwissend sind. Zum Teil scheinen es aber auch Studierende zu sein, die aus Kostengründen zunächst und oft auf längere Zeit zu diesen Wörterbüchern greifen und ansonsten hoffen, daß die Seminarbibliothek ihnen größere Wörterbücher zugänglich machen kann. Nicht nur diejenigen, die keine Sprachwissenschaftler sind und die Mehrheit darstellen dürften, werden mit wenig verständlichen Abkürzungen, mehrseitigen Einleitungen, die vielleicht erst in Mußestunden nach mehrfacher Benutzung des Wörterbuches gelesen werden, und Fachtermini nichts anfangen können, und der Zweck, der ja eine Hilfe für den Benutzer sein soll, wird verfehlt. Deshalb finde ich, daß möglichst viele Hinweise bereits bei den Stichwörtern untergebracht werden sollten, wo man ja zuerst sucht, und neben einem mäßigen Abkürzungsverzeichnis nur eine kurze Einleitung aufgenommen wird.

Es war klar, daß man bei Übereinstimmungen in beiden Sprachen, etwa bei transitiven Verben, und die Kasus sind bei Deutsch / Englisch / Französisch auf der einen und Türkisch auf der anderen Seite gottseidank vergleichbar, für beide Sprachen gültige grammatische Anmerkungen nur einmal bringt, doch es stellte sich die praktische Frage, ob man z.B. einfach A (für Akkusativ) oder das „wissenschaftlichere“ v/t (transitives Verb) schreiben sollte, was auch eine leichtere Kennzeichnung der intransitiven Verben (v/i) ermöglichte. Beides völlig fortzulassen könnte ich mich noch immer nicht entschließen, auch wenn es wohl bei den kleineren Wörterbüchern (z.B. das *PONS-Standardwörterbuch türkisch-deutsch, deutsch-türkisch* des Ernst Klett Verlages, Stuttgart 1989) üblich ist.

Man glaube aber nicht, daß z.B. Sprachstudenten, die bei Klausuren Wörterbücher einsetzen durften, die dort enthaltenen Abkürzungen und anderen Hilfen wirklich immer ausschöpfen; hier habe ich bei meiner Lehrtätigkeit oft die sonderbarsten Erfahrungen gemacht.

Die Form der Wiedergabe grammatischer Hinweise in meinen Wörterbüchern zeigte in den beiden ersten Bearbeitungen des *Universal-Wörterbuchs Türkisch* (1961, 1976) noch manche Schwäche des Experimentierens; ich hoffte, sie in der dritten Ausgabe, die für 1990/1991 vorgesehen war, zu überwinden, doch zu dieser Neubearbeitung ist es auf Druck der Redaktion des Verlages Langenscheidt in München nicht mehr gekommen. Auf den Korrekturfahnen war ein großer Teil meiner grammatischen Anmerkungen von der Redaktion gestrichen worden; daraufhin zog ich meinen Namen als Verfasser zurück, und das Wörterbuch erscheint seitdem in den Anmerkungen bei den Stichwörtern verkürzt unter der Autorenschaft der Langenscheidtredaktion. Im Langenscheidt-Katalog 1994 (München 1994) hieß es dann aber zu *Langenscheidts Eurowörterbuch Englisch*, es sei durch Erläuterungen in beiden Sprachrichtungen für den deutschsprachigen und für den englischsprachigen Benutzer gleichermaßen geeignet und enthalte Erläuterungen zur Grammatik und Bedeutungserklärungen in beiden Teilen

Vor vielen Jahren sagte mir einmal eine Kollegin, die wie ich lange Zeit im Deutschunterricht für Ausländer tätig gewesen war, sie bewerte die Güte eines deutsch-fremdsprachigen Wörterbuches danach, wie es *verdanken* und *verdenken* übersetzt. Gewiß ein brauchbares Kriterium. Ähnliches dürfte im Englischen für die Verben *to adapt* und *to adopt* gelten. Bei arabischen Studierenden habe ich es mehrfach erlebt, daß sie die beiden Verben verwechselten, wohl beeinflusst durch den schwankenden Lautwert der Vokale im Hocharabischen und in den diversen Dialekten.

Daß die Erstellung von allgemeinsprachigen Wörterbüchern kleineren Umfangs von Fachkollegen meist nicht als wissenschaftliche Aufgabe angesehen wird, wurde bereits erwähnt. Kritiker sehen 999 richtige und treffende Übersetzungen nicht, verbreiten sich u.U. aber genüßlich über die tausendste, die vielleicht wirklich fehlerhaft ist oder nicht aufgenommen wurde.

Semantic and structural properties of Turkish ideophones

Gerd Jendraschek

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Turkish has a large number of ideophones. These are generally sound-symbolic forms, which means that there is to a certain extent a correspondence between phonological and semantic features. Depending on the degree of iconicity, these correspondences can be more or less obvious. However, like all linguistic signs, ideophones are also based on convention. Another characteristic property of Turkish ideophones is their modifying function. Adverbial use is most frequent and can be considered prototypical. When used as adverbs, ideophones amplify a verb's meaning, but may contain further semantic information as well. The most frequent construction for adverbial ideophones is that of reduplicated secondary forms for continuous, repeated impressions, whereas sudden, single impressions are expressed by using quotative constructions or derived forms. Other semantic nuances may be conveyed by vowel and consonant alternation. The pragmatic function of ideophones is to convey subjective impressions, to evoke whole ideas, i.e. foster imagination, and make discourse more expressive or dramatic.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Research on Turkish ideophones

Although Turkish has a great number of ideophones and makes frequent use of them, they seem to have been neglected in Western Turkish grammars and manuals as well as in recent linguistic research. The literature on Turkish ideophones is anything but abundant: two articles in German are Dmitrijev (1927) and Marchand (1953). Householder's contribution (1962) deals with sound-symbolic forms in Azerbaijani. As for works by Turkish linguists, Zülfikar published a book in 1995 that deals with sound-symbolic forms in Turkish and contains extensive appendices. It is the most important work so far available treating Turkish ideophones. Demircan's contributions (1996a, 1996b, 1997) deal with the relationships between phonology and semantics of sound-symbolic forms in Turkish. Other authors have briefly mentioned ideophonic sound-symbolic forms, for example when dealing with the origin of language or reduplication, e.g. Hatiboğlu (1981).

It is important to remark that these authors do not make use of the term “ideophone”, but treat the issue under the labels “onomatopes” or “sound-symbolism”. However, ideophones, in Turkish as well as universally, have special functions and additional properties that are not inferable from their sound-symbolic origin. In order to justify this terminological preference, § 1.2. will provide some theoretical background to the study of ideophones.

1.2. Theoretical prerequisites

1.2.1. Sound symbolism

Ideophones are generally based on sound symbolism, i.e. a direct, non-arbitrary link between sound and meaning. Sound symbolism constitutes an exception from the general principle of arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, where the transition from total motivation to total arbitrariness can be located on a continuum. The most motivated form of sound symbolism is found in corporal sound symbolism used for the expression of physical or emotional states. This form of sound symbolism is only limited by the articulatory mechanism of human speech and exceeds the phonologically allowed sounds of individual languages (Hinton & Nichols & Ohala 1994: 2-12). This property explains the phonological violations and the stylistic markedness of ideophones. Imitative sound symbolism includes onomatopes which have acoustic denotata on the one hand and movement imitatives with non-acoustic denotata on the other. Onomatopoeia is very present in “baby talk” used by adults when addressing children and is then imitated by the children. It should be noted that onomatopoeia is not a pure imitation of natural sounds but also depends on individual associations and phonotactic constraints (Wisseman 1954: 84, 133, 236). Movement imitatives represent rhythmic movements that can be associated with sounds. This phenomenon is linked to synesthesia. With increasing arbitrariness, we find conventional sound symbolism whereby particular phonemes may be associated with a semantic feature of the words where they appear.

All forms of sound symbolism share certain features such as frequent reduplication, use of unusual segments, violations of phonotactic constraints and association of phoneme classes with semantic domains. The sound-symbolic origin explains the presence of these features in ideophones.

1.2.2. Ideophony

The term “ideophone” was first used by Doke (1935) in a description of Bantu languages to designate “a vivid representation of an idea in sound” which is often onomatopoeic and “describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, smell, action, state, or intensity”. He defines it as “a special part of speech, resembling to a certain extent in function an adverb” (Doke 1935: 118). The most controversial point remains whether ideophones do constitute a special part of speech. I will show for Turkish that they do not.

Sound symbolism is an important property of ideophones. It is basically a semi-otic principle that reduces symbolicity in a linguistic sign and increases its iconicity. Between the two there is a continuum which implies that ideophones can diachronically lose their iconic properties by conventionalization and cannot be separated from the rest of the lexicon. Being iconic therefore does not imply the absence of convention as “convention is necessary to the understanding of any sign, however iconic or indexical it is” (Fiske in Chandler 1999: ch. 2).

One of the reasons for the phonological peculiarities of ideophones is thus their sound-symbolic nature. Another reason is the objective to make the imitation more precise than phonotactic rules would allow. Fidelity to the acoustic stimulus may thus oblige the language user to violate language-specific rules. Moreover, phonological violation displays an expressive function as it shows the addressee that the sign he receives is not an ordinary, purely conventional one. Ideophones therefore “show a correlation between semantic expressiveness and formal markedness”, where “expressive semantics is matched with ‘marked’ phonotactic and morphological properties” (Klamer 1999: 4).

It would be confusing to use the term “onomatope” when dealing with ideophones, because onomatopes are limited to audition impressions, whereas ideophones can also express visual impressions and emotional attitudes. The most important difference is however the fact that ideophones are not only defined phonologically, but do also allow of morphological (reduplication, special derivational morphemes) and syntagmatic criteria (particular constructions, selection constraints). Onomatopoeia and other manifestations of sound symbolism exist in every language, whereas the number and use of ideophones largely differ among languages, going from some dozens with very restricted, stylistically marginalized use (most European languages) to several hundred (Turkish, Korean, Japanese, African languages, etc.) where they can serve to express fine semantic nuances.

2. Structural properties of Turkish ideophones and their functional correlations

2.1. Morphology

2.1.1. Primary and secondary forms

Turkish ideophones have a monosyllabic root that imitates—in the case of onomatopoeic ideophones—the natural noise as faithfully as possible. An obvious example is *çing*, which imitates the sound of metal objects clinking. Other roots express fine nuances displayed by variation in form: *çat*, *çit*, *çit*; *tak*, *tık*, *tık*, *tok*, etc. (Zülfikar 1995: 6). This variation may also be conditioned by individual differences in the perception of the sound. Variation of the signified thus induces variation of the signifier. These monosyllabic roots are called *primary form* (Turkish “birincil biçimler”). Primary forms usually have the structure CVC. Those beginning with a vowel are rare (Marchand 1953: 61).

Most ideophones in Turkish are formed by adding the suffixes *-ır* (*-ir*, *-ur*, *-ür*) and *-il* (*-il*, *-ul*, *-ül*) to the primary forms. These suffixes can be resumed as being a combination of a closed vowel and a liquid. They express continuity or duration of the situation that gives rise to the use of the ideophone. Primary forms ending in a nasal or lateral consonant are usually followed by an epenthetic vowel, as illustrated by the comparison of synonymous primary and secondary forms:

- (1) *Dan dan konuş-uyor.*
 rude rude speak-PROG(3.SG)
 'He/she speaks impolitely.' (TDK 1988 s.v. *dan dan*)

- (2) *Dangıl dungıl konuş-mak*
 rude rude speak-INF
 'speak impolitely' (TDK 1988 s.v. *dangıl dungıl*)

The two suffixes *-ır* and *-il* are allomorphs in arbitrary distribution. In some cases where both endings are attested on the same primary form as in *fısııl / fısıır* 'whispering; crackling, burning' and *vızııl / vızıır* 'humming; rapidly', informants either have preferences ("fısıır and vızıır sound better / more correct") or accept both forms equally. The *Türkçe sözlük* (TDK 1988) also displays examples that show that the choice of the final liquid does not lead to oppositions. This choice is rather arbitrary and may change in derivation. Thus, the adverbial form *cumbul* gives rise to the noun *cumburtu* 'noise when shaking liquids', whereas for the verbal derivation both *cumbuldamak* and *cumburdamak* are attested in TDK 1988.

The suffix *-ır / -il* is called a *continuity suffix*. Ideophones with the continuity suffix must appear reduplicated in adverbial use (Hatiboğlu 1981: 15). Roots with this suffix are called *secondary forms* (Turkish "ikincil biçimler"). Different parts of speech can then be derived from these.

Another suffix used in the formation of secondary forms is *-ış* and its allomorphs conditioned by vowel harmony. Finally, there are reduplications where only a vowel is added to the primary form, as in *bıcı bıcı yapmak* 'to wash oneself' or *vidı vidı etmek* 'to say stupid things'. Even more marginal are endings such as *-(ı)n* (*mırın kırın* 'protesting') or *-(ı)k* (*cıvık cıvık* 'watery', metaphorically 'making boring jokes'). Most ideophones are however derived by adding *-ır / -il*.

2.1.2. Reduplication

Reduplication is an iconic operation generally used for reinforcement. In many languages it expresses concepts like plurality, repetition, habitual occupations, size or duration. Reduplication is quite frequent in Turkish and is not restricted to ideophones (cf. Hatiboğlu 1981: 9). With these, reduplication expresses repetition. For events without repetition, primary forms followed by the quotative particle *diye* must be used, as exemplified by (3).

- (3) *Askerî bir cip ... apartman-ın kapı-sı*
 military one jeep building-GEN door-POSS.3
ön-ü-nde zınk diye dur-du.
 front-POSS.3-LOC stop QUOT stand-PAST(3.SG)
 'A military jeep stopped abruptly in front of the
 building.' (Demircan 1996b: 184)

Alternation means that the two parts of a reduplication are not identical. Vowels and consonants may be exchanged in order to come closer to the original sound. Alternation can also occur with primary forms, as in *cang, cing, cing, cong, cunk*, used for imitating clinking metal or glass objects, where the different phonemes correspond to acoustic nuances, either objectively when noises are different, or subjectively when identical sounds are perceived differently. With reduplicated forms, alternation is used when successive sounds differ, as in an echo (4). These sounds are perceived as being less monotonous than those where ideophones do not display alternation (5).

- (4) *Köpek yemeğ-i-ni şapır şupur*
 dog food-POSS.3-ACC noisily noisily
ye-di bit-ir-di.
 eat-PAST(3.SG) end-CAUS-PAST(3.SG)
 'The dog noisily ate his food.' (TDK 1988 s.v. *şapır şupur*)
- (5) *Yağmur şakır şakır yağıyor.*
 rain pouring pouring rain-PROG(3.SG)
 'It's pouring.'

In alternation of Turkish ideophones, the vowel sequence *a-u* is the most frequent one (Marchand 1953: 53). For front vowels, the sequence is *e-ü*. Some reduplicated ideophones also display consonant alternations. A frequent pattern is *p-k* (6).

- (6) *Çocuk paldır küldür merdiven-den düş-tü.*
 child rumble rumble stairs-ABL fall-PAST(3.SG)
 'The child noisily fell down the stairs.' (TDK s.v. *paldır küldür*)

2.2. Phonological structure

The canonical segmental structure of the primary form is C1VC2 or C1VC2C3. In the latter case, C2 is a sonant and C3 an occlusive. VC is possible but less frequent. After a labial consonant (*b, p, m, v*), the vowel of the second syllable (which is formed by adding the continuity suffix) is often rounded. When adding further suffixes, syncope can occur, as in *hıkrılmak* from *hık-ır*. Moreover, the final consonant of the primary form can be geminated in order to prevent the distribution of the primary form over two syllables when a vowel-initial suffix is added (Zülfikar 1995: 84).

Particularly remarkable are differences in the distribution of consonants. Whereas the phonemes *c, f, h, m, p, r, s, z* usually do not occur as the initial consonant of common words of Turkish origin, these restrictions do not concern sound-symbolic forms. In the primary CVC forms one consonant establishes an association with the imitated sound, whereas the other consonant only has a back-up role. Combinations of unvoiced and voiced consonants are avoided, since unvoiced consonants are associated with stronger impressions.

Vowel alternation often correlates with the intensity of the imitated sound. The vowels *i* and *ı* are associated with low intensity, *a* and *o* with high intensity and louder noises. Thus, *şırıl şırıl* is used for expressing that water flows in small quantity and rather monotonously, whereas *şarıl şarıl* indicates loud noise produced by large quantities of water. A similar case is *fışır* vs. *faşır*. Elicited examples for the opposition of closed vs. open vowels are (7) vs. (8) and (9) vs. (10).

- (7) *Adam tin tin uzak-laş-tı.*
man softly softly far-PROC-PAST(3.SG)
'The man tiptoed away.'
- (8) *Adam tan tan uzak-laş-tı.*
man noisily noisily far-PROC-PAST(3.SG)
'The man withdrew with great noise.'
- (9) *Patlak hortum-dan su fışş diye fışkır-dı.*
burst pipe-ABL water spurt QUOT spurt-PAST(3.SG)
'Water was spurting from the broken pipe.'
- (10) *Sifon-u çek-ince su foşş diye ak-tı.*
water.flush-ACC draw-PART water rush QUOT flow-PAST(3.SG)
'Giving the toilet a flush, the water rushed down.'

However, the above-mentioned semantic opposition does not apply everywhere. A counter-example would be *parıl parıl* vs. *pırıl pırıl*. Both mean 'glittering', but differ in their metaphorical meanings. The latter form can thus mean 'clean', 'new' or 'brilliant' (TDK 1988 s.v. *pırıl pırıl*).

Consonants are often associated with particular sounds and situations. As an example, note that *ş* (which we have seen in some of the examples above) is associated with the flowing or pouring of water, provided that it is the associative consonant. In the primary form *şap*, which is used for kissing, it is only the back-up consonant and does not therefore convey this meaning.

2.3. Parts of speech and derivation

Secondary forms can be nominalized by adding *-dı / -tı* and their allomorphs. The use of this suffix seems to be restricted to ideophones. These nouns therefore have abstract meanings. Their use is exemplified by the opposition of (11) vs. (12).

- (11) *Su-yun fokur fokur*
 water-GEN bubble bubble

kayna-dıĝ-ı-ni duy-uyor mu-sun?
 boil-OBLPART-POSS.3-ACC hear-PROG INT-2.SG
 'Do you hear the water bubbling?'
- (12) *Su-yun fokur-tu-su-nu duy-uyor mu-sun?*
 water-GEN bubble-NR-POSS.3-ACC hear-PROG INT-2.SG
 'Do you hear the bubbling of the water?'

Verbalization occurs by adding *-da* to secondary forms or *-kır* to primary forms. These suffixes have allomorphs in accordance with vowel and consonant harmony as well. The use of these suffixes is restricted to ideophones. This restriction thus constitutes a structural criterion for the definition of ideophones. However, some primary forms can also give rise to derived verbs by the addition of the very productive suffix *-le / -la*. When there is an alternative choice between derived primary and derived secondary form, the difference is one of intensity. Thus, sounds or impressions are weaker in the a.-versions of (13) and (14).

- (13) a. *Elif horl-uyor.*
 Elif snore-PROG(3.SG)
 'Elif snores.'
- b. *Elif horuld-uyor.*
 Elif snore-PROG(3.SG)
 'Elif snores.'
- (14) a. *Dere gürl-üyor.*
 brook rush-PROG(3.SG)
 'The water of the brook is rushing.'
- b. *Dere gürlüld-üyor*
 brook rush-PROG(3.SG)
 'The water of the brook is rushing.'

Ideophones can be used as adjectives. Some of these can be equally used adverbially (e.g. *pırıl pırıl* 'brilliant'), others only allow adjectival use (e.g. *pıyım pıyım* 'worn out'). Attributive (15) and predicative uses (16) are equally attested.

- (15) *Sen pırıl pırıl bir öğrenci-sin.*
 you brilliant brilliant one pupil-2.SG
 'You are a brilliant pupil.'

- (16) *Bu öğrenci pırıl pırıl.*
 D1 pupil brilliant brilliant
 'This pupil is brilliant.'

Adjectival ideophones, like ideophones in general, display distributional restrictions due to their pragmatic function, which is to convey that the speaker is being impressed. This is why they are not used in negation or comparisons.

Adverbial use is most frequent and can be considered prototypical. Adjectival and adverbial use can be subsumed under modification. The most frequent construction for adverbial ideophones is that of reduplicated secondary forms. Another construction consists of the primary form combined with the quotative particle *diye*, which is derived from the verb *demek* 'to say' (17a.). Instead of being used with the quotative particle, primary forms may appear reduplicated, too (17b.).

- (17) a. *Kuş pır(r) diye uç-tu.*
 bird flutter QUOT fly-PAST(3.SG)
 b. *Kuş pır pır uç-tu.*
 bird flutter flutter fly-PAST(3.SG)
 'The bird fluttered away.'

Different constructions are not semantically equivalent. In addition to the constructions seen so far, the suffixes *-adak* / *-adan* express sudden and unexpected events. This semantic feature can supersede the original meaning of the primary form.

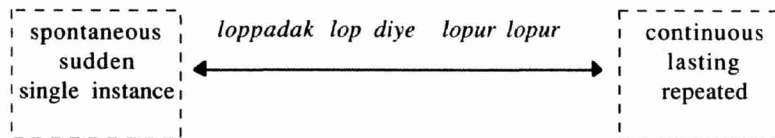
- (18) *Koca dolma-yı loppadak*
 enormous dolma-ACC gobble:SPONT
ağz-ı-na at-tı.
 mouth-POSS.3-ALL throw-PAST(3.SG)
 'He greedily gobbled down the enormous dolma.'

In (18), the construction of the reduplicated secondary form *lopur lopur* cannot be used, since it would require that eating takes place in a more continuous manner where eating the food consists of taking a certain amount of it several times, with each instance lasting a certain time. The verb *atmak* 'to throw' excludes such an interpretation. The semantic properties of the different constructions can be summarized as follows:

- Reduplicated secondary forms (*lopur lopur*) express continuous, repeated impressions.
- Reduplicated primary forms (*lop lop*) express compact, short, but repeated impressions.
- Primary forms express single impressions. They must be combined with the quotative particle (*lop diye*).

- Forms in *-adak* (*loppadak*) lay emphasis on the fact that an event takes place suddenly, spontaneously and rapidly.

The different constructions can be located on a continuum as shown in S1:



2.4. Syntactic properties

Ideophones are integrated into the clause by means of different operations. Often there are close syntagmatic relations between adverbial ideophones and the verbs they modify. For instance, reduplicated primary and secondary forms often co-occur with the auxiliary *etmek*. Its only function is to form a transitive verb. The semantic content of the verbal phrase is thus exclusively conveyed by the ideophone (19).

- (19) *Merdiven basamak-lar-ı gıcır gıcır ed-iyor-du.*
 stairs step-PL-POSS.3 creak creak AUX.TR-PROG-PAST(3.SG)
 ‘The stairs were creaking.’ (TDK 1988 s.v. *gıcır gıcır*)

Other ideophones are only used in combination with particular verbs. Such a collocation is exemplified by (20).

- (20) ... *böyle bangır bangır bağır-an kim?*
 like.this shout shout shout-SBJPART who
 ‘... who’s shouting there like this?’

Some ideophones specifying the event expressed by the main verb (21a.) may also be combined with the auxiliary *etmek*. The semantic restrictions of the modifying slot thereby become semantic features of the ideophone. The main verb can thus be dispensed with (21b.).

- (21) a. *Su fokur fokur kayn-ıyor.*
 water bubble bubble boil-PROG(3.SG)
 b. *Su fokur fokur ed-iyor.*
 water bubble bubble AUX.TR-PROG(3.SG)
 ‘The water is bubbling.’

Co-occurrence of reduplicated primary or secondary forms with verbs derived from them is also possible (22). This construction is called “*üçleme*” by Hatiboğlu (1981: 23), which could be translated as ‘triplication’.

- (22) *Göz-ler-i tıpkı bir güneş gibi*
 eye-PL-POSS.3 exactly one sun like

pırıl pırıl pırıld-ıyor.
 brilliant brilliant shine-PROG(3.SG)
 'His eyes were shining exactly like a sun.'

3. The role of ideophones in language

3.1. Amplification vs. distinction

Ideophones may be characterized as amplifying the main verb's meaning. This case is most evident in triplications and many other collocations where the ideophone only reinforces the main verb without conveying a particular semantic content on its own. Other ideophones allow of different interpretations depending on the context (23)-(25).

- (23) *Konak çatır çatır yan-dı.*
 palace crack crack burn-PAST(3.SG)
 'The palace was ablaze.' (TDK 1988 s.v. *çatır çatır*)
- (24) *Al-acağ-ım-ı çatır çatır al-ır-ım.*
 take-PART.FUT-POSS.1.SG-ACC crack crack take-DISP-1.SG
 'What I want to take, I take it by force.' (TDK 1988 s.v. *çatır çatır*)
- (25) *İngilizce-yi çatır çatır konuş-uyor.*
 English-ACC crack crack speak-PROG(3.SG)
 'He speaks English fluently.' (TDK 1988 s.v. *çatır çatır*)

On the other hand, we can find ideophones having a specific meaning and being in paradigmatic opposition to other ideophones, as is the case with (26) vs. (27). In addition to their amplifying function, these ideophones thus have a distinctive function as well.

- (26) *Dere gürül gürül ak-ıyor.*
 brook rush rush flow-PROG(3.SG)
 'The water of the brook is rushing.'
- (27) *Dere şırıl şırıl ak-ıyor.*
 brook murmur murmur flow-PROG(3.SG)
 'The brook is murmuring.'

3.2. Semantic domains

Ideophones tend to concentrate in certain semantic domains. They concern sounds produced by movements in nature or by animals, human noises, appearance and other

impressions appealing to the senses. The following table gives a survey of the semantic domains of those ideophones attested in TDK 1988.

Semantic domains of Turkish ideophones and their frequency

Semantic domains	Percentage of all ideophones of the sample (n = 187)
activity of respiratory organs (articulation, communication, breathing, sobbing, snoring, laughing, etc.)	21%
physical nature and corresponding sounds	19%
movement	13%
appearance, form	12%
moral or emotional judgments, emotional state, physical sensation	11%
water sounds	10%
burning (fire, frying, roasting)	5%
eating, chewing, biting, drinking	3%
manner	3%
temporal expressions	3%

3.3. Semantic change, secondary sound symbolism and pragmatic functions

Sound-symbolic forms can move away from the iconic pole by means of conventionalization and thereby receive a very specific meaning. An example of this process might be *mirin kırın etmek*, the exact meaning of which is 'advance several reasons in order to avoid granting somebody's request'. The degree of conventionalization differs among ideophones. When the meaning is very specific, we do not simply have an imitation, as in the case of highly iconic forms. The principle of obtaining words by sound symbolism is rather used in a creative way to provide a specific concept with a signifier. Thus, sound symbolism does not only consist of the application of an iconic principle, but may also imply word formation in analogy to real (primary) sound-symbolic forms. The difference consists in the degree and the immediacy of motivatedness. Primary sound-symbolic forms are based on universal correspondences between phonological and semantic properties. Secondary sound-symbolic forms are restricted to one language system and are consequently more conventional and closer to the symbolic pole. However, they have been formally adapted to the primary forms and cannot be distinguished from them at first sight. A good example is *pırl pırl*, which imitates exactly the structure of other ideophones although it is based on the loanword *pırlanta* 'diamond'. Only after a phonosemantic reanalysis was it integrated into the sound-symbolic lexicon and has behaved from there on like the rest of this lexicon, deriving verbs and nouns (*pırl-damak* and *pırl-tı*) and participating in vowel alternation (*pırl* vs. *parıl*), even if not with the same semantic effect (see section 2.2.).

Another kind of semantic change is metaphorization. Impressions caused by movements in nature can be transferred to emotional states. Marchand (1953: 51) mentions the primary form *coş*, which originally refers to the foaming water of a stormy sea or of a rushing river but has been metaphorically associated with great joy.

The pragmatic function of ideophones is to convey subjective impressions, to evoke whole ideas, i.e. foster imagination, and make discourse more expressive or dramatic. It is a more direct, image-like representation of an event and is therefore very popular in story-telling.

4. Typological status of ideophones

4.1. Ideophonic structures in other languages

Ideophones in several other Asian languages, e.g. Japanese, Korean or Tamil, behave in a similar way to Turkish ideophones. The most striking similarity is their modifier status. The situation is less homogeneous in African languages. Ideophones are for example feminine nouns in Somali (Salaad Dhoorre & Tosco 1998: 129), whereas in Southern Sotho, they are closest to verbs (Kunene 1978: 32).

As for phonology, it can be observed that some East Asian languages have different correlations between vowels and semantic content. It has been shown that in Turkish, ideophones with open vowels denote loud noises or large size, whereas closed vowels refer to fainter impressions. In Bahnar, which belongs to the Mon-Khmer family and is spoken in Vietnam (Diffloth 1994: 112), as well as in Korean (Lee 1992: 103), things are exactly the opposite. As Diffloth (1994: 113) and Lee (1992: 227) point out, different iconic correspondences might be responsible. Thus, in Turkish, denotata size correlates with oral cavity, whereas in East Asian languages it correlates with pharyngeal cavity or tongue volume.

Associations between consonants and semantics seem to be more universal. Occlusives usually correspond to sharp sounds, fricatives to continuous noises, etc. Iconic lengthening of final fricatives or vibrants corresponds to sounds lasting for a certain time. Examples of iconic lengthening in Turkish are *fışş* or *foşş* (seen in (9) and (10)). Childs (1994: 193) notes similar examples in African languages.

Further interesting similarities can be observed for the syntagmatic behaviour of ideophones in different languages. It has been shown above that some ideophones in Turkish can be combined with verbs derived from them, which gives rise to so-called triplications (22). Similar constructions exist in other languages. Here is an example from Korean:

- (28) *Ku ai-nun hulccøkhulccøk hulccøk-køli-n-ta.*
 D3 child-TOP sob.sob sob-VR-INCMPL-DECL
 'The child is sobbing terribly.' (Shin, p.c.)

Other ideophones combine with auxiliaries, like *etmek* in (19). For Korean, the auxiliary is *hanta*.

- (29) *Suni-ka pithəlpithəl ha-n-ta.*
 Suni-NOM totter.totter do-INCMPPL-DECL
 'Suni is tottering.' (Shin 1999: 7)

Another group of ideophones is combined with main verbs. The ideophone has no specific meaning of its own and only amplifies the meaning of the main verb. Let us first examine a Turkish example:

- (30) *Köpek korku-dan tiril tiril titr-iyor.*
 dog fear-ABL shake shake shake-PROG(3.SG)
 'The dog is shaking with fear.'

The same construction can be found in Korean:

- (31) *ku yoca-nun putulputul ttöl-öss-ta.*
 D3 woman-TOP shake.shake shake-CMPL-DECL
 'The woman was shaking terribly.' (Shin, p.c.)

A last group of ideophones bears distinctive information and specifies the main verb. Turkish examples are (26) vs. (27). As we might expect, we find analogous constructions with Korean ideophones:

- (32) *kuk-mul-i phөлphөл kkəlh-nən-ta*
 soup-water-NOM bubble.bubble boil-INCMPPL-DECL
 'The soup bubbles (= boils to such a degree that it bubbles).' (Shin, p.c.)

In the light of the examples above, it is possible to say that the various ideophonic constructions existing in genetically and geographically unrelated languages are characteristic of ideophones. However, some ideophones can appear in several of these constructions.

4.2. Languages with high vs. low ideophonicity

Some languages, such as German or English, prefer sound-symbolic verbs to modifiers. However, the combination of an ideophone with different verbs permits the expression of nuances that are lost when the sound-symbolic form is verbalized, as in the Turkish examples below:

- (33) *Elif hüngür hüngür ağl-ıyor-du.*
 Elif weep weep cry-PROG-PAST(3.SG)
 'Elif was crying her eyes out.'
- (34) *Elif hüngür hüngür inl-iyor-du.*
 Elif weep weep wail-PROG-PAST(3.SG)
 'Elif was wailing miserably.'

- (35) *Elif hüngür hüngür yaş dök-üyor-du.*
 Elif weep weep tear shed-PROG-PAST(3.SG)
 'Elif was bitterly shedding tears.'

- (36) *Elif hüngür-d-üyor-du.*
 Elif weep-VR-PROG-PAST(3.SG)
 'Elif was weeping.'

The function of an ideophone is to amplify the meaning of the main verb. It can better fulfil this function when it appears in addition to the verb instead of replacing it. Furthermore, ideophones may permit the expression of aspectual nuances that would be lost in verbalization. An example was the opposition of the forms *lop-padak / lop diye / lop lop / lopur lopur* seen in section 2.3.

Estimating the number of Turkish ideophones is a difficult endeavour. Indeed, many ideophones have dialectal or less frequent alternative forms. As for reduplicated secondary forms, Zülfişar (1995) mentions more than seven hundred, whereas the *Türkçe sözlük* (TDK 1988) only contains about 130 of these. As an example, let us consider *apul apul* 'waddling', the only form with this meaning attested in TDK 1988, of which Zülfişar (1995) also mentions the variants *abal abal*, *abil abil*, *abil dubul*, *abul abul*, *apıl apıl*, *apır zıpır* and *apul apul*. Whatever the absolute number of Turkish ideophones may be, it is by far superior to the number of comparable items in Germanic or Romance languages. Turkish and other languages, like Korean, are of high ideophonicity, permitting alternative constructions, vowel and consonant alternation and the choice of adverbial vs. verbal sound-symbolic forms. Germanic and Romance languages are of low ideophonicity, as alternation possibilities are limited and sound-symbolic forms are almost exclusively available as verbs, which leads to loss of information (see above).

5. Conclusion

The study of Turkish ideophones enables us to confirm the existence of particular ideophonic features that have been discovered in other languages where ideophones have been studied so far. The most characteristic feature is their origin in sound symbolism. As sound-symbolic motivatedness can fade away with diachronic change, ideophones can best be defined in terms of prototypes. The correlations between phonological and semantic features may thus be more or less evident. Being sound-symbolic, they show phonological peculiarities, as e.g. violation of the usual phonotactic constraints of the language. Provided that an ideophone expresses a continuous impression, it appears reduplicated. Ideophones show a close affinity with the modifier role. Their pragmatic function is to facilitate the visualization of a reported situation, to call the listener's attention or to express an emotional, subjective attitude. Ideophones concern only a few semantic domains, mainly those that have to do with perception.

Abbreviations of grammatical category labels

1	first person	INF	infinitive
2	second person	LOC	locative
3	third person	NR	nominalization morpheme
ABL	ablative	OBLPART	participle for oblique constituents
ACC	accusative	PART	participle
ALL	allative	PAST	past tense
AUX	auxiliary	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	POSS	possessive
CMPL	completive	PROC	processive
CONT	continuity marker	PROG	progressive
D	deictic	QUOT	quotative particle
DECL	declarative	SBJPART	participle for subject constituents
DISP	dispositive	SG	singular
FUT	future	SPONT	spontaneity marker
GEN	genitive	TR	transitive
INCMPL	incompletive	VR	verbalization morpheme

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Present in Kashkay

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The Turkic dialects spoken in the Kashkay (Qaşqā'i) tribal union in the province of Fars in Iran are historical dialects of Southwestern or Oghuz Turkic. Although Turkologists have known of these dialects for a long time, they have not yet been closely investigated. This article surveys the present paradigms used in the Kashkay dialects based upon the previously published Kashkay material, Gunnar Jarring's texts and the author's own notes taken in Shiraz.

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1. Turkic paradigms

Turkic languages are paragons of morphological regularity. Paradigms are typically characterised by one-to-one relations between grammatical concepts. Stems and suffixes can be unequivocally segmented, morphological variation is easily predictable by phonological rules; see, e.g. Plank (1991). This extreme inflectional economy is a synchronic feature which has been continuously re-established by processes resulting in the restructuring of non-conforming paradigms, loss of converging categories or reinforcement of distinctiveness between converging paradigms. The drift to a high degree of inflectional economy is reinforced by the fact that Turkic has been used as a lingua franca in multilingual communities (Johanson 1992).

The few synchronic morphological irregularities involve simple morpho-phonological processes, such as contraction, assimilation, etc., which have taken place diachronically and remain synchronically transparent, the contact assimilation between stem and suffix consonants in *git-ti* 'went' versus *al-dı* 'took', portmanteau morphemes resulting from contraction, and the like. However, there are also some types of irregularities which do not have any straightforward explanations. Their origin must be sought in far-reaching complex processes. The paradigms of intraterminal verb forms are the most notorious examples of a palimpsest produced by diverse layers of intricate historical changes. Even closely related Turkic dialects may differ considerably and in unpredictable ways with regard to the intraterminal paradigms.

Intraterminality is a viewpoint or aspect category conveying the speaker's perspective as directed at the event in its course. The speaker presents the event as 'on-go-

ing' without taking its limits, i.e. its beginning and the point when it is regarded as accomplished, into account. I refer to Johanson (2000) for a detailed account of the terminology applied here. Intraterminality may be combined with different temporal markers. Intraterminal present forms are the nonfocal aorists, such as Turkish *gelir* 'comes, has the habit to come' and the so-called 'new presents' that emerged as high-focal intraterminal categories, as, for instance, Turkish *geliyor* 'is coming / comes'. Intraterminal pasts include the Turkish past aorist *gelirdi* 'would come / used to come' and the high-focal intraterminal past *geliyordu* 'was coming'. A high degree of focality implies more focus on the situation prevailing at the deictic *nunc*. The English progressive, for instance, is high-focal. A well-documented diachronic tendency is for present categories to become gradually defocalised and this, in its turn, triggers the emergence of new high-focal presents. The history of Turkic intraterminal categories manifests itself as a chain of such developments.

The discussion here will mostly be confined to the present tense use of the intraterminals. Therefore, the term 'present' will in some contexts be used as referring to intraterminal forms, such as *gelir* and *geliyor*, in general. In some other contexts, it will denote, as is traditional in Turcology, a particular historical category of Turkic languages called 'the new present', such as *geliyor* versus the older intraterminal category, the aorist.

The historical relationship between the markers employed in the different intraterminal paradigms, i.e. between the old aorists and the more recent present forms, in Southwestern (Oghuz) Turkic are difficult to give a simple account for; see Johanson (1975), (1976), and (1989). The irregularity of the aorist paradigm is an old phenomenon observed in the earliest records of Turkic.

2. Intraterminal paradigms in diachronic perspectives

The aorist paradigm in Old Turkic was irregularly formed with phonologically unpredictable suffixes "-yUr, or rarely -r, after vowels, -Ur after causative, passive, reflexive and co-operative-reciprocal stems, -Ir after -(X)t stems, and -Ar after most simple stems and denominal and deverbal stems in -(X)K" (Erdal 1998: 145-146). Allomorphic variation of both high and low vowels in a suffix is unusual in Turkic, as one and the same suffix has either only low or only high vowels. Thus, we normally find either a variation between *a*, *e* (*o*, *ö*) or between the high vowels *i*, *ï*, *u*, *ü*. The morphologically and lexically ruled variation between high and low vowels in the aorist suffix is, thus, exceptional. This can be explained by assuming that it developed from a compound:

"The so-called 'aorist' in -(y)Vr, the first known intraterminal form of Turkic, functions as the only present tense in Old Turkic, as it still does in Yakut. It is probably a combination of the old converb ending in -(y)V and a form of the old copula verb *er-* 'be'. In Old Turkic, the suffix variant -yUr is preserved after stem-final vowels, e.g. *bāšlāyur* 'lead', but it was later on contracted, e.g. *bāšlāyur* > *bāšlār* > *bašlar*. There had probably been a similar development after originally short stem-

final vowels, forms such as **atáyur* and **kelíyur* being contracted to *atar* 'throws', *kelir* 'comes', etc" (Johanson 1998: 116).

The converb suffix of the lexical verb combined with the copula 'be' meaning 'V-ing is' developed into the grammaticalised marker of intraterminality.

The aorist marker underwent further processes of semantic and formal weakening. Its original morphological form has become opaque. From a high-focal intraterminal category it developed into a general intraterminal conveying a vague meaning of general habit, inclination to do something, etc., and its original function was, in many Turkic varieties, taken over by new high-focal present forms. They developed as a result of grammaticalisations of postverb constructions, which originally expressed actionality contents such as durativity (see Johanson 1998: 114-115). The postverb constructions were based on a converb in *-(y)V* or *-Ib* and the aorist of a postverb expressing position or movement, such as 'sit', 'lie', 'stand' and 'move'. These new intraterminality markers rendered a high-focal, i.e. more to the actual present oriented meaning, e.g., the Uzbek high-focal form *kél-e-yâtir* [come-CONVERB lie-AORIST] 'is just coming'. Verbs meaning 'move' were grammaticalized as presents in Oghuz dialects, as, for example, *yaz-a yorir* [write-CONVERB move-AORIST] 'moves writing' > 'is writing' > 'writes'.

As a result of such innovations, most Turkic languages today have competing intraterminal paradigms, the aorist and another so-called 'new present'. The new present developed from a converb suffix and the aorist of the postverb. This morphological form was analogue to the historical material that the aorist suffix itself developed from. The forms of both markers are, consequently, morphologically closely related and contain similar morphemic material. The formal distinction between them could easily become fuzzy, due to assimilation, contraction and other morphophonological processes. The morphophonological changes are enhanced by the fact that the postverb does not, as a rule, bear stress. Since Turkic languages drift towards economic and regular morphology the two paradigms have undergone changes that result in clearer formal distinctions. It is not the task of this article to account for the complex processes involved; the aim of the following discussion is more modest. I would like to indicate here only some aspects of the actual changes in a schematic way in order to outline some tendencies relevant for the treatment of the Kashkay material.

3. Intraterminal paradigms in Oghuz

The historical development of the aorist has been the subject of many investigations (e.g. Adamović (1985), Johanson (1975), (1976) and (1989) and the references given in them, especially to the important work of Gerhard Doerfer). In Old Anatolian, the variants of the aorist suffix were reduced to *-A(r)* attached to monosyllabic stems and *-U(r)* attached to polysyllabic stems and a closed set of monosyllabic stems. This variation is preserved in modern standard Turkish manifesting an archaic feature of this language. The suffix variant containing a high vowel—in standard notation *I*—has four variants in Turkish. Thus, we have seven variants in Standard Turkish:

anla-r 'understands', *sal-ar* 'sets free', *dön-er* 'turns', *konus-ur* 'speaks', *öldür-ür* 'kills', *getir-ir* 'brings' and *anlat-ır* 'explains'. A lexically defined group of monosyllabic verbs take high suffixes, for instance, *al-ır* 'takes', *gel-ir* 'comes', *ol-ur* 'becomes' and *öl-ür* 'dies'.

Azerbaijani, the most important Turkic language in Iran, has two intraterminal paradigms: the old aorist built with *-(y)Ar* and the new present formed with *-(y)Ir*. The aorist has undergone some changes, as its standardised form reveals. Analogous to the present, it is consistently introduced by a *y* after vowel stems. Moreover, the vowel is always low. Thus, the present of the verb *al-* 'take' is *al-ir* and the aorist is *al-ar*. The shift from high vowel to low vowel in the aorist was motivated by the emergence of the so-called neutral vowels.

"It is sometimes thought that the generalization (of the aorist vowel) took place as a result of the rise of a present tense form of the type *bilür*, which thus happened to coincide with the aorist. This view does not seem to be correct. It is certainly true that the aorist unification was necessary to distinguish the aorist from the present tense (with its high suffixal vowels). But the process of differentiation started long before the modern type of present tense arose, so that the actual historical coincidence of an aorist (*bilür*) with a present tense (*bilür*) is highly improbable. The way to the aorist (*biler*) seems to have gone via (*bilär*). At the so-called indifferent stage, the original labial vowel was subject to the attraction of the unequivocally low morphophonemes. In other words: for the restructuring of the Azerbaijani aorist we assume (1) a shift from {U} to central vowels of the {ə} type and (2) a further lowering to {A}" (Johanson 1989:101).

Neutral vowels in the aorist are documented in some Kashkay varieties; see the discussion below. As a result of the standardisation of the two markers, both paradigms have become highly economical with phonologically predictable suffix variants. Similar standardisation of the aorist vowel is observed in languages belonging to other sub-branches of the Turkic language family, as well. The aorist in Standard Uzbek, for instance, is built, with few exceptions, with the suffix *-(A)r*.

The paradigms in non-standard Turkic varieties show greater variation. For instance, some Northern dialects have a present form in *-iy*, such as *geliy* 'comes', which is also found, among others, in some Black Sea dialects of Turkish (Brendemoen, forthcoming) and in Northeastern Bulgaria.

The morphological distinction between the paradigms is made in Standard Turkmen in a different way. The aorist is *-A:r* with fusion of the stem final vowel and the present *-yA:r*. Thus the aorist of the verb *al-* 'take' is *al-a:r* and its present is *al-ya:r*. Here, it is not the vowel quality but the syllabic structure of the suffix that has a distinctive function.

The systems of intraterminals in different Southwestern dialects spoken in the Kashkay confederacy show variation that has not yet been described. In the following, I will discuss what types of variation are present in the scanty material that is accessible for survey at present and outline a specific case of two dialects spoken in

the Abivardi district in Shiraz. Keeping in mind the unpredictability of the development of the intraterminal paradigms, it is not possible to assign some sporadic forms unequivocally to one of the two paradigms without knowing whether the given dialect has two intraterminal paradigms or not and if it has, what morphological marking is applied in distinguishing between the two.

4. The Kashkay tribal union

The Kashkay tribal union is ethnolinguistically heterogeneous. It is predominantly Turkic-speaking. The speakers call their language *turki*. The tribal confederacy also contains groups speaking dialects of the Iranian languages Luri and Kurdish. Most of the Kashkay are bilingual and speak Persian. The Turkic tribes have different historical and linguistic background, so that a description of the Kashkay varieties must, presumably, distinguish between different grammatical systems. It is, therefore, important to keep in mind that the forms occurring in the published Kashkay texts may belong to different grammars. The tribal affiliation of the speakers is not always a sufficient clue in order to define a variety. Speakers belonging to the same tribe may have developed different linguistic habits. Especially those who have settled down in towns and use the language differently from nomads of the same tribe. The term “Kashkay dialects” is used here in a historical / political sense, as, for instance the term Uzbek or Turkish in referring to all the dialects spoken in the respective countries. Consequently, I use the name Kashkay to refer to Southwestern Turkic dialects spoken in the Kashkay confederacy. It is not yet clear what levelling has taken place among them. There are, most probably, some shared isoglosses, for instance, the personal suffixes. On the other hand, differences between the dialects are important signals of tribal identity and, they are maintained in the contact situation.

In the light of what is known about the development of intraterminal categories, I will review the evidence for the Kashkay paradigms based on currently available material.

5. Intraterminals in Kashkay dialects

5.1. Stein's texts surveyed by Kowalski (1937)

Kowalski (1937) described the Aynallu dialect on the basis of Sir Aurel Stein's notes taken during an archeological expedition in the province of Fars. It should be mentioned here that the Aynallu dialect was not spoken within the Kashkay confederacy. The nomads in Fars were organised in two confederations at the time Stein collected his data: the Kashkay confederation and the so-called *iliāte-e-xamse* (Kowalski 1937: 2), which contained, among others, the Aynallu tribe. The Aynallu lived southeast of Shiraz.

The Aynallu dialect, according to Kowalski, formed the aorist, as Old Anatolian Turkic, with *-r*, *-ar*, *-er*, *-ur* or *-ür*, as, for instance, *ile-r* ‘does’, *tut-ar* ‘holds’, *düş-er* ‘falls’, *qāl-ur* ‘remains’, *öl-ür* ‘dies’, *tök-er-em* ‘I pour’, *gel-ir* ‘comes’. In addition to

the analogue form *ol-ar* 'is', the old form *ol-ur* is also used. The negative forms *öldör-mem* 'I will not kill', *bēr-mez* also *vēr-mēz* 'doesn't give' occur in the texts.

The present has the following variants: *qorχ-ir* 'is afraid', *oχi-ir* 'reads' (in Stein's transcription *okhair*), *gēd-ir-ler-imiš* 'they are travelling', *toχ-i-lar* 'they weave'. The distinction between the two intraterminals is signalled by the vowel quality. The present contains *i* whereas the aorist is standardised with low unrounded or high rounded vowels. The negative suffix is *-mir*, as in *ol-mir* 'doesn't become', *tap-mir-ek* 'we don't find', *soy-mi-lar* 'they don't rob'. The vowel *ö* appears in the transcription in the negated present in *tök-möl-ler* 'they don't pour', and in some other suffixes, such as in the optative in *gör-öm* 'I should see', in the negated *ib*-past: *görmöp* 'haven't seen', in the *di*-past *gördöm*.

Another type of present based on *-A* or *-y* is found in Stein's material.

"Neben dem Präsens auf *-ir* scheint auch eine von dem Gerundium auf *a-*, *ä-* abgeleitete, von dem ähnlich gebildeten Subjunktiv verschiedene Präsensform vorzukommen: *alaman* 76 'ich nehme', *almaisān* (< *almaiāsan*) 152, 153 'du nimmst nicht', *salmāisan* 155 'du wirfst nicht zu'. Da die zwei letzteren Formen aus einer Übersetzung aus dem Osttürkischen stammen, sind sie mit Vorbehalt anzunehmen." (Kowalski 1937: 61-62)

Analogous forms built with *-y* or *-a* are also present in Menges' material, see below. Kowalski compared the Aynallu material with the Kashkay texts published by Romaskevič (1925).

5.2. Romaskevič's texts

Romaskevič's texts include 35 songs collected during his visit to Fars in the year 1914. I give the Kashkay words here in a transliteration of the Cyrillic original. The symbol ['] marks stress. The following indicative present tense forms occur in the first song: *g'al-i'r-am* 'I come', *ver-ma'm* 'I don't give', *bāt-mā'z* 'doesn't set', *yāt-mā'z* 'doesn't sleep', *öl-ü'r-am* 'I die'. There is also a form *öldā'm* 'I am dying', which Romaskevič explains as a variant of *öli'ram*.¹ This song may represent a dialect in which there is no other evidence of present forms. However, the fact that Romaskevič at least mentions the form *öli'ram* may give some indirect evidence for assuming that he heard other analogue forms. Also in most of the other songs the intraterminal present forms can be interpreted as belonging to an aorist paradigm, for instance, *ged-mā'z* 'does not go', *ol-u'r* 'becomes' (song 2); *eyla-r-a'ŋ* 'you do', *bāxā'-r* 'looks' (song 7); *čak'al-la'r* (< *ček-er-ler*) 'they draw', *eyla'-r* 'does', *g'al-i'r* 'comes', *čāp-ā'r* 'raids', *vur-u'r* 'attacks', *pozā'-r* 'destroys', *āč-ā'r* 'opens', *čak'a'r* 'draws' (song 8); *day-mā'z* 'does not touch', *bāxā'-r* 'looks' (song 9). *Saslan-i'r* 'calls out' in song 3 may be a present form. Song 12 contains a negated aorist and a ne-

¹ I thank Christiane Bulut for informing me that she has found similar variation in the Sonqor dialect between *-d* and *-ir*, e.g. *danishdum* instead of *danishirem* 'I speak'.

gated present: *üz-ma'n-am* 'I do not take away', *bil-mir-a'm* 'I don't know'. Further forms are *ver-man-a'm* 'I don't give', *ged-a'r-am* 'I go', *n-e'd-ar-am* (*ne éderem*) 'what shall I do'. Some examples of past aorists are *üg'-a'r-di-ŋ* 'you praised', *soy-a'r-di-ŋ* '(translated as) you scolded'. A non-negated present, *sat-i'r-um* 'I sell', occurs only once in song 14 together with some contracted forms, such as *g'atir-r-am* 'I bring', *iti'r-r-am* 'I lose', *yeti'r-r-am* 'I attain' and *ol-ur-dum* 'I was becoming'. Another contracted form, *ver-r-a'm* 'I give' is used in song 24. Such contracted forms can be explained either as presents, e.g. *g'atir-r-am* (< *getir-ir-em*) or as aorists (< *getir-er-em*). In the same text the personal suffix in the present form *sât-i'r-um* is -um. This form of the first person personal suffix is used also in song 28 in *âylâ-r-um* 'I cry'. Song 16 contains a polysyllabic verb in the aorist formed with -ur: *aluš-ur* 'catches fire'.

In addition to the forms such as *bil-ir* 'knows', *qâl-u'r* 'remains', *öl-ür* 'dies', *ve'r-man-am* 'I don't give', song 21 contains a form *čakīyu'r* 'draws', which is interpreted by Kowalski as a present form. The present suffix is -īyu'r. The reason for the length of the *i* may be due to metric requirements. The vowel *u* is more common in the aorists than in the present. In Old Turkic and in modern Turkic dialects, such as Khalaj, -yur is an allomorph of the aorist after vowel stems (Doerfer 1988: 156). In the present, we would expect *čakīyo'r* and not *čakīyu'r*. Note that Doerfer's texts also contain an analogue form -iyur; see below. I quote here the context in which this form is used in song 21.

Doulatli' doulati'n čakīyu'r ranjī'n
Maḡzūnnā'n širi'n sūz nišānā' qālu'r. (Romaskevič 1925: 596)
 'The wealthy (makes use of) his prosperity and endures annoyance.
 His sweet words (i.e. his poetry) remain as a memory from Mahzun.'

Stein's texts contain the Aynallu version of this poem. It is based on the aorist. The corresponding expression is, however, in the optative.

kim apara gonje, kim čākā rānje
gidār dāulätlinen dāulate gānje,
Mahzunnan širīn sōz nišāna qālur.
 '(in der) einer eine Knospe pflückt, ein anderer (nur lauter) Mühe davonträgt.
 Dem Mächtigen geht die Macht und der Schatz verloren.
 Nach (dem Tode des) Mahzūn wird (sein) süßes Wort zum Zeichen
 (Andenken) bleiben.' (Kowalski 1937: 35-36)

Romaskevič's song 21 also includes the aorists *ol-u'r* 'becomes', *čex-a'r* 'takes out', *bul-u'r* 'finds', the form *dil-i'r* 'pierces' built with -ir and *de-ya'r* 'says' with -yar. Some aorists of polysyllabic verbs are formed with -ur. This occurs in song 27: *uyan-u'r* 'wakes up' and *dāyān-u'r* 'leans'.

In summary: The texts contain aorists formed with the suffixes -r after vowel stems, except for *de-yar* 'says' and with -ar, -er, -ur and -ür after consonant stems.

The suffix *-iyur* in *čak-īyur* 'draws' may be a special, non-contracted form of the aorist. The verb forms *geli'r* 'comes', *dil-i'r* 'pierces', *seslen-i'r* 'calls out' may belong to the present paradigm but not necessarily. In Stein's Aynallu texts the form *seslenireŋ* 'you sound' is undoubtedly a present. The only clearly present form is *sat-i'r-um* 'I sell'. The same form of the personal suffix *-um* is used in text 28 in the aorists *āylā'-r-um* 'I cry'. Contracted forms, such as *yetir-r-am* 'I attain' may belong to both the aorist and the present paradigms. The negated aorist in the first person has two variants: *ver-man-a'm* and *verma'm* 'I don't give'.

Most of the later presentations of Kashkay, as, for instance, Doerfer (1970), are based on Kowalski's observations:

"Even less than Azerbaijani have the Turkish languages in Southern Persia, those of the Qashqais and the Aynallus, been explored. As a matter of fact, the older material (Romaskevič, Sir A. Stein), already embodied in Kowalski 1937, has remained nearly the only source of our knowledge of these dialects." (Dorfer 1970a: 219)

5.3. Menges' texts

Menges collected some texts in 1950 in Samīrum-i 'Ulja (Upper Samirum) south of Shiraz. Three of them were published in Dorfer et alii (eds.) (1990); see also Menges (1951). The following indicative present tense forms occur in these texts.

The aorist is formed with *-r* after vowel stems, e. g., *ye-r* 'eats', *dē-r* 'says', with *-ur* or *-ir* in *ol-ur* 'becomes', *qoy-ur* 'puts', *vur-ur* 'shoots', *bulun-ur* 'is', *yat-ir* 'lies', *yaz-ir* 'writes', *sal-ir* 'casts', *gel-ir* 'comes', *getir-il-ler* (< *getir-ir-ler*) 'they bring' and *-Ar* in monosyllabics *gid-er* 'goes', *ēd-er* 'does', *tut-ar* 'holds', *čix-ar* 'comes out'. If these forms really belong to one paradigm, then the aorist is built in this dialect in a similar way to Old Anatolian Turkish. The *ī* in, for instance, *sal-ir* may represent a neutral vowel, see quotation of Johanson (1989) under 3.

The negated forms are interesting. One is the negated aorist formed with *-mas*, e.g. *čix-mas* 'does not go out'. The other is a compound consisting of *-me* + *yēr*, e.g. *git-mi-yer-ek* 'we do not go', *yē-me-yer-ek* 'we do not eat'. These forms may be a reflection of an older uncontracted aorist.

According to Caferoğlu & Dorfer (1959: 306), the form *dē-me-y-ler* 'they do not say' in Menges' text is a present tense form derived from the above mentioned suffix of the present *-A* / *-y*.

5.4. Dorfer's texts

In 1990 Dorfer published some Kashkay poems recorded in Fīrūz-ābād during the first Göttingen-expedition 1968. The poems were read from a manuscript containing specimens of Kashkay literature.

The Kashkay informant commented on the poems in his vernacular. These comments contain the forms *ux-iyur-am* 'I read', *de-r-ek* 'we call' and the non-present forms *de-miš* 'he said' and *de-r-d-ik* 'we have used to call'. The first form is built

with the suffix *-iyu'r* with fusion of the stem final vowel. The form is analogous to the present form *čak-īyu'r* in Romaskevič's texts, which was discussed above. The second one is an aorist formed with *-r*.

The present forms occurring in the literary texts are similar to the Azerbaijanian forms with the suffix *-(y)lr*. The *y* appears after a vowel, e.g. *de-yir* 'he says'. The suffix vowel is front in *sat-ir-am* 'I sell'. A contracted form *gâydir-am* 'I put on' (< *gâydir-ir-am* ?) also occurs.

The aorist forms are built with *-r*, *-Ar* and *-ur*, e.g. *ağla-r* 'cries', *ele-r* 'does', *oyna-r-am* 'I play', *de-r-em* 'I say', *uxu-l-lar* (< *uxu-r-lar*) 'they read', *düş-er* 'falls', *ged-er* 'goes', *ed-er* 'does'. Two polysyllabic stems are formed with *-ir*, e.g. *dulan-ir* 'goes around' and *yan-ir* 'burns' in the same text. The aorist of *ol-* 'become, be' is *ol-ur* and that of *bul-* 'find' *bullam* (< *bul-ur-am*) 'I find'. Doerfer accounts for the form *var-r-am* as a contracted form of (< *vur-ur-am*) 'I shoot'. Two negated forms are *üz-men-em* 'I do not take back' and *ul-maz* 'it will not be'.

5.5. Jarring's texts

Gunnar Jarring collected Kashkay texts during the war in Teheran. Jarring's informant was a well-educated Kashkay of the Amaleh tribe, who spoke several languages. His dialect seems to be very near to Azerbaijanian, employing both the present and the aorist paradigms. The first person personal suffix he uses is *-Am* and not *-Um*, as in some other Kashkay varieties.

The aorist is formed with the suffixes *-r*, *-ar*, *-er*, *-ur*, *-ür*, and *-ir*, for instance, *kišne-r-em* 'I neigh', *ček-er-em* 'I draw', *ise-r-em* 'I want', *bil-l-eḡiz* (< *bil-er-eḡiz*) 'you know', *ol-al-lar* (< *ol-ar-lar*), assimilation *rl* > *ll* 'they will be', *görüreg* 'you see', *as-ir-dī* 'hanged up'. The aorist in the past sometimes exhibit forms in *-ur*, e.g. *vur-ur-di* 'used to shoot', whereas in the present tense it is formed with *-Ar*, e.g. *vur-al-lar* (< *vur-ar-lar*) 'they will hit'. The negated forms are *bil-me-m* 'I don't know', *qo-ma-ḡ* 'you don't allow', *ol-maz* 'it doesn't become', *bulaš-maz-dī* 'it wouldn't have stuck into'.

The present forms are built with *-(y)lr*, e.g. *ed-ir-em* 'I do', *de-yir-eḡ* 'you say', *ged-ir* 'goes', *is-ir-ler* (< *ise-yir-ler*) 'they want'. Negated forms are, e.g., *bil-mir-em* 'I don't know', *getir-mir-eḡiz* 'you don't bring'. Past tense intraterminals based on *-(y)lr* are, e.g. *is-ir-di-m* (< *ise-yir-di-m*) 'I wanted', *čaḡir-il-ler-di* (< *čaḡir-ir-ler-di*), assimilation *rl* > *ll* 'they were calling', *ö:l-ir-di* 'was dying'.

5.6. Soper's presentation

Soper's Kashkay informants, like Jarring's, belonged to the Amaleh tribe. But as Soper remarks, their speech is not necessarily representative of the whole tribe:

"The Qashqay speech represented below was elicited from two educated males [...] Both are from the Amaleh tribe, which is associated with the paramount tribal leadership. Even within such a small community as the Qashqays, noticeable lin-

guistic differences exist [...] and it should not be assumed that the language cited here represents that of the tribe as a whole.” (Soper 1996: 243)

The Kashkay dialect described by Soper (1996) has a present formed with *-iyr* and the aorist in *-är*.

“The suffix *-iyr* is invariant and is actually pronounced [i:r]. When it is preceded by a vowel in the stem, either that vowel or the initial suffix vowel *-i* may drop, except in the case of monosyllabic stems. Suffixes after *-iyr* observe vowel harmony, adhering to the frontness or backness of the last stem vowel unless that vowel is a phonemic *i*.” (Soper 1996: 254)

For instance, *bišir-iyr* ‘cooks’, *ox-iyr* ‘reads’, *oxo-miyr* ‘doesn’t read’, *éd-iyr-em* ‘I do’, *de-yr-eŋ* ‘you say’, *gel-iyr-eg* ‘we come’. The aorist is built with *-(A)r*, or *-ir*, e.g., *qal-ar-am* ‘I live’, *gel-er* ‘comes’, *bil-mem* ‘I cannot’, *de-yer* ‘says’, *gel-ir* ‘comes’, *al-ir-di-g* ‘we would buy’, *bulun-ir* ‘are found’.

6. The paradigms

The variation between the two present tense forms indicates that the distinction between the aorist and the new present has been kept in the varieties just mentioned. The morphological means employed for marking the distinction vary.

Table 1. Some examples of marking the distinction between the old aorist and the new present

	Aorist	Negated aorist	Present	Negated present
Old Anatolian	<i>-r, -Ar, -Ur</i>			
Turkish	<i>-r, -A²r, -I¹r</i>	<i>-mAm, -mAzsIn, -maz, -mAylz, -mAzsInIz, -mAzlAr</i>	<i>-I¹yor</i> with fusion of the stem final vowel	<i>-mIyor</i>
Turkmen	<i>-A²r</i>		<i>-(y)A²r</i>	
Azerbaijani	<i>-(y)A²r</i>		<i>-(y)I¹r</i>	
Aynallu	<i>-r, -ar, -er, -ur, -ür</i>	<i>-mem, -mez, -mâz</i>	<i>-ir</i> (with fusion of the stem final vowel) <i>-A, -y</i>	<i>-mir, -mör, -mirek, -milar</i>

Kashkay	-r, -yar, -yer,	-mAm, -mAnAm	-ir (-d?)	-mirem
Romaskevič	-ur, -ir, -ar, -er	-mAs	-iyur (?)	
Kashkay Menges	-r, -ur, -ir, -ar, -er	-mAs or -meyer	-A / -y	-meyler
Kashkay Doerfer 1:	-r,	-mem, -meŋ, -mez	-iyur with fusion of the stem final vowel	-mirem, -mireŋiz, -mir
Kashkay Doerfer 2:	-r, -ar, -er, -ur, -ir		-(y)ir	
Kashkay Jarring	-r, -ar, -er, -ur, -ür, -ir	-mem, -maz, -mazdi	-(y)ir	-mirem, -mireŋiz
Kashkay Soper	-ar, -er, -ir	-maz	-iyr [i:r] with fusion of the stem final vowel	-miyr

The published Kaskay texts do not provide us with sufficient evidence for establishing clearcut parameters of dialectal variation. Some cautious assumptions can, nevertheless, be made for further scrutiny. First, the texts attest intraterminal forms belonging to two paradigms, but much care must be taken in assigning individual forms to one paradigm or the other. Doerfer's and Jarring's texts give unequivocal evidence for the use of two paradigms. In the texts of Romaskevič and Menges, in which the aorist is almost exclusively used, the evidence is not as clear. Second, the aorist shows different degrees of the standardisation of the suffix vowel. Less variation may also be due to the fact that the material is very limited. The suffix vowel may be high or low, but there also are neutral vowels, as, for example, in Soper's account, in which the high vowel is replaced by a neutral [ə] written as *ī*. Variants of the present marker are: -(y)ir or -iyr [i:r]. Less well attested is the use of -iyur and -A / -y as present markers. The present is frequently used in Jarring's texts.

The last part of this short survey will deal with a Kashkay variety, which has only one intraterminal category, the old aorist.

7. The Abivardi variety

"The largest single settled Qashqa'i group with a specific identity is the Abivardi (*Bolvardi* represents a more informal usage). The Abivardi originated in Khorasan and is Turkic by origin, possibly Afshar. Members of the group today believe that Nader Shah sent their ancestors to Fars in the eighteenth century [...]. Abivardi consisted of a settled component (Abivardi Khaki, 'Abivardi of the Earth') and a nomadic one (Abivardi Badi, 'Abivardi the Wind')." (Beck 1986: 185)

The variety of *turki* spoken by the majority of speakers living in the Abivardi district has only one intraterminal category: the old aorist. It is plausible to assume that the renewal of the present tense did not take place in this dialect. The aorist is formed with the suffix -r, -ar, -er. The suffix vowel is sometimes realised as a middle high neutral vowel ə, as in *salər* 'sets free', *daniš-ər-em* 'I speak' and in some particular

words *-i*, such as *gel-ir* ‘comes’. The *i* occurs in the third person plural *ol-il-ler* (< *ol-ir-ler*) ‘they are’ and *ver-il-ler* (< *ver-ir-ler*) ‘they give’. In some monosyllabic stems the suffix is introduced by a glide *y*, for instance, *bil-er-em* ‘I know’, *al-ar-em* ‘I take’, *ayla-r-am* ‘I cry’, but *yu-yar-em* ‘I wash’, *di-yer-em* ‘I say’.

Table 2. Present tense in the Abivardi dialect spoken in Shiraz

<i>bil-</i> ‘know’	Aorist	
1SG	<i>bil-er-em</i>	<i>bil-mem</i>
2SG	<i>bil-er-ēy</i>	<i>bil-mēy</i>
3SG	<i>bil-er</i>	<i>bil-mez</i>
1PL	<i>bil-er-ek</i>	<i>bil-mek</i>
2PL	<i>bil-er-ēyiz</i>	<i>bil-mēyiz</i>
3PL	<i>bil-el-ler</i>	<i>bil-mezler</i>

8. The role of code-copying in the history of the paradigms

The Abivardis use the name Kashkay to denote the nomadic Kashkays in particular. Therefore, the Kashkay who have recently moved to the Abivardi district in Shiraz are called “Kashkay”. The Abivardis regard the language of these “Kashkay” as representing a purer type of Turkic as their own variety. The Abivardis today live in close contact with these Kashkay. There are intermarriages between the groups but the original tribal differences continue to play an important role. The linguistic differences are consciously maintained. The dialectal differences between the present tense forms are especially important and serve as a shibboleth of tribal identity.

The Kashkay texts discussed above, represent varieties that have both the aorist and the present. A system of two intraterminal present paradigms can be regarded as usual in Kashkay, as the analyses of the texts shows.

Table 3. The two paradigms in some Kashkay dialects

<i>bil-</i> ‘know’	Present	Aorist
1SG	<i>bil-ir-em</i>	<i>bil-er-em</i>
2SG	<i>bil-ir-eŋ</i>	<i>bil-er-eŋ</i>
3SG	<i>bil-ir</i>	<i>bil-er</i>
1PL	<i>bil-ir-ek</i>	<i>bil-er-ek</i>
2PL	<i>bil-ir-eŋiz</i>	<i>bil-er-eŋiz</i>
3PL	<i>bil-il-ler</i>	<i>bil-el-ler</i>

The aorist paradigm corresponds to the Abivardi paradigm. The present paradigm, on the other hand, is in many cases the translational equivalent of Abivardi aorist forms. Therefore, the Abivardi speakers identify the “Kashkay” present as corresponding to the Abivardi aorist. My observation, which has to be tested in later field work, is that there is a tendency today for non-Abivardi Kashkay speakers living in the Abivardi district to use only the present paradigm, which is formed with the suffix

-ir. The forms built with the suffix *-Ar*, are identified as Abivardi forms. Thus the following forms are used in the same function in the two varieties:

Table 4. Translational equivalents in the two varieties spoken in Abivardi

	Abivardi	“Kashkay” spoken in Abivardi
‘I escape’	<i>qač-er-em</i>	<i>qač-ir-em</i>
‘I love’	<i>sev-er-em</i>	<i>sev-ir-em</i>
‘I shoot’	<i>vur-r-am</i>	<i>vur-ir-am</i>
‘I come’	<i>gel-l-em</i>	<i>gel-ir-em</i>
‘I wash’	<i>yu-yar-am</i>	<i>yu-yir-am</i>

Consider the following examples of the use of the *-ir*-forms used by a “Kashkay” speaker in Shiraz.

Her tayfenin dili fark edir.
 each tribe-GEN language-3POSS difference make:PRESENT
 ‘Each tribe has a different language.’

Babamın babası
 father-POSS1SG-GEN father-POSS3SG

olir benim biyig boam.
 become:PRESENT I-GEN great father-POSS1SG
 ‘My father’s father is my grandfather.’

The present in the nomadic dialects and the old aorist in the Abivardi variety have become functional equivalents due to the specific contact situation. Interestingly, the speakers do not identify the Abivardi aorist form *gelir* ‘comes’ used in spontaneous speech with the “Kashkay” present *gelir*. When asked whether this form is an Abivardi form, the answer is that the Abivardi form is *geler*. The two varieties are in other respects converging and copying in both directions is frequent. Speakers also use present forms copied from the other variety.

I do not have sufficient data to conclude that the “Kashkay” variety has lost a category, namely the aorist, because of the present contact situation. There are other Southwestern Turkic dialects in which the aorist has been lost and its function has been taken over by the new present. This seems to be the case, for instance, in the Galūgāh dialect described by Doerfer (1990), in which only the *-ir* forms are used, as shown in Table 5 below. But it is plausible that if the speakers had two paradigms in their original varieties, the contact with the Abivardi dialect could lead them to avoid the use of the aorist.

Table 5. Present in the Galügāh dialect (Doerfer 1990: 28)

<i>gelî'rem</i>	'I come'	<i>gelî'rik</i>	'we come'
<i>gelî'sen</i>	'you come'	<i>gelî'süz</i>	'you come'
<i>gelî'</i>	'(s)he comes'	<i>gelî'ller</i>	'they come'

Moreover, the Abivardi, the “Kashkay” in Shiraz, and the Galügāh dialect have a new type high-focal present copied from Persian.

Table 6. High-focal present in the Galügāh dialect (Doerfer 1990: 28)

Persian model		Galügāh copy
<i>dāram mīyāyam</i>	'I am coming'	<i>vara'm gelî'rem</i>
<i>dārī mīyāyī</i>	'you are coming'	<i>va'rsan gelî'sen</i>
<i>dārad mīyāyad</i>	'he is coming'	<i>var gelîr</i>
<i>dārim mīyāyīm</i>	'we are coming'	<i>va'rikgelî'rik</i>
<i>dārid mīyāyīd</i>	'you are coming'	<i>va'rsüz gelî'süz</i>
<i>dārand mīyāyand</i>	'they are coming'	<i>var'lar gelî'ller</i>

The Persian construction is based on the auxiliary verb *dār* ‘have’ and an imperfective form of the lexical verb (Windfuhr 1979: 102). Turkic does not have a verb ‘have’; thus the copies include the nominal element *var* ‘existing’—used in possessive constructions—with a possessive suffix agreeing with the person of the inflected lexical verb, e.g. Abivardi *varim giderem* [existing-POSS1SG go-AORIST-1SG] ‘I am just going’. This construction functions as the new high-focal present. The renewal of the high-focal intraterminal category is a characteristic drift in Turkic languages. The copied construction is therefore both typologically and areally motivated. In some cases the development of a new category is “actually more a renewal and a reinforcement of a previously or already existing category” (Joseph 1998: 355).

9. Differentiation in Turkic morphology

The linguistic mechanisms that change paradigms are unpredictable but not haphazard. There are typical, re-occurring types of morphological changes (cf. Joseph 1998: 366). The basic triggering factors are morphophonological processes, restructuring of paradigms, and the development of new categories. This article focuses on the role of differentiation,² a factor triggering different types of morphological changes, which have played a crucial role in forming the inflectional paradigms of Turkic. I use the term here to denote the reinforcement or maintenance of

² The term differentiation was introduced by Meillet to account for sound changes characterisable as a change to prevent assimilation, see Staffan Fridell (2001), who surveys how this term has been applied in historical linguistics.

- (i) formal distinctions between inflectional paradigms, e.g. the markers of the aorist and the new present;
- (ii) the morphological coding of grammaticalised semantic distinctions, e.g. the reintroduction of high-focal categories;
- (iii) oppositions between dialects, which are regarded by the speakers as identity markers, e.g. the paradigm of present in Abivardi.³

The role of contact between different varieties of Turkic has been emphasised. It is undoubtedly significant in the history of Turkic in general because the linguistic situation in the Kashkay confederation, in which Turkic varieties with different historical backgrounds are spoken in one politically defined communicative area, is a scenario typical of many periods in the history of the Turkic languages.

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³ The term *naboopposition* 'neighbour-opposition' was introduced by the Norwegian dialectologist Amund B. Larsen in his article "Naboopposition – knot". *Maal og minne* 1917, 34-46. (Quoted in Fridell 2001)

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Early European grammars of Ottoman Turkish in Greek translation: A Greek version of Du Ryer's "Rudimenta Grammatices Linguae Turcicae" (1630)

Matthias Kappler

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The Athos manuscript 1299 contains two grammar sketches, both of them adaptations of European grammars of Turkish and earliest examples of Ottoman grammar activity in Modern Greek. After the edition of the first manuscript (a 1664 translation of Molino's "Rudimenti del parlar turchesco"), the present article is dedicated to the presentation of the second, unfortunately undated, example, a partial adaptation of Du Ryer's "Rudimenta" (Paris 1630). The manuscript is precious not only because it completes Du Ryer's grammar from a phonetic point of view, providing the Turkish data in Greek characters while the Latin original uses Arabic letters, but also because it provides interesting insight into the reception of grammar description in the still nearly unstudied field of Greco-Turkish linguistic tradition.

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The most recent research in the Greek reception of 17th century Turkish grammars printed in Europe can be summarized in the following manner:

1. Two manuscripts of Turkish grammars written in Modern Greek are conserved in the Athos monastery of Megisti Lavra. One of them, entitled Σύντομοι κανόνες τῆς τῶν Τούρκων διαλέκτου and published in a recent contribution (Kappler 1999), appears to be the first dated (1664) translation of a Turkish grammar in Greek, namely of the *Rudimenti del parlar turchesco* by Giovanni Molino (printed in Rome in 1641 as an appendix to the second edition of Molino's *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana Turchesca*; cf. Adamović 1974).

2. Molino's grammar has further been copied (a) 1668 in an incomplete Hungarian version (not translation, the newer text being Italian as in the original, but the Turkish words and paradigms being transcribed according to Hungarian orthography), part of the well-known Illésházy manuscript (see Németh 1970; cf. Mollova 1997: 49, 54, apparently unaware that she is dealing with an adaptation and not an

original work) and (b) 1677 in another Italian printed work, the *Rudimenti grammaticali per ben tradurre l'idioma Toscano in Turchesco*, part of the *Vocabolario toscano e turchesco* by Antonio Mascis (Drimba 1992).

A comparison of these copies with the Greek translation shows that the latter introduces a new element: while the Turkish data are regularly transcribed in Greek letters within the text of the grammar, there is an appendix (f. 153r-158v) containing a list of all quoted Ottoman words in Arabic script. While the Hungarian compiler has faithfully provided us with the pronunciation of his own Balkan Turkish dialect, the Greek translator seems to have had a more profound knowledge of literary Ottoman. Beyond the mentioned appendix with the forms in Arabic script in the Greek version, none of the adapters / translators adds passages or remarks of their own.

3. The Greek translation of Molino's grammar is all the more valuable since its author, date and place of compilation are known. It bears, indeed, a bilingual (Greek and Arabic) colophon which indicates a certain Papa Damaskinos, a monk perhaps of Syrian origin, the year 1074 Hidjra-1664 A.D., and Athens as the place of compilation (Kappler 1999: 273). Thus, the manuscript can be ascribed to the Athenian milieu of Theodore Korydaleus' new-Aristotelian school, founded in 1646, and where Damaskinos (whom we identify as the Ieromonachos Damaskinos of the Greek sources) was a renowned teacher.

The second manuscript kept in the Lavra monastery forms the subject of the present contribution.

The manuscript constitutes an anonymous undated compilation entitled Γραμματική τουρκική, κανόνες ("Turkish grammar, rules"), and has been conserved together with Damaskinos' Σύντομοι κανόνες in the same fascicle no. 1299 of the Athos Greek manuscripts, of which it forms leaves 160r-165v. It is written in quite a homogeneous hand, each paragraph being marked with a majuscule. The handwriting is very different from Damaskinos', and we do not know whether the compilation has any historical connection to the Athenian environment of that period (recall that the Σύντομοι κανόνες are dated 1664), although we suppose that the translation dates back to the second or last third of the 17th century, perhaps even being the earliest example of Greco-Ottoman grammatical activity. A detailed examination of the paper and the handwriting could lead to more validated findings, but unfortunately we only had the chance to see the manuscript on microfilm (which can be viewed in the Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki*).

As in the case of the twin manuscript (and of Illésházy, too), the unknown author does not mention the original source which he translated / adapted; at first sight it might appear to be an original text. At a closer glance, however, it turns out to be a partial translation of the *Rudimenta grammatices linguae turcicae* written by André Du Ryer (which, in spite of the name, has no immediate relationship with Molino's

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Rudimenti mentioned above), printed in Paris in 1630, and followed by a second edition in 1633.

André Du Ryer-Malezair was a French consul in Egypt until 1629 (see Kalus 1992: 83 and frontispiece of *Rudimenta* : “... Andreae Du Ryer Marciniacensi Pro Christianissimo Rege et eius Nationibus in Aegypto Exconsule”). His grammar was printed by Antoine Vitray and represents the first printed Turkish grammar in France (apart from the very first sketch of a description of Turkish, the *Instruction des mots de la langue turquesque les plus communs*, Paris 1575, by Guillaume Postel, see Kalus 1992: 82), though not in Europe, which is Hieronymus Megiser’s *Institutionum linguae turcicae libri IV* (Lipsia 1612). The aim of the publication appears to be to provide missionaries in the East with the necessary linguistic knowledge, as apparent in the “privilège du Roi” in the second edition (p. [VII]): “à la charge qu’ils imprimeront les Nouveaux Testaments, les Catechismes et les Grammaires des Langues Orientales: et en donneront gratuitement certain nombre, qui sera envoyé aux Missionnaires d’Orient, pour les distribuer à ceux qu’ils désireroient instruire en la verité de nostre Religion”.

Unlike the other 17th century European grammarians, Du Ryer chooses to give his Turkish examples and paradigms in Arabic script, though wholly vocalized and therefore informative at least concerning the labial vocalism. The grammar is nonetheless judged “of lesser value” by some scholars (see the observations in Kenessey 1974: 122, which regard some passages of Du Ryer’s grammar copied by F. M. Maggio in his *Syntagmaton linguarum orientalium* [Rome 1643]). Turning back to our case, the Greek adapter, except for a few cases concerning single characters or suffixes, transcribes the Turkish text into the Greek alphabet, probably according to his own speech, which makes the translation a valuable completion to the original.

As pointed out above, the Greek manuscript (henceforward called GRAMMATIKI) is not a complete translation of Du Ryer’s work (henceforward RUDIMENTA; for the present contribution a copy of the second edition [1633], conserved at St. Mark’s Library in Venice, was consulted). The following overview of the contents may serve to illustrate this:

RUDIMENTA	p.	GRAMMATIKI	f.
Turcicum Alphabetum	2	----	
Caput Primum (De Pronunciatione Litterarum, earumque Figuris)	8	----	
Caput II (De Vocalibus)	9	----	
Caput III (De Nomine eiusque accidentibus)	11	Εἰς τὰ ὀνόματα...	160r
Caput IV (De Pronomine)	20	Αἱ πρωτότυποι ἀντωνυμῖαι...	161r
Caput V (De Verbo et Formatione Modorum, Temporum ac Personarum)	29	Περὶ ρήματος	162r
Caput VI (Coniugatio verbi)	35	Συζυγία τῶν ρημάτων	163r
Caput VII	46	Περὶ τοῦ σχηματισμοῦ τῶν	164v

(De Formatione Passivorum)		παθητικῶν	
Caput VIII (De variis verborum classibus)	47	Περὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἐγκλίσεων τῶν διαφόρων ρημάτων	165r
Caput IX (De Verbis negativis)	51	Περὶ τῶν ἀρνητικῶν ρημάτων	165v
Caput X (De Coniugatione verbi substantivi <i>sum</i>)	60	---	
Caput XI (De verbo substantivo Negationis)	68	---	
Caput XII (De Syntaxi Linguae Turcicae)	78	---	
Caput XIII (De Particulis Orationis)	83	---	
De Numerorum	89	---	
Exercitatio Lectionis Linguae Turcicae	94	---	

Thus, GRAMMATIKI ends at RUDIMENTA's p. 55, after the paradigm "Futurum Indicativi *Non amabo*". Whether it remained uncompleted or whether the other leaves have been lost cannot be told for certain. Therefore, the conjugation paradigms of chapter X and XI and Du Ryer's observations about syntax (more properly a chapter about morphosyntax, such as verb government, genitival constructions / *izafet* groups and, in chapter XIII, about postpositions [p. 84: "Praepositiones postponuntur Nomini aut Verbo cum quo iunguntur"]) remain outside the range of our Greek adaptation.

Within the single sections of the grammar, the Greek translator decided not to take over the whole original text. Thus, for instance, the tables in RUDIMENTA (chapter III, IV, VI, IX) with complete paradigms in all cases / persons are not quoted in GRAMMATIKI, where we find only some selected examples for each paradigm. Also a lot of other examples are omitted in GRAMMATIKI; generally speaking, we find for every discussed occurrence just one or two examples, whereas RUDIMENTA might present more Turkish material, as if the Greek translator aimed to supply just an abridged version of the original text.

In a few instances, examples in GRAMMATIKI differ from those to be found in RUDIMENTA. This is the case when the noun derivational suffix {II} is discussed (RUDIMENTA 15, GRAMMATIKI 160v). In the Latin original we find the words *odun* 'lignum' – *odunlu* 'ligneus', *gök* 'coelum' – *göklü* 'coelestis', *zînet* 'ornamentum' – *zînetlü* 'ornatus', *taş* 'saxum' – *taşlu* 'saxeus'; the Greek version adopts only the first two examples, but one of them with a different suffix (όντοῦν 'ξύλον' – όντοῦν-λοῦκ 'ξύλινον', γγιόκ 'οὐρανός' – γγιοκλοῦ 'τό οὐράνιον') adding the example σου 'τό νερόν' – σουλί 'τό νερούλον'. The interesting feature of the present case is that Du Ryer's examples *odunlu* and *göklü* are not attested in Ottoman sources (*göklü* can be considered a phantom word which also entered Molino's grammar and its versions; see Adamović 1974: 43, 61; Németh 1970: 44; Kappler 1999: 288); in fact, the Greek translator changes **odunlu* into the more familiar *odunluk* (although the suffix {IIk} is discussed elsewhere); he adopts **göklü*, but adds *suli* (> *sulu*), not necessarily a new addition, since the example might appear in the first edition of

Du Ryer's grammar, which was not available to us. But if we compare GRAMMATIKI with the other Greek Athos manuscript (henceforward KANONES) and with Molino's grammar, we find the same example σοῦ 'τὸ ὕδωρ' – σουλοῦ 'τὸ ὕδατῶδες' (KANONES 144r) and *sù* 'acqua' – *suli* 'acquato' (cf. Adamović 1974: 61; also in Illésházy, see Németh 1970: 44) respectively. The example shows that, even when GRAMMATIKI presents different lexemes from those found in RUDIMENTA, they still belong within the same tradition of the European (and thus Latin / Ancient Greek) linguistic system (the most typical evidence of this being, obviously, the lexeme used in all verbal paradigms, which must and cannot be anything other than *sev*- 'amare'). It has to be stated at this point that, generally speaking, all grammars from the 17th century since Megiser's (1612) have more or less the same formal structure and are very similar as far as paradigms, examples and terminology are concerned, due to the (sometimes explicitly stated, sometimes not even mentioned) reliance of the later grammars on the previous ones. The further question of how the model of the Latin / Greek system determined the description of Ottoman Turkish in these early grammars is certainly a topic worthy of thorough investigation in a more theoretical context (cf. the study of the application of the Arabic linguistic model to the description of Turkic in Ermers 1999).

The aim of the following paragraphs is to present the most striking features of the Modern Greek translation compared with its Latin original in the fields of graphematics, phonetics and morphonology.

Graphematics

The phonetic notation is not unusual for 17th and 18th century Turkish texts in Greek script. Thus, no auxiliary signs or diacritic points are used, and some phonemes, such as /b/ or /g/, are transcribed by compound graphemes, according to the corresponding signs used in the orthography of Modern Greek. Such cases are:

/b/ <μπ>.

/g/ <γγ>; palatal g' is noted by <γγι>, as in f. 160r γγιουζέλ *güzel*.

/d/ <ντ> and <νδ>, fluctuating (e.g. f. 165r σεβντουρμέκ *sevdurmek* – σεβνδουρούμ *sevdurum*); rarely <δ> (e.g. f. 164r σεβδούκ *sevdük*); to make clear the difference between /d/ and /t/, the latter is once noted by <ττ> (f. 162v ἀτζιττεί *açtı* versus ἀτζινδεί *açdı*), but in one case it seems to mean exactly the opposite, namely <ττ> for /d/: γγεττήσ *gediş* (164v).

Compound graphemes for phonemes not existing in the phonematic system of standard Greek are:

/č/ <τζι> (e.g. f. 165r ιτζιμέκ *içmek*, 162v ἀτζιμάκ *açmak*, 160v ἐκμεκτζι *ekmekçi*).

/j/ <γγ> (e.g. f. 164r σεβεγγέκ *sevecek*, 164v σεβιγγή *sevici*), <ντζι> (e.g. 160v ἐνντζικ *evcik*).

/ʃ/ <σσ>.

/ɨ/ <γγ>; rarely (at the beginning of the manuscript, ff. 160-161) <νγ>.

No distinction is made between /o/ – /ö/ and /u/ – /ü/, both noted as <ο> and <ου> respectively.

It would be incorrect to suppose that the Greek translator distinguishes between /i/ and /ɨ/, both transcribed with either <ι> or <η> (or <ει>, see below; also <υ> in the last syllable of the possessive suffix of the 3rd person singular), though one could assume an attempt to express palatal-velar variation in cases such as ἀλλαχλήκ *Allahlık* – ἐρλίκ *erlik* (160v). Moreover, there is one instance (ἀλενμάκ *alınmak*, 165v) of rendering /ɨ/ as a semi-closed vowel (here graphically <ε>), as can be found frequently in European Turkish texts in Latin script (see Stein 1979: 60). It should be noted, however, that the corresponding example in Arabic script, as Du Ryer entered it into his *RUDIMENTA* (p. 51), has *alenmaq* with the same vocalization (*fetha* over *lâm*). Interestingly enough, there is also an instance of the same notation in palatal surroundings: *RUDIMENTA* 50 *sevenmeq* (sic; Du Ryer always writes infinitives with *qaf*, even after palatal syllables) – *GRAMMATIKI* 165r σεβενμέκ.

There are two occurrences for <ει>, once in the word *kim* (κειμλέρ, χέρ κείμ, χερκειμείγγ, f. 162r, but also κίμ in the same paragraph), and once in the past tense marker {DI} (ἀτζιττεί *açtı* and ἀτζινδεί *açdı*, f. 162v). It is interesting that *kim* appears always as <κειμ> in the twin manuscript, too (*KANONES* 145r, see Kappler 1999: 277-278), although no explanation for this use can be provided for the time being. The case of the {DI}-suffix, however, can be explained by the Greek infinitive aorist form in -ει, used for the formation of the past perfect in Modern Greek. This phenomenon is quite frequent in “Karamanlı” prints of the 18th century, namely those edited by Serafeim (see Kappler forthcoming: footnote 38).

A systematical comparison of the transcription with *RUDIMENTA* cannot be drawn because of the Arabic writing in the latter. However, some of the graphical choices made in *GRAMMATIKI* correspond to the European tradition, such as the use of <γγ> for /j/, influenced by the Italian orthography. Strangely enough, *GRAMMATIKI* adopts Greek graphical patterns, just where *RUDIMENTA* uses, in one of its few entries in Latin script, <g>, i.e. *gic* (for the diminutive suffix, *RUDIMENTA* 17) – ντζίκ (*GRAMMATIKI* 160v), whereas in most of the other cases we find <γγ>, as pointed out above.

Compared with the notation in the twin manuscript *KANONES*, we can state that *GRAMMATIKI* is a little more precise: only two variants for /ɨ/, compared to four in *KANONES* (Kappler 1999: 289); a strict distinction between /s/ and /ʃ/, no use of <τ> for /d/ (except once ζείτουντέν – *zeydunden* [160v], but then again ζείντουνούνγ άτύ – *zeidunuj atı* [161v]), although there are other fluctuations concerning /d/ (see above). On the other hand, both grammars share general features such as the use of compound graphemes (<μπ>, <ντ>, <γγ>) and the parallel application of <γγ> and <τζ(ι)> for /j/. A shortcoming of both grammars is consequently the threefold use of <γγ>, which can be read as /g/, /j/ or /ɨ/.

Accents are regularly set, as stress markers in polysyllabic words, but also in monosyllabic entries, according to the Greek orthography of the time. Usually we find acute and grave markers (not always discernible in handwriting, therefore our examples are always given with acute markers); only in last syllables containing the vowel /u/ do we have circumflex (<οῦ>), with but a few exceptions. Like in KANONES, there are occurrences of primary and secondary stress, such as σεβμίσσιυ-δοῦμ – *sevmísidùm* (f. 163v). As has been pointed out for the Turkish grammar of Thomas Vaughan (published in 1709, see Gilson 1987: 21, 29), accents (as stress markers, or, in the case of monosyllabic words, perhaps length markers) can be found in European grammars, too. An influence of Greek prototypes has been supposed (Gilson 1987: 23) although no evidence was provided. It should, however, be kept in mind that the setting of stress markers can easily be derived from the Italian tradition, too (cf. the extended accent system in Argenti's *Regola del parlare turco* [1533], see Bombaci 1938: 65-66). Moreover, whether the Oriental Greek manuscripts (since no printed books are known for that time) were spread about Europe and whether they came into Western hands is hard to say, but, as far as our Greek grammars are concerned, rather improbable (the only Greco-Turkish text known for certain in European circles is Gennadios' confession of faith, published in Tübingen by Martinus Crusius in 1584). Be that as it may, the fact remains that these two early texts, at least theoretically, might have served as sources for the compilation of other grammars.

Phonetics and morphonology

Due to the scarce lexical material contained in our grammar, a comprehensive analysis of phonetic changes cannot be carried out. Presumable phonetic phenomena can often be interpreted as graphical, too. Thus, σεβισσιλέρ *sevişiler* (GRAMMATIKI 165r) versus *sevişirler* (RUDIMENTA 50) can be interpreted as loss of *r*, very frequent in Istanbul pronunciation (see Bergsträsser 1918: 251), but also in Rumelian and Anatolian dialects (see Caferoğlu 1959: 249), although it could simply reflect a graphical error. A change *ö* > *ü* can be assumed in the entry οῦκουυμέκ *üýünmek* (GRAMMATIKI 165r; the Arabic script in RUDIMENTA does not allow an unequivocal reading). In another case, RUDIMENTA 16 *etmek* 'panis' corresponds to GRAMMATIKI 160v ἐκμέκ 'ψωμί', the latter thus choosing a more colloquial form (cf. Redhouse 1890: 23 "*etmek*, vulg. *ekmek*"), a tendency in GRAMMATIKI of which we will see more evidence below.

Much more material is provided in the field of morphonology, thanks to the relatively wide range of grammatical patterns and suffix variation.

/ŋ/

Concerning the phoneme /ŋ/, a very interesting point emerges from the second paragraph of GRAMMATIKI (f. 160r): in one of the rare cases that the paradigms in the Greek text differ from those in the Latin original, we read genitive forms in *-n* (μπετηνούν, μπεηλερούν – *beynun*, *beylerun*), while RUDIMENTA 13 (where *adem* is

chosen as an example) reports *ademuḡ*, *ademleruḡ*. From the following paragraph onwards, GRAMMATIKI adopts /ŋ/ in all genitive forms, according to Du Ryer's grammar (cf. RUDIMENTA 15 *beynuḡ*, GRAMMATIKI 160r *μπετηνούγγ*; but there is still one instance of /n/ in the sentence *ζεΐτουνούν σεβδικτένσογγρα* (sic) – *zeydunun sevdikten sogra* [164r], versus RUDIMENTA 44 *zeydunuḡ sevdiginden sogra*). A conclusion which could be drawn is that the Greek translator already used in his speech, or knew from the speech familiar to him, the more progressive /n/ instead of older /ŋ/, but he applies such variants only in cases where the original text is not followed as faithfully as usual.

{lAr}

Palatal-velar assimilation is particularly interesting when we have the chance to compare a text in Arabic script with a complementary one in Greek (or Latin) script. In our text, the plural marker {lAr}, written throughout <lr> with *fetha*-vocalization in RUDIMENTA, shows up as <λερ> – *ler* after velar stems in the Greek version: *άνλέρ* – *anler*, *μπουνλέρ* – *bunler* (161r), *κουλλερούμ*, *κουλλεριμούζ* – *kullerum*, *kullerimuz* (161r), *άτλεριγγίζ* – *atlerigiz*, *άτλερί* – *atleri* (161v), *άτλέρ* – *atler*, *άτλερούμ* – *atlerum*, *άτλερουμούγγ* – *atlerumuḡ*, *άτλερουμέ* – *atlerume*, *άτλερουμί* – *atlerumi*, *άτλερουμντέν* – *atlerumden* (162r). Unfortunately, we have no entries with verbal forms (Rumelian and Eastern Black Sea dialects as well as “transcription texts” show nominal plural forms harmonized, while verbal forms appear only in palatal variants; see Johanson 1981). Our data with palatalized plural markers correspond to most of the other grammars and word lists of the 16th and 17th centuries (Molino, see Adamović 1974: 42-43; Lubenau, see Adamović 1977: 27; Vaughan, see Gilson 1987: 83-84), as well as to texts in Greek writing (Gennadios' confession, see Halasi-Kun 1992: 56-60; “Karamanli” texts, see Eckmann 1950: 182) and are certainly not due to dialectal variation, but rather to the tradition of learned pronunciation, a well-known effect of the usual palatalization of palatal-velar suffixes in loanwords.

{DAn}, {(y)A}

Very few occurrences of the ablative and dative markers impede a thorough discussion of these suffixes. It is, however, noteworthy that {DAn} appears, unlike the plural marker, in both velar and palatal variants: *μπαλντάν* – *baldan*, *ζεΐτουντέν* – *zeydunden* (160v), *άτουμντέν* – *atumden*, *άτλερουμντέν* – *atlerumden* (162r), *άντέν* – *anden* (161r). There is but one occurrence of {(y)A} after velar stem: *μπαμπαγέ* – *babaye* (160r). This coincides with some data available from 15th to 17th century texts (cf. Hazai 1973: 383, Halasi-Kun 1992: 52).

Labial harmony in possessive markers

1st person:

The author of the original grammar (i.e., Du Ryer) is aware of the difference between illabial and labial forms, although he does not explain where the respective

form has to be used: “sonatque in Singulari ut *em* aut *um*, et in Plurali ut *miz* vel *muz*” (RUDIMENTA 21; cf. GRAMMATIKI 161r: “κάμνει ὡσάν ἔμ ἢ οὔμ εἰς τό ἐνικόν, καί ὡσάν μίζ ἢ μοῦζ εἰς τό πληθυντικόν” – ‘It makes *em* or *um* in the singular, and *miz* or *muz* in the plural’).

In the corresponding examples of GRAMMATIKI, fluctuation can be observed between labial and illabial forms after illabial stems: εὐίμ – *evim* (161r), ἀτοῦμ – *atum* (161v); after plural suffix always labial: εὐλεροῦμ – *evlerum*, κουλλεροῦμ – *kullerum* (161r), ἀτλεροῦμ – *atlerum* (162r). Declined forms with vowel elision: εὐμοῦγγ – *evmuγ*, εὐμέ – *evme*, εὐμί – *evmi* (161v), ἀτμέ – *atme*, ἀτμί – *atmi* (162r), but: ἀτουμούγγ – *atumuγ* (161v; RUDIMENTA 24 *atmuγ*). Vowel elision as well in one plural form: εὐμέζ – *evmez* (161r; RUDIMENTA 20 *evmiz*); the others are labial forms: κουλουμούζ – *kulumuz*, εὐλερουμούζ – *evlerumuz* (161r; RUDIMENTA 20 *evlermiz*); interesting is one diachronically intermediate form: κουλλεριμούζ – *kullerimuz* (161r; RUDIMENTA 21 *quллерmuz*).

2nd person:

Du Ryer only explains the labial variant, and so does the Greek translator; the following vocalized forms in the Greek version, however, show both illabial and labial suffixes: “Secundae personae Possessivum formatur addita fini eius littera *kef agemi*, ..., et sonat ut *ung*” (Rudimenta 21; cf. GRAMMATIKI 161r-v: “Τοῦ δευτέρου προσώπου τό κτητικόν γίνεται μέ τό η [in Arabic script] ἀτζεμί καλούμενον, εἰς τό τέλος, καί μιλεῖ ὡσάν οὔνγ” – “The possessive of the second person is formed by the *η acemi* at the end, and is pronounced as *uγ*”). The subsequent forms in GRAMMATIKI 161v are: εὐίγ – *evig*, ἀτοῦνγ – *atug*. As corresponding plural forms the following are given: εὐεγγίζ – *evengiz*, εὐλεριγγίζ – *evlerigiz*, ἀτιγγίζ – *atugiz*, ἀτλεριγγίζ – *atlerigiz* (161v).

3rd person:

No peculiarity can be noted, except the curious notation -ύ in the Greek version (εὐύ – *evi*, ἀτύ – *ati*; 161v). The forms after stems ending in vowels show the “regular” notation -σί (χαζνεσί – *haznesi*, μπαμπασί – *babasi*, ταγγρησί – *taggrisi*; 161v).

Labial harmony in personal markers

Personal suffixes attached to verbs are introduced in RUDIMENTA’s chapter V (“De Verbo...”, p. 29); for the aorist both labial and illabial forms are considered to be added to all stems: “Itaque modi Indicativi tempus praesens ab Infinitivo effluit, relictis syllaba *meq* et assumpta syllaba *rem* aut *rum* ut *sevmeq* id est ‘amare’, *severem* ‘amo’, vel *severum*, quod idem est.” (p. 30; cf. GRAMMATIKI 162v: “Τοιουτοτρόπως ὁ χρόνος ὁ ἐνεστώς τοῦ ὀριστικοῦ γίνεται ἀπό τό ἀπαρέμφατον, ἀφίνοντας μέκ καί προσθέτοντας ρέμ ἢ ροῦμ, ὡσάν σεβμέκ, νά ἀγαπήση, σεβέρεμ ἢ σεβέρουμ, ἀγαπώ.” – “In the same way, the present tense indicative is made from the infinitive, leaving aside *mek* and adding *rem* or *rum*, such as *sevmeq* ‘to love’, *severem* or *severum* ‘I love’”). The vocalization in GRAMMATIKI is always labial in the following few occurrences, partially influenced

by preceding suffixes: σεβέρουμ – *severum* (163r), σεβιλούρουμ – *sevilurum* (164v), σεβνδουρούμ – *sevdurum* (165r). Whether the actual form has to be considered velar or palatal (*severüm, sevilürüm, sevdürüm*) cannot be told for certain. The other personal markers in the paradigm are illabial (σεβερίτζ – *severiz*, σεβέρσιζ / σεβέρσιγζ – *seversiz / seversig(i)z* (163v), but there are no entries with labial stem. The data correspond to the Latin original, being the paradigm for the aorist (“Indicativi Praesens”) in *RUDIMENTA* (p. 35): *severum, seversen, sever, severiz, seversiz, severler*. Cf. also Meninski’s *Grammatica Turcica* (Vienna 1680), p. 72 (“*sewerim, vel sewerem, vel communiter sewerüm*”), apparently relying on Megiser (1612; see Stein 1993: 178).

{DI}

The *di*-past marker is always labial in the first person, and illabial in the third person. These are the examples after illabial syllables: σεβέρντουμ (162v), σεβέρνδουμ (163v) – *severdum* (or: *severdüm*; the palatal reading could also be supposed for all the following forms); σεβέρντουκ – *severduk* (162v); σεβμέζ[δ]ουμ, σεβμεζδούκ – *sevmezдум, sevmezduk* (165v); σεβντούμ (162v), σεβνδούμ, σεβνδούκ (163v) – *sevdum, sevduk*; σεβηλντούμ – *sevildum* (164v); σεβμενδουμ, σεβμενδουκ – *sevmedum, sevmeduk* (165v); σεβμίσσ ολάηνδουμ – *sevmiş olaydum* (164v), σεβμίσσινδουμ (163r), σεβμίσσινδουμ (163v) – *sevmiş idum, sevmiş iduk*; σεβέηνδουμ, σεβέηνδουκ – *seveydum, seveyduk* (164r); σεβσέηνδουμ, σεβσέηνδουκ – *sevseydum, sevseyduk* (164r). Third person: σεβμίσσ ολάηνδι – *sevmiş olaydı* (164v), αντζιττεί – *açtı* (162v). No data are given for other persons. The paradigm of the “Praeteritum Perfectum” in *RUDIMENTA* (p. 37) is: *sevdum, sevdig, sevdı, sevduk, sevdigz, sevdiler*, i.e. like *GRAMMATIKI* with labial forms only in the first persons. The same data emerge from other 17th century grammars (see e.g. Meninski’s *Grammatica Turcica* Vienna 1680, pp. 73, 74, 75, 77).

{DIK}

The *di*-past first person plural form is further on confused with the *dik*-participle: σεβδούκ, αγαπήσαμεν ἢ πράγμα αγαπημένον ἢ καί φίλτα (“*sevduk*, ‘we loved’, or ‘beloved thing’ or ‘love’”; 164r). The confusion results from a modification of the Greek translator, whose knowledge of Turkish seems to overlap that of Latin: in fact, *RUDIMENTA* 43 notes “*sevduk*, ‘amavisse’ aut ‘res amata’, et ‘amicitia’”, and in the following examples quotes the suffix only in the illabial form (*sevdikden şöra* [p. 43], *sevdikden evvel* [44], *zeydunun sevdiginden şöra* [44]), while *GRAMMATIKI* fluctuates between the two variations: σευδουκτένσογγρα, σευδουκτέν έβέλ, ζείντουνοῦν σεβδικτέν σογγρα – *sevdukten sogra, sevdikten evel, zeydunun sevdikten sogra* (164r). The labialization is therefore to be considered an effect of the supposed analogy with the *di*-past form.

Morphology

1. Finite forms

As pointed out above, the full verbal paradigms in the Latin original have been abridged in the Greek version. Usually, only the first person (singular and plural) are noted in GRAMMATIKI. The paradigm is the verb *sev-* ‘amare’, as prescribes the Greek-Latin grammar tradition. The individual forms and the respective denomination of tense / mood in GRAMMATIKI (Chapter Συζυγία τῶν ρημάτων, ff. 163r-164r) with the corresponding Latin terminology in RUDIMENTA (Chapter VI “Coniugatio verbi”, pp. 36-46) are as follows:

aorist

Terms: GRAMMATIKI – RUDIMENTA: ὀριστικός ἐνεστώς (f. 163r) –

Indicativi Praesens (p. 35)

Text: μπέν σεβέρουμ ἐγὼ ἀγαπῶ. μπίζ σεβερίζ ἡμεῖς ἀγαποῦμεν. Παραγγέλω σου ὅτι να μὴν τελειώσης. Τό δεύτερον πρόσωπον τοῦ πληθυντικοῦ μονάχα μέ σίζ ἀλλά καί μέ σουγγουζ ἢ σίζ, μέ τό ὀτροῦ ἢ μέ τό ἐστρέ, καί νά εἰπῇ σεβέρσιγζ ἢ σεβέρσιζ ἐσεῖς ἀγαπᾶτε.

Transcription and translation: “ben sevérum *I love*. biz severíz *we love*. I order you not to stop. The second person plural [not] only with siz but also with suhúz or siz, with *ōtrū* [Arabic vowel sign for labial vowels] or with *esre* [vowel sign for *i* and *ι*], and so to say sevérsinz or sevérsiz *you love*.”

Forms mentioned: severum, severiz, seversinz, seversiz.

RUDIMENTA: severum, seversen, sever, severiz, seversiz, severler.

aorist + -DI (imperfect)

παρατατικός (163v) – Praeteritum Imperfectum (36)

ἀγάπουνα, σεβέρινδουμ, εἰς τό πλ. σεβέριντουκ ἢ σεβερλέριντουκ, ἡμεῖς ἀγαπούσαμεν.

“*I loved*, sevérdum, in the plural sevérduk or severlérduk, *we loved*.”

severdum, severduk, *severlerduk.

The latter phantom form is present in Molino’s grammar and KANONES, too; see Adamović 1974: 48, Kappler 1999: 278. The forms in RUDIMENTA: “severdum, severdin, severdi, severduk et severlerduk, severdiniz et severlerdiniz, severdiler, severlermiş [sic], severlerdi”.

-DI-past (di-perfect)

παρακείμενος (163v) – Praeteritum Perfectum (37)

σεβνδοῦμ, ἡγάπηκα. Εἰς τό πληθυντικόν σεβνδοῦκ, ἡγαπήκαμεν.

“sevdúm, *I’ve loved*. In the plural sevdúk, *we’ve loved*”.

sevdum, sevduk.

For the forms in RUDIMENTA see the paragraph above about the suffix {DI}.

-miş + idi (pluperfect)

ὑπερσυντέλικος (163v) – Praeteritum Plusquam perfectum (38)

σεβμίσιςινδοῦμ, ἐγὼ εἶχα ἀγαπήσει, εἰς τό πληθυντικόν σεβμίσιςινδοῦκ, εἶχαμε ἀγαπήσει.

“sevmış idüm, *I had loved*, in the plural sevmış idük, *we had loved*”.

sevmış idum, sevmış iduk.

RUDIMENTA: sevmış idum, sevmış idiñ, sevmış idi, sevmış iduk, sevmış idiniz, sevmış idiler.

It is remarkable that the twin manuscript KANONES calls this tense “aorist” (ἀόριστος), although Molino’s original shows the traditional term “Preterito plusquam perfetto” (see Kappler 1999: 286).

volitive and aorist = “future”

μέλλων τοῦ ὀριστικοῦ (163v) – Futurum Indicativi (38-39)

σεβμεγίμ [recte: σεβεγίμ], ἐγὼ θέλω ἀγαπήσει. Εἰς τό πληθυντικόν σεβέριζ, θέλωμεν ἀγαπήσει.

“sevmeyim [recte: seveyim], *I shall love*. In the plural sevériz, *we shall love*”.

seveyim, severiz.

RUDIMENTA also has the volitive in the first person singular, and the aorist in all remaining persons: seveyim, seversin, sever, severiz, severseñuz, severler. The mixed paradigm in the “future” can be found in the other related grammars, too; for Molino see Adamović 1974: 49, for KANONES see Kappler 1999: 279, 287; in RUDIMENTA the second person plural is vocalized *severseñuz*, which seems to be a conditional form; it is interesting that Molino uses an analogous form: *severseñiz* (Adamović 1974: 49), a possible indication that Molino consulted Du Ryer’s grammar.

imperative

προστακτικόν (163v) – Imperativus modus (39)

σεβσέν, ἀγάπησον σύ, εἰς τό πλ. σεβρούμ [recte: σεβλούμ?] μπίζ, ἄς ἀγαπήσωμεν ἡμεῖς. Κάποιαις βολλαῖς βάλουν γήλ, ὡσάν σεύγηλ, ἀγάπα σύ, τοῦτ πιάσε, τοῦτ γήλ πιάσε σύ.

“sev sén, *love thou!*, in the plural sevrúm [recte: sevlum ~ sevelum?] biz, *let’s love*. Sometimes they put *gil*, such as sévgil, *love thou!*, tut *take!*, tútgil, *take thou!*”.sev, sevelum (probably, since RUDIMENTA has *sevelum*), sevgil, tutgil.

The second person plural is lacking, as well as the third person; RUDIMENTA lists the full paradigm: sev sen, sevsün ol, sevelum [volitive], seven siz, anler sevsünler.

optative and volitive = “imperative future”

μέλλων τοῦ προστακτικοῦ (163v) – Futurum Imperativi (40)

σεβέ σέν, ἀγάπησε, εἰς τό πληθυντικόν, σεβελούμ, ἄς ἀγαπήσωμεν.

“sevé sen, *love!*, in the plural sevelúm, *let's love*”.
sevesen, sevelum.

Sevesen / seve sen is to be found in Molino and KANONES, too (Adamović 1974: 50, Kappler 1999: 279, 286), and can be read as an optative form *sevesin*, while Adamović *ibidem* interprets the form as “*sev* + exclamation *e!*” (and, in the case of *oquya sen* as “*oqu* + exclamation *ya!*”). The optative reading is certainly preferable, since RUDIMENTA (as well as Molino / KANONES) lists optative forms in all second and third persons; cf. RUDIMENTA: sevesen, ol seve, sevelum, sevesiz, seveler; Molino: seveh sen, ol seveh, sevehlum, sevehsijz, sevehler, the *-h-* being evidently graphical, quoted in KANONES with σεβέχσέν. It is interesting again how the apparently unrelated grammars show the same forms, due to the same tradition. Likewise, the adaptation of an irrelevant mood (imperative future) for the description of Turkish may serve as an example of the rigid application of the Latin grammatical tradition.

optative

εὐκτικός (163v) – Optativus (40-41)

Εἰς τό εὐκτικόν λέγεται ὁμπροστά μπόλακι ἄμποτε... σεβέμ, νά ἤθελα ἀγαπήση, εἰς τό πλ. σεβέηζ νά ἠθέλαμεν ἀγαπήση.

“In the optative they put ‘bolaiki’ before it, *may it be that*, sevéμ, [*may it be that*] *I loved*, in the plural sevéiz, [*may it be that*] *we loved*”.

(bolaiki) sevem, seveiz.

Bolaiki and similar forms (< bola[y] ki) are usually mentioned in European grammars to mark the “optative”: for Molino see Adamović (1974: 51) (bulaiki), for Vaughan see Gilson (1987: 118) (bulaiky), for the grammar of Giovanni Agop (*Rudimento della lingua turchesca*, Venezia 1685; brief presentation in Drimba 1997) see p. 17 in the copy at St. Mark’s Library (“optativo presente: bulaki olam ...”), for Meninski’s *Grammatica Turcica* (Vienna 1680) see on p. 75 (“Optativo autem praeponi solent particulae *ki* ut, ..., *bulajki*, *bolajki* utinam ...”). Unlike GRAMMATIKI, the Greek translator of KANONES quotes Molino’s *u*-form (μπουλάικη, KANONES 146v, 151r, see Kappler 1999: 279, 285). The full paradigm in RUDIMENTA: sevem, sevesin, seve, seveyiz, sevesiz, seveler.

optative + *idi*

παρακείμενος τοῦ εὐκτικοῦ (163v-164r) – Praeteritum Perfectum Optativi (41)

σεβέηνδουμ, μακάρι νά εἶχα ἀγαπήση, εἰς τό πληθυντικόν, σεβέηνδουκ, μακάρι ἠθέλαμεν ἀγαπήση.

“sevéydum, *would that I had loved*, in the plural sevéyduk, *would that we had loved*”.

seveydum, seveyduk.

RUDIMENTA: seveydum, seveydin, seveydi, seveyduk, seveydiniz, seveydiler.

conditional and optative = “subjunctive”

ὑποτακτική (164r) – Subiunctivus (41-42)

Εἰς τὴν ἔγκλισιν τὴν ὑποτακτικὴν βάλεται ὁμπροστά ἔγγερ δηλονότι ἀνίσως. σεβσέμ, ἀγαπήσω ἥτοι ἀνίσως ἀγαπήσει. Εἰς τὸν πληθυντικόν, ἔγερ σεβέηζ, ἀνίσως καὶ ἀγαπήσωμεν.

“In the subjunctive mood they put ‘éger’ before it, which means *if*, *sevsém*, *I loved*, i.e. *if I loved*. In the plural *éger sevéiz*, *if we loved*”.

sevsem, seveiz.

The plural form is again an optative, as well as in RUDIMENTA: sevsem, seversej et sevsej, severe et sevse, seveyiz, sevsejiz, severlerse. The promiscuous use of optative and conditional (“subjunctive”) corresponds to the theoretical explanation in RUDIMENTA 43: “Notabis tamen apud Turcas Optativum et Subiunctivum saepe usurpari in eadem significatione indifferenter ac promiscue”; in the Greek version (GRAMMATIKI 164r): “Πλὴν ἤξευρε ἀκόμη ὅτι πολλάκις δουλεύονται ἀπὸ τὸ εὐκτικόν διὰ ὑποτακτικόν, καὶ ἀπὸ ὑποτακτικόν διὰ τὸ εὐκτικόν” (translation of the Latin version:) “Also take notice of the fact that the Turks often use optative and subjunctive in the same meaning indifferently and promiscuously”.

conditional + *idi*

παρακείμενον [τῆς ὑποτακτικῆς] (164r) – Praeteritum perfectum Subiunctivi (42)

Εἰς τὸ παρακείμενον σεβσέηνδουμ, ἂν εἶχα ἀγαπήσῃ, εἰς τὸ πληθυντικόν σεβσέηνδουκ, ἂν εἶχαμε ἀγαπήσῃ.

“In the perfect tense sevséydum, *if I had loved*, in the plural sevséyduk, *if we had loved*”.

sevseydum, sevseyduk.

RUDIMENTA: sevseydum, sevseydinj, sevseydi, sevseyduk, sevseydiniz, sevseydiler.

2. Non-finite forms

The infinitive is given as σεβμέκ (164r); RUDIMENTA 43: sevmeq), together with the dik-participle σεβδοῦκ (RUDIMENTA: sevduk); cf. the paragraph above about {DIK}. The other forms are:

Converbs

As converbs (γερούντια – 164r, RUDIMENTA 44: Gerundia) the following are considered:

σεβμεγέ, εἰς τὸ νά ἀγαπήσῃ – sevmeyé, *to love* (RUDIMENTA: sevmege ‘Amandi’)

σεβέρκεν ἢ σεβερέκ, ἀγαποῦνται δύο – sevéerken or severék, *two love each other* (?) (RUDIMENTA: severken et severék, ‘amando’)

σεβμέκ ἰτζιούν, διὰ νά ἀγαπήσῃ – sevmék içün, *in order to love* (RUDIMENTA: sevmeq içün, ‘amandum’).

Apparently, the Greek translator was not able to discern *amandi*, *amando*, *amandum*, putting thus an erroneous interpretation to the (modal) converbs *severken* and *severek*, whose meanings he obviously did not know.

Participles

Classified as participles (μετοχαί – 164r-164v, RUDIMENTA 44-45: Participia) the following are listed:

σεβέν, ἐκεῖνος ὅπου ἀγαπᾷ καὶ ἡγάπα. ('sevéñ, *he who loves and loved*'). – RUDIMENTA: *seven* 'amans'.

σεβεγγέκ, καὶ σεβισέρ, ὅπου ἔχει νὰ ἀγαπήσει ἢ θέλει ἀγαπήσει. ('sevecék and sevisér, *he who has to love or will love*'). – RUDIMENTA: *seveceq* et *seviser* 'amaturus'.

σεβμελοῦ, ὅπου θέλει ἀγαπηθεῖ γλύγορα. ('sevmelü, *he who will be loved immediately*'). – RUDIMENTA: *sevmelü* 'amaturus iam'.

σεβιγγῆ, ὁ ἀγαπητικός. ('sevicí, *the lover / beloved*'). – RUDIMENTA: *sevcí* (sic) 'amator'.

σεβμίσσ, ὁ ἀγαπημένος ('sevmiş, *the beloved*'), – RUDIMENTA: *sevmiş* 'amatus'.

Here, the Greek adaptor displays a sensitivity to the tense independence of the *-(y)An*-participle and of both future participles. Interesting, from the historical point of view, is the presence of the old future participle *-(y)IsAr*, not considered by most of the other 17th century grammarians (except Meninski who notes on p. 74 of his *Grammatica Turcica*, Vienna 1680, after having listed the *-(A)r* and *-(y)AcAK*-forms: "Vel per alterum, quantumvis rarius, Participii Futurum, sic *sewiserum*, vel *sewis-erem*, *amabo*, *amaturus sum*"). Du Ryer is also aware of the different modal / aspectual values of the *-(y)AcAK*-participle (such as *okuyacak bir kitap*), and tries to explain this by means of voice coincidence: "Observabis hñc Participium *seveceq* habere promiscue Activam aut Passivam significationem, ac significare *amaturus* et *amandus*, sicut *göreceq* visurus et vivendus." (RUDIMENTA 45). The Greek translator commits one more confusion (or simply an error in copying), taking the *miş*-form for the *ecek*-form: "Πρέπει νὰ προσέχει τίς, ὅτι ἡ μετοχή δουλεύει διὰ τήν ἐνεργητικὴν καὶ τήν παθητικὴν, ἥγουν ἐκεῖνος ὅπου ἔχει νὰ ἀγαπήσῃ ἢ νὰ ἀγαπηθῇ σεβμίσσ. γγορεγγέκ, ὅπου ἔχει νὰ ἰδῇ, ἢ καὶ νὰ ἰδοῦσιν." ("It must be paid attention to the fact that the participle functions as both active and passive, i.e. *he who has to love* or *to be loved*: *sevmiş*; *görecék*, *he who has to see*, or *to be seen*.").

Verbal nouns

Du Ryer introduces two verbal nouns: *-(y)Is* and *-mA* (the latter only in the plural form *-mAIAr*):

RUDIMENTA 45: "Utuntur etiam vocabulis *sevmeler* et *seviş*, quae exprimunt per hoc nomen *amicitia*, ut etiam *gidiş* *geliş* et *gitmeler* *gelmeler* quod Gallice *allée* ac *venue* dici potest, sed hoc rarissime."

The Greek adaptor again has some difficulties in translating and copies a paradigm erroneously:

GRAMMATIKI 164v: “Δουλεύονται ἀκόμη καί ἀπό τό σεβμίσσ, ἢ σεβμισλέρ, καί σεβμελέρ, πῶς ἐξηγούνται ἀκόμα διὰ τό ὄνομα τῆς φιλίας. Καθὼς ἀκόμα, γγελήσσ, γγεττήσσ καί γγελμελέρ, γγιτμελέρ, ὅπου θέλει νά εἰπῇ πηγενάμενος καί ἐρχόμενος, ἀλλά ὀλίγαις φοραῖς.” (“They still are made from *sevmış*, or *sevmişler* and *sevmelér*, which may be explained by the noun *friendship*, as well as *gelış* *gedış* and *gelmelér* *gitmelér*, which means *going* and *coming*, but only a few times.”).

3. Voice

Du Ryer’s presentation of the four voices passive (“de formatione passivorum”, p. 46), causative (“verbum, cuius actio transeat in alium”, p. 48), reciprocal (“verba cooperantis actionis, quae reciprocantia licebit appellare”, p. 49), and reflexive (“verba intransuentis significationis”, p. 50; adding that this form can also have passive meaning: “Tamen advertas velim, hunc loquendi modum usurpari saepe etiam in Passiva significatione”, p. 51), is faithfully adapted in the Greek version (164v-165v). The following suffixes and paradigms are given:

-(I)l: σεβηλμέκ, σεβιλούρουμ, σεβηλντοῦμ, σεβηλούρνδουμ, σεβηλεγίμ (sevilmeék, sevilúrum, sevil dúm, sevilúrdum, seveyeyím)

-(I)r: σεβντουρμέκ, σεβνδουρούμ (sevdurmék, sevdurúm [haplology for *sevdururum*])

-(I)r: μπισσιρμέκ (bişirmék)

-(I)s: σεβισσμέκ, σεβισσίριζ, σεβισσιλέρ (sevişmeék, sevişiriz, sevişilér [for *sevişirler*, see above])

-(I)n: σεβενμέκ, οὔκουνμέκ, ἀλενμάκ (sevinmeék, üýünmeék, alınmák [for <e> ~ i, ı and ö > ü see above])

Meninski’s grammar (1680, pp. 59-60) adopts and extends Du Ryer’s terminology, and, interestingly enough, carries over the same example in the reflexive-passive (öğ'mekⁱ – öğ'ünmekⁱ, p. 59). The Greek translator does not make any significant modification, apart from omitting an example, i.e. the causative form of *işmek* (GRAMMATIKI 165r ιτζιμέκ [skipping *işirmeq-bişmek*] νά ψήση, μπισσιρμέκ, νά κάμει νά ψήση; cf. RUDIMENTA 49: *işirmeq* ‘bibere facere’).

Conclusions

The discussed manuscript GRAMMATIKI is remarkable mainly because of the following facts:

1. It belongs to a group of Greek manuscripts (two of them preserved until now) of the 17th century, probably written in Greece, which represent the very first examples of Greco-Turkish grammar activity.
2. It provides a, yet unfinished, completion to Du Ryer’s RUDIMENTA in the form of transcribed Turkish data.

3. Unlike its twin manuscript KANONES, it bears a more popular linguistic shape in the Greek part. Verb and noun paradigms are more often in vernacular, while KANONES prefers Ancient Greek or archaizing forms. Though an extensive analysis of the Greek part could not be carried out in this context, the vulgarizing tendency is true for the explanatory part as well as for some of the translated examples (such as the translation for *ekmek* 'bread' and *su* 'water': KANONES 144r [Kappler 1999: 276] 'ὁ ἄρτος', 'τὸ ὕδωρ', GRAMMATIKI 160v 'ψωμί', 'τό νερόν'; moreover the dative forms in KANONES are always translated with the Ancient Greek dative, while GRAMMATIKI prefers sometimes, though not consistently, the modern forms with the preposition εἰς + accusative [e.g. 160r: μπεγέ, εἰς τόν ἀφέντην; but *ibidem*, not accidentally in a more stereotyped context: μπαμπαγέ, τῷ πατρί]). In the specific case of the Greek *diglossia*, such linguistic shapes of the 'source language' should be duly considered, not least because such observations can be helpful in determining different intentions or different target groups. In this case, it could be supposed that our GRAMMATIKI is addressed to a broader public than KANONES (if ever it was addressed to anyone and not merely intended for private purposes), or simply has a more practical aim in providing the reader with elements of Turkish. The choice of Du Ryer's *RUDIMENTA*, whose practical intentions are quite explicit, as a model should not be considered a coincidence.

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